ARE EMPOWERMENT COURSES FOR WOMEN
A TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE?
THE SITUATION IN ISRAEL

Israela Ben Asher
Tutor: Dr. Schaffhauser
May 2009
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Feminist and gender theories - The Background

2.1 Feminism in Israel
   2.1.1 Jewish feminism
   2.1.2 Zionist feminism
   2.1.3 Israeli feminism

2.2 Identity, feminine gender identity
   2.2.1 Jewish-Israeli female identity
   2.2.2 The role of motherhood and the role of the wife
      2.2.2.1 Motherhood in general and Jewish-Israeli motherhood in particular
      2.2.2.2 Wife, Jewish, Israeli wife

2.3 Power
   2.3.1 Power in Israeli society
      2.3.1.1 The army as a focus of power: Structuring Israeli society
      2.3.1.2 Religion as a focus of power: Structuring Israeli society

2.4 Discrimination

2.5 Change
   2.5.1 Definitions and types of change
   2.5.2 Description of the arena in which change occurs
   2.5.3 Gender change
      2.5.3.1 Gender change in the social-systemic arena
      2.5.3.2 Gender change in the personal, female arena
      2.5.3.3 Personal male change
   2.5.4 Difficulties on the path to achieving meaningful gender change
      2.5.4.1 The lack of awareness of the possibility of change
      2.5.4.2 Objection to the very existence of change
      2.5.4.3 Non-understanding or lack of knowledge as to how to lead change
   2.5.5 Ways and tools for change
      2.5.5.1 Agents of change – a role and a profession

2.6 Empowerment
   2.6.1 Common language - definitions of empowerment
      2.6.1.1 Responsibility and authority
   2.6.2 Personal empowerment and community empowerment
   2.6.3 Empowering women
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3.1 Female empowerment in the western world</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3.2 Women's needs</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3.3 Motivation to act – change</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3.4 Choice, free choice and women</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4 Education as a tool for empowerment</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.1 Educating women</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.2 Lifelong learning/education throughout life</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.3 Feminist pedagogy as an ideological basis for a different education</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.4 Women's /gender studies as a tool for empowerment</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.5 Empowerment courses for women</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4.6 Empowerment and leadership</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.5 Female leadership</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.5.1 Empowerment and female leadership in Israel</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.6 Empowerment and measuring</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.6.1 Empowerment courses and measurement</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 3: The research

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Feminist research

3.1.1.1 Gender research

3.1.2 Educational research

3.1.3 Qualitative research

3.1.4 Field research

3.1.5 Phenomenology, heuristic and hermeneutics

3.2 The basis for the study and the research population

3.2.1 Project 100 as a factor in studying female empowerment

3.2.2 The organizational partners to the advisor's work

3.2.3 The role of the advisor on the status of women

3.2.4 The municipality on which this study focuses

3.2.5 The research population

3.2.5.1 Participants in the course

3.2.5.2 Course operators

3.2.5.2.1 Advisors on the status of women

3.2.5.2.2 Course instructors

3.2.5.2.3 Other role holders

3.3 The research tools

3.3.1 Research and research tools of informal pedagogy

3.4 The research topics

3.5 Ethics, validity and difficulties
Chapter 4: The research findings and discussion

4.1 Defining the courses as empowerment courses for women
4.1.1 Goals and expected products of the course by the initiating factor
4.1.2 Goals and expected products – the executive factor
4.1.3 Goals and expected products by the participating factor – local women
4.2 Empowerment courses – content, management and work methods
4.2.1 Content
4.2.1.1 The content of courses for direct empowerment
4.2.1.2 The contents of courses for indirect empowerment
4.3 Work methods
4.3.1 The instructors in empowerment courses
4.3.2 Values and tools
4.3.3 Assessment and measurement – the female feedback
4.3.3.1 Planned evaluation – written and oral feedback
4.3.3.2 Unplanned evaluation – analysis of behaviors and conduct
4.4 The course products (products of change)
4.4.1 Change amongst course participants
4.4.1.1 The changes at the subjective level (according to the participants' self-perception)
4.4.1.2 The changes at the objective level (according to the perception of society, surroundings, other)
4.4.1.3 Change as a process
4.4.2 Change within the course operators
4.4.2.1 Change within the advisor (the researcher)
4.4.2.2 Change within the course instructors
4.4.3 The changes in the project initiator

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 The role of the advisor on the status of women as an agent of social change
5.1.1 From individual to shared management
5.1.2 Attaining change by working at several planes in the same time
5.2 The realm of the status of women is a professional domain

5.2.1 Developing an instructional and training array
5.2.2 Development and institutionalization of tools
5.2.2.1 Social marketing
5.2.2.1.1 Education as an area of knowledge for leading social change 249
5.2.2.1.2 Marketing 251
5.2.2.1.3 The law 253
5.2.2.2 Developing an assessment system, measuring and managing knowledge 253
5.2.2.2.1 Managing knowledge 256
5.2.2.3 Uniform language 257
5.2.2.3.1 Feminism as a key concept 259
5.2.2.3.2 The complexity of the concept empowerment 260
5.2.2.4 An ethical code 263
5.2.2.4.1 The instructors as a professional factor and agents of change 265
5.3 Suggestions and recommendations for action 266
5.3.1 Developing new municipal services for women 268
5.3.1.1 The municipal women's rights center 269
5.3.1.2 A women's personal coaching center 273
5.3.2 Developing a three stage empowerment course as a tool for attaining meaningful social change 277
5.3.2.1 The target population 278
5.3.2.2 The definition of the content that will lead to change 279
5.3.2.3 Techniques for attaining the change 281
5.3.2.3.1 Working with the instructors 282
5.3.3.3.2 A combination of work techniques 284
5.3.2.3.3 Developing a transformative evaluation array 285
5.4 On the fringes of the study – an epilogue 286

Bibliography 290

Appendices
Appendix A 1: Local Authorities Law 2000 with a comparison to the 2008 updated law 316
Appendix A 2: Section from the Israeli Declaration of Independence 323
Appendix B 1: Scheme of change 324
Appendix B 2: Wheels of change 325
Appendix C: Course programs for the lack of awareness stage 326
Appendix D 1: Course programs for the awareness - empowerment stage 329
Appendix D 2: Comparison of the content of the various courses taught by the same instructor 335
Appendix E: Projects 339
Chapter 1
Introduction

The current study pertains to the field of heuristic research. It began in August 2000 when the author was appointed to a new position, as mayoral advisor of the status of women. At that point she had no knowledge of the field. There has been hardly any explanation of the significance of the law, few examples of practical work or methods thus this researcher began to gather data that would lead her to understand the role and make proposals to the mayor as to how to operate.

This study began a parallel journey for developing the position, gathering the scattered parts of the puzzle of the stations in her life that she gradually understood were also stations in the lives of women around her. It afforded her an insight to more or less defined structures. However, questions arose that led to constant intensification and search.

This search developed from the writer's involvement in empowering women, amongst her other involvements. From conversations, meetings and cases at which she was present or of which she heard from a secondary source she gained the impression that women do not talk the same language, although they have similar experiences. They understand or use similar concepts in different ways. This stems, probably, from the lack of knowledge, incorrect or incomplete information, from diverse experiences to which concepts are associated and from differing interpretations some of which are the internalization of environmental communiqués, from diverse objectives motivated by different interests, from the way in which social concepts are formed or are represented by agents of socialization they have encountered, and so on.

The first chapter of this study deals with key concepts, one of which is 'feminism', one of the most loaded and disliked concepts amongst both men and women. Many have a negative image of 'feminism' for various reasons, amongst others, since the term is identified with the theory of the radical stream. This writer will not repeat the definitions of terms appearing in countless studies and books. Instead, she will focus on the concepts that emerged as a result of feminist theories in order to explore

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1 The role stems from legislating the Local Authorities Law in 2000 regarding the appointment of mayoral advisors on women's issues whose name was changed in 2008 into 'the status of women'. The law appears in appendix A, item 1.

2 The term 'feminism' would appear to refer to the particular ideology, but in fact there are many sub-groups and diverse feminist streams. One of these is 'radical feminism'.
their impact on the ways of socialization of everyone, men and women, and the consequent possibility of change, that can rise out of them.

She would like to first note an element of confusion in the concepts stemming, amongst other things, from the fact that the entire domain is a developing one, constant renewing itself and extremely broad, and in fact lacking boundaries. The lack of clarity was a source for additional research and for the absence of uniformity in the historical, feminist, description. The current study is thus also a hermeneutic study, in which the researcher will try to interpret situations according to the perspectives of the feminist and gender theories, with her best understanding together with her work experience.

The researcher believes that the dictionary and academic definitions and the development of the concept in daily life should be separated, as Prof. Tova Cohen, Director of the Department of Gender Studies at the Bar Ilan University in Israel states:

"In the practical daily domain, practical solutions can often be found for the lack of equality of the woman, and even to change habits and explore the source of laws...after all, in the ideological and principle domain is harder to do so"

(Cohen, 1999: 267-268)

The researcher understands that feminism as a concept aiming to describe the lives and experiences as women is one of the most non-understood by women themselves, thus creating reticence and even serving as a tool against them.

This researcher's approach to the feminist and gender theories will be at two levels: The general level at which she describes and relies on what is already known as 'western feminism', perceived as the canonical feminism, and 'Israeli feminism', based on and referring to 'western feminism', but entailing uniqueness and difference, as derived from the multi-cultural stream in canonical feminism.

The emphasis on the term western feminism, despite the recognition of the additional feminist variations, appears in all the literature on the subject. Such a classification has implications that have connotations beyond the neutral reference to geographical location – 'west' or 'east' – and are concepts with structured images and stereotypes in the same time, political, economic and social framework (Wohrer, 2004). In the feminist
context that counters such categorization, this division affords a type of antithesis and paradox that presents a significant difficulty.

The researcher realizes the need to introduce order and to organize the concepts, theories, knowledge and the use made of the concepts. There is a need to clarify questions that arise as a result of this confusion in connection to the section of this thesis dealing with empowerment courses for women as were defined by her as a tool for social change.

The researcher has decided to take the mission of creating some sort of order and organization in the domain of the advisors to create an infrastructure that will enable examination of the existing situation and ways to change it. She is not sure she will fully realize this task and many question marks will remain, but this way it will be more interesting and she will at least lay the foundation for future researchers, and of course herself, to continue the work.

Starting the project, it was clear to her that she wanted the study:
1. To be clear, readable and understood to each and every reader. Her intention was to learn from her personal experience of reading academic material, wherein she frequently encountered a collection of long Latin words whose real meaning escaped her the moment she read them. She promised herself that when she would use them she would explain them.
2. To organize, as far as possible the work in the field into knowledge structure that would indicate but nor force trends;
3. To facilitate the practical application and thus be useful to her colleagues;
4. To reflect and apply the tools and theories that it discusses, i.e., feminist tools;
   And, of course and naturally
5. To be unique, different, real and innovative.

Her thoughts ran faster than they could be written and this was one of the tough struggles during the writing process. As a field worker in soul, she realized that the field is stronger than burrowing into theories and documents, despite her pleasure therein. The quantity of relevant knowledge or knowledge that seemed relevant was enormous - knowledge that was accumulated in the research and in articles, as well as in newspapers and conversations, at conferences and study days, on the

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3. The researcher, relying on the feminist conception of accessibility, will create a basis for a unique language between her and the readers now and in the future, determining her exact meaning and intention of some words, terms or names.
Internet, in films, poems, novels, in everything. She constantly felt frustrated due to her insights and understandings and the blind denial, lack of awareness or outsmarting reality. The limited time available to her because of dividing her time into endless pieces, the lack of concentration due to the many tasks demanded of her in highly demanding full-time position, as a mother of three children (one a student, one a soldier and one an adolescent), as a wife, daughter, friend…as a woman!

The constant fear of being carried away to cynicism and over-criticism, understanding the need to balance research truth and political truth; the fear of lack of uniqueness, of fitting into a familiar mold, of superficiality, of banality; hesitance of drawing conclusions, of the findings; the feeling that the topic chosen presents an enormous challenge since dealing with change in such an area means changing basic ways of life. All these and more were exciting, wonderful and sometimes painful… feelings, en route to writing this doctorate thesis.

As a child the researcher remembers asking her mother, wondering and disapprovingly, why her father always received the best crockery, why he was always served first, why she always had to run home to be there before him, to receive him when he came home from work although she also worked outside the home. The researcher had many such questions.

After she was married, she rebelled when her partner mentioned the piles of dishes in the sink. As a young guide of parenting groups she was forced to learn that certain days, Thursdays for instance, were not good for holding such groups, since football matches were screened and the men refused to baby-sit for the children. On other hand, women were busy cleaning and cooking for the weekend that day. As an advisor on the status of women she heard many stories and statements that described the lives of women, stories that crossed barriers of education, status, ethnic origin and even age.

The universalism of the situation was one of her significant discoveries both from reading and from historical research, as well as from daily experiences. The greater surprise was her and their women discovery that they felt 'alone' for many years, as if all women lived separately from each other and did not know that their lives and experiences were identical to those of other women. This discovery led her to appreciate the real need to create consciousness, a female consciousness, amongst as many women as possible.
This is one of the topics discussed in the study. It is important to understand what consciousness is, what types of consciousness exist, how they can be realized and their meaning for the future. What is the impact of the consciousness and what is its price? The story of Eve and tasting of the tree of knowledge, the story of human consciousness, is well embedded in the human collective memory, and mainly in that of women, as a sin for which Eve is punished. Is the path to consciousness of each woman different or identical? Can there be a structured procedure to achieving consciousness or even a defined period of time for realizing this procedure.

The basic assumption is that consciousness develops individually within each person. What does one do with this consciousness? When? How? And is there actually any need for directing and establishing such awareness through group power? This should be another point to consider.

The group, in this case, is the female group that has existed in diverse variations and cultures and has even preserved the social codes that blocked female awareness. Society nurtured the concept of 'alone' and the 'absence of the woman's voice'. In this study, the writer refers to the female group as to an open support group, developing cooperation and power. The purpose of female consciousness and women's groups is to change the common ways of thinking. Arousing consciousness, according to Laura Liswood, General Secretary of the Council of Women Leaders in the USA at a conference in 2005, is to "Hasten history". Expressions such as, "I have the right", "I may", "It's legitimate" are part of the consciousness which they achieved through empowerment courses and will lead/ afford the significant change.

After dealing with some other terms, the researcher will discuss change and empowerment relating to women. Every change creates fears on the part of diverse factors. Change is a process and entails personal and social transitions to which it is most important to relate. How can one attain change? What is necessary for this process to succeed, or how can success in the realm of the status of women be defined? These questions are been asked due to the reality in which women have internalized the demands of society over the generations, that were made through powerful means that aroused fear and gave birth to ways of coping that adopted strategies of survival and alternative means. It will be important to focus on such in order to exploit them in the process of change.
In order to discuss the issue of significant change in the status of women, the researcher must conduct interdisciplinary observations in a variety of areas – education, sociology, social psychology, history, pedagogy and so on. However, the key areas are based on feminist theories that afford the basis for the broad area of gender research. The contribution of feminism lies in creating several basic differentiations and their penetration to the collective female and social awareness in general, while relying on concepts that have been studied on other contexts, such as 'the other', 'minority', 'majority', 'social learning', 'power' and 'strength'.

One of the main tools for change used currently are empowerment and leadership courses for women, which are the main subject of this thesis. This will be another key concept that will be explored in the context of female empowerment.

To examine those courses, the researcher refers in this study to adult education that now holds a key position amongst decision-makers (Peretz, 2004), but the issue of females as adult learners has only been tangential (Lazovsky, 2004). Ways of women's learning and the areas of learning is a new and developing field that should be expanded from the perspective of empowerment and reference to the history of withholding education from women. From this writer's professional experience in the world of informal education, to which adult education also belongs, she has found similarity between it and women's studies in particular, as she will try to prove later. The importance of this context is to work methods proposed as part of the necessary process of change.

An attempt will be made in the third chapter that describes the research, to try to understand the objectives, methods of implementation and the actual results versus the expected results and the policy, if it exists at all. The study will be based on interviews and conversations with participants in courses and on the feedback to the questionnaires distributed in them. It will reflect conversations with instructors and counselors responsible for holding the courses at the municipal or organizational level, as well as those determining policy. Some of the material was distributed at conferences and study days or collected from authentic and official position papers together with academic research and articles. Since the research focuses on change in diverse circles of life, the researcher will relate to materials from actual and daily aspects of life as illustrating and reflecting the situation. She will also refer to her own experiences during her ongoing employment and her active or passive participation in workshops that she holds or which she observes.
Since the empowerment courses in their current format are only in their early stages, while this research was being conducted, it is a real description of an organizational process describing the establishment of the domain, its definition, length, assessment, future planning and growth. The researcher thus accompanies this process at two levels – as a researcher, apparently from the neutral objective point of view, and as an advisor on the status of women, conducting the process in the framework of her work, with a vested interest and subjectiveness. The transitions are not easy and are not dichotomous, but this fact is also likely to be an influential factor from the perspective of exploring the professional ethic towards the participants, guides, policy makers and of course, her advisory colleagues. This may affect the readiness of some to cooperate, but this will remain for the conclusions and summary for the future.

It was clear to the researcher that, as a result of writing this study, her behavior would be different as regards her observation of the entire process. In that regard, the demands she set herself, instructors who work with her and the policy-makers would also be influenced.

Chapter four presents the conclusions detailed in the process she underwent and the ways these conclusions will be applied as activity and in developing unique municipal services. The final chapter offers recommendations for further action, noting the additional questions that arise due to the activity.

The answer to the research question posed, does not afford a brief answer but is the key to a lengthy debate with many participants. However, Margaret Mead's words guide me in her never doubting the ability of a small committed group of citizens to change the world. She believes that this is the only thing that ever led to change.

I see the group of advisors on the status of women together with all those involved in this work as such a committed group, that will manage to create significant change – change in the status of women in Israel.
Chapter 2
Feminist and Gender Theories: The Background

Feminism is a relatively 'young' concept but older than the concept which arises from it – that of gender. They have reciprocal relations, closeness, similarity and even difference. Gender is a type of upgrade of feminist theories and focuses on the core – on male/female personal identity as a social concept and can therefore be changed.

Feminism, with its diverse theories, challenged the existing social order, identified and defined social phenomena and generated several significant changes in existing perceptions.

The reality in which we live is characterized by an 'ednocentric culture', created by men and thus reflects the world of its creators rather than society at large. Nor does it represent women (Cohen, 1999). Feminist theory related for the first time to the fact that the world is portrayed from a general perspective, in which there is no differentiation between the various groups, but ignores them, known in feminism as "unmarked categories" (Razi, 1992). Women are one of these categories.

The order that orchestrates western society, in all areas of life, is based on dichotomous categorization, to which value-oriented definitions are attached, such as 'good' and 'bad'. A situation of preference/discrimination was generated alongside them, since everyone wishes to be defined as 'good'. Every categorization creates differentiation between the 'Id' and the 'other'.

The basic attitude towards women indicates:
1. A different value orientation: All human society differentiates between males and females, and in all greater prestige is awarded to the males, although there is no meaningful reason for this attitude (El-Or, 2002).

  2. Division of roles: Every society, whether simple or complex, has division of labor and roles between the genders. One of the key attributes in the description of the difference between men and women is women's physical ability to become pregnant, to give birth and to nurse the infant. The role of motherhood has become the definer of women even when they are not actually mothers and their essential 'womanhood'. The participation of women in the production processes did not always determine their social, legal and political status relative to their contribution (Buber-Agassi, 1986).
One of the basic assumptions common to most theories is that differences between the genders are socially structured (de Beauvoir, 1949) rather than the result of biological disparity. Since social definitions were created by men, the social structure is patriarchal and is the norm. Women thus become the 'other' or the 'abnormal'. As such, no woman can function beyond the structure determined by society (de Beauvoir, 1949) or she has to break through and pay a price, which is not simple.

One of the strong social structures of the western world is 'power relationships'. According to Foucault (1982) power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere.

Feminist theories discuss this foundation at length, since the men applied it to women through various means resulting in their suppression. The use of power in a world with a dichotomous approach creates a situation of 'winners' versus 'losers', of 'success' versus 'failure', 'rulers' versus 'subordinates'. The feminist demand for change in perception and power arrays was thus interpreted as a 'struggle' and 'battle' and feminists were perceived as 'militant'.

As of the 1970s feminist philosophers began to view the difference between biology and society, between sex and gender as one of the most important differentiations in feminist theory. Gender as a social category and as an analytical tool, explores how women were excluded from social, political and cultural institutions, and from the very process of writing history (Razi, 1992).

The differentiation between sex and gender coined additional terms:
1. Gender identity (Butler 1990): Creating gender identity is a complex process that starts from the moment of birth as does every identity, by an endless series of praxes (behavioral actions) of discourse or of body.
   Gender identity is likely to be affected by a variety of cultural structures such as employment status, religion, family, ethnic association and so on.

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4 The common perception throughout history was that differences between the genders stem from biological (or socio-biological) differences.
5 The impression throughout the years of 'feminism' and 'feminists' defined them as worriers, who make use of aggressive and extreme behavior or were classified as such because of the unusual behavior in those days. A stereotype has been created to block the change. In patriarchal society their conduct means war and in war there are only winners and losers. The men, well experienced in battle, wanted to win.
2. Gender role\(^6\): Gender roles are the reflection of diverse social customs and habits in one society, and are dependent on culture, time and place. The gender role is the result of the socialization process conducting a dialogue with the development of individualization.

Societies tend to determine unique roles for men and for women. There is an element of identity between the roles each gender is expected to fulfill in most societies (Parsons and Bales, 1955). This is also known as the 'separation of the roles' model. In view of the fact that more women go to work outside the home and acquire education more obligations have been added to the traditional feminine roles that create the term 'multi-roles'. The new situation creates over burdening and over-responsibility of women.

The change that allowed women to go out to work was not significant\(^7\). This fact led to the feminist demand for a renewed division of roles – dividing the burden of responsibility in family and home contexts so that men would also participate.\(^8\)

Post-modern feminists went one step further in demanding the abolition of the existing categories (Butler, 1990). If there should be a situation in which there is no categorization, in other words, the terms 'woman' or 'man' do not exist then there are no boundaries to any role or position. Consequently, the key attributes of 'female identity', such as motherhood, which is one of the most significant identities amongst women, shatter.

Summarizing all the above, feminism, with its diverse streams, thus identifies a differing social attitude towards men and women and tries to explain or to understand this situation.

It tries to re-explore existing concepts and phenomena, but must, at the same time, interpret otherwise, redefine or even reinvent new terms.

Feminism has adopted an active approach to seeking, checking and exposing ever more references and acts, and thereby has led to the

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\(^6\)To the question of what is a 'feminine role' there are several answers, in several societies and even from a particular society in different historical periods. Parsons and Bales (1955) defines the "masculine domain" as an instrumental area and as an external domain, and the "female domain" as an expressive area, an internal-home-private domain.

\(^7\) Significant change means change in deep strata, creating a chain of change and lasting for a lengthy period of time.

\(^8\) There is nowadays a trend calling for determining the hours of work as "family friendly". Examples from the Israeli legislation are approval of maternity leave and sick leave to care for children, by fathers and so on.
awareness of broad communities of men and women. It has proposed solutions and modes of thought that enabled action and change; it has managed to create a collective of women, as regards feelings and understanding the experience of discrimination towards them, which is a universal experience. But it has also managed to identify the existence of sub-groups within the female collective that suffer from secondary and even tertiary discrimination, while creating a complex, multi-dimensional perspective, as a way of observation and exploration, in contrast to the polar, one-dimensional approach previously common.

Feminism, which is the theory, ideology and the philosophical facet, identifies gender as a key factor that creates discrimination that stems from the definition of roles and social expectations.

The absence of clear boundaries, of agreement over ideas, concepts and definitions that characterized the post-modern approach, in fact expands the repertoire of references on the one hand, and brings us into a world of chaos on the other. It enables developing new concepts that will embrace the needs and desires of the feminist theory, but at the same time, make it hard to find a path perhaps, because there is no one correct path - another important insight in this regard.

The argument is between two main feminist streams. The one is the modern stream that recognizes that femininity has certain meaning, that there is a social structure which must be accepted, seeing the main problem in the events occurring within the social structure. The other is the post-modern stream that objects to the very existence of the structure. This will be another important facet of this thesis for examining the meaning of the necessary activity to achieve social change.

2.1 Feminism in Israel

This study pertains to Israeli society. Feminism, as a universal social ideology, is not detached from the society in which it exists, and therefore it is necessary to try to define and characterize the feminism that develops in the State of Israel. The fact that the Jewish people and the Jewish religion are one, created a unique situation in which belonging is always accompanied by ambivalence. 'Progress and change' arouse existential fear and the order of priorities is collective at the expense of the individual.
The differentiation between Jewish society and Israeli society has been necessary from the moment that some Jews remained in their countries of origin and did not immigrate to the Jewish State – Israel. The society that developed in this country is:

- Multi-cultural, characterized by the many religions (Jewish, Christian, Muslim and others, with their diverse streams and divisions)
- Multi-national (Jewish, Arab and other)
- Multi-ethnic (from all over the world including Israel)

The society to which this thesis refers is the Jewish Israeli society, hence the feminism described will focus on this aspect of society and the dialogue with the entire society that affects its functioning.

Jewish-Israeli society is traditionally divided into three main groups: Secular – religious; Ashkenazim or Sephardim⁹; and immigrant-veteran-emigrants - yordim¹⁰ who divide into other sub-groups. These groups mark points of tension and the foci of social power that ignore the gender aspect in their struggle for social positioning.

Early Israeli-Jewish feminism is rooted in Jewish tradition and religion – 'Jewish feminism'. It continues in the vision of a social-ideological-national-Zionist movement that flourished in the central Europe of the mid 19th century. Social processes were then linked to educational processes and shaped 'Zionist feminism', and later was transformed into 'Israeli feminism', that developed on the knees of the belief in the new egalitarian society. This assumption was found to be basically incorrect. Observation of Israeli feminism must refer to several key, dominant social institutions to be discussed later: Religion, the army, politics and the family.

Israeli society sees itself, and strives to be, an inseparable part of western culture, or more exactly, of the Anglo-Saxon, mainly American,¹¹ part of this culture (Feldman, 2002; Kamir, 2004b; Safran, 2001). This creates

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⁹ Ashkenazi Jews come from Poland, Russia, Germany and other European countries, who spoke Yiddish amongst themselves (a mixture of Hebrew and German). Sephardi Jews come from North Africa and Asia and some other European countries some of whom spoke Ladino.

¹⁰ Jew who come to Israel are called Olim, meaning 'coming up', so those who leave the country are Yordim, 'going down'. It is an expression that expresses a negative attitude to this step.

¹¹ Feminist research in Israel is divided as to whether Israeli feminism is similar to western feminism, or whether it has its own uniqueness. In any case, terms coined by Anglo-American feminism are customarily used to compare events that happened in Israel to those in America (Safran, 2001; Swirski, 1991). There are many reasons for the connection with the US, notably, the large Jewish community there, similar in number to the Jewish population of Israel, and the centrality is manifested in countless ways (money, diplomacy etc).
disparity that necessitates skills and operating a set of alternative tools to create a bridge to link the diverse poles and meanings, which is not always done correctly.

Israeli society defines itself through the value of 'respect', rather than that of 'equality' (Kamir, 2004a), indicative of a society with strong and deep traditional roots, a mixture of Eastern European-socialist culture and oriental culture.

To this should be added that Jewish society is one with a multi-dimensional minority culture. This means that community is an important value, deriving from the strong need for survival, preservation, and replicating manifested in less flexibility and openness to change. The connection between these two strong elements will construct a society striving for power at any price.

Israeli society is a developing society struggling for its identity alongside its existence, and is not available to answer the needs of diversity and individuation. It thereby ignores women as both a collective and as individuals. Their struggle for recognition and involvement is frequently rejected in the name of other, more important orders of priorities.

2.1.1 Jewish feminism

Jewish feminism is based on the Jewish religion, the first monotheistic religion, and, as such, contrasts with the common, pagan religions with their multiple gods and goddesses.

"The woman - the goddess in Mesopotamian culture, whence came the patriarch Abraham, the first Jew, defines the 'feminine' in the family, the culture, the cosmos and in the polis… Goddesses were the patrons of activity that characterize civilization: Clothing, eating wheat and drinking mead - all parallel to the female activity in the home… They were nevertheless also perceived as 'wise' women and were patrons of writing, medicine, and interpreting dreams" (Shifra, 2002: 66-67).

The Bible, the so called source of Jewish mythology, is an immortal cultural creation, the basis and essence of Judaism. Following the abolition of the goddess figures from pagan culture, Jewish mythology remained without a central, strong, and meaningful female figure (Kamir, 2004b). Involvement in their femininity or their attributes as representing some or other feminine characteristics was thus prevented, although scattered in the Bible are many stories that mention women. The one
absolutely dominant godly figure, with many arbiters, including those related to goddesses or to women in non-monotheistic and other religions, is described as male, and created the monotheistic religion as a patriarchal one.\(^{12}\) (Kamir, 2004b).

The female image "... appears on the stage only when it reaches marriageable age, and the length of her stay there is determined, generally, according to the impact of her status as mother on the status of her son..." (Pardess, 1996:61). Women are often mentioned briefly, sometimes but one verse, sometimes with no mention of their names – simply "The concubine in Gibeah" (Judges 19-21) - or only according to their lineage (the daughter of Jepthah) (Judges 11:29-40) or their role (Deborah the Prophetess) (Judges 4). The Jewish people or the Land are the archetypical female image in the Bible, appearing in two roles: As a wife, a lover and as a mother (Kamir, 2004b).

Eve was the first woman mentioned in the Bible and also the first woman on earth." Understanding the story of Eve... is the key to understanding woman in the very general and very basic perception..." (Steinsalz, 1983:9). Based on the biblical story she is the archetype of the female image in western culture. The story of the creation of Adam and the woman is presented in two significant versions.

1. The egalitarian version - Genesis 1:26-28 states, "So God created man in his [own] image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them".

The human being\(^{13}\) (Man) was created in the image of God, differentiating him from the animals and from which the term 'human dignity' is derived (Yeffet, 2002). Here the concept of absolute equality between man and woman is introduced, equality that does not deny the difference between them, that does not express preference or hierarchy (Yeffet, 2002). Moreover, real equality is expressed in the common goal: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Genesis 1: 28).

2. The hierarchic version - Chapter 2 presents a totally different story of the creation of man. This is the story that has become fixed in the

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\(^{12}\) A situation replicated in the Christian religion, that became dominant in the world defined as Western, and hence the most influential, and later, also in Islam. The three monotheistic religions created a situation in which most of humanity is under patriarchal religious influence that dictates the reality in which we live.

\(^{13}\) The tendency is to relate this word as defining a male and the use of the term 'him' adds to this mistake.
broad consciousness\textsuperscript{14} and apparently explains the power relationships between man and woman\textsuperscript{15}. "And the Lord God formed man [of] the dust of the ground (Genesis 2:7). "And the Lord God said, [It is] not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpmate for him" (Genesis 2:18). The most important points in this verse are:

i. Creation according to an order: First Adam, the man/the person, whose purpose was to work the land ("to dress it and to keep it.") (Genesis 2:15), then Eve/the woman was created, secondary. Her purpose was to fill the man's needs, so that he would not be alone and be a helpmate for him. This description does not express equality but a hierarchy and the woman's secondary position.

ii. Eve was created from one of Adam's ribs. She is part of Adam and this is her essence – she is connected to Adam and subservient to him (Yeffet, 2002). Chapter 3, the story of the primordial sin of the garden of Eden, quoted and interpreted so often, supports the position of the Eve/woman and her roles giving birth and motherhood in contrast to those of the Adam/Man: "And you shall be subservient to him" (Genesis 3:16).

There is no doubt that the Bible, as reflecting a social-cultural experience and as describing historical periods, sketches a patriarchal society, from the male perspective (Rutenberg, 2000), that was transcribed to other religions that grew later and was affixed by customs and laws.

The Diaspora was a turning point in Jewish society. It was more than the loss of territory. The absence of geographical area created extensive physical dispersal, and made the Jews a cross-culture and cross-border ethnic and religious minority. The Diaspora burned a \textit{Galut} (Diaspora) mentality into the Jewish collective memory, mainly shaking their confidence, making them feel like strangers in the world, without a legitimate home, feeling deserted to non-Jewish mercies. Their physical existence often faced real and organized extinction in pogroms, the Spanish and Portuguese expulsion and inquisition, religious coercion and the '\textit{Shoah}' (Holocaust).

\textsuperscript{14} Despite the repetition of the story of the creation in Genesis 1 in Genesis 5:1-2 the version generally accepted appears in Genesis 2.

\textsuperscript{15} This is not a unique case. A similar attempt to remove women from their power is found in other cultures (Aloni, 2002).
Women, during the many years in the Diaspora, were often the central axis preserving the tradition and religion, elements that protected Jews from oblivion (when they managed to survive as Marranos and during the Shoah). The attitude towards women was thus ambivalent. On the one hand, prohibitions and limitations were imposed on them (often under the influence of the environment in which they lived) and on the other hand, they held the home domain as a focus of power and control that sometimes also deviated from it to the economic domain (for example Dona Grazia). They managed to preserve the Jewish essence through the home but received no recognition for that. This may have aroused covert jealousy amongst the men who absorbed insults from outside society and from the internal society in which they had to admit that they did not manage to maintain their Jewishness. The opening-up of secular studies for girls afforded a lever for social change since they were exposed to liberal, universal concepts that breached the boundaries of closed Jewish society. Such exposure created another array of social dissonance to which entered Zionism.

Zionism found the traditional, national awareness in Judaism in a state of abstraction that distanced it and could not be realized (Greenberg, 1986). Since the status of the Bible, as a political and historical text that maintains a connection to the land of Israel, declined and made way for metaphysical yearnings.

Summarizing this chapter it can be seen that:
1. Women held a key role in the private domain = home [domain]
2. Their success was achieved through others = the husband, children and not due to themselves
3. Female identity resulted from fulfilling roles as a mother and wife
4. Their strength lay in being behind the scenes, in motivating processes rather than their actual implementation.

2.1.2 Zionist feminism

Zionism is Jewish nationalism. Most theoreticians who discuss nationalism ignored gender as a component that must be considered when researching the topic (Yuval-Davis, 1977). It is classified in the public domain, that is, the male

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16 Dona Grazia was the daughter of a family of Jewish conversos who lived in Lisbon, Portugal. As a young widow she joined her late husband’s family banking business, worked to help the conversos and contributed to those expelled from Spain and Portugal who wanted to immigrate to the Holy Land. She began to work to renew building in Tiberias and managed to obtain a franchise to this end from the Turkish Sultan. Some say that Dona Grazia was the most famous and important woman in Jewish history of the Middle Ages.
domain, while women were classified into the private domain – the family. Women, apparently, did not enter the national arena despite being there constantly.

Two main components are to be found in the definition of the concept of nationalism:
1. Common origin as a key element in defining belonging. The origin belongs to the distinctly female domain – that of giving birth. Women's ability to become pregnant and give birth places her in a key role from the national perspective, as 'continuing the generation'; preserving the purity of the national origin and of course, as a means of national survival and non-extinction. This of greater importance in Judaism for the very fact that nationalism overlaps with religion and purity of origin is of double impact since belonging to the Jewish people is determined by the mother's religion. Women, as the tool of birthing, converts them into a resource for which men fight and which they control. This is the situation that separates the attitude towards women as human beings from that of her being an object or a tool for achieving an objective.

2. Physical territory, termed 'homeland' (Sagiv, 1998). In the broad sense means not only the place where a person is born but the cradle of the birth of a nation. The concept of 'homeland' expresses a feeling of rootedness, a feeling of commitment to the land that is perceived as an entity that feeds and nurtures, hence an element of the connection of man to the land17 as it appears in the Bible – man is created from the earth and to it he will return. The creation of mankind from earth is parallel to the woman's ability to give birth, again creating the parallel to women = earth, with an emphasis on the connection of woman as an object to the national issue. The Bible entails reference to the land or to the Land of Israel as to a woman and to a wife as to God, to a man. Conquering territory= conquering a woman

Zionism was "a basically revolutionary perception – a revolt against the tradition of hundreds of years.." Ben Gurion, 1962:12) in its approach to two key elements:

17 In Hebrew the two words share the same root letters.
1. In its approach to territory, it relies on the mythical-autochthonous (Bar Navi, 1984) seeing man and the people to whom he belongs in his natural environment. Native origins defining nationalism and affording legitimacy to particular land. The supra-plot of Zionism was the redemption of the land = the woman by the man = the 'New Jew', back to the area where the Jewish nation was born and from where it was exiled. The myth, therefore, is basically male (Shaked, 1993:15).

The Bible rejects this myth (Greenberg, 1986) as well as the broader scenario of the world that it manifests since the Jewish people are not amongst the early settlers of this land. They originate from Abraham of Ur Kassdim, the nation's founder (Genesis 12:1). The Bible also attributes the birth of the nation to a man, to Abraham, noting that "Thy seed shall be as plentiful as the sand of the sea (Genesis 22:17).

2. In the main objective it set itself - change in image: The Jews, and mainly Jewish men, were considered 'female' since they were attributed with characteristics considered feminine in European, Christian and Muslim culture as early as the Middle Ages. This line of thought intensified in the 19th century when it enjoyed 'scientific' rationalism (Ben Yehuda, 1981). Zionism coined the concept of a 'New Jew' that did not include the separate concept of a 'new Jewess' (Shapira, 1997), due to the generalized patriarchal view of the world.

In the dichotomous view characterizing the patriarchal perception Zionism tried to create absolute contradiction to the past. An extreme transition to the end of the scale from weakness to power, from a religious to a secular society, change in the style of dress and mainly in occupation.

The desire to escape from the negative female representations enjoyed by Jewish society, including Jewish men, through western culture led to reflecting the negative images onto the women (Elboim-Dror, 2001; Kamir, 2004b).

In contrast, the atmosphere of drastic change and constructing a new society created expectations amongst the women who saw themselves partners to the vision. In the absence of female images with which to

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18 Autochthonous are mythical creatures whose upper body is human and lower body is snakelike. This is a historical myth intended to base legitimacy. Western culture is based on two apparently contradictory concepts regarding nationalism (Bar Navi, 1984): The mythical autochthonous link and the rational-technological connection.
identify during the Zionist period, as in the biblical period (Feldman, 2002) women adopted 'masculine' behavior.

"... (In many cases), the personality of a 30-40 year old woman becomes blurred since she does not dare to be a woman, to derive and to raise all the positive characteristics from her adult femininity...for us, the word 'woman' is almost improper, heading the list of expressions varying from 'Jew', and 'Yente' and so on, that not a few people see as a distinct expression of their superiority and revolutionarism... The ideal (of a youth movement) was the 'masculine' girl, in her behavior somewhat mimicking the male and wanted to be like him...society has not yet managed to find the golden path that leads from the ideal of a hearty girl of the Shomer Hazair youth movement to the adult woman who adds strength to their spiritual assets"

(Goldman 1947: 85)

This situation placed women in a conflict of identities. The desire to establish a new society on the one hand means national belonging, and created amongst women the urge to forgo their separate gender identity on the other hand. Nationalism contradicted individualism

Zionism returned to the existing models of gendered roles notwithstanding its desire to introduce change. Despite the secular mood, Zionism based itself on the biblical approach. "The masculinization of the Jewish people and the feminization of Eretz Israel..." (Kamir, 2004a:170). This situation led to "...Copying the femininity from the Jewish women...They were excluded from the feminine role of the Zionism myth and did not enjoy an alternative female position, since Zionism...did not invest energy...in constructing a new Jewish femininity...hence their rejection intensified to beyond any positive female and significant identity...hence their invitation to participate...as 'second class males' in quiet auxiliary roles, far from the limelight..."

(Kamir, 2004a: 170)

Zionism, as in the Bible, considers women in two key roles: As a wife and as a mother and housewife (Shifman, 2001).

However, Zionism was frequently most positive as regards women. "From many perspectives, the Zionist Workers' Movement altered the gender relations customary in the community and in the traditional Jewish family for hundreds of years" (Almog, 2000: 20). Young women
immigrated to Eretz Israel alone; some performed physical agricultural work.

Zionism afforded women:
1. Education and learning
2. The start of a profession that enabled them to work outside the home: A common belief regarding the starting point of Zionist feminism (Almog, 2000) concerns the professional struggle of the kindergarten teachers for recognition (Sitton, 1998-9). They were the first women to breach the barricades of the traditional division into areas and roles, despite this being replicated from the home role to an area outside of it.
3. Women are partner to the foci of decision-making: They were entitled to vote and be elected, participate as delegates to Jewish congresses, establish forums and women's organizations
4. Establishing community services by women to help women such as day care centers and well-baby centers (Almog, 2004; Rozin, 2000).
5. Entry of women to the diverse arms of the defense forces.

Zionism with its diverse streams offered a moment of opportunity for the rebuilding the Jewish social fabric for the benefit of building an egalitarian and not patriarchal society that has been missed (Miron, 1992) However the development of society included the array of social blocks (Kamir, 2002) that have controlled society since then. They may be found till today and have led to a situation in which the State of Israel is ranked only in 37th place in global equality19.

The patriarchal roots, embedded in the general awareness and perception, became more useful in creating a new patriarchy, not only a religious-traditional patriarchy, but one that entailed national-military elements. Confusion in concepts resulted in the new society between "equality between men and women" in the liberal mood, an approach that was assimilated by feminist thought common at that period, and "equality in the right to participate" according to the ability or stereotypical gender role determined by society (Kamir, 2004a).

The concept of liberal equality enjoys four perspectives:
1. Political equality – women's right to vote and be elected;
2. Economic and personal equality – liberating women from economic dependency of their husbands;

19 The OECD World Economic Forum in Davos, ranked for the first time the level of equality between men and women, based on five indices: Salary, approach to work, female representation in political organizations, female access to education and health (Lady Globes 2005:16).
3. Employment equality – the right to choose a profession as she wishes and to progress according to their talents;

It is fair to claim that only the first point has been fully achieved. Furthermore, the very achievement of this right did not alter the status of women in any meaningful and comprehensive manner.

Zionism admittedly opened up possibilities for women although these were specific changes and did not leave their mark on significant change in the perception of the 'woman' amongst men or amongst women themselves.

To summarize the above,
1. Women play a key role in the private home arena, with the home area expanding to the national homeland.
2. Their success is achieved through others, the "collective male" which includes women as 'second class men' (Kamir, 2004a), and through the success of national values.
3. Women's female identity is comprised of fulfilling the role of national wife and mother, and as a 'second-class male'.
4. Their strength lies in being behind the scenes and in fulfilling all the roles she was allowed to fulfill, without any complaints.

2.1.3 Israeli feminism

The State of Israel was established in 1948, although society and her values were shaped in complex processes over a period of more than 60 years. The formal declaration of the State did not sever the connection to the existing processes; it only afforded them greater validity through laws and governmental sovereignty. Israeli feminism can be divided into three main periods:

1. The period of consensus (1948-1970)
   As in the period of Zionism, the need and desire of women to belong and to be accepted by society was strong and founded on the deep traditional perception of Jewish society – the sacred value of solidarity. This value continued to be dominant in view of the security situation, the condition of the Jews in the Diaspora and the waves of immigration beside the development of society and the new State.
Women internalized the myth of equality that was declared formally, and even written into, the Declaration of Independence. The 1951 Equal Rights of Women Law was another attempt to give public and legal expression regarding equality, and amongst other things gender equality, as an Israeli social value.


The turning point occurred in the early 70s when echoes of American feminism reached Israel with the immigration of Jewish American women who brought with them reading material in English that was later translated into Hebrew (Safran, 2006). Women who had experienced other types of socialization that were mirrored by Israeli women, and created several new viewpoints that encouraged the search for new definitions of the term 'an Israeli woman'. The encounter created several processes:

A. The search for, and locating, female roots to link up to female history of their predecessors, the pioneers. The search led to two conclusions:

a. Women's problems are identical in all periods and their struggles focus around the same issues without much progress.

b. Their female identity or its redefinition is not realized; women were left in an inferior position to men alongside whom they worked and built.

These conclusions resulted in fracturing of the myth of equality that was common in Israeli society. It was a myth that managed even to deceive all of Israeli society – men and women - as well as the outside society. This process created several conflicts that have not been solved till now:

- The ambition to breach gender barriers in all domains and mainly those considered important from the social perspective such as politics, economics and mainly the military. Women faced a dilemma regarding the army: Whether to oppose the very existence of the army and propose an alternative to such service or to achieve change in the existing framework and demand equalizing the conditions of service for women to those of men with respect to the social, value, civilian perspectives and so on.

- Recognition by Israeli society – amongst other things, by avoiding expressing a clear opinion against war, the conquest of Arab lands and relationships with the Palestinians and Arab population. This is a remnant from

20See Appendix.A item 2
the consensus period, in which the value of national belonging was more important than all other values. Internalization creates a serious feeling of ambivalence. In the name of this value, women waived their place amongst the national-security decision-makers. This contradicted their ambition to break the gender barriers, prevented their equal integration in civilian society and demanded a heavy personal price.


"I think that was logical...for if one wants to start to establish a feminist movement...one cannot add ideas that are likely to be contrary to it...our attitude towards the Palestinians is political and feminism cannot be political in this context. It was strange to try to develop a feminist ideology that would not be political, when feminism, itself is only politics and deals with power relationships..."

- Conformity to the security-national mood did not alter their positioning and acceptance by society. Only by returning to their traditional place as care-givers and assistants did feminists finally find understanding and agreement, writes Safran in her doctorate thesis (2001) in her description of the way in which feminists managed to be accepted by society, establishing shelters for battered women and other care institutions. However, their remaining in the realm of 'poverty' was not the objective for which they strove.

B. The definition of the character and the movement in the context of global feminist movements: Beyond the value-discussion that relies on the national value regarding the uniqueness of Israeli feminism versus American feminism, for example, insights were created regarding the universal discrimination against women on the one hand, versus the need for local consideration of the phenomenon on the other. Such observation prepared the ground for the third stage.

3. Developing identity (since 1990)

Till the mid 1990s (Dahan-Caleb, 2000) the main part of the feminist discussion in Israel related to women who were characterized by being Jewish, Ashkenazi, Zionist, without referring to other sub-
groups that comprise Israeli society (Mizrachi\textsuperscript{21} women, religious women, Arab women and so on).

Feminist activity was concentrated in the hands of women's organizations (such as Na'amat\textsuperscript{22}) that developed from the male Zionist establishment or from the external Jewish philanthropic establishment (such as WIZO\textsuperscript{23} and Hadassah\textsuperscript{24}). In neither case was there particular cooperation between the organizations or between them and the other feminist groups that developed. The power struggles and the ideological disagreements, as well as the battle against the male establishment and the difficulties of survival created local scattered activity, with personal inclinations, tension and rivalry. This fact was well exploited by the formal establishment (Hertzog, 1994; Safran, 2006).

Contact with external, global but mainly western feminism, the changes in the consumer habits, the culture, the economy and exposure to post-modern streams, facilitated the entry of new and additional nuances adapted to the various sectors. The processes that began earlier could develop into more mature ideas that lead to deeds from adopting a basically open and pluralist attitude.

Summarizing this part we can say that:

1. Even in the period following the establishment of the State of Israel women's key roles remained in the private-home domain, to which were added the public domain outside of the home with certain limitations: Salaried employment, limited participation in politics, and military service in particular roles.

2. Their success is achieved through the husband, the children and the ability to function simultaneously at two levels – the home and the public level – while maintaining a balance between them and not neglecting the home realm at the expense of the outside world;

\textsuperscript{21}Mizrachi is the popular name of Jews that came from North African countries, identified with the Sephardic stream described before. The meaning of the name is 'East', seen as the 'others' of those who came from the 'west'.

\textsuperscript{22} Na'amat, Hebrew acronym for "Movement of Working Women and Volunteers," is an organization and a movement striving to enhance the quality of life for women, children and families in Israel. It was founded in 1921 by the women who came to Israel in the Second Aliya (1904-1914) expecting equality. It was known at that time as Moetzet Hapoalot (the Working Women's Council), the first feminist movement in Palestine)

\textsuperscript{23} The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) was founded in Great Britain in 1920, with the goal of serving the needs of women and children in the Land of Israel.

\textsuperscript{24} Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization founded in 1912 in America, is a volunteer women's organization, whose members are motivated and inspired to strengthen their partnership with Israel, ensure Jewish continuity, and realize their potential as a dynamic force in American society.
3. Their female identity is composed of filling her roles as a wife and mother in addition to the other areas and roles;
4. Their strength lies in being behind the scenes from choice, despite her success in balancing roles, despite her entry to formal familiar foci of power and despite her ability to successful and perform impressively.
5. The 'double game' demanded of women and the increasing discomfort with this situation must be identified.

Israeli feminism today divides into three foci:
1. The legislative focus – run by women's organizations but mainly by male and female members of the Israeli Knesset. Legislation that relates to the changes in attitudes towards women is amongst the most advanced in the world and encompasses a broad range of topics and secondary topics. The aim is to build infrastructures and foundations for change through laws. The Achilles heel of this focus is on the implementation side.
2. The research focus: Operated by the academe and focusing on research of the topic. This is an important theme that is not yet sufficiently developed and does not enable leveraging the knowledge accumulated in research to apply it in the field.
3. The two-pronged activist focus:
   a. The establishment branch – a combination of such a statutory government element as the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women\textsuperscript{25} in Prime Ministers' office together with the Department for the Status of Women in the Civil Service who is responsible for activating special employees who are in charge of the status of women in the government ministries; a municipal element which is statutory too comprises advisors on the status of women in local authorities (as this writer) and women responsible for the Law against sexual harassment at places of work. Those roles influenced other non-statutory establishment positions like the advisor to the Israel Union of Local Authorities and the advisor to the Chief of Staff on feminine issues in the army, in the academe and so on.
   b. The non-establishment branch – The formal facet: Women's organizations on behalf of women and feminist women's groups and informal facet: with diverse women's groups and activities. through initiated or voluntary organizations. Most activities of this sort are concentrated around informal tools and means, on which focuses the main part of this study.

\textsuperscript{25} Hereinafter, the Authority
This researcher would like to focus more on several concepts aroused by feminism, that, she believes, afford the foci when introducing change through empowerment courses, to be presented later. These concepts will be described through a general portrayal and presentation of their manifestations in Israeli society.

2.2 **Identity, feminine gender identity**

The concept of identity is one of the issues at the hub of this thesis. The magic circle existing between the definitions of the social expectations of men and women, and their internalization, fashions behavior compatible with expectations and enables preserving the self-feeding situation. The existence of this closed system leads to assuming there is no other reality bar the existing one. Support of this one and only reality, through a mechanism of social supervision, a value system and varied explanatory tools throughout the ears, fabricates an almost impenetrable system.

There are two basic types of identity: Personal identity and group identity – each individual in society belongs (willingly or unwillingly) to a group:

a. Reference group: A distinct, differentiated group in which the individual actually lives;
b. Identification group – a group to which the individual feels close or identifies.

Every person belongs to several reference and identification groups simultaneously. When the reference group and identification group do not overlap, there are likely to be a conflict situation. One of the basic attributes in the division into groups is the division into minority and majority groups, dependent on the power array between them and not on the numbers of people.

The identity on which this thesis focuses is the female gender identity group as a personal and collective identity in general. At the concrete level, it will deal specifically with Jewish-Israeli women in Israel.

Identity represents the intersection between the individual (woman) and society (Jewish-Israeli woman). It aims to preserve the integration and continuity of the personal experience; it provides the infrastructure for the individual to live her life within her own environment. Identity is both the process and the product (Josselson, 1994). From the moment it has been developed there is the way to maturity.
The concept of identity is perceived as a permanent element, independent of time and place. However, the post-modern approach adopted Erikson's approach (1968) and sees it as an element that repeatedly reforms itself (Sasson-Levi, 2001).

Developing identity is a process starting sometimes far from the moment of realization of it and its intensity. It varies from one person to the next, even if both have similar identity according to the dictionary definition. Group identity influences personal identity.

Erikson (1968) posits that the adolescent stage is that in which identity is shaped. In the learning process (moratorium) in which one can explore and learn what can be suitable personally and socially. This process embraces several foci that structure gender identity – the family focus, the religious-cultural focus, the school focus and, in Israeli society, the military focus.

This differentiation between the genders occurs as early as the age of 3-5 (Lamdan, 1997). Marcia (1967) distinguishes between two types of identity-achievers – those needing a period of search and discovery and those who do not need this, but receive their identity from agreement and adaptation - mostly women (Josselson, 1994).

Erikson (1968) agrees with the assumption that the developmental continuum of women is different from that of men. The identity stage precedes the intimacy stage of male development, while amongst women, the two stages merge: Women recognize themselves through connections with others.

Female gender identity as a group is less known and understood. The subject was not studied for many years and most theories were developed on male research conducted on men.

"Understanding the female development…(which) is a far more complex task than that of understanding the male development. The female development is quieter, more elusive. And since the finishing point of the female development is not sharp, it is harder to identify distinct landmarks along the path…the development of identity occurs at the deeper and less real level."

(Josselson, Greenberg and McConochie, 1977:162, 164)

Approaches common in regarding women are:
1. The woman as the 'other' - a concept first identified by Simone de Beauvoir. Male development in western society is perceived as a 'norm' of human development, while women and the others become 'abnormal' (Weisstein, 1971). The psychological establishment still affords legitimacy to the developmental theories that are compatible with the male model and ignore another model that characterizes the women. The feminist gender theory questioned the reference to 'man' as to a 'whole' person, and the historical identity of each subject with masculinity claiming that this is not the truth, and that there is another entity – the female. This 'being different', as demanded by the feminist streams, necessitates a new definition of 'self'. It created the real fear and threat that men felt and lead to the intentional marginalization of women (Feldman, 2002). Women are essentially different from men (Gilligan, 1982), and their difference is not from the perspective of the opposing and 'absent' image (a concept coined by Freud (1925) regarding 'penis envy'). They are a 'whole' unto themselves; only a 'whole', different from that of a 'male'.

2. The female gender identity is enveloped in mystery. Underlying the female identity is the myth of the gender identity that appears in the creation of Adam, as an identity of an equal part of the whole at the mutual level (Genesis 1) that becomes a one-sided identity of one small part of the whole in Genesis 2 (Feldman, 2002). The story of creation in Genesis 2 became the story best remembered through massive brainwashing in most cultures. The Bible is full of mythological stories about women, their behavior, activities, abilities, deeds and so on.

3. The female gender identity is based on Utopia. Gender identities are a series of praxes that repeatedly imitate the ideal, imaginary gender identity that cannot be realized (Butler, 1990), conveyed from one generation to the next through covert and overt means. It is not only a copy of existing entities but allows room for negotiations, innovation and change.

4. Female gender identity is the result of social structuring. Psychological theories based on Freud's and on previous theories, were perceived as scientific proof for the fact that autonomy determines psychological fate (Fisher and Greenberg, 1996; Shields, 1975). However, it transpires ever more today that female gender identity is not inborn or conditioned (earlier existing identity), but

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26 In most of the lectures given by this researcher the answer to the question of how women were created is, "Obviously from Adam's rib".
27 Points 3 and 4 are also suitable to the male gender.
28 On this basis the empowerment courses are intended to generate a new dialogue and to construct an empowered female gender identity.
the result of social structuring (Ankar, 1997), that is shaped and changes in interaction with the state, discourse and the social institutions in which the individual operates (Hall, 1996). "One is not born a woman – one becomes a woman (or man) (On ne fait pas femme; on le deviant: De Beauvoir, 1949) is understood ever better.

Female gender identity was created at two levels – the first is 'knowledge, the second is the social internalization, 'conformist awareness'.

Through this awareness, women internalize behavioral norms of a minority group, defined as a weak and inferior group, without many rights, if at all. In contrast, the majority group, defined as a group with power, influence and control. Women behave as a minority with regard to the male majority, although are not a numerical minority statistically or quantitatively. The minority group finds it hard to realize a positive social identity, which contradicts the individual's tendency towards the situation itself, so that it attains positive social attitudes (Tajfel, 1978).

Gilligan (1982) believes men and women differ in the ways they cope and the tools they develop. Men seek a logical rational solution and define inter-personal relationships in hierarchical terms – scales – in contrast to which women developed alternative methods of coping based on their self-image as marginal. They see a problem as an interpersonal crisis. They talk in terms of a network and interpersonal relationships. This emphasizes two world perceptions:
1. The competitive world, that necessitates rules and hierarchical principles, while coping and handling the conflicts that developed – a male approach;
2. The world is composed of a network of interconnected people and events, thus cooperation to handle the conflicts and to cope is necessary – the female approach.

Factors that affect the development of personal and/or group identity include:
- The image of a person, male or female. The most convenient way to acquire an identity is through contact with a meaningful figure, wherein family members, such as a mother or father, are most significant and primary. "My first steps in the research of these developments had a personal angle; they were accompanied by endless arguments with my late mother…" (Feldman, 2002:10)  

29 According to the researcher's interpretation
Three models of influence may be cited in this category (Bandura, 1965; Bandura and Walters, 1963):

1. The impact of the personal example – acquiring behavioral models based on imitation;
2. Inhibiting or releasing influence – the result of the models of behavior as a basis for imitation or avoidance;
3. Arousing impact: The behavior of the model affords a stimulus that enables releasing similar behavior (Shapira, 1997).

The gender of the observer and of the model influence behavioral imitation (Bandura, 1962; Wolff, 1973; Ben Nae, 2002).

Women have few female figures with whom to identify from the diverse walks of life, apart from close female figures – mothers and female family members, neighbors and friends - who acquired their identity in a similar fashion and thus replicate the stereotypical, narrow female gender identity that was the lot of generations.

Female identity figures encountered by girls-women in other frameworks include:

1. Stereotypical female figures – through fairy stories and myths, stories, films and advertising in which women appear to have certain characteristics as an ideal. (The princess waiting for the prince to awake her from her sleep, playing the passive woman; Madame Bovary as the archetype of the person who dared to express femininity and sexuality, damaging the institution of marriage and therefore forced to commit suicide and so on).
2. 'Selected' female characters: Women chosen by the establishment and who serve as a symbol for all women – women represented as 'successful' in their times, or in their professions. In reality there are not many like them and furthermore the description does not include the entire picture, and their path to success. Close inspection shows that the women chosen, usually, are those who were conformists and therefore did not endanger the consensus.
3. 'Existing' women who do not exist: Partial and alluded mention of the existence of women by their first name only or with their family association, linking them to the reference factor that announces the lack of independent existence. Their mere mention is blurred or alluded to, and sometimes totally non-existent. This is particularly noticeable in the historical domain, as well as in other domains in which women functioned but are not mentioned and are not remembered sufficiently.
4. **The absolute absence**: The use of pictures or words in advertisements with all-male figures or names announces that women do not exist in this sphere and that is also not their place. (Reference here is mainly to economic, senior administration, hi-tech and other such frameworks.)

5. **Linking female attributes to behavioral phenomena, concepts and opinions or to geographical areas**: This, in fact, symbolizes removing women from the real-physical existence and turning them into a set of symbols with a usually negative connotation. (Being scared = being a woman; showing emotion = feminine behavior; describing girls as 'softy' soldiers, etc.)

6. **Comparing femininity with negative values**: Inventing or ascribing stories, behaviors, sayings, that are defined as negative and socially unsuitable for women, and thus converting them to characters that should be rejected or refuse to be like them (such as a saying attributed to Marie Antoinette, "If there is no bread let them eat cake". ...).<sup>30</sup>

- A document is another factor influencing developing personal and/or group identity, that leaves a strong impression or links up well to the reader's feelings, such as "the random display of the diary of Virginia Wolfe" (Feldman 2002:9)<sup>31</sup>. Reality finds a shortage of documentation on women; the existing documents are also tendentious and present female figures and female behavior as serving a patriarchal objective. Most of the documents were written by men. The fact that women were illiterate in most societies created a shortage of female writing by women. The fact that women were involved in work that left them no free time created a lack of emotional availability together with a shortage of physical time leaving no time for writing or for documented expression. Female creativity relied on the main means of conveyance being oral or developing secret languages understood only by women belonging to the same group or status. This method is likely to be eradicated and become extinct, although cases of preserving the oral heritage, only now being written down, are known.

The documents written by women are typically:

1. **Personal** – diaries and letters that are by their nature hidden from the public eye;

2. **Describe a relatively narrow world of topics and experiences**, that include home life and emotions

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<sup>30</sup> This quotation is mentioned by different people who also attribute it to diverse sources even prior to Marie Antoinette's time (Ben-Natan 2008).

<sup>31</sup> According to the researcher's interpretation
An event or occurrence is the final factor that influences the development of identity. "It may have started in the late 70s ... a group of students of the Hebrew language asked excitedly what I think of..." (Feldman, 2002:9). In the absence of extensive documentation about women and their work or involvement, events are also channeled to describing a given situation from the patriarchal perspective. Women who attended an important or significant event rarely documented it, thus the events remained personal rather than collective, and the extent of their influence was small, concentrating on each person individually. The lack of documentation, the illiteracy and the rare reference to women within certain contexts created a situation of apparent isolation and not seeing the universalism of some of the phenomena.

At different times, and following a variety of events, gender identity, like every identity, shifts from the stage of 'conformist awareness' to that of 'insightful awareness'

Insightful awareness is an advanced stage in acquiring identity. It is not immediate but entails a retrospective perspective. "I frequently thought back to that moment – the primordial sin – of my feminist journey. After all, several years later I discovered that in the Israeli stories of the early 80s reflect my same personal denial." (Feldman, 2002:9). Awareness necessitates a certain element of maturity in order to appear and develop. It needs awareness, clear knowledge, understanding and deep recognition. (Shveika, 1997) When awareness appears, an interesting phenomenon occurs of incredulity when using hindsight: "How come I didn't know, make the connection...Since I was..." as one of the women activists said.

One of the main barriers to the development of awareness or to affording legitimacy to its existence lies in the social structuring and in its deep internalization

2.2.1 Jewish-Israeli female identity

Jewish female gender identity is based on several main causes underlying female inferiority to males:

a. The biblical and Talmudic heritage upon which the Jewish religion is founded: The description of the creation of women as secondary to

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32 According to the researcher's interpretation
33 According to the researcher's interpretation
the creation of man; defining her as easy to tempt and simple-minded because of her curiosity and disobedience as is written in the sin of the Garden of Eden and hence the conclusion that man must be responsible for her. One of the examples reflected in our life even today is marriage, perceived as an economic contract (Grossman, 2001) in which women are economically dependent on men, including for divorce.

b. Nationalism: Jewish society lived in the Diaspora. The reality in Christian and Muslim society in which Jews lived and functioned, was full of prejudices including attributing demonic characteristics and magic to women; faith myths and beliefs from diverse pagan cultures and ignorance.

The economic status of Jews as well as their different culture created a barrier between them and the entire society. Marriage was not allowed between Jews and others.

In this world was created the Zionist revolution, one of the basic collective identities to which each individual belongs is the national identity. National identity, like gender identity, is the result of social coercion, an identity that is dependent on circumstances and social pressure.

"...We were not suffragettes. I have already said that thousands of times and I will say it another thousand times. But the Palmach really were: The Palmach were declared suffragettes. Amongst other things, the Palmach inscribed 'gender equality' on their flag and we were the girls who had to realize this principle. So we accepted this role ..."

(Ben Yehuda, 1981:296)

National identity is likely to contradict gender identity and create conflict, solved by waiving one of the identities at the expense of the other. "As I learned later, this change was one of the results of the shock of the Yom Kippur war that aroused in Israeli women…bitter awareness of their marginal status in a society under siege (Feldman, 2002:10).

Israeli women frequently became the representatives of the collective entity, while ignoring the personal entity. The collective honor is male honor; the more belonging to a group improves the self-image, individuals will tend to remain in the group, but if the group fails to fulfill this demand (Tajfel, 1978) the individual will
take steps to alter the situation. Women strongly internalize their national belonging despite the harm to their collective female gender identity.

c. The army
One of the significant changes that Jewish society introduced as part of the Zionist revolution was the establishment of an armed organization. The contribution to the national objective was mainly measured in the ability to fight, to protect property, people and land or in hard agricultural labor, and the struggle for economic survival that lead to physical existence and ownership. Both domains traditionally are not areas in which women are (or allowed to be) involved.

Thus women became, the 'other' – the person whose attributes are rejected by the new Hebrew hero who adopted a behavioral change - participation in the fighting force or inclusion in agricultural work, and also because these are not women's work by common definition.

Even after the establishment of the State of Israel, the army held a central role in founding national and gender identities. It was perceived as a male organization, relying on dichotomous definitions of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' (Enloe, 1988). These differentiations are preserved by the organizational structure of the army, which is a gender, overt, formal and declared institution (Izraeli, 1997 b).

1. The army entails elements of a totalitarian institution that affects its members' identities (Goffman, 1961).
2. Military service is still considered a "normative event" performed by most young Israeli men and women. The public debate in Israel assumes a normative connection between military service, as an expression of civil commitment of the individual, and the equal and full participation in the civil establishment (Helman, 1993).  
3. The impact of the military is not limited to its borders, but is an integral part of the Israeli culture (Maisles, 1993). Its symbolic prestige and centrality afford it great power and strength for the identities that develop in it.
4. Military practices that develop gender identities present a differential and hierarchical approach, and thus present an unequal message,

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35 In an interview with Captain Chao Lee, born in Vietnam, on Rivka Michaeli's, channel 2 morning radio program on 1.8.2002, she mentioned her need to serve in the Israeli army in order to feel belonging to the State and to society in which she wished to live. (She came as an 8 year old child in the 70s, on a boat of refugees who got permission to stay.)
according to which women, as women, do not have an equal position. Military practice also shapes differential meaning in civil life (Sasson Levi, 2001).

5. Female soldiers who participate in 'male' roles and account for a minority of the female soldiers serving in the army, are to be found on the seam between 'fighters' = men and 'female' soldiers who adopt three identity practices
   - Male behavior patterns
   - Aloofness from traditional femininity
   - Trivialize sexual harassment (Sasson Levi, 2001)

The army in Israel was awarded other roles such as education, immigrant absorption, creating opportunities for social mobility, preventing delinquency and so on, roles that are not necessarily military. Social changes that began in the army are likely to seep into civilian life and influence sweeping changes in Israeli society as well. Thus the army affords a possible additional focus for leading change in attitudes towards women.36

Within the many images of female gender identity two roles have shifted in most societies and in Jewish-Israeli too to those of 'motherhood' and that of 'wife'.

### 2.2.2 The role of motherhood and the role of the wife

Much research-documentary and creative material exists in these contexts. This researcher is not interested in dealing with these roles in depth since the focus of her thesis is not them alone but their impact on the necessary ways of change. The researcher has chosen to mention them specifically because of their great influence in the development of female identity and the self-personal and collective self-perception, especially in Jewish society that influenced Israeli society. The roles of 'mother and wife' belong to the home and family arena, where the woman is positioned. The family, as a complete unit or as two repeated components manifested in feminine discourse, has been has encountered by this researcher not only in the professional literature she has read but also in her personal experiences as a woman and mother, and of course,

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36. Many changes have occurred in the IDF in recent years such as opening most (95%) of the roles to women, adaptation of roles to gender and so on. However there are still many difficulties. The recruitment of Yeshiva students is problematic due to a conflict of interests between their civil duty—joining the army and their (sometimes extreme) religious tenets – serving with women with whom they are averse to being in close proximity.
in the discourse with the many women she has met in her work and activities.

2.2.2.1 Motherhood in general and Jewish- Israeli motherhood in particular

The ability to give birth entails an entire role – that of motherhood - that has become one identifying women and even replacing female identity since women = mother, even if in reality they are not mothers. Seeing the Bible as a sort of cultural-value base of monotheistic religious, large parts of the attitude to women- mothers can be found there starting with the story of Adam and Eve that accompanies us and western culture till today. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (work) (Genesis 3:19) of men and of women, "In pain shalt thou bring forth children" (Genesis 3: 16) (give birth). The importance of the female–motherly role, giving birth, is a thread that runs through all the biblical stories of barrenness, that characterize two of the biblical mothers; Sarah and Rachel stress the importance of giving birth without which women do not fulfill their role and position her at an inferior status in the family hierarchy. Female barrenness is still considered a cause for justified divorce according to Jewish religious law.

Giving birth is a sacred commandment. "Be fruitful and multiply" affords a conceptual infrastructure for giving birth. The concept of having many children stemmed from God's promise to Abraham to make him as fruitful as "The sand which is upon the sea-shore" (Genesis 22:17) so that the Jewish people "…would become a great nation…"(Genesis 46:4) The scale of values of Jewish society, with the full agreement of women (Grossman, 2001) relate supreme value to having children and fortifying the Jewish family, an attitude that penetrated Jewish-Israeli society too.

Marriage is connected to the commandment to be fruitful and multiply, to which end one is expected to marry. Only in this framework can one have children (Yalom, 2001/2005). The institution of marriage in Judaism is a central and sacred value; marriage is both a commandment and a commitment, but the Jewish religion views married women as the property of the husband and not an independent equal entity (Grossman, 2001).

37 The issues of barrenness and motherhood are mentioned in many chapters of the Bible.
Zionism developed the concept of "Family-Religion" (Bial, 1994) on the basis of the concept of the "Jewish mother", that became a synonym for sacrifice and concern, for warmth and love, endless devotion, her whole life revolving around her children and only for whom she sometimes lives and exists (Alvarez, 1972). Women with a name and curriculum vitae are replaced by a vague female image of a mother. On this basis, the role of the 'Zionist mother' developed as a pivotal value in Zionism

Motherhood entails several aspects:
1. Continuing the human race or motherhood as a resource: As Napoleon and many men before and after him (Barun McBride, 1978) saw the ability to give birth as a means of replicating themselves, their power, or resources that they posses – labor force, security force and survival hence the power to influence and control, and known, caustically as "a baby-making machine". This attitude is manifested by the idea that Israeli women are supposed to give birth – the more the better. According to the Israeli agenda, they should have at least four children. The State encourages giving birth through brainwashing alongside financial benefits. Statistics show that western women have approximately one child per family while Jewish–Israeli families have three children on average (Kaddari-Halperin and Karo, 2005).

2. Educational and social value – In his book 'Emil' Rousseau (1897) describes the male and the female ideal that will be achieved through education, in other words, education constructs the gender role. Young girls must learn art, literature, poetry, handicrafts and home economics. This will develop sensitivity and aesthetics that will help her to be a good wife and mother. The concept of 'mother' becomes a lofty and holy/sacrosanct concept, so that it makes demands from the perspective of expectations and behaviors, but does not afford independence and realizing the rights of women-mothers. Vis-à-vis this sacrosanct perception are real women who have been forgotten on the way.

Jewish-Israeli motherhood is perceived as both a right and an obligation, as the uninterrupted continuation of the role fulfilled by women for decades, assuring the education and the transmission of social values to the next generation. "Motherhood is the pivotal

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38. The approach that sees giving birth as a tool against extinction is now also adopted by the Palestinians. It is mentioned repeatedly as long as countries are in conflict.

39. As David Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister said, "Women's special role, the role of motherhood, there is no greater role in life."

40. The maternity grant, reduced taxation for mothers (the more children, the greater the sum), child allowances for each child - here too the sum increased with the number of children, although recently was changed and reduced
obligation and privilege of Jewish women. It makes them heroes and provides the entry ticket to the Israeli collective..." (Berkovitz, 2001:206,7). The national and civil entrance ticket they had to pay was coping with the death, mainly of their sons, a repeated type of the biblical binding of Isaac, beside of continuing the 'process' of giving birth to more soldiers and educating them.

3. **Motherhood as self-realization**: The statement that a child is a woman's supreme objective, as de Beauvoir (1949) averred, exposed the myth that determined that women have no right of existence without being mothers. Christianity even found a solution as the 'spiritual mother' for women who did not give birth but served as a model and symbol (Cnaan-Kedar, 1998).

Yearning for a child is manifested in the number of fertility treatments conducted in Israel is amongst the highest in the western world (Kaddari-Halperin, 2004). The inability to give birth pushes women to an endless battle against barrenness, even if at a heavy personal price. In the absence of success, women turn to other alternatives such as adoption and surrogate motherhood, as long as they have children.

4. **Motherhood as social realization**– manifested in respect (de Beauvoir, 1949) and in positive social positioning enjoyed by mothers, especially the mothers of sons (Thompson 1971; Yalom, 2001) because they are the continuous of their father and family.

In some ethnic groups of Israeli society giving birth to sons still affords honor; death in battle affords respect. The descriptions of the bereaved mother or widowed wife in endless stories and poems amounting to the Zionist mythology that has become Israeli mythology, sets both as loftier than other people, while providing real social or perceived rights.  

Mothers as single parents, as a social phenomenon, have also entered Israeli conservative society. These mothers account for most of the families of such status and benefit from special rights.

5. **Motherhood as strength**: The ability to give birth holds tremendous power since the future of human society is held by women. Feminists like Ema Goldman (1897) saw motherhood in contrast as - physical, mental and functional weakness, as reducing their freedom of choice and as a kind of 'punishment' that creates a situation of inferiority between men and women.  

A complete set of taboos and

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41 Receiving allowances and other financial benefits from the State for widowhood or as a bereaved mother.

42 This feeling is the result of dependency relationships created due to caring for children that necessitates a different lifestyle and also inhibits women's personal development. Their femininity makes them more vulnerable
prohibitions with heavy punishment has been built around the role, controlling her body and decisions regarding pregnancy and birth. But this potential was not exploited properly by the women themselves systematically and consistently. Women in Israel generally remained conformist to society's demands. Exceptions included employing the role of motherhood as a legitimate role appreciated by society as a means of opposing war and conquest.

6. Motherhood as a collective spirit: The image of a woman as a mother symbolizes the collective spirit in different cultures as "mother earth", "Mother Russia" (Yuval-Davis, 1977) and so on. The main component of the ideal Zionist woman is the role of motherhood – the mother of the family in the personal private space and the mother of the nation in the public space (Elboim-Dror, 2001).

Zionism spoke of the establishment of a new society. In order to launch a new social structure the basic cell comprising society, the family unit, must be modified. Such change is change in the status of women in society. Female participation as an equal member of developing society demands uniting the family space with the public, professional and political space. This was achieved by removing the home functions from female hands and creating a cooperative community that would provide shared services (Elboim-Dror, 1992).

Thus Zionism envisioned the establishment of kibbutzim as cooperative communities. However, they were not the asset of the population at large, so that two models of motherhood developed in the same society:

1. The collective kibbutz model: The biological mother shared child care with the instrumental (care-giver) mother and with the spiritual mother – homeroom teachers who personified the ideology

2. The traditional, individual model: The biological mother fulfilled all the functions but competed with a strong ideology that demanded the children's, mainly the sons, belonging to nationalism and the homeland through being drafted to the army and in their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the State.

In both cases, motherhood is in conflict with nationalism, a conflict that joined that of femininity and nationalism, as a wife of soldiers no less than as the mother of the soldiers and a soldier herself.

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43 Laws against abortions, supervision of births etc
44 The “Four Mothers” movement took on the motherhood role and their social right as mothers of soldiers in active service or as a metaphor, to oppose men - the generals – and to demand the end to war and killing. The same element was employed, but in the reverse direction.
An additional conflict to which collective motherhood gave birth is the damage to the feminine image in which the Jewish woman grew and was educated for generations. Her main existence and respect for her revolved around the children who have now been taken from her, and even this still in the name of her 'freedom'.

The alternative motherhood roles in the kibbutz were filled by other women, thus the basic caring and educational roles were not expropriated from women, but just crudely transferred from the birth mother to women who fulfilled social functions. The feminine identity of kibbutz women took a hard knock and did not afford them any opportunity to express themselves or to object.

The feminist struggle split into two, but remained within the Zionist social structuring:
1. Feminism that believed in equal opportunities for men and women – the workers and pioneers who fought to work like men and established training courses for women, participated in the defense forces and demanded to be included amongst policy makers.
2. Feminism that saw motherhood as the main way to contribute to the collective effort, demanding equality based on difference, and therefore exacted adapting conditions to the situation in which they were both mothers and workers (Kamir, 2004a).

The role of motherhood has many myths and superlatives that developed an entire world of concepts. The biological ability to give birth is accompanied by instinctive actions to protect their offspring to keep them warm, and to feed them, created the concept of "motherly instinct" that was raised to the status of a sacred institution.

The anthropologist Margaret Mead (1954) reinforced this concept when she found in her research that motherly practice and ways of raising children are universal and similarities exist amongst mothers in the ways they handle and care for their children. She theorized that it is inborn amongst all women but that men lack this attribute. Moreover it is considered a universal instinct for all women whether they have children of not. Thus this created the unenviable linkage between the concept that women's unique role to nurture, to educate and to care for all the baby's needs. Another myth is that motherhood is perceived as something pure and hence, all women (since all women for this purpose, are current and potential mothers) must be modest and pure.
In the absence of any statement by women regarding their feelings as mothers, another myth managed to be preserved for many years – women are pleased with their ability to give birth and enjoy their role. Feminism exposed the dissatisfaction with this role, women's many frustrations and the physical difficulties that occurred during the pregnancy, birth and thereafter while raising the children.

The discourse this researcher has encountered in her work proves that the concept of 'mother' and 'wife' have enjoyed consensus in Israeli society till now. The two roles are well imprinted in the female Israeli identity, to the point that there is hardly a woman who does not mention these facts when she is asked to talk about herself. Women are proud of being mothers, satisfied with their achievements and thus represent themselves through being mothers.

The responsibility accompanying the role of motherhood is transferred later when the woman becomes a grandmother, and continues to see herself as closely committed to children and grandchildren and lacking compromise.

2.2.2.2 Wife, Jewish Israeli wife

Marriage is a means to preserve the birthing resource in the hands of those holding power – the men. The institution of the nuclear family was created as a by-product of 'private property', wherein the need arose to bequeath this property to the biological offspring (Buber-Agasi, 1986). Marriage is primarily an economic agreement of resource exchange.

"Marriage is an insurance policy...whoever acquires an insurance policy pays for it in dollars...and is entitled to end it...at any time. In contrast, if the wife's premium is the husband, she pays for it in her name, in her privacy, self-respect, her life...a marriage contract decrees a life full of dependency and parasitism for the woman."

(Goldman, (1897) 2005:29)

Many myths were also woven around the institution of marriage, including that of duty. Marriage is compulsory for women, something to strive for and is part of the definition of female gender just like motherhood, since motherhood is connected to marriage. Only in this framework can 'good' motherhood be realized. Women who gave birth
outside marriage were rejected by society and suffered from a humiliating attitude even to the point of death.\footnote{The Magdalena monasteries in Ireland or murder ritual to save the family honor in eastern traditional societies and so on.}

To the role of motherhood was added that of wife, an ancient role with ancient roots but based on the same source – marginality and inferiority relative to men, and on the story of creation, a helpmate (Genesis 2:16) with the reciprocal relations between them based on Genesis 3:16: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband" (Yalom, 2001/2005).

As of the mid 19th century the issue of whether women are intended to be mothers and wives only, or whether there is something beyond that began to be debated publicly.

The conflict between 'femininity' and 'motherhood' is prominent in some modern feminist thought that views motherhood as the ultimate patriarchal tool for subjugating women and in forgoing motherhood as a solution to the problem. Many feminists found themselves in an ambivalent position regarding the concept of 'wife' and 'motherhood' since these roles limited female development. Some of the feminist activists were unmarried or had no children, and therefore avoided dealing with the issue in the belief that not experiencing the subject does not afford them the right to talk about it. Most women in capitalist society live in a state of constant contradiction and tension between their two roles – production (work) and reproduction (birth) (Buber-Agasi, 1986). This generates a constant conflict set as an important question regarding the significant change needed in the status of women.

Because of the roles of mother and wife, women began to represent the national and religious collective identity. The more threatened men feel the more it is interpreted as a threat to the collective. Supervision of the women will be more frequent and tougher (as, for example, in Iran after the fall of the Shah). Damage to women is in fact damage to male honor. At the same time, women apparently feel ambivalent to the collectivism they symbolize and from which they are, in fact, excluded.

The institution of marriage also underwent vicissitudes in the pioneering period and times of early Zionism. When the collective value was set above all else, \textit{en route} to constructing a new society, the desires of the individual were not taken into consideration. The establishment of family units on the way to giving birth to children afforded a type of infidelity to the collective and its activities. Families were forced to leave the group
after marriage and birth (Elboim-Dror, 1992). On the other hand, new situations were created that determined partnership without marriage and instituted relationships of love and cooperation between the partners (Bernstein, 1987), without any formal ceremony.

In both cases, whether 'marriage' that is an ancient social institution or the younger institution of partnership, runs the thread of the myth that a woman needs a man for her physical, economic and emotional existence. Men also need women but they are not committed to singularity as it affects women, whether because of prohibitions and social norms and whether by law.

The strong traditional foundations of Jewish-Israeli society are manifested in the fact that the new State did not manage to separate religion from State. Hoping to maintain a political structure with a broad consensus, the founders of the State answered the demands of the religious parties that conditioned their support of the new government on accepting religious matrimonial law as State law. Since women were not a political force and were part of a society perceived as obvious (Herzog, 2000), the law existing till today was passed. This situation has weighty implications on the status of women in view of the discrimination existing in religious laws towards them and particularly as regards matrimonial laws that are the heart of social life of Jewish-Israeli women.46

The concept of a Jewish–Israeli 'wife' is characterized by:
1. Wife as personal-social fulfillment: Ethnic and religious elements, together with a rooted tradition that connects marriage to children, with the addition of trust in the economic security following marriage, accompany the female agenda till today. The existential fear existing in Israeli society and the reality of soldiers who fell in battle generated the additional fear of the lack of potential partners and increased pressure to marry.47
2. National wife: This type of spouse has three facets very closely connected to the institution most central to Israeli society – the army. a. "Married to the army": The sword of wars, terror and the security situation are the framework that escorts life in Israel. Partners and wives of soldiers is a familiar and common condition. Life in the shadow of lengthy military service, when the husbands developed a military career, left the wives to cope

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46 There are constant attempts to alter the law.
47 Marriage is usually only between Jewish men and women, thus reducing the options in a situation of a shortage of available marriageable men.
with daily life, raising the children and the constant concern for their husbands' welfare. Many participating in this lifestyle had to adapt to frequent housing moves, to not realizing their own careers and to emotional and economic aloneness.

b. 'Sharing with the army': Every wife is the wife of a soldier. Even those who do not sign up for the professional army but are part of the reserves until an advanced age and must serve one month annually.

c. 'Army widows': A category that was added as a sub-system that accompanies the marriage institution in Israel. Recently, another sub-group developed of 'widow groups', whose boyfriends or fiancés fell during their military service.

Thus, developing a female Jewish–Israeli gender identity entails several foci of conflict:

1. Between personal identity = woman and the collective = Jewish-Israeli identity. As a Jewish–Israeli women identifying with nationalism and with the struggle to maintain the collective, created a situation of accepting security-statehood for males and assistance-aid for females. They 'accepted' giving up their feminine identity for being part of the national collective.

2. Between the personal identity = woman, and the collective identity = Jewish. As a Jewish woman, she must accept religious matrimonial law that preserves discrimination against her since she is considered her husband's property. Out of conformism she wishes to be part of the Jewish collective.

3. Between personal identity = woman and personal identity = wife.

4. Between personal identity = woman and personal identity as = mother.

5. Between personal identity = woman and the personal identity = man;

6. Between the collective identity = woman and the personal identity = woman.

It is important to remember that greater the discussion of the sub-groups that comprise the collective, the more additional points of conflict, and the points of conflict described above, are likely to intensify.

Jewish-Israeli women internalized their normative, conformist, personal feminine identity that saw the role of wife and mother as defining femininity. The role of motherhood as a central value characterized traditional societies and Israeli society. The above role takes on extra value in a society in which nationalism inscribed on its flag the value of
the birth rate that preserves and restricts their role to the traditional, family domain.

The feminine feminist awareness is not particularly developed:

a. Israeli society is one with deep traditional attributes, a society of 'respect', with a high status for males and the patriarchal perspective compared to the secondary status of women (Kamir, 2004a).

b. The strong need for social cohesion in the face of the existential security and national threat resulted in the army and religion becoming important and key foci of power in society, excluding women and pushing them to the fringes.

2.3 Power

The gender approaches enable us to understand that as women are channeled by society to their roles and their identity is influenced thereby, so too are men channeled. Thus both genders have mutual expectations according to their channeling. A significant point is the fact that men are differentiated by being compensated according to their channeling while women are not and thus find themselves doubly endangered. A thread runs through the above - the reciprocal relations based on diverse levels of 'power' between men and women.

"...For to say that there cannot be a society without power relations..., I would say that the analysis, elaboration, and bringing into question of power relations and the "agonism" between power relations and the intransitivity of freedom is a permanent political task inherent in all social existence [. . . .] (Michel Foucault 1982)

The western world includes power-based ways of thought. The tendency to see differences as two poles based in the dichotomous perception, is suitable to social structuring intended to provide a hierarchy and power, but overlooked the relationships (Ankar, 1999:260-264) that are far more complicated.

Toffler (1980) distinguishes three forms of power:

1. Violent power – shows use is negative and damaging;

2. The power of wealth - money, property, means of production whose use can be positive or negative;

3. The power of knowledge – the use of knowledge can be negative or positive, but the uniqueness of this source of power lies in its sophisticated ability to create change and transition from one situation to another in a transforming manner.
One of the prominent domains in the male use of power over women is manifested in the definition of space-territory (Raam, 2005). Territorial limitations were one of the means of male control of women manifested in the definition of physical areas such as:

- Geographical territory: The women's area in Jewish synagogues, male-only clubs in England, separate-sex schools or classes and metaphorically, activities for men only.
- Physical territory: The definitions of clothing that limit movement or exposure. Examples of this are the Ra'ala in the Muslim world, the head covering in the Jewish religion or chastity belts of the Middle Ages. Prohibitions and taboos in the sexual context, apply to women only, including the prohibition to abort. The definition of the concepts of beauty and physical dimensions such as losing or gaining weight, the size of the limbs- the size of the women's feet in Chinese culture for instance and other cultural customs; the importance of limbs- the hymen and so on.

Other areas are spiritual-behavioral such as:

- Occupations approved or forbidden to women: Teaching and nursing are considered acceptable while warriors and pilots are unacceptable
- Areas of interest and leisure activities: Women's movement is often limited, they are often forbidden to go abroad unaccompanied or without the permission of their husband/father in Muslim society; branches of sport that do not encourage the entry of women and so on;
- The manner of speech and behavior: This is manifested in tone and intensity, participating in a conversation or staying silent, manners, approving women crying as an accepted emotional expression and so on.

The limitations are defined in tangible means, using rules, social or institutional sanctions, a marketing and publicity campaign that annuls the legitimacy of other behaviors and so on.

Apart from the physical space, there is also the emotional and communications space which is also a limited borrowed resource or such that can be controlled. Control is the ability to increase the space of one party (the male) over the other (the female) that necessitates exiting the personal space for the public space.

One may claim that for men the territorial issue in human relations, like any territorial consideration, cannot be defiled. Men go out to battle for territorial reasons far more easily than women. The war they will fight
will be more bitter and decisive. For women this is an option to which they are dragged usually by the men. Women seek the common denominator in relationships, the shared aspects and empathy.

The difference between men and women is not in the struggle for territory but the determination, the length of the struggle, its intensity, frequency and type (Raam, 2005). Women developed and employed alternative methods in diverse areas as a way of coping with a situation forced on them including that of power relationships between the genders. They had to develop alternative techniques of power such as:

- Marginality, as a kind of weakness, as a source of power
- Using the 'power of knowledge', the wisdom and the sophistication.
- Applying covert power, indirect, seeping in, forceful painful, hard to locate, the choice of points of weakness and harming them, applying sophisticated cleverness and therefore extremely destructive (Simons, 2002).

### 2.3.1 Power in Israeli society

As a society founded on the value of honor, the power element is dominant in Israeli society. Israeli–Jewish society, in its transition from a society living in the Diaspora to one living in its own territory experienced change at several levels:

At the psychological level: Since Jews are perceived as weak in the Diaspora, the change or the transformation they experienced when immigrating to Israel was the construction of self-image of 'power' manifested in change in behavior:

1. From scholarship to physical labor necessitating developing physical power;
2. From religious belief and dependence on God's will to belief in the personal ability, i.e., developing the ego;
3. From persecution and existential fear to defense and control, i.e., developing an image of strength and power.

At the practical level circumstances created a situation that needed coping and physical protection. One of the organizations developed in Israel and that symbolized more than anything else the change in perception on the road to achieving sovereignty, was the development of the first 'protective force'\(^{48}\).

\(^{48}\) It was the Bar Giora Organization that became the Shomer, and later the defense organizations prior to the establishment of the State of Israel and to the Israel Defense Forces
At the functional level, the 'Hail fellow well met' experience of the pioneer who defied all convention gave birth to a culture of cliques, ridiculed order and organization and bypassed laws and orders. Obtaining things demanded 'elbows'. People directed their behavior to not be perceived as someone who can be taken advantage of, and objected vehemently to order and organization that they saw as 'control'. The objection was both mental and physical, giving birth to power-oriented behavior, manifested in speech, behavior, attitude and demands of public employees or service providers. When they were dissatisfied they overturned tables, shouting, cursing and, recently, threatening the use of a knife.

To both familiar, universal foci of power – political power and economic power – are added two foci unique to Israeli society – the military and the religious focus.

2.3.1.1 The army as a focus of power: Structuring Israeli society

The Israeli army enjoys social consensus that affords a key socializing factor and an inseparable part of the Israeli civil experience. A large part of developing the personal, gender and civil identity is rooted in this entity.

The army has a patriarchal structure, of total, hierarchical, pyramidal and total (centralist and rigid) dimensions (Goffman, 1961; Jerbi 1996). It has the functional dimension of defense or victory in war. In Israeli society it has a covert social objective of education and socialization, in addition to the overt and declared objective that characterizes every army – defense. It is an integral part of the normal life track in Israel and its impact is measured beyond the legal period of time for which people must serve in the army. Furthermore, the obligation to serve does not end with the completion of regular service; men are considered part of the reserve duty array until the age of 45-50.

The centrality of this institution in Israeli society was born out of the 'siege' feeling that was fundamental to Israeli society and created a 'struggle culture' (Yishai,1996). This culture adopted military norms and values that are defined as 'masculine' (Jerby, 1996) and integrated them in the life array:
1. Style of speech – scathing, rough, slang born in the army, with curt commands, using battle concepts in daily language;\(^{49}\)
2. Derogatory attitude to weakness, fear, expressing feelings
3. Glorifying the readiness to sacrifice life for the sake of the homeland, coping with death at the personal, group and national levels;
4. Developing a framework for civilian life in the shadow of war\(^{50}\) while justifying using force for reasons of defense;
5. The pace of life that shifts between tension–pain-euphoria and back again.

The centrality of the army in Israeli life is well expressed in a letter written a father to his son who was recruited:

"…On Sunday we took you to the army... All your life was spent in one neighborhood, so it seems to you that that is the entire world, but it is not so. You will meet people from Ashdod and from Yeruham..., from Kishinev and Moscow... The army, my son, is not similar to anything else...three years for which there is no way to prepare or to understand them..., and there is something else, my son, that is unfashionable... Be proud... I know you have grown up into a period in which there are quite a number of shirkers. The post-modern period is at its peak and no-one (including myself) thinks any longer that the army is always right. But our family...is still stuck with Zionism, believing in this State and with the old concept that says that you are going or not going just for yourself but because this is the right thing to do. In the next three years you will serve in the regular army and I will breath irregularly because this is our country and there is no other, and because this is what it demands of the best of her sons."

(Lapid, 2005)

Alice Miller's struggle\(^{51}\) with the military establishment came from a view of the army as a central institution in Israeli life and in developing Israeli identity. The perception behind this was that if women will be

\(^{49}\) Hebrew has military expressions incorporated into daily language, such as 'struggle for his life', 'the outbreak of illness', 'to stand as still as soldiers', 'battle fox' and so on.
\(^{50}\) Life is conducted in the shadow emergency orders, including censorship, field security and others; developing a military reserve duty array (formerly only for men but joined recently by women) and legislation suitable for organizing work relations in such a situation; establishing a civilian array to function in emergency, a rear command in the 1990s following the Gulf War etc.
\(^{51}\) Alice Miller demanded that the option to be recruited to the pilot course be open to women too. She won her case in 1991, opening the way for women not only to that prestigious course but also to other roles that had been closed to women till then.
integrated in operational military roles, an egalitarian track will open up for them since the army has great influence on both shaping identity and on civilian life and integrating therein.

The State of Israel is the only country in the western world, and perhaps in the entire world, where compulsory recruitment of women exists. As participating in the defense forces is a social entry ticket, women naturally saw themselves as involved in this framework. Not so the men – the policy-makers. The structure of social belonging is composed of circles of differing radii around the core of "pure Israeliness" (Algazi, 1992). In the first circle are the men, before the women. The type of military service affords a dimension for further ranking and is divided according to participating in the 'right' war and serving in the 'right' unit. These define belonging as ranked belonging that also determines differing civilian rights, decided according to the relative status as identified by the cultural code customary in the State of Israel (Jerby, 1996).

The type of service for girls was and is one of the factors that structure inequality between men and women, despite the very drastic changes it has undergone. It preserved patriarchal structures with stereotypical consideration of women by allocating the roles that 'support fighting' which were the same traditional female roles such as education, services and care, and by characterizing them using the excuse of biological difference or the gender social roles – future motherhood.

This difference in attitude to women prevented them the jumping board to roles in the civilian sector as happens amongst men. Military service increased the starting disparity between men and women and provided a network of connections throughout life for men.

The 'parachuting' of military personnel into the civilian system transferred the male, patriarchal and militaristic behavioral code into the civilian social systems, while preserving the preferred power relations in favor of the men compared to the women. Women found themselves in power institutions, in a power-oriented atmosphere that caused them to internalize large parts of the manifestations of power, including the many years of silence regarding the sexual harassment they experienced during their military service (Sasson-Levi, 2001) and in civilian life. Military service, the service of the country, afforded a cover of protection from

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52 Men serve for three years compared to women who serve for two, thus they receive a bigger demobilization grant, and other financial benefits manifested in the salary, years after, being the one of the reasons for gap salary.
the illegal or non-value oriented behavior, out of appreciation of the
courage and sacrifice that contrasted with the anomalous behavior at the
civilian level.

Women, as a group, also find themselves in a dilemma and conflict as
soldiers, as mothers and wives of soldiers and as civilians in a country
that know battles, bereavement and pain of war. Many women would
object to the conquest, to being in Lebanon, to the perception of the Arab
population despite the attitude they were afforded among both the broad
public and the army\textsuperscript{53}.

Thus, since 1967, the political debate has become more of a military
debate while rejecting the social debate (Levi, 1993), or to be more exact,
placing it in the hands of religious parties as will be detailed later. The
many 'generals' arriving as managers or employees at civil work places
bring with them the army brotherhood with deep loyalty and old
commitments that blocks the path to women. The army-political-
economic axes combine to a powerful patriarchal axis that excludes
women, discriminates against them and reproduces itself.

2.3.1.2 Religion as a focus of power: Structuring Israeli society

Religion in Jewish-Israeli society did not remain in the cultural-spiritual
domains but become a political factor through creating a) religious
political parties and b) relating to daily life from the religious aspect in
order to develop a State founded on religion.

The religious parties have political strength that deviates from their
electoral strength (Jerby, 1996) and were the balance in the relationship
of power when the need arose to build a coalition or take decisions, prior
to the establishment of the State till now. There is a connection between
two, and sometimes three, foci of power – religion-politics-economy – all
foci with a distinct patriarchal orientation.

The impact on women was/is:

\textsuperscript{53} This refers to the "Four Mothers" organization and the contempt on the part of the IDF commander
of the Northern District when he said they do not understand anything about the army and topography.
They said they had to prove their knowledge to be accepted as equals in a debate over whether to leave
Lebanon. Their uncompromising activity swept the public opinion and was a decisive factor in the
public debate and decision-making over the issue. As Brigadier Miri Regev, IDF spokesperson, said,
"When the claims are professional and apparently concluding, the fact of your being a woman
arises."
...(Regev, 2005).
1. Some of the (religious) public is not interested in being represented by women. There are no women in key political positions, in the religious parties themselves, or in realistic slots in the less fanatical religious or in non-religious parties. The meaning of this situation is the almost total absence of women from the political scene and enables their extended silencing and ignoring their needs as women. Women already elected were excluded from taking on roles or were also forced to accept conditions of behavior compatible with religious demands (Chazan, 1989).  

2. Legislation was passed for religious considerations or was biased in favor of the religious public. It affected significant parts of the female experience and their basic rights as citizens and as women.  

3. Israeli society includes immigrants from countries with a traditional culture, as well as from more liberal countries with differing levels of religious observance. The religious concepts are not foreign to any Jew. Thus it is easy to create an atmosphere that opposes progress, and that would be acceptable to the broad public, whether religious or secular. This approach set an attitude to women's clothing, advertising and general opinion towards women wherever they may be.  

4. Obtaining large budgets for issues 'important' to the sector represented by the religious parties. The financial key created a situation in which one had to follow their instructions in order to obtain money. Directing money to this sector diverted it from other areas, including to developing services for women.  

5. Including supporters and others created entire ministries, most of whose clerks and managers are religious males. It was not enough that women in those ministries had to adapt themselves to rules of religious behavior such as dress and speech instructions, but they also have to accept remaining in lowly positions. The attitude to secular workers was depressing and degrading.

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54 Roles normatively associated with women, such as the Minister of Education, of Social Welfare, of Health, and deputies from the religious sector. The case of Shulamit Aloni was unique - a minister was forced to accept a religious deputy minister to assure the interests of religious education. Her extreme secular approach forced her retirement from the position of Minister of Education.  

55 The Equal Rights for Women Law (1951) lost all meaning the moment the religious matrimonial laws were enacted under the authority of the State of Israel defining marriage, divorce, and other marital laws, where women are inferior and their rights harmed. Forbidden abortions, defining bastardies, forbidden marriage between a member of the priestly tribe (Cohen) and a divorcée, forbidden marriage of Jews with non-Jews and so on. Opposition to the integration of women serving in combat units with men, releasing women from military service for religious reasons and so on.  

56 Attacks on women in religious areas for not being "suitably" dressed; applying general economic pressure to remove 'improper' street advertising; establishing 'modesty patrols' – and the national police did not intervene.
6. The government ministries in demand (by the religious parties) were 'social' – the Ministry of Education, of Welfare, of Health, of the Interior - with broad influence on daily life and on the wider populations, including women. Through these ministries, in fact, control was afforded of lifestyles, determined policy and developing services both directly and indirectly.

The division can clearly be seen in a double bridgehead: The social-civil domain which was concentrated, fully or partially, in the hands of the religious sector, while the defense-political domain was held by former army personnel of diverse management ranks.

Two additional foci of power, the political and the economic, mentioned below are interconnected and rely on each other thus the link between these elements is inseparable, and which women have no entry because of:

1. The absence of supportive economic sources. Most of the financial gods are men who bequeathed their wealth to their sons rather than their daughters. 57
2. The absence of social acceptability. Politics is time demanding and in the many roles women fulfill it enters a very burdened space. However, according to Herzog (2000) posits, the main problem is not in the 'conflict between the roles' but in the ideology embedded in the social messages in a variety of ways.
3. The absence of a social network. Women do not have obligatory cliques. They are identified as belonging to a political patron to whom they are totally obligated, not to the same extent as he is committed to her, (only if they obey), or to an economic patron, usually husband or father.

A similar or even identical pattern of integrating women in the various social organizations in Israel is recognizable, leading to the concept that a type of shared genetic social code exists that develops social structures similar in different organizations. One system thus cannot deviate from the pattern typical of the whole system since they operate on a reciprocal basis and are integrated with each other.

2.4 Discrimination

57 Well-known families in Israel such as Rothschild, Eisenberg, Bronfman, Wissozky, Denkner, Arrison and Strauss with prominent women are rare cases of women playing a part in the economic empire.
The power mentioned previously structures non-egalitarian relationships and creates discrimination. Feminism that exposed the phenomenon of female discrimination as one common in all areas of life affording the prominent attribute of social barriers.

Dahan-Caleb (1999) mentions two categories of discrimination:
1. Passive discrimination – occurring without any guided policy, and includes such situations as:
   - Blindness - a situation in which one apparently does not see the reality as it is, and in these case it refers to the place of women and their needs. Dalia Dorner\(^{58}\), a former Israeli High Court judge, explains this situation in the system being built according to masculine needs and because of that only one gender is seen. Females are those who need to adapt to the system and their non-adaptation is perceived as a lack of compatibility.
   - Transparency, invisibility - a situation in which despite the existence of a person he/she is not seen or not taken particularly into consideration. Coole (1988) finds that the most universal manner of expression perceives man in the abstract, and in these terms should include women as well. This makes women transparent by simply being included in universal statements.
2. Active discrimination – manifested in:
   - Intentional exclusion: Action or intentional prevention on the basis of gender, age, race, nationality etc. One example of many is mentioned by Hegel (1978)\(^{59}\) He, too, talks of “Men” in the abstract, but is aware of the existence of women and sees them in a particularly realistic light when it comes to the question of their right to take an equal part in political activity. He actively and intentionally attempts to assure blocking their way to politics since he does not rely on them.

Western culture (Herzog, 2002 a) assumes, amongst other basic assumptions, that there is a division between the home life arena, in which women hold a central role, and the group-public arena which is

\(^{58}\) At a conference held at a shelter for beaten women, Herzliya, Israel, 22.5.2005
\(^{59}\) “Women may have happy ideas, taste, and elegance, but they cannot attain to the ideal. The difference between men and women is like that between animals and plants. Men correspond to animals, while women correspond to plants because their development is more placid and the principle that underlies it is the rather vague unity of feeling. When women hold the helm of government, the state is at once in jeopardy, because women regulate their actions not by the demands of universality but by arbitrary inclinations and opinions. Women are educated – who knows how?”(Hegel 1978: 263-264).
central for men, barely entered by women, or at least, in a hardly significant manner.

The exclusion occurs therefore, in the public domain. The very division creates a situation in which there is a physical separation that apparently enables justifying exclusion when women leave their domain.

This division creates another situation in which women who have internalized the division feel that they are invading a place not theirs when they find themselves in the public sphere (political, career, work) and they adopt the invisible approach – reducing the volume of their presence in order not to arouse opposition. Another technique is that of the chameleon, assimilating in the field. Women in declared male spaces such as the army, adopt a manner of speech, walk and behavior similar to those of men and result in a masculine women. Another way is to waive sex symbols - an attempt to blur the difference using external symbols, wearing male business suits, including shoes and hat, a short haircut, hiding one's chest, smoking and so on.

These two categories of apparent synonyms, that are sometimes used without differentiating between their differences, include an entire world of references and implications. This researcher would like to add another type of discrimination to Dahan-Caleb's (1999) analysis that she will term "a false presentation". This is the transformation of a situation in which there is apparent agreement and acceptance by society, but in fact, is a sophisticated form of camouflage that aims to allow or intensify the discrimination. This situation was created as feminists 'discovered' the existing techniques and increased their sophistication. One example of many is brought by Shaked\textsuperscript{60}, a lawyer and head of the Department for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Civil Service. From her extensive experience she finds that women are integrated in public areas that are perceived as dealing with 'Women’s issues' – they are appointed as members of the Committee for Child Welfare but not to the Committee for Foreign Affairs and Defense, for example. Such a combination, she maintains, is politically correct and affords a real obstacle to reality itself. This is a response to the feminist demand to integrate women in public roles, but its outline follows the old gender division of distinct 'female areas' compared to distinct 'male areas'.

The successful creation of the myth that Israeli society is one in which the women attained equality (Safran, 2001) was perhaps the highlight of the

\textsuperscript{60} Stated at a conference of the Israel Union of Local Authorities, 18.5.2005. She died in 2006.
false representation, as told Bat Rachel Yochevet, one of the new comers, in the early twenties-
"Women who were educated on the socialist idea and bore struggles since the start of the revolutionary movement in Russia...afford all of us, daughters of the third Aliya\(^{61}\), the feeling and concept that there was no way that in an egalitarian regime, in a socialist regime, could there be competition between men and women..." (Bernstein 1987:27)

Discrimination is justified in a series of religious, traditional and stereotypical justifications.

The phenomenon of 'mechanical feminism' (Vese, 2002) – feminism that appears only on the surface but without roots of real and significant change - is one that crosses borders, states and regimes. It arouses a paradox from its very existence in countries considered enlightened.

In fact, all the many changes that have occurred have still not changed the essential core. Futuristic forecasts predict that women will not enjoy equal status and power for the next 250 years! as Laura Lisswood, Secretary-General, Council of Women Leaders, USA says at the Conference of 'Women and the World in 2020' held in 2005; so one must continue striving for real change.

### 2.4.1 Discrimination in Jewish-Israeli society

The attitude of the Jewish religion to women is complex (Plaskow, 1990) and moves between 'respect' and 'marginality and inferiority'. Discrimination against women in Jewish culture is of two types: Discrimination stemming from religious law that creates difference in women's rights and obligations, compared to those of men, and discrimination stemming from custom and tradition, as they developed over the centuries.

Religion, and in its political transformation/translation the religious party was not neglected in the new society and thereafter, in the new State. Aspects contradictory to the involvement of women at political hubs were preserved by not allowing them the right to vote. Under pressure of the religious parties, the laws pertaining to matrimonial status remained the dominion of the Rabbinical framework as mentioned before. Thus is one of the most prominent foci of discrimination in Israeli society, despite the legislation that tried to deal with the situation.

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\(^{61}\) The third wave of emigration to Israel, 1919-1923.
But not only the religious attitude ignored women. The official historiography of the Zionist period ignores the female contribution through several mechanisms:
1. Ignoring their activities
2. Trivializing their work and diminishing its real value
3. Cooption – taking issues away from women and presenting them as pertinent to society at large rather than as a female achievement alone
4. Individualizing their work, choosing a particular female figure to represent all women and 'vanishing' the others (Herzog, 1994).

Universal mechanisms of the mass culture versus the minority culture did not bypass Israeli society. Multi-culturalism in the gender context was identified by feminism, as part of the development of consciousness of the diverse experiences of women who belong to the minority group within the canonical mass. Israeli society is multi-cultural and includes several sub groups and cultures, the main ones being:
- Jewish religiously observant Israeli women versus secular Jewish-Israeli women
- Jewish-Israeli immigrant women versus veteran or Israeli born Jewish-Israeli women
- Ashkenazi Jewish-Israeli women who are perceived as a canonical stream of Israeli feminism versus Mizrahi Jewish-Israeli women.

Within this fabric there is interaction with other female non-Jewish populations who live in Israel including:
1. Arab Israeli women; Israeli Bedouins, Druze and Circassian women
2. Foreign workers – the distressed global employment dragged Israel into the group of countries that rely on foreign workers including many women
3. Foreign workers, some of whom are prostitutes and white slaves
4. Palestinian women who are identified as the enemy and with whom the country is in a state of war. Some of these women even participate or aid the terror war itself.

This study does not deal at length with the uniqueness of each group but it is important to note their existence in order to understand the complexity of the subject and the complexity of examining the processes of change needed and possible. Every change should refer to the attributes that characterize each sub-group beyond the universal attributes. The tools of change and the dimensions of the success of the change (time, scope, content etc) should be adapted.
2.5 Change

The main thrust of this study focuses on the process of change that is supposed to occur following empowerment courses for women. The main research question is whether the empowerment courses are a tool for social change?

In order to explore this question from the theoretical perspective, the concept of change in general should be considered and change amongst women in particular. Afterward social change should be examined. The concept of change is extremely complex, it is in constant daily use and thus has become familiar and apparently understood by all, but when explored it transpires there is no simple definition.

Whorf (1956) notes that in a world in which everything is blue (patriarchal - IBA) the concept of 'blueness' (patriarchalism - IBA), cannot be developed due to the absence of contradictory colors. In other words, only if an alternative is offered, can the existing reality be examined.

Feminism, with its diverse forms, is one of the alternatives that could have enabled exploring the existing reality. However, despite the feminist develop, the degree of change introduced to culture and society still does not provide an egalitarian dimension at the gender aspect. As the French proverb says, *Plus ça change plus ça reste la même chose*. Why is this so?

This question has occupied the researcher considerably and was one of the reasons for this study. She is not sure she will find a satisfactory answer but this, at least, is her ambition.

2.5.1 Definitions and types of change

Change, by its general definition, is "Converting one situation into another" (Fox, 2004:27). The most simple and most familiar type of converting is the movement from being stationary to being in motion (external change). However, motion itself can also be hastened or slowed (internal change), or its direction altered (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, 1979).

This study deals with behavioral and social studies, in which phenomena of 'change' are harder to identify than in the world of science and far more complicated. For this reason several categorizations have been used, one of which divides change into two main branches: (Fox, 2004):
1. Change caused by time: Change in the individual's immediate surroundings that occur naturally or as planned in the part of their life array, known also as transitions. This category includes change that is not under one's control such as the transition from school to the army, or to other learning frameworks; planned change such as marriage, parenthood, divorce and so on; change in one's health; change in the work framework such as being fired or retirement or in the life conditions such as imbroglios, financial success and so on.

2. Change not caused by time: This is external change that affects the individual, and/or personal-inner change initiated by the individual him/herself. The external changes are usually forced on the individual and cannot be altered, therefore one must adapt to them. This category includes technological, scientific, political, environmental and value changes. The internal changes have reciprocal relations with external changes that serve as a source of stimulation, motivation or necessity for individual change. They are likely to occur one or more of three systems that comprise the human experience (Fox 2004: 38-39):
   a. The cognitive system – that refers to beliefs, perceptions, opinions, thoughts, judgment and assessment (value, viability, size etc.);
   b. The emotional system – comprised of a collection of feelings, emotions, assessments (positive or negative) and the moods of the individuals towards themselves, others or objects, products or ideas;
   c. The behavioral system – built on reactions, external manifestations and discovery about decision-making, activities that represent new skills or operating tools that have not yet been used previously and so on.

All of these systems are separate but closely connected. Change in one system will lead to change in the others. There is not always full compatibility between the two key arenas of change - the group–systemic arena and the personal arena. Dissonance between the systems will occur when the changes are not compatible (in pace, time, extent). This happens constantly.

The internal changes can stem from influential processes such as therapy, education or an accumulation of factors that is hard to track, adding to the difficulty in exploring change.
Another classification of the changes offered by Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch. (1979) is the consideration of their intensity and occurrence (impact). Two categories can be distinguished:

1. **Change of the first order** – occurs within the system of values, interests, accepted norms, but the system itself does not change.\(^{62}\) These are changes that maintain the continuity between the past and the future, their scope is limited and they do not arouse great opposition. They are also known as 'branch changes' (Fox, 2004: 32) as a sign of their superficiality and belonging to the logical developmental dimension with linear and quantitative significance.

2. **Change of the second order** – alters the system itself\(^{63}\) and is also known as transformation (Ofek and Aharonov, 2005) or 'rooted change' (Fox, 2004:32) = significant change. The change occurs in the foundations and thus undermines the existing value structure, the assumptions and the objectives. It is a complicated combination of factors and systems that are in need of a string of inner changes. It entails a personal and political process, a deep inner process whose results will be far-reaching. It has great theoretical importance and, therefore, also practical importance, since it guides the path out of the existing system. The change generates developmental detachment and creates something totally new, revolutionary or, according to Smith (1982), 'Invasion of the genetic code' that affects the present and the future. Because of their chaotic character, these changes will arouse much antagonism.

A system can create many changes of the first order, but as long as the structure is not altered it will not embrace change of the second order. This kind of change can occur in both the internal arena and the external, described above. This researcher dares to claim that the changes that occurred in the female context are mostly of the first order, which is perhaps one of the reasons for the ongoing situation.

Change occurs as a result of

1. A feeling of ongoing discomfort
2. A crisis
3. Exposure to the new opportunity that enables development or success

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\(^{62}\) Galois coined the term 'Group theory' in the 19\(^{th}\) century to explain the phenomenon of change within a framework.

\(^{63}\) Changes outside the framework: Logical type theory is needed here. The group is a collection of organs, unified by particular attributes but are not the organ itself (Watzlawick et al., 1979).
Recognition of the need for change according to Lewin (1951) is a basic condition for the start of change. In other words, every change starts with the first stage of intuition; the second stage is knowledge or developing awareness (Crispin, 2005) that is generated and occurs in a three-stage process:

a. **Primary awareness**: Basic recognition of the existing situation without fearing it, rejecting it or ignoring it. This stage is accompanied by feelings of anger, embarrassment, disbelief, frustration, desperation and depression. Overcoming all these will lead to the next stage.

b. **Observant awareness** – the ability to observe oneself from outside, identifying the weaknesses and laughing at them. "Yes, I know that….but…” This is awareness that analyses past deeds and is interested in altering them in the future.

c. **Planned awareness** – the knowledge that is accumulated in the process will serve as a platform for avoiding repetition of past failures in a planned way.

The third stage of knowing is a result of information becoming knowledge that enables the existence of this stage. This is the Socratic Rational model64 (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne 1985). People are rational creatures who are motivated by personal interests. Conveying new information will lead to recognizing the need to change and will emphasize the advantages that will lead to motivating, accepting and applying change. The means to this will be education, persuasion and providing knowledge.

The meaningful change for which we strive is 'social change' since it pertains to change in the status of women and may be divided into four topics (Fox, 2004):

1. **Change in attitudes** – exploring why people are so deeply entrenched in their primary attitudes and how to motivate them to adopt other attitudes; According the normative model the change will be assimilated if it meets the norms accepted in society (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne 1985).

2. **Change in behavior** – falling into the remedial domain, according to the model based on learning principles, to which the researcher would add the support groups, workshops and courses that have recently developed greatly. It is based on the behaviorist model (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne, 1985) averring that behavior will alter if the change enjoys suitable compensation or support. This model is part of the learning principles.

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64One of six change models appears in Bunker and DeLisle (1991) and in Chin and Benne (1985).
3. Personal change – or transitions, experienced by everyone during their lives, such as marriage, divorce, death of a family member and so on, or change in role – parenthood, maturity etc. (Fisher and Cooper, 1990) The psychological-social model (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne, 1985) of change stresses the three subjects described before. Lewin (1951) notes three stages in this process:
   a. Unfreezing – in a situation of imbalance/tension, the individual /organization recognizes the need for change;
   b. Moving – in order to regain the feeling of balance, the process of moving or change in attitudes/behaviors commences until balance is regained;
   c. Refreezing – a combination of behaviors or the new approach to an existing totality of behaviors/attitudes to become a new experience, and positioning the change.

4. Organizational change – connected to work and career. Some of it will be a result of the coercion/power model: Change occurs due to the need to avoid being harmed by a more powerful outside source. This change is first applied without agreement and internalization (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne, 1985).

The female gender arena deals with all four topics. However, the researcher suggests' that a tier of social institutional changes should be added to organizational change since all the institutional and non-institutional systems entail relevant consideration of women and the need for change. The systematic model emphasizes the need for influential, systemic external change, that will necessitate coping and implementing the change. (Bunker and DeLisle, 1991; Chin and Benne, 1985). The study of change would be easier to conduct in organizations due to their organized, neutral and objective character. Such study has lead to developing the intervention tools in order to 'control' the changes or to lead to processes of change. Thus in the fifties concepts such as 'planned change' (Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1985) and 'techniques for introducing change' were introduced – amongst other things through instructional groups that employ experiential means and try to arouse the participants' awareness of themselves, of the development of the group and the processes within it. The findings of working with groups provide a basis for the theories of mechanisms through which the change can be applied (Benne, 1985; Blake and Mouton, 1985).

For this reason, the world of content that is connected to leading change talks in male terms, since the organizations then, and most of them even now, are largely a male, hierarchical product. Terms such as
management, leadership, output, models, formula and diagrams and so on are rampant.

Since personal change is even more complex and harder to measure and assess, psychological research tries to identify the rules according to which people operate in order to solve a problem or introduce change for which other tools are needed for measurement and evaluation (Fox, 2004). A subjective approach is adopted in determining personal change in which change will be defined as such if those experiencing it, or other reasonable people\(^{65}\) who did not experience change but were witness to it, note that there was change.

Change at individual level will only be defined as such if all the four following criteria exist (Fox 2004:28):

a. The new situation is not the natural and gradual result of change over time;
b. This, or a similar situation, was not common and routine in the past, and, from the psychological perspective, is a new and primary experience;
c. The difference between what occurred until the time of change and what occurred with the change is clear, significant and absorbed by a person's senses. Minute changes discerned only by measuring tools will not be defined by people as change.
d. The new situation is relevant to the individual's life and has direct or possible impact on them. The individual can define it as important and significant.

2.5.2 Description of the arena in which change occurs

Change is therefore a dynamic process with broad ramifications lacking clear boundaries and almost always entails surprises and developments that will be hard to predict (Louis, 1980) The changes occur at both the individual and the systemic levels (as regards social structures that impact on organizations and institutions.) This study will focus on change at the individual level that can be separated into two groups: The female population, that is the topic of this study, and the male population that cannot be ignored due to the reciprocal relationships between the two groups. The changes at the individual level are not isolated from the social level with its diverse systems, and the focus in this study will be from the female perspective.

\(^{65}\) ‘Reasonable people’ refers to the approach accepted also in legal terminology for the attitude towards subjective issues that cannot be measured and evaluated. The assumption is that many subjective approaches which express the same approach towards a phenomenon make the approach objective.
The society in which we live is a patriarchal society that stresses differences between the genders through 'social structuring' (de Beauvoir, 1949) lacking support from the inborn biological differences. Society defines women as 'different' or as 'abnormal' (since maleness is the norm, and in such a reality, no woman can operate outside the structures determined for her by society (Harris, 1987)\(^{66}\). One of the strong social structures in western society is the power relations\(^{67}\) and, with respect to this study, the power relations between the genders.

The change to be discussed in this study will therefore be change in the power relations between males and females.

Reality teaches us that the power relations between men and women are not equal at all levels of life - in the economic realm, the political arena, the social domain and so on. Men have an advantage over women, that reflects onto

- The way the women perceive themselves
- The levels of expectations of women of themselves and of society from them.
- Control of assets of all types
- Exposure to physical, emotional and economic hurt

The changes that occurred over the years in the female gender context did not generate change in the power relations but only added a few areas in which female inferiority remained. In other words, the changes that occurred were of the first order rather than of the second order.

Four strategies for change can be identified:

1. 'Equality feminism' – equal = similar, a key term coined by liberal feminists (Guerrina, 2001). The change in power relations will be achieved by creating a situation of equality between the genders. This approach led to the perception regarding equating males and females and creating a woman with an achievement-success oriented character, the same as men.

Perceiving women to be the same as men means silencing their unique needs that were interpreted as a lack of compatibility of women to certain professions/roles and which demanded offering unique or suitable help for its implementation (Hughes, 2002; Liff

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\(^{66}\) De Susaur believes that each culture has rules, and when a person grows up in a society and learns the use of concepts within these laws, he is not free to think outside the structure dictated to him. The structure theory creates a conservative approach that denies the possibility of change, apparently.

\(^{67}\) Power in its definitions: control: Influence (see section 2.3).
and Ward, 2001). Their success occurred only when they behaved 'like men' (Dryburgh, 1999; Rutherford, 2001).

This approach saw the breaching of the boundaries of the home-private domain as the focus of change in the power relations between the genders.

Radical feminism claims, in contrast, that the source of inequality lies in the fact that we live in a patriarchal society, in which men control women through suppressing their freedom. In order to attain equality in the public realm (the employment market and so on) equality should be attained first at home.

One of the types of suppression that creates inequality is manifested in control of women's sexuality, and its harnessing to that home area through glorifying the role of motherhood. Limitations intended to preserve the right of male assets over women through sexual relations in the marital framework only and laws of purity. This domain received greater validation when women joined the labor force that breached the boundaries of relationships between the genders.  

2. Difference feminism (Hughes, 2002). Different in this context refers to alternative, maybe preferable to the existing situation.

Radical feminism asserts that there is no point in trying to attain equality within the existing social systems as they are 'male streamed' – a system based on hierarchy, aggression, competition and so on. Entry to the existing system is like cooperating with the patriarchy and therefore the effort was made to establish alternative organizations and systems for women only based on feminine values and culture. Most women's organizations, courses and workshops with a focus on empowerment function thus till now on the basis of this theory of a separate space for women, while coping with the question of the feasibility of creating change from 'outside'.

The psychological need for a definition of self-identity, an identity developing relative to the 'other' necessary for creating a feeling of belonging and social cohesion, is generated by its very definition, an attitude of hierarchy and lack of equality (Tajfel, 1978). This situation is manifested in the clear separation and creation of a

68 Radical feminism raises questions regarding sexual harassment, sexual aggression, incest and rape within the family, pornography, prostitution etc.

69 On the assumption that there is such a thing as feminine values, the meaning is one of cooperation, equality, mutual support, female empowerment. Systems established in this spirit include a hostel for beaten women, support organizations for rape victims - a separate area for women that operates according to other values and focuses on problems specific to women.

70 Several questions may be asked regarding this situation: Does separatism not create a type of female ghetto? The situation is perhaps pleasant for women but is disconnected from reality. (On the other hand, it has been proven that separate activity leads to positive important results amongst women and girls). Does separatism indirectly enable the continued patriarchy? And so on.
'female' arena that positions itself as the opposite of the 'male' arena, which is identified by social values that are better from all perspectives than the female arena. Most women's organizations, courses and workshops with a focus on empowerment\textsuperscript{71} function thus till now on the basis of this theory of a separate space for women, while coping with the question of the feasibility of creating change from 'outside'.

3. Gender equality, or the 'needs approach' (Rao and Kelleher, 2005) supports nurturing the concept of feminism as a definition that makes women unique compared to men, but does not position her at a lower social status because of this femininity. It further notes the need for striving for personal achievement, recognizing, in fact, the specific difference of each gender. Hence the situation in which women do not have rights as they are women cannot continue. Women have needs that are different from those of men, but have an equal right as men to realize their unique needs. Men and women are equal but their needs differ. This approach focuses on the arena of personal change - female empowerment\textsuperscript{72}

The needs approach lead to the unavoidable understanding that just as women have unique needs, so do men and they differ from each other. Investigating the reality in depth leads to a second insight - that these unique needs are not necessarily manifested in the daily obvious reality.

These insights generated a policy of gender mainstreaming as a theory of change for the social-systemic aspect\textsuperscript{73}.

4. Gender equality, or the 'rights approach' (Rao and Kelleher, 2005) is based on the assumption that all human been are equal and the power relationships between the genders are manifested through negating women's rights following an approach that was based on stereotypes proven baseless\textsuperscript{74}. To correct this situation, extensive legislation was enacted that did not alter the types of basic thought of either males or females. In reality, difficulties were created in enforcement and ways were found to circumvent the laws while exploiting the loopholes, some of which stemmed from the clear lack of interest on the part of

\textsuperscript{71} Several questions may be asked regarding this situation: Does separatism not create a type of female ghetto? The situation is perhaps pleasant for women but is disconnected from reality. (On the other hand, it has been proven that separate activity leads to positive important results amongst women and girls). Does separatism indirectly enable the continued patriarchy? And so on.

\textsuperscript{72} See the change diagram in appendix B item 1

\textsuperscript{73} It includes reorganization, improvement, developing and evaluating policy for including gender equality (=equal value consideration adapted to needs and recognizing the existence of the differences between the genders) at all levels of activity and at all organizational levels.

\textsuperscript{74} Women were not perceived as rational since they were considered incapable of making intelligent decisions and most of their actions were emotional. Furthermore, they needed to be protected.
the legislators to honestly cope with the problems. The demand for rights by women is a political process (Ferguson, 1999) ongoing between stakeholders, power and knowledge, in other words, equal in value.

Therefore, the demand for change has dual poles:

a. Women will be aware of their rights and will develop tools to insist on their rights to realize their needs;

b. Society must develop the ability to properly formulate the rights according to the differential needs of women and men, and to develop a mechanism for their implementation (Jones and Gaventa, 2002).

The rights approach focuses on the personal and the formal arena (change in the municipal domain - see diagram in appendix no B item 1). This, and the 'needs approach' are at the personal level in both arenas, to be discussed as the arena of change in this study, one in which the mayoral advisor on the status of women has approval to act, from the researcher's point of view.

2.5.3 Gender Change

Change can be implemented only at levels within our responsibility or ability. Both aspects mentioned above fall under this category. Meaningful social change can occur by combining the three foci that comprise the arena of events and include the women, the men and the systemic-social domain.

Feminism arouses awareness of the needs of women while discerning their uniqueness and difference. However, this researcher believes that involvement in the realm of change amongst women is not clear enough in the State of Israel and occurs without a guiding hand. Actions and programs intended to alter the individual – the woman – known by the general term 'empowerment' have existed for many years. This is the aspect discussed in this study.

Absolute blindness and denial bordering on callousness exist in the systemic realm. Changes regarding males are an area that is discussed less, entailing an ambivalent attitude, disagreement and even embarrassing in practical feminist activism. Mayoral advisors do not really deal with this at all.

2.5.3.1 Gender change in the social-systemic arena
Society has experienced many changes in the female-gender context: women work outside the home, women have the right to vote, women study, women can obtain contraceptives, women even have the right to object to traditional female roles. Society however, has remained basically patriarchal. "In societies controlled by men, women feel that the father embodies subjectivity….the representative of the outside world, while the mother is the object that provides the needs." (Strenger, 2005:35).

Our experiences are constructed of pairs of opposites (Watzlavick et al., 1979); each party in the reality is awarded its significance or uniqueness from the existence of its converse facet (such as light and dark). These two sides complement the same reality or belong to the same reference framework, and would seem to be contradictory. Women are the partners that complement men, but when these pairs of reality are awarded values they become independent identities despite describing a similar reality. The men then become 'good, successful, strong...' and the women become 'less good, less successful, less strong..' to say the least.

The review to this point, from reading newspapers and observing daily life using receptive sensors, clearly indicates that the existing situation is unsatisfactory. This feeling of dissatisfaction was, in fact, the first change created by feminism. This recognition generated the first dissonance within the patriarchal harmony existing for many years, based and backed by social, religious and political ideology that developed theories and tools to preserve and replicate the situation.

Feminism, however, indicates the necessary foci of change some of which were implemented, but the fact that Women's Day is celebrated universally on the March 8th is a statement that significant change has yet to occur.

Agreement exists of need for change besides an ongoing debate between the approach that views internal change as a lever for external change and the approach that supports external change that will have implications and affect personal change. These are dichotomous approaches that are not suitable to the feminist view and this researcher therefore believes in the need for parallel foci of change.
The change functions at several connected foci despite the independent and separate operation of each focus according to the change diagram.\textsuperscript{75} The motion is circular and bi-directional divided into

- **Formal derivatives** that include the government sector working to enact laws, amongst other things regarding the status of women. The State of Israel has, in fact, enacted some of the most advanced laws in the world in this regard, but its weakness is manifested in the lack of enforcement and proper application of the laws. The other formal sector is the municipal one (in which this researcher works), whose role, amongst other things, is to make services and rights accessible and to apply the relevant laws. The local authorities do not act from a gender agenda, and therefore the services and their accessibility are not conducted under a declared and systematic policy with a gender aspect.

- **Informal derivatives** that include the individual sector, in which systemic involvement occurs through leadership and empowerment courses, led by the advisor on the status of women in local authorities.

The second informal derivative in this domain is the personal-cultural sector, the most difficult of all. The State of Israel, as a state with a traditional and religious culture, does not enable a breakthrough in altering socializing codes and norms, and finds it hard to come to terms with liberal values, mainly those pertinent to marginal groups, including women.

Since the cultural derivative has an existential impact and structures the personal and collective identity, it is a serious brake and barrier to the other derivatives of change, while extending the time for implementing and realizing the change.

Naturally the focus in this study will be on the municipal arena and systemic change. This means change in the rules of the game or a new division of the resources and roles, i.e., dividing the foci of power differently. Organizational structures tend to reinforce the power of a limited group of role holders who are usually disinterested in forgoing the privileges of power.

The municipal arena is an ideal structure for change since (Status of women Canada 2004 a).

\textsuperscript{75} Appendix B item 1 is based on, and adapted by, the researcher from the work by Rao and Kelleher (2005) for the purpose of this study.
1. The residential environment has immediate influence on the quality of the individual's daily life. The community belongs to the male and female residents alike.

2. Females and males are influenced and experience differently the municipal activities, since socialization and social norms afford women different roles and other areas of responsibility than they do men.

Reality teaches us that women are not sufficiently involved in municipal or national political activity, despite the fact that they are affected by it in all areas of life. By assuring their involvement in community life, and by meeting their special needs, local government can be a leading factor in attaining equality between the genders and this is one of the challenges we face.

Gender equality has been recognized as a basic principle in society. "The advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are matters of human rights and conditions for social justice and should not be seen in isolation as a women’s issue. They are the only way to build a sustainable just, and developed society. Empowerment of women and gender equality are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural, and environmental security among all peoples." (UN, 1995).

The process of systemic-social change, according to the paper-work, of the Canadian Women Status office, Femmes et Ville, (2004 a), should be based on the following underlying assumptions:
1. Equality does not imply similarity – women do not become males and vice versa.
2. Every action, policy, project or trend affects males and females differently.
3. Constructive cooperation between males and females is essential.
4. Women should participate equally as agents of change at all levels – political, social, and economic. However it should be remembered that they encounter difficulties that hinder or prevent them from participating in urban political life such as.
   a. The need to balance the work world and the family, especially for women with small children, leaving them less free time than men to become involved with political life. Their absence from the areas in which decisions are taken creates a situation in which their voices are not heard and the decisions taken are biased towards interests that are foreign to their basic needs.
b. Most of the existing organizational structures perpetuate the stereotypical gender division of tasks (with women responsible for areas of education, welfare, health and so on).

c. The election method that blocks the entry of women into the political area and the absence of preventive steps such as the need to ensure their representation (placing women in unrealistic political party slots, not offering jobs connected to the elections, preventing their exposure, not looking for women for party lists and so on).

d. The lack of budget and financial sources for women interested in contending.

5. Special gender based analysis (GBA) indices should be planned to eliminate gender inequality.

6. Empowering women is the key to the success of the process.

Local authorities in the State of Israel, particularly in the last decade, have been mainly responsible for the welfare of their residents as far as national services and local development were concerned (Rubinstein, 2004). In a combined and gradual process, not always planned, authority was delegated and responsibility transferred from the central government, that, together with local initiatives of the local authorities, created activity at the local, municipal level gradually expanded (Deri, 1994). This situation locates the municipal arena as important and central in leading social change.

2.5.3.2 Gender change in the personal, female arena

Social-systemic change cannot be implemented without resources, knowledge and ability, but these are not enough to create meaningful change – transformation (Wilber, 1999) - in the status of women. Personal change does not occur in a vacuum, just as personal identity, and as regards this study, the female identity, is the result of socialization and education.

The approach that connects woman=wife=mother is that which should be considered from the perspective of social and personal change together. As noted in previous sections, one of the facets defining female identity (in Israel too) is motherhood (Friedman 1999). Women are committed to the myth of the perfect mother (Warner, 2005) and their preparedness

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76 This is a tool that helps in deciding policy, in planning and in decision-making processes from the gender perspective. It is based on broad insights regarding gender equality while using diverse skills and tools for involving males and females in constructing the organization for the future. (Status of Women, Canada, 2004 b)

77 The researcher's experience supports these findings as regards their perception of themselves today as well.
for the roles depends on fulfilling their social role as mothers.\textsuperscript{78} This situation got strength when even women in management positions, whose career and personal development demands great devotion to work, mentioned the family still holds prime importance to the point of waiving their careers (Shalev, 1995).

The emphasis on the link between the woman being a wife and a mother is a symbiotic connection. Following the first stage of converting the woman from an unmarried to a married person, she must become a mother, since without this her position is incomplete\textsuperscript{79}.

To be a married woman is considered an important social status in society in general and in Israeli society in particular. Such marriage has a distinct patriarchal character, defining the woman as the man's property, her obligations as mother and wife, making divorce generally difficult but allowing it more easily if the conditions of motherhood and wife are not upheld.

Being mothers and wives has positioned women as economically dependent on the main wage earner – the father, brother, husband - which was one of the reasons pushing women to go out to work and earn an income. Although it was one of the most influential and decisive feminist changes, it is one of the main problems faced by women today. The transition to the public sphere - work - did not alter the social perception towards the gender division of roles in the home and the family area as belonging to the woman (Smithson and Stoke, 2005). Women found themselves juggling two demanding areas – work and career, and family and home.

The world of work became another area for the gender division from the point of view of the areas of work (physical work for men – both complex but also rewarded; female work – close to the involvement at home – caring, welfare, and less well compensated). The studies find that women are no different from men in their attitude to the centrality of work in

\textsuperscript{78} The issue of family has been raised in the context of the 2005 elections in Germany, when the Chancellor's wife noted the fact that Angela Merkel, the contestant, was not a mother, or Condoleesa Rice, the American Secretary of State, who never married or gave birth. Such comments apparently raise question marks regarding the possible candidacy of the latter as future President of the US (Azulai, 2006).

\textsuperscript{79} In many traditional societies and in Israel the obligation to give birth is manifested in diverse ways. In religious Jewish society, the day of the wedding is planned such that the woman may become pregnant on the wedding night. Women are expected to remain virgins and only become pregnant within the marriage framework and they are valued according to their ability to give birth to males who are perceived as continuing the family name.
their lives (Shalev, 2003) or in the importance, they relate to it (Shamir, 1990). But the reality is that:

"The father's work enjoys respect by the parents, grandparents, and society. Father's work is glorified – the entire family participates in this standard, empower the importance of his work" (Peleg-Rotem, 2006) what about mothers' work?

The world of work and the choice of profession are nowadays part of structuring self identity that impacts on the self image and on economic, social positioning and on the influential foci of power. The ways of socialization educated the women to develop skills of caring and service that were manifested in areas of professional learning that they chose.

Women were guided to professions wherein the necessity and level of emotional investment is not manifested proportionally in social compensation - low status and economic compensation manifested in low salaries.

Investigation of the division of labor finds most Israeli women working in six domains (Suhami and Kraus 2004) receiving lower salaries and less social recognition.

One of the main reasons that prevent women from taking on management roles or entering a profession that demands other time organization is the need to balance work and family. (Izraeli 1997 a)

Clearly, the entry of women to the world of work outside the home was only change of the first order. The world of work is still founded on the basic assumption that this is a male arena, manifested in terms that define a 'good worker' as a function of loyalty to the place of work, ready to invest long and inflexible work hours as a condition for promotion instead of professionalism and so on. The world of work is not adapted to the needs and demands of women. Therefore, the world of work with its broad perspectives, is another focus of change from the personal, female and systemic as well as gender perspectives.

2.5.3.3 Personal gender - male change

Men, like women, are a category that transects groups, and every change occurring today on in the future regarding women affects or is likely to

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80 Education - teachers and kindergarten teachers, welfare - social and care workers, health care-nursing , service - secretaries, community services, cleaning and housekeeping (about 91%).
affect the males no less. This reality must be considered at diverse levels, starting from research and concluding with practice.

If we look at the two areas discussed above the change needed regarding women is moving from home arena to the public arena while men will have to move from outside of the home – the public arena - to home arena.

The male arena contains two main roles: The 'wage earner', the provider of economic security, a replay of the hunter role of pre-history era, and the hero, the fighter, positioning him as the protector of territory or property (women being regarded as a sort of property) (Sheehy, 2000).

This transition includes two main foci – that of self-identity, the transition from stereotypical masculinity to "the new man" (Nardi and Nardi, 1992), or the 'metrosexual'81. The stereotypical approach emanating from basic assumptions such as "males are superior", "life=victory, loosing=death", "expressions of distress and weakness are a sign of lack of masculinity". "Masculine is everything that is not feminine" (Nardi and Nardi, 1992).
"To be a new male is a daily journey, harder, more sisyphic, more personal and more internal than the trip to the cosmetics shelf. This is a trek at the end of which there is change of identity and not only of image. This is a trek for males who want to break the traditional gender patterns, the traditional division of roles, the traditional demands of males. This means coping with the education we received that defines men as those for whom it is forbidden to express feelings, as those who need to be achievement oriented, who need to fear every spark of femininity in themselves, who think they are better than women", as Yair After, a social worker explains in an interview in the Haaretz Hebrew newspaper (Nizan 2004).

81 The word 'metrosexual' combines the word metro (urban) and sexual (sexuality). It does not refer to sexual tendencies. Mark Simpson, a British journalist, coined the term in 1994, in an article he published in the Independent newspaper, for a male city person, up-to-date in fashion, aware of his appearance, and caring for his body. The term was originally intended to describe general change in the perception of masculinity by males. (www.marksimpson.com (1994)
An additional focus derived from this is the functional focus. It is now not enough to be a good provider; one has to be a father and good partner, according to Dr. Gonet from the Sociological department of Bar – Ilan University. The increasing entry of women to the labor market created demands for change in the division of traditional roles that is till not satisfactory.

This situation indicates the reality of the disparity between declarations that become the apparent social order of the day, within the self and the environmental delusion (including that of women) regarding change that in practice does not really occur. This is manifested in statements such as My husband helps me..., I see greater equality in my children's lives - he collects my grandson from kindergarten..

Women invest more hours in housework (18.2) while the male participation may be only a few hours weekly (6.7). Men participate in several independent roles that are perceived as more interesting and appreciated, such as caring for children and shopping, or in roles defined as belonging to the male domain such as repairs. Women do routine, urgent and less appreciated work such as washing and cleaning (Glickman, Oren, Levin-Epstein, 2003).

This new definition of role traps fathers between the ideal, traditional image of fatherhood and the new image of a good father as one who is involved in caring for the children on a daily basis, provides emotional support and enables his female partner to develop her career. Alongside the confusion, anger, frustration and helplessness of the males, women also view the change ambivalently and some try to prevent or inhibit the change. The start of the processes experienced now by men are, in fact, the symbol of social change, since society is basically a patriarchal male model. Change amongst males will alter society. The focus of the necessary male change is therefore a new definition of the roles and expectations.

This researcher will not discuss this here, but just mention an approach according to which the debate over the new masculinity blinds us to the return of masculinity and with it patriarchalism to center stage due to the

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82 Also known as "maternal gatekeeping" by mothers/women. The study indicates that mother's attitudes towards gender roles was a prominent contribution in the level of the father's involvement in child care (Gonet, 2007).
discussion of gender (Shadmi, 2003) as a general term for creating social change.

Thus the gender change discussed here must include change in the individual and in the systemic aspects at the formal and informal levels in parallel processes.

The basic assumption that change at one level will affect a chain of changes is not totally unfounded but cannot afford the firm basis for beliefs regarding meaningful change that will occur anyway. In other words, activities in one domain only (in the individual focus for example) will not afford meaningful change without holding additional activities in the other realms.

Adopting the dual approach of gender focusing together with the simultaneous processes of empowerment women may perhaps enable meaningful change. However, this approach creates a lack of clarity by systems (government and municipal) who are demanded, to consider, as part of the change, the unique needs of members of both genders, alongside the continued support of activities that stress empowering women as a separate group (such as courses) (Hannan, 2003; Subrahmanin, 2004).

Most of the systemic changes introduced in the female context were through legislation that flourished in recent years. However, legislation is based on the element of 'enforced change' without hurting the accepted social norms. i.e., change of the first order.

This situation leads to the understanding that the necessary change is of the second order - world-shaking.

It is necessary to prepare for change at the two levels – the personal and the municipal through methodical, visionary action plans, with objectives, targets and operative tools, measuring and assessing all the stages in order to draw conclusions, make corrections and attain the proper channeling of resources to achieve the target set: Meaningful change in the status of women.

2.5.4 Difficulties on the path to achieving meaningful gender change
Levin (1951) recognized the connection between change and opposition to change as an indivisible link.\(^{83}\) Objection to change is, in fact, another mechanism of coping with the human repertoire. Patriarchal society in which we live is typified by values of preservation that are contradictory to change, while presenting a rigid front making change difficult. The need for broad change that in fact includes all the familiar values according to which our cultural codes were constructed as a society, presents a significant difficulty, since this sets us between two entities: 'Organization and order' and 'chaos'. The fear of the chaos is imprinted on the human experience that starts with the creation of the world. "And the earth was without form and void and darkness was on the face of the deep" (Genesis 1:2).

The significant change thus conveys a feeling of chaos that starts with the question of "From where to begin"? through the question of "Is it worth it?" and continues to "What will the new social order look like?"

The reaction to change slides on an axis from enthusiasm and the desire to realize the change, through apathy and indifference or the lack of interest to objection. Objection to change can appear in any of the three arenas of change (the cognitive, the emotional and the behavioral) and can be overt or covert, conscious or unconscious, expressed by individuals and unorganized or group opposition and organized; passive or active, with a direct or indirect connection to change and lacking a proper consideration of it (Fox, 2004).

Discussion of meaningful social change – the gender change – should entail definition of the expectations of the process, in order to afford the basis for determining the real, attainable objectives of the processes and projects in this context. The social gender change deals with two distinct target populations: The female population and the male population within the context of relationships.

The vision is attaining gender equality - which is a long-term goal. This is clearly procedural, and therefore a multi-stage goal. Its social character defines it as a multi-systemic objective, and its location in the scheme of change is at two levels – the personal and the systemic level, i.e., this is a complex objective, pertaining to all the tiers of life. The meaningful social change discussed here will therefore deal with three types of difficulty:

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\(^{83}\) He bases this on 'force field analysis', in which he claims that for achieving successful change, we must consider the causes of opposition, and combine activities that strengthen forces supportive of the process and weakening the opposition to it.
1. The lack of awareness of the possibility of change. (This is one of the imminent difficulties in the research of the personal change);
2. Opposition to the very existence of change and specific changes in particular;
3. Misunderstanding or lack of clear knowledge in leading processes of change.

This study will attempt to explore the difficulties in the processes of change from both the female and the male perspective with the social structures included under the male category since society is basically patriarchal.

2.5.4.1 The lack of awareness of the possibility of change

The lack of awareness from the female perspective stems from several causes.

1. Suppression - the stage of knowledge as defined previously, is the most important stage in the process of meaningful change. The many years of suppression experienced by women, regardless of its sources, blocked their access to knowledge. Its cumulative damage drains to a harsh experience, engraved on the awareness and accompanying activity and personal existence with feelings of degradation and paralysis.

As a result of the suppression, the women affected find it difficult to liberate themselves from the syndromes, and therefore often forgo the struggle for freedom because of their disbelief in its chances to succeed (Collins, 1991).

Spivak (1990) discusses female suppression as comprising several levels that can be adapted to the Israeli aspect. These include traditional European and colonialist (the British mandate) western and oriental patriarchy as well as Zionist, religious and militaristic facets. Within all these the female identity develops, often confused, struggling sisyphically for control of awareness, values and feelings, in their entire existence.

Women report dissonance in which their appearance does not necessarily reflect what they really are but what the social and value mirror reflects to them. This reflection is not compatible with their understanding but a product of the socialization. Female identity is trapped in 'a world of mirrors', as MacKinnon (1989) describes it.

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84 A multi-disciplinary suppression matrix comprising race, age, gender and religion, typical of every minority or group that experienced overt or covert suppression.
Under the weight of this suppression, the difficulty to change is quite clear.

2. The absence of power may be divided into two levels – the lack of power of the collective and the lack of power as a result of isolation, prevention of access or of opportunity.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, female gender identity is both personal and group identity. As a group women are a 'minority group' stemming from social constriction on a biological basis that decrees a different and discriminatory attitude. Despite the almost universal approach in most societies and cultures in which discrimination, suppression, enslavement and a message of value and moral inferiority exist, that deprive women of equal resources and equal compensation, they do not see themselves as belonging to a group – the group of women - and do not develop a universal female identity. The common social approach sees women as the collective 'other' of males; they do not see themselves as a collective 'other' but as 'other' (Benjamin, 2005). This situation sees each woman as an individual making her way alone without the 'power' of the group.

3. Acceptance and internalization: The fact of being a minority group is transferred from one generation to another as a basic fact (Simpson and Yinger, 1965). Their tendency to identify psychologically with the majority group – the males (Phinney, 1995) creates acceptance and internalization of their weak, secondary positioning.

4. The correct reality: Some claim that the world was controlled by women in the distant past, but known history talks of a male world. This is supported, apparently, by archeological findings, documents, myths and religion. In the absence of other findings, there is no way to imagine a situation different from that existing. The remains and the existence of a patriarchal society throughout history affords a type of justification for the uniqueness of reality as it is. The 'correct reality' is created by preserving practices and includes developing values of determinism, rigid principles, lack of empathy for the weak, glorifying power and so on. The theories, the studies and the ideologies that developed over the generations and which created a situation for which there is no other perceptual possibility bar that which sees women as secondary to men, defined as holding auxiliary roles, generated a scenario in which it was not only hard for women to see themselves differently, but men also lack another point of view. This created a type of mutual support that left the situation as it was.

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Tajfel (1978) defines it as a population with poor access to resources.
5. Social channeling: Channeling forces operate amongst the female population as they do amongst the male population. Channeling also includes dictating feelings, emotions and desires that together combine to a situation of denial backed by social 'satisfaction' stemming from positions that are relatively comfortable for as pertinent to women and therefore did not arouse the male skepticism.

2.5.4.2 Objection to the very existence of change

Opposition to change is a familiar phenomenon and stems mainly from:

a. The fear of uncertainty: Habits develop through repetition, they bring a feeling of stability, familiarity and therefore convey security. So is the tradition whose role is to preserve the link to the past, the stability of belonging in which each individual knows what is expected of him/her and thus feels secure. People are scared of the unknown resulting in a feeling of instability and lack of security.

b. Loss of profit: Every change involves a price – profit or loss. The paradox apparently lies in the fact that even if the situation is generally negative and unpleasant (as women experience it in a patriarchal world) the change involves loss of profit\(^{86}\), stemming, in fact, from weakness. Gonet (2007) mentions the maternal gate keeping as an example, since it is customary to think that the female interest is that the male will help and the male interest is to escape. What happens, in fact, is the preservation of the threshold of motherhood. The motherhood roles are defined by women and they are the ones who control male involvement – give out tasks, determine the timetable and make the male an assistant to the manager and not an equal partner. Motherhood is perceived as power by the women and they are not prepared to forgo it.

c. Loss of control: If women have something to lose, men have even more – the loss of power, authority, status and benefits.

2.5.4.3 Non-understanding or lack of knowledge as to how to lead change

A key question in leading change is who can or should lead it, an issue to which Crispin (2005) relates i.e., the 'ability to change' of both the topic of change and, in our case, of women, it is important to check 'whether women are prepared to change', and of course, which change? And on

\(^{86}\) For women these profits are likely to be the absence of need to make a living, of not having to take decisions and bear responsibility, the freedom of action if these obligations are met and so on.
the other hand what of the ability to change amongst men and within the entire society?

The inability to change in the context of women stems from:

1. The lack of tools or the lack of suitable tools, which is one of the key questions that concern this and other studies;
2. The lack of motivation: A low self-image leads to disbelief in the ability to change. In turn it creates a situation for us in which we always struggle for our survival, a struggle that leaves us lacking the strength to change. Instead, we are busy finding justification for the lack of change in our fixated patterns of thought. "At my age…in my situation…I don’t have the tools.." adopt diverse techniques of denial. "I didn’t suffer from..." "we have no problem...". Some of the lack of motivation is based on habit whose role is to preserve the constant and belonging, in which each individual knows what is expected of him. The question to be asked, therefore, will deal with ways of developing motivation.
3. The lack of perspective: Change is a process and therefore it is difficult to see and experience immediate results making it hard to believe in the path. Human nature, and the culture we have developed, demands clear, immediate and viable success. To this end one must set goals which must be realistic and not get lost in the process.
4. Lack of focus: The type of change is multi-systemic and is spread over many areas that necessitate simultaneous action, making meeting the targets of success difficult (as they are defined in the previous section). The concept of success should thus be redefined.

Women must cope with both the blocks at the personal/inner level and with the barriers at the social/external level. A close connection exists between them; they feed each other and become one entity that is difficult to separate. This system, as this researcher understands it, is comprised of three levels of blocks/barriers:

1. Historical: Blocks at the basic root level that become the personal identity. Theoreticians such as Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) emphasize the importance of the first years in a child's life in which his values, attitudes and behaviors are shaped.
2. Manipulative: Blocks and barriers that are the result of situations and the development of diverse social theories, of social changes and adapting blockages to these changes, while adopting techniques that are used in mechanisms that emphasize the need for stability

87 Blocks will be defined in this study as a difficulty, inhibiting attitude, preventive from the inside aspect. Barriers will be defined as exterior, visible or invisible obstacles or structures
3. Legal: The result of legitimate expression by those with authority to determine life styles. The woman's roles are replicated from one generation to the next through beliefs, perceptions, values and norms and even laws, and mainly since the patriarchal world thereby maintains control in male hands who exploit the ideology, the education, and all the means to exclude women keeping them in the narrow, inferior, domain. (Foucault, 1979)

Thus, many changes have occurred in everything pertaining to women in the 20th century, although
1. Not all women around the world benefit from them;
2. The changes that occurred did not alter the social foundations that permit female inferiority still rampant in all domains and nations around the world;
3. Most change concerns the question of legitimate 'rights', although legislation in this matter is not translated into daily life. Ways must now be found to empower women in order to convert their legal rights to daily reality (Status of women, Canada 2005)

2.5.5 Ways and tools for change

Two ways will be discussed in this study:
1. Agents of change
2. Empowerment programs

2.5.5.1 Agents of change – a role and a profession

Due to the complexity of the change with which we are dealing and its being a social change, one of the accepted ways for motivating change is through agents of change (Status of Women, Canada 2004a).

Male and female agents of change are role holders, key figures in the process of creating change and its success. This is therefore a synonymous notion, replacing and sometimes confusing to the roles appearing in the literature mainly regarding the organizational realm such as 'a leader of change', an 'administrator of change', or 'administrator of a program for change'.

The concepts of 'leader' or 'manager' are not identical and they are directed to two types of role. A 'leader' is a person who manages what is needed, what is missing, and a 'manager' is someone who leads that
which exists (Peres, 2006). Thus one can differentiate between external\textsuperscript{88} and internal\textsuperscript{89} agents of change. An internet study conducted by Canterucci (www.corpchange.com) finds that in 68\% of the cases, it is difficult to create internal agents of change and external agents should be used. But establishing change depends on both internal and the external agents (Fullan and Stiegelbauer, 1991).

Discussion of the subject of change, as we have already mentioned, focuses usually on changes in the business and administrative world, distinct male domains, so that descriptions and definitions of agents of change in these domains are derived from to the 'male suit', and have an organizational, administrative, character embracing the domain and the world.

Reference to women as 'agents of change' is associated with areas of weakness and mainly pertains to such subjects as education, health, welfare, poverty and violence, which are clearly social domains of a female gender or geographical-local character. Women are therefore distinct agents of social change.

The female agents of change who are committed in their behavior and thought to the subject of change face the need to cope with double loyalty. They are torn between the interests of women as a group (as regards the topic of this thesis) and those of the system – the state, society – that are mostly opposed to these interests or are not aware of them. Furthermore, women mostly fill the role of the socialization agent as mothers and educators. This is a role that preserves and replicates the existing. Making them agents of change designates, apparently, a role contradictory to the traditional role of women and necessitates a set of tools and suitable emotional readiness.

To be an agent of change is a role with attributes and abilities, some of which are innate and some of which can be acquired and polished, for which reason they are important (Canterucci, www.corpchange.com). It is therefore important

\textsuperscript{88} External agents of change – a factor that proposed change (Sharan, 1990), provides new tools, advises the administration, supports the choice of diverse possibilities for action/activity, works to assure the application processes and strives to offer long-term support that will express establishing the change.

\textsuperscript{89} Internal agent of change - a factor from within the organization/group with impact that relies on a) being liked and accepted by members of the organization/work/group; b) has access to the foci of decision-making in the organization/group as a result of seniority, experience, connections or sources of knowledge. They are not usually defined as formal leaders by the organization.
1. To locate and identify 'good agents of change' according to three components:
   a. Does she have the right approach?
   b. Does she have the knowledge?
   c. Does she have the right skills? (Tan & Kaufmann www.europe.isixsigma.com)

2. To train agents of change for their position;
3. To construct a professional support mechanism for them.

An agent of change is a key figure who leads a complex process of change, and in our case of social change in the status of women, while understanding and recognizing that this role is in fact a profession.

Organizational researchers define two main areas necessary for the work of an agent (leader) of change – the ability to manage a project and the ability to motivate people (Recklies, 2001), which, at first glance are liable to also be suitable to the process of social change. However, since the social change with which this study deals is extremely broad and complex, one should continue to explore the other components necessary for training agents of change. One of the questions that must be considered is whether the social change is identical to another organizational process of change and how this difference or similarly measured.

The organizational agent of change needs the ability to set clear, realistic goals and targets. He must be flexible and sensitive in his way of conducting himself regarding the reality and goals of change. The understanding that teamwork is needed rather than individual work is one of the keys to success. To this end, the agent of change must develop an effective work team, define authority and clear areas of responsibility, and conduct good communications with colleagues and subordinates while developing a network of connections within and outside the organization, to reinforce the work.

Another tool is the ability to function efficiently in an environment of uncertainty, for which extensive interpersonal abilities that include attention, gathering necessary information, identifying needs and managing communications channels.

As leaders of a process they must be able to manifest personal excitement which helps to encourage and plant motivation and commitment in others. The success of an agent of change depends on the ability for a spatial view, identifying possible coalitions, and the ability to influence
and achieve commitment by those in opposition or lacking faith in the project (Buchanan and Boddy, 1992).

In the absence of a model for agents of change suitable to the type of change discussed here, the researcher has chosen to examine the daily reality in the State of Israel, where, in the year 2000, advisors on the status of women were appointed\textsuperscript{90}. The essence of their position, believes this researcher is not defined by law, is to be an agent of change. Their appointment from the municipal system and their responsibility for social change sets them at the junction between systemic loyalty and being agents of organizational change, and between the feminist perspective and being agents of social change. This complex junction necessitates professionalism, manifested in knowledge, agenda and skills, while training, support, monitoring and status are also needed.

The appointment of advisors positions them in a new role not only from the organizational perspective but from the social perspective. Without a detailed role definition, and based on her accumulated experience, this researcher would claim that the advisor fills two more functions simultaneously, that combine to the former previously-mentioned functions. She is the external agent of change for the group of women of whom she is in charge (all women in her municipal area) and in this role she must move processes of change amongst women there, and she is also an internal agent of change in two areas in parallel:

1. In the local municipal realm – part of her role is to create a process of change in the organization to which she belongs organically;
2. In the professional realm – amongst the advisors themselves, as a colleague.

The advisor's training for the position thus first necessitates a self-definition at two levels – the personal level, in which the female identity undergoes change from an identity under patriarchal influence, to a feminist female identity within patriarchal society, which is a basic and primary source of conflict. The second level is the professional level at which she should develop a professional identity based on the feminist personal identity within distinct patriarchal systems. This is the source of the second conflict. Developing this identity is the awareness that is the first stage in the empowerment process, needed for the position.

\textsuperscript{90} Everything stated in this context is the result of drawing conclusions and analyzing reality by the researcher based on close familiarity with the subject and relevant materials mentioned in the suitable context.
Another tool for transformative change in the status of women is empowerment - the focus of this thesis. Several ways exist of attaining such empowerment, including through courses. This researcher intends to discuss the concept of empowerment and the above courses in the next section.

2.6 Empowerment

Attaining meaningful social change is a slow and complex process. One of the basic assumptions regarding this process of change is founded, in the context of women, on the approach regarding the need to empower them. "Empowering women is the key to the success of the process." is one of the recommendations of the report of the Canadian Ministry for the Status of Women (2005:5) and one of the more popular ways of dealing with the subject of the status of women in various countries and in Israel.

Gender equality and empowering women were one of the eight goals to whose achievement the international community and members of the United Nations committed themselves by 2015 (UN, 2000). "..Empowering women and their full integration on an equal basis in all domains of society.. are basic foundations in attaining equality, development and peace." (UN, 2005).

The term 'empowerment' appears in endless combinations – as the title of lectures, workshops, courses, statements by politicians, by academicians and by ordinary people. It represents a broad range of approaches and strategies, results or goals for which one should strive. As with the concept of change, here too, despite the broad use of the term, especially recently, its definition is not simple and clear in the least. Some of the lack of clarity stems from the fact that there are additional concepts that refer to the same substance and values, especially when article writers use differing terms in one article and context.

The term embraces the words 'power' and 'self', together creating the concept of 'self-power'. Empowerment will be located at one end of the scale as the dichotomous approach, and weakness at the other, or a weakened position compared to a strong position. Positioning them thus will lead to a disconnected situation. The terms weakness and empowerment emanate from the basic assumption regarding the existence of a desired (social and cultural) standard for which one must strive and that affords the value of power or weakness to a situation, person or group. The combination of power and women (female empowerment) leads, at first glance, to reference to women as a group, and as another
weak population that needs to be strengthened. However, the female population is not one uniform unit but differs from other populations in being an independent category, adjacent to the category of 'men'. As a category it transects groups, since women, like men, are an integral part of any consideration and division into sub-groups each with a shared critical attribute, such as age (children, the elderly), nationality, ethnic origin (minorities), socio-economic status, (immigrants, the poor) the disabled etc.

Most of the professional literature on empowerment read by the researcher shows a clear trend in the describing the processes of empowering a population, including women, in third world countries, or a description of weak groups in a country considered established, such as ethnic groups, tribes etc. This approach is based on a historical social distribution underlying the western culture that sees itself as a hegemonies culture with the correct knowledge affording it the right to control and lead (Parpart, Connelly and Barritteau, 2000). Hence this culture must be introduced to the rest of the world, especially to countries defined as third world or undeveloped. Hegemonies culture thus defines the marginal groups geographically, socially, economically and creates an infrastructure for perceptual definition of the belonging to these groups. If one manages to logically observe, it is strange and not at all clear how the marginal perception in the context of women, who are a category identical to that known as male, developed in human society.

According to this western approach, the principles of the power existing in a developed country or society have been defined as productive according to criteria of creativity, efficiency, control of production resources and technological development, due to the obligation of developing human wealth through education (Dube, 1988). One of the definitions appearing in the Penguin dictionary (1977) for the term development mentions "Discovering and exposing existing covert strengths …expansion and strengthening, growing, to be more mature…", issues definitely suitable to the topic of this thesis.

The concept 'development' appears first in the gender context in the 1970s when it was claimed that since women account for more than half of the population, they are a key factor in the quality of life and the economy of society. Development should aim to create ongoing improvement in the individual's quality of life. These goals will not be attained without the cooperation of women, whose involvement implies that they have equal

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91 Western society includes North America, parts of Europe that were not part of the Communist bloc after the division of Europe following WWII.
rights and access to the means existing for self-improvement and improving society (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995). In other words, gender equality is the key to development (Parpart et al., 2000).

Western society, that was deep into introducing its culture to the entire world, did not make time to examine itself and the status of women. The women themselves were convinced that they did not need empowerment since they are well-positioned. In the State of Israel, the myth of gender equality that accompanied the years of the Zionist revolution (Kamir, 2004a) that was internalized very well, became one of the main obstacles that blocked and prevented change from occurring for many years, some of them existing till now. This thesis deals with, and focuses on, this population of women who are not described socially as weak in Israel after they awakened from the myth.

Men often cynically joke, "And what about us? We also need to be empowered?" This researcher asked one male what he meant by this. In response he defined the areas of empowerment which he feels are needed as the emotional domain. He directed the spotlight towards several conclusions she considers important:

1. Refuting the myth that only women are in need of empowerment, based on the incorrect perception regarding their weakness, while men are perceived as strong. Their need for empowerment pertains to all and not only to one specific group.

2. The term empowerment refers to situations of weakness or to weakened tools from a subjective perspective, and not only to the objective general weakness of a population from a social perspective. The feeling of, or the need for, empowerment are time, place and situation-dependent.

3. Furthermore, empowerment is a function manifested in several areas, so that individual empowerment in a specific area does not necessarily reflect on another area, and above all, on a person's self-perception of him/herself despite the connection between them.

4. The personal definition of weakness is not always clear even to the individual under discussion, and herein lies the root of the problem – the definition, or developing the awareness. The process of empowerment can occur only if there is awareness of the weakened positioning, of the subjective feeling or of the apparently social-objective perception. Disparity in the definition stem from the lack of awareness and from the incorrect use of terms, as a result of social pressure and therefore a common language must be created.
The liberal perception of the leading assumption (Wichterich, 2005) maintains that gender equality will be attained when there will be a critical mass of strong women. These women will pave the way for change in the social and cultural structures and in the agenda, which will generate change in the balance of powers between the genders or, will afford transformative meaningful change. How can this critical mass be attained is one of the questions this thesis will try to answer. Since there has been considerable activity over the past decades, amongst other things such as courses and activities that call themselves empowering activities, and the changes attained did not bring the anticipated result (Wichterich, 2005). The question of why, and what is the anticipated result should be explored.

Should the ambition to attain meaningful social change (as an anticipated result) be based on a critical analysis of the power relationships, while developing the more radical concept of entitlement that combines the demand for individual rights with the demand for structural change? (Wichterich, 2005) All these are theoretical questions necessary to develop a practical line of action that leads to results.

The dominant assumption today is that strong women will be able to initiate social change. What is the definition and meaning of the concept 'strong women'? And does it integrate with the 'critical mass' approach as a way of achieving change or is the intention to single out a particular group – a group of agents of change? These questions will also be discussed in this study.

2.6.1 Common language - Definitions of empowerment

The term empowerment embraces the concept of power, with its negative connotation reminiscent of a struggle, control and war. The Hebrew translation of the word entails two aspects – empowerment as relating to external activity of affording power, and strengthening, an internal process of discovering a person's inner latent strength. In both cases the connotation of power is positive, describing a process as well as a result (Gutierrez DeLois and Maye, 1995; Parsons, 1991; Simon, 1990).

1. A process – in which there is change or transition from one situation (of weakness) to another situation (of control). Empowerment is directed towards change in three domains:
- Personal change: Change in feeling that radiates onto personal ability;
- Social change: In the community/group domain, to which the empowered individual belongs;
- Systemic change: In the organizational domain.

This is an ongoing process and not a unique occurrence. Meaningful change will occur when the results in the above three areas of empowerment are attained (Sadan, 1997).

2. Result: Change in feelings regarding personal ability to attain control of processes and objectives, based on the process of choice\(^{92}\) (strategic choice) conducted from several diverse and real possibilities without paying a high price for it (Kabeer, 2001).

One of the perspectives claims that the process of empowerment is not external, i.e., something cannot be empowered, but is an internal process in which a person empowers himself following a series of experiences. No lack exists here, filled through outside means, but discovery of the existing strengths and removing obstacles blocking them. The perception of therapy, that talks of strengthening, offering an opportunity, enabling, regaining control operates on this basis.

This is apparently the meaning of Dahan-Caleb's expression "lagging behind" (1999). Using this term, she notes that the individual, in interaction with the surroundings and with society, feels weak as a result of some sort of inner blockage, based on experience or an external social message. A parallel to the internal process is therefore needed. This process is intended to remove the social barriers and improve incentives intended to increase access and the opportunities of an individual or a group to attain assets – a process known as social inclusion (Bennett, 2002). It also enables the existence of the internal empowerment process and maintaining its achievements (Narayan, 2002; Ravallion and Shaohua, 2001).

A series of experiences accompanies the process that enables or hones behavioral components such as a feeling of the autonomy (Jeeyebhoy and Sathar, 2001) i.e. independence, freedom of choice, and non-dependency.

Empowerment is an ideology that believes that since we do not live isolated from our surroundings the existence of a process of interdependence is needed that passes flexibly from the private to the

\(^{92}\) Meaningful change in perception or inner transformation is basically necessary for the very existence of choice (Kabeer, 2001; Nussbaum, 2000). The use of the terms free choice and/or freedom of action are not always adapted to the world of women and thus the objective in their regard may be missed.
public and from the individual to the group, also known as reciprocal empowerment (Kabeer, 1998; Malhotra and Mather, 1997).

This is inner power or strength based, amongst other things, on knowledge, as transpires from the practice of feminist pedagogy that notes the connection between knowledge and strength (Connell, 1987; Hooks, 1994). This knowledge is divided into two categories:

- Knowledge of oneself: Awareness or inner strength, stemming from the individual's self-definition and from his self-confidence, through which the impact, radiated to the surroundings, expands.
- Knowledge of the other and the surroundings, is demanded by the above, in order to obtain the general, collective and shared agreement between the individual and the surroundings, that creates reciprocal empowerment (Sadan, 1997).

Knowledge, like empowerment, entails a transition between the internal and the external, and vice versa, as inseparable processes occurring mutually and dependent on each other. This situation therefore does not enable, believes this researcher, a separation between empowerment as a natural process in the individual's inner life and empowerment as professional intervention – an external process intended to hasten the individual's inner process (Sadan, 1997). This study will concentrate on external intervention via empowerment courses and will examine its impact on the personal inner change, on community/social change and on systemic change. These courses are a catalyst, but also channel the change into feminist tracks and not to general change, and therein lies their difference from similar and other activities.

The immediate question is whether the process of empowerment has stages that function gradually and linearly (personal-social-systemic)? If the answer is positive, then does each stage entail a necessary or individual period of time for the change to occur? Or that defines the success of attaining this stage? And if the process of empowerment means the existence of all three areas, what is the significance of the non-attainment of all three?

One of the definitions on which this study on empowerment is based is social interaction pertaining to all areas of life, based on mutual respect between people and creating an egalitarian connection based on personal responsibility (Yee, 2004).

2.6.1.1 Responsibility and authority
Shaw said "Freedom means responsibility. That is why most men dread it" (www.quotationspage.com/quote). The concept of responsibility necessitates a discussion unto itself (not to be explored in depth at this point). This researcher believes its importance as regards this study stems from its being a key concept in understanding the current situation in which women find themselves, and the situation for which they strive through the change. Responsibility is connected to freedom and the ability to choose, that we develop in the empowerment process, or a transition from a passive to an active stage.

A close connection apparently exists between knowledge (or understanding) and responsibility. Everyone is familiar with the Bible story about Adam and Eve (Genesis 3), who ate from the "tree of knowledge" and were expelled from the Garden of Eden. Life in the Garden of Eden bore no responsibility, for they had no knowledge, no understanding and no moral judgment. When man received knowledge and the ability to judge, he could also monitor his deeds and decide according to his own recognition and choice whether to be good or evil. Knowledge enables choice.

Empowerment, as noted above, entails developing awareness, which is a type of knowledge, associated with the ability to choose and develop responsibility. The ability to choose entails a decision-making process based on an order of priorities and the ability to cope with the results. The means to this, according to Aristo, is education, in its socialization context, through which people can develop and realize their personal skills and attributes. Attaining knowledge, education, was closed to women for many years, i.e., an attempt was made in fact, to control the knowledge they could acquire and thereby control their ability to choose. This reality helped make them passive and apparently lacking responsibility.

The concept of responsibility is manifested in two situations:
1. At the personal-interpersonal level where personal (individual) responsibility is manifested in responsibility for oneself, and/or for the other, to which is added an additional concept – that of authority.
2. At the social level (of collective responsibility) manifested in responsibility for a group or for public matters, and it is therefore responsibility due to a role with its accompanying authority.

93 The terms 'education' and 'teaching' are frequently mentioned as tools for social change. They are incorrectly used as if they were synonyms although they provide knowledge but in different ways.
The dynamics of the relationships between the genders is defined by Benjamin (2005) as relationships of control – enslaving the woman and bestowing male authority, a situation that has been internalized by both genders. This historical reality is perceived and still exists as an obvious situation and as unavoidable, and has been translated over the generations into laws that have validated the social order. The meaning of this set of relationships is that women usually have almost no responsibility and lack authority compared to men who concentrate most of the responsibility and authority in their own hands. The reality of the lack of collective responsibility affected the women's self-perception of themselves, of their abilities or the boundaries of the ability and led to developing behaviors and self-management accordingly.

The question of how this situation was created greatly occupied feminism, but it will be wrong to claim that only one party (men) are responsible for creating these unequal power relations. Women should also be viewed as contributing to the situation. The explanation offered by Benjamin (2005:28) refers to the process of developing a personal identity in which people are in need of recognition by 'others' both similar and different to ourselves. This situation creates a type of paradox – while recognition is "the reaction of the other that affords meaning to feelings, intentions and activities of the self" (Benjamin, 2005:20), they face the need and ambition for self-definition that enable enslavement to the 'other', which in our context is the male gender 'other'.

Voluntary submission, waiving, lead to gaining control. Although Fromm (1992) stresses the escape from freedom or from responsibility as a universal phenomenon. The equation of the relationships between the genders indicates the need of women for recognition that pushes them into submission, or is maybe a need stronger than that of independence stemming from consciousness. This situation facilitates the control of men over women. Egalitarian relationships will not be possible as long as these relationships of control exist. Moreover, control is not healthy for the long term since the controller (the man) also eventually becomes a slave of control.

The answer to questions regarding "Who controls my life? I or the other?" "Who is sovereign" (Schafer, 1976) is not simple and clear-cut. Furthermore, as part of the process of maturing we develop the agency (Schafer, 1976), composed of initiative, responsibility, independence or sovereignty, and this is an expansion of something basic, existing in us. Submissiveness or lack of responsibility became the symbols of the
definition of femininity, compared to masculinity. Women define themselves through and according to the needs of the males, the children or of society. Their self-perception is that they cannot cope or take responsibility for themselves or for their lives or for domains, topics or roles.

In order to create change in the situation described above, the empowerment processes must relate seriously to the issue of responsibility and authority from the perspective of the women and the men alike.

If we take an example from the realm of management, we realize that a connection exists between 'delegating authority and taking decisions' (Davidov, 1993) or between responsibility and authority.

The empowerment process is presented as a situation in which there is a source of power – in this case the administration, or in our case, society – that delegates authority to the powerless – the employees, (or women in our case). Delegating authority offers the empowered person two options: Accepting the authority delegated = taking responsibility, or refusing to accept the authority = not accepting the accompanying responsibility.

These two concepts again point to the dialogue between the internal and the external, and the almost symbiotic connection between them that connects to one of the basic distinctions of feminism: There is no sterile personal or public (external) sphere but rather an inseparable combination of the two.

Another interesting question that arises from this definition is "What is the source of authority or power? Is it external – the administration-society or internal - the employees- women, each for herself and as a group. Observing reality, aiming for an answer - for each person has a source of strength originating in another foci. The administration's focus of power is based on the formal definition and on the control of sources and resources – money, connections, and, translated to the case discussed here – men, while the employees - women enjoy a focus of power based on knowledge, abilities and skills. The connection between these two foci of power will be able to produce results.

This analogy reveals the broad repertory that can define foci of power, some aspects of which are situation-dependent and some are dependent on social agreement. It is important to remember, in the above example, that the power relationships between the two populations are defined as
hierarchy – management and employees. The situation is more complicated when it is defined as egalitarian, the origins of the authority and responsibility must still be addressed. The change needed is constructing an egalitarian social array that will have to compete with concepts of 'personal and social responsibility' and with the concept of authority and to redefine them or define them differently.

2.6.2 Personal empowerment and community empowerment

The original meaning of the word empowerment is a type of power of attorney – the permission to operate in the name of society, a type of delegating authority at the social level given to a specific individual (Sadan, 1996)

This is a process of transition from a passive to an active situation in which greater control of life will be achieved. People (including women) who are helpless as regards their lives and surroundings cannot realize their potential (Freire, 1985; Giddens, 1984). Helplessness stems from social processes that 'disempower' entire populations, including women. Thus the empowerment process must combine two sub-processes:

a. Individual empowerment – A personal process of change wherein the individual can be helped to extract from within himself (since everyone has potential power) and there is no reason to empower him/her or to create it for each individual. The process can occur under diverse conditions and will have a particular social value when it occurs through active participation in the collective processes of change of groups and organizations (Sadan, 1993). Three stages may be discerned in personal empowerment:

1. Discovering the participation: People discover they are not alone in their situation, their needs and feelings. This entails finding a common denominator or a critical attribute;
2. Change in the attitude and behavior towards a group of people or situation; alienation and hostility become support and friendship;
3. Discovering personal/social skills and their application. Some people become organized and begin to function as a community. These stages are identical to those of community empowerment, indicating a connection between these two levels of empowerment.

b. Community empowerment is a process in which people with a shared 'critical attribute' experience a process of empowerment,

94 Attribute, origin, situation (Sadan and Peri, 1990), as well as a geographic area are a basis for solidarity (Sadan, 1993)
during which they cohesce as a community that organizes itself for change in the social situation in which they exist. The process creates, therefore, a redefinition of the concept of 'community' (Handler, 1990).

Typical stages in the community empowerment process in addition to the three stages already mentioned can be discerned (Sadan, 1993):

1. Offering an alternative to the existing situation – the community presents an independent proposal for the change it desires or presents an organized alternative for the existing situation or for a proposal made to it, and fights for its application;
2. Applying influence and organization to the acceptance of change in the laws, policy, services, approaches or values important to it;
3. Discovering the limitations of empowerment, based on an attitude of control and ability, will lead to cooperation with professionals and with a variety of experts for developing contacts and continued development.

The process of empowerment that this researcher will attempt to investigate through empowerment courses for women presents several questions in the context of that described above. Those courses are conducted in a public–communal sphere, through the advisor as an agent of social change. Can women who participate in an empowerment course be considered a population with a critical attribute, for their very being women? Can women, as a category, be considered a "critical attribute"? And what happens following the course – do they develop into a community with a critical attribute – that of women? Can one also employ the same basis to define the community generated and as a critical attribute due to which they were invited to and participated in the course? The importance of these questions lies in the fact that the more the critical attribute is defined and tangible it will enable examination of the products of the courses in the context of attaining targets of empowerment and as a tool for meaningful social change.

It is important to note the extent to which empowerment is context-dependent, whether as a culture-dependent or a regime-dependent term. The process of community empowerment is dependent on that which already exists in the environment. The democratic culture and the regime are the social structure of the process, with the resources and rules they provide. People operate not only within the limitations of the material
resources but within what the culture and the political regime in which they exist allow. The degree of the existence (or absence) of a political environment that allows organization, the degree of its existence (or absence) of social policy that allocates resources to operating community projects, the degree of the existence of values, traditions and rules of behavior, that support the participation of individual and of groups in public life - all have an impact on the character, track and results of the community empowerment process.

"The politics of life" (Giddens, 1991) is a concept that clarifies the reciprocal relationships existing between the private empowerment processes and community empowerment. People seeking their political personal interpretation, a search that is a sign of their personal empowerment, create expectations of change in the social structure. Community empowerment can be continued as a process that is possible when the accumulated individual expectations for change are translated into social reality. Individual empowerment creates a pool of potential for community empowerment. However, for it to occur additional resources, are needed such as:

1. Personally-empowered people aware and capable of functioning while realizing their personal objectives for social goals too.
2. Readiness for cooperation with professionals or other agents of change, who join, and are committed to, the process of social change, and who can contribute knowledge, material resources and legitimacy.

Therefore the question arises of whether to first train agents of change or to create the broadest possible personal empowerment processes? (the critical mass proposed by Wichterich (2005) as an option for change).

In both empowerment processes the products attained will be:
1. People's recognition of their right to express ambitions and desires;
2. Awareness that will enable redefining themselves and their situations;
3. Belief in the independent ability to attain results;
4. Determination and desire, motivation to achieve resources and to develop abilities in order to achieve a goal valuable in life;
5. All these will lead to real and tangible achievements.

2.6.3 Empowering women
The question was posed earlier of 'whether women as a category can be defined by the critical attribute of simply being women?' The researcher believes the answer is positive, since women everywhere are a population that suffers from a weakened position and marginality due to power relationships in all walks of life (Bluman, 2005), between men and women. These create a situation of male control attained through physical, social, economic and political means while creating a hierarchical ranking in a place where it was necessary to maintain an egalitarian array.

Gaventa (1980) finds that marginal groups did not object to discrimination and control by the hegemonic group which aims to prevent them, by using power, from participating in the decision-making process ('glaring inequality'). This situation is relevant to the description of the behavior of women in general, so their passive agreement is not an expression of lack of interest in participating, but proof of coming to terms with the situation.

The methods of socialization through education, that direct the women to be a wife and mother mentioned in previous chapters (Malhorta, Schuler and Boender, 2002) creates at, the same time, separation between responsibility and authority, or between the degree of responsibility and the degree of authority concentrated in the hands of women compared to men in the division of roles, sources and benefits.

Thus the core of the concept of 'female empowerment' lies in the woman's ability to control her fate (Kabeer, 1999; Malhota et al., 2002) and to channel herself according to her needs and abilities, without this affecting her or her ability to choose.

It is important to differentiate between empowerment, which is primarily a personal process, and attaining basic equal rights – the right to education, or health, an open approach to sources and to employment possibilities and so on. The existence of rights, anchored in legislation, is an external social process, which is incomplete without the enforcement stage, or in the absence of creating an adequate social climate for internalizing the message that the rules are aimed to convey, as in the case of the law against sexual harassment for example. Realizing rights, feasible through the laws, is only part of the empowerment puzzle. These are two processes - female empowerment on the one hand and the existence of rights that must be realized on the other, interconnected and

95 Force refers to both the physical aspect and the political aspect, known also as influence – the ability to coerce someone despite his objection. (www.exonomicexpert.com)
influencing each other. Their severance leaves the situation without meaningful change. After attaining the legal rights one must now continue the process that will expose the roots of the discrimination and alter the situation. Women now must learn how to choose suitable strategies, how to enter, and participate in, other political institutions responsible for decision-making and policy making – all in all, how to create change.

Most research and world attention includes the concept of female empowerment as a means of attaining rights that pertain to the category of basic needs\(^{96}\) that are important for basic survival, such as right to education, to receive medical treatment, supervision of the birthrate (health), nutrition, personal safety. Women at the stage of empowerment based on the existence of basic needs, belong to the population that the United Nations defines as a developing society, or to minority groups within developed societies.

Too little attention, believes this researcher, is devoted to women who have experienced this stage, who still suffer discrimination and who are in need of empowerment. These are women at the empowerment stage, based on advanced needs of existence\(^{97}\). They belong, according to the UN definitions, to a "developed society" which is usually the group of countries known as the western world. This study focuses on this group of women, since the State of Israel is classified as a developed western nation by the world and by itself. This differentiation enables determining a critical attribute for all women in two more focused populations.

2.6.3.1 Female empowerment in the western world

The difficulty in western society focuses on exposing the covert camouflaged discrimination due to its being a world that defines itself as 'enlightened', and therefore gave birth to new and sophisticated types of discrimination. The absence of empowerment of women in this society does not emanate from the apparent absence of equality (declarative equality or legislative equality) but from the absence of equality, that exists and is possible in alternative indirect ways.

Raising awareness of this situation is harder due to the sophistication of the discrimination, but the result is identical as far as internalizing the

\(^{96}\) Based on Maslow's Needs Theory

\(^{97}\) The social and egoistical needs in Maslow's pyramid or the belonging and growth needs as described by Alderfer (1969).
situation by women is concerned, of the existence of barriers and perpetuating and preserving socialization.

In the 1970s, the theories that defined a developed and modern society were the infrastructure of creating a feminist liberal organization under the title Women in Development (WID) (UN, 2000; Nishimoto, 2001). This approach supported the integration of women in the existing frameworks, based on the belief that the more women who integrate will create an impact that will lead to change. Such integration will be possible through adapting the institutions to women. The first stage in change was therefore to demand recognition of their 'unique needs'. The institutional organization included establishing mechanisms and institutions purely on the expertise in understanding women's needs at the local and the international levels – opening offices dealing with the status of women, instruction programs for the staff in institutions and organizations, declaratory activities through formulating treaties and contracts of commitment, and consultancy to companies and institutions regarding taking initiatives and developing policy that advances and integrates women. This activity focused attention to the fact that western society, with its institutions, systematically ignores women's experiences in all areas of life, and this must therefore be changed through formal and institutional means. The danger in this approach lies in the fact that it is reasonable to assume that the male interests will take over in any case, an assumption proven over the years. The fact that women found it difficult to penetrate and to alter the male institution is clearer now than ever, and women who advanced within the existing frameworks are perceived as adopting male behavior. Few women hold influential positions and the need for affirmative action program, amongst other things in legislation, indicates more than anything else that women did not integrate and did not create transformative change as anticipated.

Furthermore, the formal institutions involved in the issue of the status of women enjoy an attitude that Maor (2001) terms "the symbolic policy approach" meaning:

1. Confused phraseology of objectives, goals and frameworks of action;
2. The absence of the delegation of authority and the allocation of resources (budgets) to apply the reform - policy
3. Intensive distribution of symbols, such as detailing the striving for change and detailed presentation of the vision in order to cover the ambiguity of the policy declaration and the shortage of resources for its implementation (Maor, 2001).
Those involved in the domain encountered and suffered from bureaucracy and encumbrances found themselves blocked exactly like the women in whose name and for whom they were supposed to work.\textsuperscript{98} The integration process is proven to be a long tiring, frustrating and very costly process.

Since the 1980s extensive grassroots activity has been observed and burst into the public awareness when the local women's voluntary organizations offered a different approach. These organizations were based on the radical feminist approach that assumed that all the existing organizations are patriarchal, and therefore are affected by inequality towards women from their initiation and their organizational structure. Their approach is known as Women and Development (WAD) (Parpart 1989; Rathgeber, 1990).

This approach espoused the establishment of alternative institutions for women only, developing other administrative approaches, based on female needs. These single-gender, non-formal organizations endangered themselves by marginalizing their activities due to the absence of budgets, thereby affecting the goals of significant (transformative) change they set themselves (UN, 2000). These difficulties created a situation in which, again, no alternative to the existing one was generated of a broad and influential scope, and thus no hoped for change occurred. This possibility too is a long, tiring and frustrating process that suffers from ups and downs and even disappointments. The organizations' activities increased female awareness and the social awareness about women.

Both approaches still exist alongside each other without any final determination between them.

The gender equality approach developed later, born in the wake of criticism of the two previous approaches as narrow and separatist since they were intended only for women (Scott, 1989). The term 'gender' includes men and women as populations that should be considered, but in the beginning, and even today, the word has become a synonym for women, and thus 'women's studies' became 'gender studies'. The term sounds neutral and therefore less loaded, so that politically it is easier to handle despite some claiming that it again is used to defer or to divert interest from the inferior positioning of women.

Following the introduction of the term 'gender equality' the attitude today is towards 'gender and development', an approach adopted by the UN

\textsuperscript{98} Describes exactly the situation of advisors on the status of women and of institutions established to represent the subject of women in the State of Israel
prior to the 1995 Beijing Conference (UNESCO, 2002). In reality there is a type of combination of the institutional and the non-institutional approaches with general confusion between the terms.

2.6.3.2 Women's needs

Feminism drew attention to the fact that women have their own needs that differ from those of men (Gilligan 1982).

Maslow's (1954; 1968) hierarchy of needs affords a basis for all needs theories. He assumes that everyone is in a process of satisfying needs, starting from the most basic, the physiological (deficiency needs) such as the deprivation of food, air and water to the satisfaction of other needs on an increasing hierarchy – such as those of security and social-belonging. These are external needs, provided by the surroundings. Their satisfaction affords the spiritual (growth) needs such as evaluation and self-realization, that are internal need, provided by people themselves.

These needs were depicted as a pyramid that emphasizes the 'bottom up' track - from the broad basis towards the pinnacle, the 'up', that becomes narrower as it rises. Only the satisfaction of one need will arouse the following need. The stage of self-realization, high on the needs pyramid, is not necessarily the stage attained by all (Boeree, 2006). While each of the other needs can be satisfied, the need for self-realization behaves differently and the more it is satisfied, the more we wish to satisfy it. This is an 'unfinished need.

To Maslow's assumption, that the needs are hierarchical, universal and uni-directional, Alderfer (1969) added the needs for existence, for relatedness and for growth are operated hierarchically, but in two directions. In fact, there is a broad range of feelings in satisfying needs, dependent on people and therefore will differ from one person to the next. The individual's feeling of a lack of satisfaction of a need at a particular level will arouse a feeling of frustration, that will lead him to withdraw to a lower level, perceived by him as easier to attain. This is therefore not a 'personal hierarchy' but three groups of different and distinguished needs functioning.

In contrast to the innate needs discussed in other theories, McClelland (1961) adds the acquired needs found in every person, in different intensities due to the socialization process experienced. These needs include:

- Achievement
• Power – the need to influence others\textsuperscript{99}
• Belonging

Despite the needs theories not being developed in the gender context, this researcher believes that the female experience can be explored in their light since they afford the social infrastructure in which we live.

Realizing basic existential needs was not obvious for women (Nishimoto, 2001), as transpires from the daily reality. Some (except for air, perhaps) were denied them totally, or were forced to struggle for their realization, a phenomenon that crosses cultures and epochs.

Today too, and also in societies that define themselves as 'advanced societies' some of these basic needs are still violated. The most prominent and difficult of them is the need for security with all its aspects\textsuperscript{100}.

A disparity exists between that expected of women and their real needs as regards the growth needs and learned needs, when they eventually express them.

One can therefore see female empowerment as a process in which women as individuals and as a group will develop awareness of the existence of discrimination and inequality between the genders, will recognize and understand the ways in which this influences their lives and how the power structure and reciprocal relations create and strengthen discrimination and this inequality.

Attaining awareness should motivate them to change the situation by developing abilities and resources, in order to cope with the reality of gender inequality, while striving for transformational change of the reality.

2.6.3.3 Motivation to act – change

At the basis of Maslow's hierarchy of needs\textsuperscript{101} are the things that a person needs for his/her physical existence and survival, while the

\textsuperscript{99} This need appears in two forms – as personal strength, meaning the desire for change in behavior out of personal interest, and as social strength – the desire to change based on the public interest.

\textsuperscript{100} Violence towards women has many manifestations, some of which do not even have a definition as such due to being covert or sophisticated. The absence of personal/group security from which women suffer, can serve as another critical attribute of female categories and is also one of the meaningful reasons in the explanation why women apparently concede to or come to terms with their weakened situation.
pyramid is headed by things a person wants. The more a person is involved in survival or providing basic needs, in a threatening situation, the less he/she will be available or capable of seeing the opportunities or strive to attain the stages of realizing the higher needs. This description is definitely compatible with the female situation and behavior, also proven in this writer's work with this group. In other words, insofar as a person struggles to attain his basic needs, his freedom of choice is affected.

It is important to explore the issue of female motivation, necessary for introducing change, and particularly meaningful change. Motivation for change means choosing to cease an existing situation in order to achieve something else. The various motivation theories, obviously, do not refer to the gender variance, indicating dichotomous situations. This writer has chosen several theories that seem suitable to the condition of women.

1. Crowe and Higgins (1997) discuss two separate systems - the promotional system that focuses on achievement and compensation, concentrating on self development, and long-term wishes; and the prevention system, aimed towards non-failure and punishment, through activity that aims to attain the minimum, to preserve – i.e. short-term goals. Choosing the prevention system is typical when coping with satisfying security needs, for example, and therefore is relevant to most women.

2. Deci, Connell and Ryan (1989) comment on the difference between internal motivation (because I am) and external motivation (because they want). These researchers find that many women function out of external motivation, while responding to a socialization code that locates them as controlled by men, as trying to find favor and appreciation by fulfilling the needs of others.

3. Alderfer (1969) believes that as long as a need is answered there will be progress that leads to strengthening and the desire to meet the need even more. Satisfaction = progress = strengthening, while frustration will lead to withdrawal in order to create change, the feeling of frustration should be aroused. Empowerment that leads women to awareness of their situation is likely to be the frustrating factor, but can it be the factor that creates motivation to meaningful change amongst women?

As we have mentioned before, change in the status of women, will take at least about 250 years, or in terms of generations, some 13 generations (when a generation is defined as 20 years). This is a long period of time, in which additional processes are likely to occur, likely to confuse this

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101 Taylor (1911) maintains that the basis for human motivation is always money, while Maslow argues that money only motivates us when our basic needs are not answered.
trend unless women are involved in all movements that entail change and development. One may conclude that a feeling of frustration is not enough for women in order to change their situation and that additional methods of motivation should be adopted.

Therefore, empowerment is intended to accelerate the processes occurring, in an intelligent and planned manner to attain the objectives.

2.6.3.4 Choice, free choice and women

Free choice, as a concept, means that the way in which people manage their lives is shaped by them and are not predetermined or dictated by fate, causality or diverse superior forces.

Several philosophers, such as Kant, Sartre, de Beauvoir, Bourdieu and others have explored this issue. This writer cannot refer at great length in this chapter to the concept and its implications but will emphasize the aspect that related to free choice in the gender context, focusing on women and their choices. The basic questions that concerned the philosophers revolved around the concept of 'free'. Can there be choice that is innocent of everything? What was this system of choice?

Determinism claims that all human activity is derived from some reason pertaining to the actual event. In contrast, Kant (1888) avers that people, in contrast to the other creatures in nature, have a set of values that enables them to decide between several possible and different alternatives. Even when there are apparently two alternatives, there are motives of equal weight. But instead of this dichotomous stance one can talk of the degree of freedom or the degree of necessity that a person has in order to determine or to choose (www.daat.ac.il).

When discussing free choice one must differentiate between two terms - preference and choice, the difference between them being that choice is based on a set of values and ethics. Rabbi Noah Weinberg (www.aish.com) stresses that no mistake should be made thinking that ethicality means choice between good and bad (since we all, even the worst and the most perverted people, choose to be good). Accordingly, free choice is the choice between life and death, as is written in the

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102 Rabbi Noah Weinberg (www.aish.com) maintains that to be created in the "image of God" contrasts with other creatures. Man has free choice. In this godly spark – free choice – lies our potential to shape and change the world.

103 The use of free choice in order to solve problems means using to grow and not to surrender, in order to cope with the reality – not to escape, to live – and not to die (www.aish.com).
Torah, "This day I call heaven and earth as witnesses against you that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses... Now choose life, so that you and your children may live" (Deuteronomy 30:19).

Life presents us with many situations in which decisions must be taken, i.e., we find ourselves in a situation of infinite choice. Understanding and recognizing this situation means self-awareness that enables us to control our choices; the active use of our free desires in contrast to the passive approach allows things 'to happen'. But one must also be aware of choice, says Rabbi Weinberg, adding that choosing is not sufficient - the choice must be out of "Honesty to yourself – do not accept the beliefs of society as your beliefs, unless you have thought about them and found that you agree with them. Live for yourselves, not for society .." (www.aish.com). Is this feasible?

The question of free choice is honed when it is laid at the doorstep of feminism. Did the women choose actively? Do they have the freedom of choice?

Tannen (1993) believes not because women are 'marked' so that they are not free to choose, since male dominance uses 'symbolic violence' that is replicated through social mechanisms such as the family, the education system, the state and the religion (Bourdieu, 1998). The results of control: Women recognize the control and consider it legitimate; internalizing the situation presents the reality as self-constructed, as unique and as obligatory (logical conformism) (Durkheim and Mauss, 1903).

The social structuring emphasized also by de Beauvoir (1949) blocks the possibilities of choice facing people in general, but mainly women. The reality in which women live is ednocentric\(^{104}\), having undergone a process of naturalization\(^{105}\) (Spiro 2007) that does not allow women to choose but routes them to the channels in which they operate. This roller, that on the one hand routes and on the other blurs the channeling, leaves the women, in fact, without any ability for free choice, despite their belief that they did indeed chose their path.

One of the outstanding examples of the above paradoxical situation is manifested in the connection to pregnancy and abortions. Even now, in

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\(^{104}\) Ednocentrism – a perception of the world from the male perspective, that assumes that their unique attributes are universal and obviously clear (Spiro, 2007).

\(^{105}\) Naturalization is a historic process that creates collective forgetfulness of the social origin and of the arbitrary approach underlying this source and therefore affords a feeling of "obvious", "That's how it is" (Spiro, 2007).
the 21st century, women do not officially have the right to have an abortion (Stevens, 2007), meaning that a series of decisions affecting their bodies but more importantly their lives, are not under their control. The apparent cooperation of women in this situation, their identification with the role imposed on them, stem only from the absence of an alternative that was attained through copying what Bourideu (1998) terms 'symbolic wealth'.

This approach, of course, contradicts Sartre's (1946) existential approach and his claim that people make themselves what they are through their choices: 'His existence prior to his essence". His essence is not predetermined but he himself creates it and his behavior provides a philosophical basis for the concept of self-leadership.

This basic existentialist message has a strong and positive educational impact, but its use does not manage to meet the world of female values that became established in patriarchal society. Their world is one of dependency relationships, authority and control that led to developing a set of expectations, tools and abilities that motivate initiative, courage, motivation and self-confidence. In the absence of these tools, or their lack of development by women, the encounter with empowerment concepts creates disparity that they find hard to close due to the lack of change in the cultural infrastructure in which they live and function.

The Israeli experience, based on the 'development of a new society' that in a public declaratory manner defined itself as 'different and better' than the 'old', also embraces the value of gender equality (Kamir, 2007). The women strove to be part of the process of building the renewed homeland and accepted their role (motherhood, wives who help their men to fulfill their role as the savior and redeemer) with apparent understanding and agreement. Their agreement-channeling stemmed from excluding the value of collectivism on which Zionist society is based (national society).

In Israeli society that grew from this infrastructure women were partner to the exclusion and marginality of other women who were not part of the hegemony – Mizrahi women, Arabs, immigrants etc. The social channeling of the 'other' women was performed by both women and men and their 'free choice' was trampled even more.

Summarizing the above, even in the 21st century men are still perceived as controlling and women as controlled by them. The change till now is

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106 This is similar to the marginality and exclusion of Afro-Americans or of minorities in western society in general.
the fact that it is harder for us to identify the ideological and interests of the 'controllers' – the males - since it is hidden from eye and more sophisticated. It is now not politically correct to talk or to behave in a discriminatory way, but the discrimination exists in the private and collective unconscious that affect our lives (Kameer, 2007; MacKinnon, 1987, 2005).

The domains for which it is necessary to struggle changed from a struggle over the needs to survive to one over the path, values and norms. Empowerment should lead to recognition of focusing on altering that which exists.

The empowerment on which we will focus refers to adult women and to those who have already experienced natural processes of knowledge and self-awareness. The current empowerment process they will experience entails an element of both 'correction' and 'acceleration'. 'Correction' means change in the existing self-perception that will lead to change in the balance of powers that limit the possibilities and their autonomy (Sen, 1993). They will subsequently be capable of demanding their right to autonomy (independence) from awareness of their right to choose and to supervise the sources that will help them to cope with the control of others over them (Keller and Mbwewe, 1991). Empowerment is a type of change of the second order that necessitates transformation mainly in institutions with a patriarchal structure107 (Bisnath and Nelson, 2001; Kabeer 2001), that are the majority of the institutions existing; but the family institution, followed by work, have to be in first place. They should be capable of defining the choice, of seeing themselves not only as capable but as committed to introducing change (Kabeer, 2001; Nussbaum, 2000). Empowerment will therefore lead them to advanced stages and to that of self-realization.108

### 2.6.4 Education as a tool for empowerment

Creating the model and understanding that a shared language is needed to attain empowerment led to the support for taking educational action in order to recognize the power relations and their operation in society (Yee, 2004).

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107 The army and religion, for example, are patriarchal institutions that influence the lives of women in Israel, that are likely to inhibit or hasten change in the family and in the world of work.

108 The highest rank of the needs that Maslow identified from the socialization perspective – women see motherhood as their self-realization as women with a collective view that becomes a personal view.
When discussing education, it is necessary to differentiate between two concepts: Education defined in the dictionary (Even Shoshan, 1967) as imparting habits and methods of thought, types of behavior and developing qualities. This is a lengthy process of learning that is not directly connected to fulfilling the needs of a particular moment (Morris, 1997); Teaching and learning are defined as imparting or acquiring knowledge and education (Even Shoshan, 1967). However, the connection between education and teaching cannot be severed thus there has never been a clear differentiation between them (Shupak, 1999).

Education is a process of social influence, varying from the stage of passivity through to activism and autonomy. Applying authority is an attempt to cause others to do or not to do things according to what we want, while influence implies trying to cause others to see things as we do. In the modern era, there may not be real authority without dialogue, especially in education, that is one of the main tools for creating educational influence.

2.6.4.1. Educating women

Education, as one of the main socialization tools of society is the significant patriarchal domain that preserves and replicates itself. The roots of modern education, known today, draw on educational traditions in ancient societies that were customary in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the father was responsible for educating the sons who mainly learned the father's trade and the tradition that is conveyed from one generation to the next. The mother was in charge of meeting the family's material needs and conveying her knowledge and skills as a woman to her daughters (Shupak, 1999). Later the model of male education was replicated to education outside the home and entrusted to male teachers as an alternative to the fathers.

A similar situation is also found in Jewish society, whose roots start with the founder of the nation, Abraham, from Ur Kasdim in Mesopotamia. The father was responsible for education and the student was the son ("And thou shall tell thy son...," Exodus, 13:14; Deuteronomy, 6:6; Deuteronomy, 32:2).

Education and acquiring knowledge is one of the main values in Jewish society, accompanying till now regardless of religiosity or secularity. Marriage to an educated man was the peak of ambition of every Jewish family, enabling crossing the boundaries of status. But education was also a source of gender division of roles, preserved till today in religious
society, where the man studies and the woman, in addition to caring for the house and family, goes out to work in order to support the family and the husband who often studies Jewish material. In modern Israeli society, this situation enjoys a far-reaching social interpretation, mainly as regards the civil social obligations, when Yeshiva students enjoy full exemption from the obligation of recruitment to the army due to their belief entailing full time study of Jewish sources.\textsuperscript{109}

Like most of the ancient cultures in the world, Jewish culture was also not a written culture at the outset, but traditions transferred orally from father to son. The few who knew how to read and write were the priests and Levites. This connection between education, knowledge and religion accompany humanity of all three monotheistic religions in a distinct patriarchal institution, that of necessity influenced education and the roots of patriarchalism, of education.

Learning and education were originally connected to obedience - to the person of authority (father, teachers, the wise man). The ideal student was defined as silent, i.e., a person in control of himself, restrained, modest and not a gossip. The acquisition of knowledge and learning was through listening; the concept of 'listen' is also defined as attention but also as obedience (Shupak, 1999). One can clearly see the education scheme as education connected to authority and authority meaning responsibility. Therefore the responsibility is patriarchal (religion, the father) and also authority is such

Laquer (1990) notes that until the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, a pattern of thought was common that referred only to males as representing humanity in all areas of life, including education. The history of psychology is full of theories regarding female inferiority relative to males. Freud's theories only reinforced this belief and have been accepted as scientific theories in use till today. Our social environment determines diverse behavioral values regarding men and women. For young girls and women, the recommendation was an approach of dependency while for young men and males it was one of independence and authority (Bem, 1993).

The right of women to study concerned many philosophers, including Rousseau, who saw women as wives and mothers, as he stated in his book Emile (1762) - woman's education must be planned in relation to man

\textsuperscript{109} The subject changed somewhat with the introduction of the Tal law that enables recruiting Yeshiva students to the army. Similarly, objection has developed in Israeli society to a situation that is perceived as parasitical, and there is nowadays a tendency to go out to work of Yeshiva students while determining the time of study.
because she will always be subject to a man and she will never be free to set her own opinion. In contrast to him, Wollstonecraft (1792) was amongst the first to identify women as needing alternative behavior in order to attain different things and therefore developed female wiliness, which is the opposite of female power that rocks female honor. She saw the neglect of their education as the source of their misery.

The French revolution had implications on the approach to education in general and to educating girls in particular, as we can learn from de Gouges (1791), who demanded better education for women. She saw education as a right deserved by women no less than men. de Talleyrand based his statement that girls would learn together with boys until the age of eight on this demand, as mentioned in his report on national education in France (1791), which may have been the first harbinger of national education even if in his time the report was not applied.

The education of the child and girl in Jewish society were also neglected (Ofaz, 2000) based on the approach of religious Jewish law manifested in Maimonides who said that "whoever teaches his daughter Torah is as if he teachers her rubbish". This was supported by the Jewish Code of Law, set by Caro in 1563\textsuperscript{110} (Greenbaum 1999).

The national Zionist awakening contributed to change in attitudes in the context of educating girls in Jewish society. "The daughter of Israel grows up in her home as a foreign body...and only with the start of the national movement in Israel did they begin to deal somewhat with her Jewish education (Berlovitz, 1989). Zionism recognized the importance and need for education for girls and therefore demanded change in the perception of education for them. The girls mainly followed secular studies and professional education that opened the way for their leave-taking for work outside the home as teachers and kindergarten teachers (Sitton, 1998-9). They managed in parallel to be included in educated groups and to learn Hebrew, thereby opening access to canonical texts, the Bible and the Talmud, on the one hand and to modern texts on the other belonging to the general culture (Grinbaum, 1999), exposure that generates different awareness of their condition as women and to the connection to religion and this situation.

Under the influence of education for women the foundation for non-religious education was laid, contrary to what had been common in

\textsuperscript{110} Known in Hebrew as the "Shulhan Arukh"
Jewish society for generations, with the penetration of liberal ideas to traditional society, or, distancing from the distinct patriarchal source. One of the foundation stones of the feminist struggle in general, and of the Jewish struggle in particular, thus focuses around the question of education:

1. Recognition of the need to educate girls
2. The very providing of education for girls
3. The content of education with a gender focus and context
4. Recognition of the status of education for girls as identical to that of educating boys

One may claim that, the goals were attained in Israel apart from point 3; nowadays these targets and the compulsory education law pertains to girls exactly as it does to boys. Furthermore, girls and women are integrated in all educational frameworks from the kindergarten age through to University. The problem remains with respect to the learning content.

The content pertains to the sexist approach deeply embedded in all layers of education. Examination of the text books conducted by the previous Minister of Education, Limor Livnat\(^\text{111}\) in 2002 (Ministry of Education 2002), proved again that the changes are at the declaratory level only.

Moreover, the students of education in Israel (and perhaps in other places in the world) are demanded to study psychology and philosophy of education as they must study other subjects, according to a syllabus that has not changed and has not taken into consideration the gender stereotypes embedded in the foundations of their education, as well as the cognitive and behavioral processes.

This researcher finds that educators in the State of Israel, who are mainly women, are one of the groups objecting most stridently to the recognition of the need for egalitarian gender education, based on the absolute denial of the reality and ignoring its implications.

Nowadays, the educational approach to women sees the way to social change as based on a scheme for changing women, under female responsibility, for their benefit. This educational activity occurs on a basis of understanding and acceptance that the activities and existing rules of

\(^{111}\) Examination of the learning materials and substance was conducted several times by Minister Ora Namir, in 1978, tracking the report by the Women's Lobby in 1987. Another committee was appointed headed by Dr. Zofia Meller in 1991 (www.lib.cet.il).
behavior are shaped by men and determine the life reality of society in general and of women in particular (Cohen, 2006).

The educational activities are manifested at two levels:
1. Through the development of tracks in the formal academic realm – "Women's Studies" has become "Women and Gender Studies" or, over the years, just "Gender Studies". This niche uses informal tools and approaches within the formal system and creates a new path.
2. Through developing empowerment courses for women in the informal arena, and within the institutional (formal) and informal institutional establishment arena.

These two planes rely on another pedagogy the 'feminist pedagogy' to be detailed later.

2.6.4.2 Lifelong learning/education throughout life

Change in educational trends, that developed from vocational education to education that embraces many areas of life, from education for only a particular group or status to education for all, while introducing the concept 'for all' also to the female population, extended to education throughout life.

The theory of Lifelong Education is a new concept, developed from the second half of the 20th century as a response to the need that arose from the field. It is now becoming known as Wide Life Education, indicating the expansion of learning to many and varied areas. (This researcher thus allows herself to include empowerment and leadership courses that are the topic of this study under the above heading).

Lifelong Education in fact recognizes the right to study and to develop personally and professionally regardless of the learner's age. This educational ideology, described as innovative, is known throughout the Jewish world that did not limit the acquisition of knowledge by age. This approach continues the ideology of access to education for all which, in fact, opened a new educational channel that had not yet been explored in depth - that of adult education.

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112 A similar approach is presented in the Hamburg Declaration (UNESCO, 1997, clause 8) that includes the diverse groups of women as part of the adult education target population.

113 The story of Rabbi Akiva, for example, but that pertained only to males. He was a laborer and shepherd, lacking education, who, aged 40, married his employer's daughter. With her encouragement, he started studying while she supported him. After many years of hard study he became one of the most famous sages of his generation and had many students (Sages, Avoi DeRabbi Natan, ch. 6)
This approach was defined in the Hamburg Declaration (UNESCO 1997), the work of the International Committee on Education for the 21st century. Paragraph 13 entitled women's integration and empowerment, states that the aim is to
"develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, and improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction to meet their own needs and those of their society. Adult learning encompasses both formal and continuing education, non-formal learning and the spectrum of informal and incidental learning available …
Women have a right to equal opportunities; society, in turn, depends on their full contribution in all fields of work and aspects of life. ..adult learning policies should be responsive to local cultures and give priority to expanding educational opportunities for all women, while respecting their diversity and eliminating prejudices and stereotypes that both limit their access to …adult education and restrict the benefits they derive from them. Any attempts to restrict women’s right to literacy, education and training must be considered unacceptable."

Adult education, as a domain, has four stages, partially reminiscent of the empowerment process.
- Acquiring knowledge, or learning the way of knowing – a partially passive stage;
- Doing – learning to do i.e. the ability to switch to an active stage of creating change;
- The certain identity - recognizing strength and ability that will facilitate entry to areas and foci of decision-making;
- The egalitarian age – studying in order to be (Cohen, 2004, 2006).

The world of adult education does not deal with academic education but with the weakened population as main target (Tokatli, 2007). In Israel adult education includes four domains (Shpiegel, 2000; Vardi, 2000):
1. Teaching immigrants Hebrew
2. Teaching basic and general education (most of the learning population was mainly women)
3. Vocational training courses and in-service training
4. Enrichment courses and the use of leisure time as an educational area that developed alongside the social changes in Israeli society as it did in the rest of the western world

Israel currently lacks strategic thinking regarding the phenomenon of adult interest in learning. The Israelis do not see the value of a learning
model, as it existed in the Jewish heritage that was partially lost with the mass immigration to Israel, and therefore this is one of the important tasks that must be revived, as was expressed in a conference on the subject, at the Beit Berl College of Education in 2005.

Two main areas are recognized in the educational arena throughout life:
- Academic education: Universities and colleges, wherein two tracks were developed based on two contradictory ideologies:
  a. Education based on elitist ideology – a remainder of the patriarchal approach that defines those suitable to study according to criteria of excellence. According to this approach, not everyone can follow academic studies, or not of every track. The students must adapt themselves to the material and to the high demands in order to attain a degree (Shadmi, 2006).
  b. Education based on the ideology of 'education for all' which opposed to this elitist approach and created two changes:
     • Change within the existing university array, by creating new tools and programs/ units with other learning content including "Women's Studies"
     • Change outside the existing system through the establishment of new institutions (diverse colleges) that create learning competition and alternatives, through change in the conditions of acceptance, teacher-student relationships etc. This level also finds a manifestation of women's studies through courses that are combined with the other learning content or tracks, as well as faculties and even institutions that specialize in the area.

One of the main emphases on change on both tracks is the perception of accessibility and expanding the opportunities. This is closely connected to the feminist approach and manifested in 90% of the learners being females, as transpires from the data accumulated in the department of adult education in the Ministry of Education as mentioned at the Conference in 2005.

Academic education was developed alongside adult education, which is defined as non-academic education, pertaining to non-formal, academic and the less important or marginal categories.\textsuperscript{114} One of the reasons may stem from the voluntary trend that characterized it, since this type of education is based on the students' motivation, while maintaining symmetrical relationships between the learners and those acquiring the

\textsuperscript{114} Most of the social consideration focused on formal school education until the age of 18 and on academic education as its continuation.
knowledge, considering the age aspect that defines belonging, life experience and responsibility or social commitment (all considered adult).

The age aspect of adult education also has implications on the existing tools held by the learner, the needs, timetable and degree of availability. All this necessitates adopting unique learning techniques and adaptation that demand flexibility and modularity - tools known in the world of content of non-formal education.

This approach to breaching the age barrier helped to shatter the barrier of physical place and of the knowledge or education barrier preceding the start of learning. Adapting learning to the work hours of the adult learners, developing suitable learning content for completing and closing knowledge gaps or skills etc. underlay the establishment of the university without walls (the Open University) and helped to expand the definition of academic learning (Shadmi, 2006).

Adult education answers the needs and expectations of society and is thus extremely important. Society was forced to recognize the importance, professionalism and contribution to the domain even without the academic halo.

Learning and acquiring knowledge, accompanied by a feeling of self-confidence, that affects the positive self–image as seen by the individual of himself and by the society, enable participation in circles of employment and social and economic mobility. All these are, in fact, the result of empowerment.

Thus learning and acquiring knowledge = empowerment. And therefore the place of empowerment courses for women falls into this category of informal education, of wide life adult education.
2.6.4.3 Feminist pedagogy as an ideological basis for a different education

As part of the changes experienced in the world of education, one may note the feminist educational pedagogy that affords an alternative to hegemonic pedagogy. Feminist pedagogy is increasingly penetrating the hegemony and changing the entire face of education. Feminist researchers claim that the differences between the genders, that are the result of social structuring, are created differently, amongst other things through overt and covert messages starting from a very early age (Ophir-Shaham, 2002).

Martin (1998) finds that the hidden curriculum, intended to control the physical behavior of children as a way of shaping their behavior, also serves indirectly, consciously or unconsciously as a way of imparting behavior according to gender division.\(^\text{115}\)

The gender messages are absorbed by the children in every way apart from education – from stories, the media, advertising, and from all the social behaviors. The education system, and education itself, embraces female students, teachers (who account for the most of the teachers), principals, mothers, women researchers and policy makers and yet it has patriarchal values.

Feminist pedagogy tries to change the situation by coping with stereotypical perceptions that relate different attributes to men and to women and therefore different roles are earmarked for them in society. The character of the scientific knowledge that reflects masculine thought and ignores female ways of thought is another issue with which this pedagogy deals (Alpert, 2000).

Feminist pedagogy does not only criticize but also offers an alternative (Gur Zeev, 1999) manifested in several ways including:


This relatively new situation gave presence to female values in education and enabled increasing legitimacy to the female point of

\(^{115}\) She identifies five groups of approach or behavior thorough which this knowledge is acquired: Dress, behavior, control of voice, verbal and physical instructions that pertain to the body and physical interactions between the children and the kindergarten teacher
view, to female thought and to moral female attitudes as described by Gilligan (1982).

2. Feminist, critical pedagogy that focuses on applying control through knowledge and communications (Blackmore, 1996). Traditional pedagogy, as described till now (Thompson and Gitlin, 1995), was authoritarian, limiting the learner to a passive role and failing to create political knowledge. The feminist practice offers, therefore, developing an alternative pedagogic approach wherein the participants will come out of motivation; it will enable the development of new standards based on personal experience, without definitions stemming from the attitude regarding universal values. Feminist pedagogy envisions social change. Therefore, the perspective of those on the margins, for whom suppression is part of their consciousness and recognition, should be seen as a starting point for creating new knowledge. This pedagogy tries to advance a process of increasing awareness and critical thought by realizing the possibilities of empowerment (Alpert, 2000; Thompson and Gitlin, 1995; Weiler, 1991) while setting a non-hierarchical feminist alternative (Ellsworth, 1989:32).

Shakdiel (1998) claims that till now, activity in Israel as regards introducing feminist pedagogy to the education system finds its expression in the academic world, but is hardly connected to the school education system, as has already occurred, for example, in the USA.

A preliminary analysis of the Israeli context indicates that despite the declared orientation of many agents of change regarding the individual in the center, extensive sections of the education system act out of a totally different orientation – that of the collective that is still in the center (the family, the community, the settlement, the religious or ethnic group, nationality) with the progress of the individual as a part of it.

Shakdiel (1998) proposes, therefore, developing a type of Israeli feminist pedagogy (as a society of immigrants and with many social schisms) that includes, on the one hand, the continued existing collective orientation, together with the trend towards collective change as a result of increasing participation of women in all areas of life. This suggestion is based on theories of multi-cultural feminism that offers processes of empowerment in communities. Hence a process of personal empowerment and community empowerment exist simultaneously.
2.6.4.4 Women's /gender studies as a tool for empowerment

Women's studies, averred Dr. Mira Chennik at a March 2005 conference at Beit Berl, Israel, are "an alternative paradigm for regular and traditional academic studies, developing out of the pervasive and critical examination of that which exists and characterized by the combination of disciplines.

Women's and gender studies curricula began to appear in the 1960s. In Israel, however, these departments developed gradually as of the 90s. Women's studies exist in diverse academic institutions such as Universities and colleges but their place is still marginal. From the outset they were perceived as a passing fashion, and at the worst as amateur and lacking academic legitimacy (Friedman, 2001). This very marginality is the source of power that is likely to motivate social change. Traditional academia is based on an ideology of excellence and thereby becomes itself elitist and inaccessible (Shadmi, 2006). This ideology contradicts the targets of women's/gender studies that belong to the ideology of education for all. Women's/gender studies departments demanded change in the curricula that was based on patriarchal ideology, and to encourage the programs that include, and focus mainly on, the female experience and contribution and other marginal groups within and alongside the traditional academic part (Harris, 1999).

The practice of feminist pedagogy indicates the connection between 'knowledge' and 'strength' (Connell, 1987; Hooks, 1994) and thus sees women's studies as a means to attain personal and social change. The alternative that women's/gender studies suggests is based on:

1. In the researcher's opinion accessibility means, amongst other things, everything that formerly afforded a barrier (money, time, physical place, previous education, and academic threshold demands), or, as Chennik (2003) avers, the emphasis on classifying the students (as a remnant of the elitist approach) by personal quality and the learning ability in a group, and not necessarily on academic achievement (such as scores).

2. Personal focus: Personal adaptation to the learner, focusing on personal growth and discovering inner strengths and their use to attain the personal goals (empowerment), expose these strengths using pedagogy that positions itself at the center (Shadmi, 2006) and setting a personal example (modeling) (Noddling, 1988, 1995).

\[116\] Belong to diverse faculties with a status of 'program', 'unit/track' and not as a separate area of study
3. Pluralism: Nurturing sensitivity, awareness and appreciation of the different and diversity; arousing a feeling of social responsibility and activism amongst the learners (Chennik, 2003). The knowledge in general and academic knowledge in particular, belongs to the community (Shadmi, 2006).

4. Openness and containment: Creating an open, supportive and enabling atmosphere, encouraging profound discussion while developing a critical perspective from the gender point of view (Chennik, 2003). Insistence on talking at eye level (Shadmi, 2006), i.e., the ability to translate more complex theories...into simple words, but not simplistic. The ability to convert abstract and distant concepts into language that people understand.

5. Relevance and identification: A redefinition of space and its boundaries (separating the classroom from life) (Shadmi, 2006), as is usually customary in the academe, providing legitimacy for personal experiences while connecting theory and actualities that create a daily politic.

6. Flexibility: Both conceptual and research flexibility, establishing suitable and changeable boundaries based on a multi-disciplinary approach, while changing the learning framework that emphasizes egalitarian circular and supportive learning that changes and empowers the learner (Kitch, 2002).

Chenick (2003) notes that gender studies were selected not only as a track for attaining an advanced academic degree but also for personal development and empowerment. The reason for this, she believes, stems from the increased personal awareness of women of their place in modern and post-modern society with its complexity, creating a search and the need for answers to personal and social questions that focus on the place of the woman in society and in the family.¹¹⁷

Shadmi (2006) maintains that studies provide more than pure personal empowerment. She notes that the studies afford a "process of revelation", in which the learner discovers her strength in her dialogue with the texts and the critical tools acquired with a supportive and cooperative atmosphere created within a learning group. The learner will eventually become a source of knowledge, with the authority to create knowledge based on theories, research, the lecturers and study cohorts.

¹¹⁷ Chenick bases her observations on a study conducted amongst graduates of the women studies program at Lesley College in 2003
The learning and research afford a process of social change, a spiral process that moves between the classroom and the outside world, with constant examination and adaptation. One may assert that gender studies move in a circle between theories to learning to personal and group experience to politics and back to start (Shadmi, 2006).

The deeper this researcher delved into feminist pedagogy and its application in gender studies, the greater her insight that this pedagogy is remarkably similar to that of informal education. This latter enables personal development and a moratorium, and is applied comprehensively during adolescence through informal educational and social frameworks inside school. This point leads to noting the need to examine the domain as leading gender education and its introduction through this gate to school education.

The researcher would like to focus on the aspect of empowerment as a product of gender studies. Empowerment is a personal process that reflects onto the social aspect. It is manifested in internal and external attributes, and is manifested in a feeling of capability, creativity and freedom of action, that lead to realizing human potential (Robinson, 1994).

When assessing the change and contribution of higher learning to the lives of the learners, one tends to refer mainly to empowerment in terms of the academic, professional and instrumental benefit. In gender studies, or in learning in feminist pedagogy, emphasis will be placed on the benefit and the changes in the expressive aspects, particularly as regards self-image and self-esteem, and the feeling of power and the ability to make a change (Macalister, 1999).

The empowerment aspects that were created following studying feminist pedagogy in gender studies departments will be apparent at two levels (Chennik, 2003):118

1. Expanding the personal-professional repertoire: Professional change or focus on a profession, to which this writer would add that such change will be a change in attitude, regarding recognizing the right to enjoy, to have conditions, appreciation and compensation; striving to develop a career, manifested in aiming for success and advance;

2. Acquiring and applying skills and tools that will find expression in family life, the community and at work, but which are unfortunately not yet applied in the public-political domain.

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118 Chennik bases her observations on a study conducted amongst graduates of the women studies program at Lesley College in 2003.
In the change model mentioned previously (section 2.5.1), the stage of developing awareness or the knowledge stage is a condition for the last stage – that of knowing, on which Belenkey, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1987) focus when discussing the way of expressing the knowledge stage amongst women.

Women organize their knowing in defined stages of gradual (not necessarily) linear development en route to personal and professional change, en route to empowerment. These embrace
1. The silence stage
2. The attention stage (received knowledge)
3. The stage of subjective knowledge or that of the "inner expert"
4. The stage of procedural knowledge
5. The stage of constructed knowledge (Belenkey et al., 1987)

The female learning empowerment process, described above, describes a transition from a passive situation to an active situation, suitable to the description of learning and growth in general. However, when considering this description on the background of the previous learning process experienced by women, that combine the socialization process, which is informal, and that of accumulating knowledge and attainment that is a formal process. The combination of these two processes will lead to the conclusion that the description of growth described by Belenkey et al. (1987) is a type of relearning of another world of concepts, engaging other experiences. Such learning necessitates a type of erasing of previous knowledge or a breakthrough and overcoming its existence, while the social and family environment does not change and does not encourage this step, or even tries to return women to their previous place.

This conflict in which women find themselves does not conclude in the formal learning domain. Despite the changes and feeling of empowerment they feel in that framework, it is possible that no change may be achieved in certain areas. The knowledge and the awareness are likely to worsen the frustration and, with it, the pain (the Tree of Knowledge dilemma in the Garden of Eden).

2.6.4.5 Empowerment courses for women

Education has an empowering influence that enables personal development and clear growth as it was mentioned in the previous section. The formal education framework, geared to people up to the age of 18 years, has seen no change in attitude and it continues to create a
stereotypical gender division and to perpetuate the existing discriminatory situation. Traditional academic studies also do not contribute to improving the situation and this is proven daily, when academic professional expertise does not enjoy an egalitarian attitude or is free of gender discrimination.

Most women do not turn to women's/ gender studies as part of their academic courses, since they do not focus on entry to professional domains or are not recognized as such. Until there is change in the gender focus and emphasis is placed on equality between the genders as a value and a deed by the existing educational systems, another means of attaining the "correction" is needed. Thus alongside the programs for gender studies that developed in the academic world, and also prior to the introduction of these curricula, the absence of a lever for change created the need for developing extra-academic and partially, extra-institutional intervention programs. Some of these programs included courses, termed empowerment courses by this writer that, like many programs grew – from the field to the academic world. The advantage of such programs who take this path compared to those born in committees is manifested in their writers not always being aware of the disparity between the reality and the laboratory.

Empowerment courses, that began to operate together with the start of feminist activity, appeared and appear under different names, such as role training, leadership, activist (volunteer) courses, self-awareness, change etc. but their objective is identical – to empower women to attain meaningful social change (even if they have not defined this as such directly and clearly).

It is possible to discern two patterns of female empowerment in the framework of community activity (Pardasani, 2005):

1. The personal development model: Focusing on eradicating the basic discrimination experienced by women, that affects them and their basic rights. The purpose of empowerment is to attain a respectable level of life, freedom and respect. Empowerment activity will strive to impart women with professional skills and to construct a support network in order to free them from absolute dependence on men. These programs advanced women and improved their life conditions, but did not succeed in changing the basic inequality between men and women. Women's social and family status did not improve, and in fact patterns of thought and

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119 Based on Maslow's needs theory and adopted by the U.N Human Rights Declaration on 10/12/1948
culture based behavior did not change and remained almost as they were (Pardasani, 2005).

2. The feminist model: Empowerment is intended to create a process in which women will intensify their power at the personal, interpersonal and the political levels in order to choose and to take decisions connected to them independently and considering the price of their decision.

The empowerment programs should therefore create significant improvement in the subjective activity space (Pardasani, 2005) that includes change in social norms, values and status. Such activity is not sufficiently flexible and is sometimes liable to lead to isolating women from the broader community, while creating conflict, tension and even violence.

3. The dialogue model: Empowerment will be conducted through multi-directional dialogue that is non-hierarchical interaction intended to advance and deepen understanding of the subject or defined area, without any commitment to reach agreement or to solve any problem, while expressing diverse opinions and proper attention, without judgmental attitudes and prejudice. The dialogue, as a tool, contributes to the connections between people from different backgrounds and roles, who, in a different situation would not meet.

This researcher concludes from Pardasani's (2005) comments that the dialogue to which she refers is intended to serve as a link between empowerment at the individual level – the stage of the individual process of change, which is personal change that reveals the inner strength, and the stage of the process of social change, that is divided into community change (change in which a group of anonymous women become a 'community' with a shared critical attribute (Sadan, 1993).

Empowerment at this stage emphasizes providing knowledge that will help to define problems and to raise the issues relevant for women, (awareness) converting them to a 'community of women'; and systemic change in which the 'community of women' directs the dialogue towards the immediate environment in which the women live, in order to enter and integrate in the community life at all levels at decision-making foci.

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120 term offered by this researcher to a third empowerment model suggested by Pardasani (2005)
121 This attribute in the broadest sense is the fact that they are women, and as such they suffer from discrimination. The more critical attributes are, the more cohesive a community atmosphere will develop (women with a disability, single woman parenthood, unemployed women, new immigrants women of the same profession, same town etc). Thus perhaps the need for further remaining in a group is created in order to feel the sense of belonging to a community that does not itself have a limited and distinct critical attribute, because the group of women is very large.
The connection between the individual and the community empowerment process has been discussed in previous sections.

Since the empowerment courses are external intervention, Dr. Ester Herzog sees social empowerment as having a role tending towards political activity resultant from the reality as she said at the adult education conference at Beit Berl in 2005, since it is not enough to conduct leadership and empowerment courses. It is important to build woman-based infrastructures and networks with a commitment to advance women to positions of power.\footnote{For example, Herzog mentions the process that occurred at the municipal level and the connection between the leadership course with a local political orientation in 1995, 1996, that produced a female mayor in the town of Herzliya in 1998. She remarked on those things at the Adult Learning Conference, at the Beit Berl College of Education in March 2005.}

MacKinnon (2005) asks in one of her lectures how the difference between men and women is created, and what are the power relationships that this difference structures. To be more exact, how does the difference serve as a pretext for justifying disparity in power? This is a political question that deals with the division of power in society, and therefore the necessary change must stem from conscious change, through activities at the field level to raise consciousness for achieving, sharing and cooperating at foci of power and resources.

One of the field activities mentioned by MacKinnon (2005) focuses on the courses known as 'empowerment courses' or those intended to provide empowerment. Their main purpose is to translate the reality and its conceptualization by recognizing and understanding the existing power structures as reasons for the weak position of women. This is followed by creating motivation for changing the situation, and finally developing modular coping strategies for achieving the change and its assessment.

Empowerment courses for women are a practical tool (female activism), intended to create change in attitudes, in approaches and in behaviors that have became rooted over the years in a broad variety of cultural contexts.

The courses conducted in the past and today are intended for women only for which reason the researcher will term them "feminine space" derived from three worlds of content:

1. Pedagogy of informal education, that affords a means for primary socialization;
2. Wide life education - as manifested in adult education, constructed in consideration of the value of social mobility following learning at every age;
3. Users of integrated feminist pedagogy that identifies knowledge as a means for social mobility that does not need to be gender-dependent, and thereby in fact, enables secondary socialization or re-socialization. This is a combination of the caring pedagogy approach with its four components and that of critical pedagogy, striving for social change.

Courses of feminine space are founded on the theories regarding the need for an environment lacking overt or covert sexual behaviors that afford such barriers as: The need to find favor and to satisfy others; being good; the need to receive permission; being loved by a male as a source of identity and security; the need to demonstrate inferiority and dependence as tools to attain objectives (the Cinderella and the child syndrome).

Empowerment courses for women entail a process of imparting knowledge that does not answer the criteria of pure 'academic knowledge'. The process of learning developed in two aspects - that of 'learning to know' and 'learning to do' as mentioned before. However, Cohen (2006) asks whether the last two elements of adult education, 'Learning to be' and 'Learning to live together' are manifested in these empowerment courses held for women? The current study is interested in examining these empowerment courses in view of the reality in the field, focusing on the State of Israel through analyzing the case of the town where the researcher works.

2.6.4.6 Empowerment and leadership

Empowerment courses were intended to create influence amongst women at the individual level by developing personal and female personal awareness, by strengthening self-confidence, expanding recognition of the possibilities for choice. This was also supposed to occur at the close community level of family, area of domicile, work and at the distant community level - of women and men in general, increasing involvement in decision-making and the approach to, and monitoring of, resources (Hannan,2004).

123 Learn to be – learn to be women, learn to manage and to influence through female means; learn ourselves and our strengths as women and not necessarily adopt male models and male types of behavior. Learn to live together – to know the other, to understand and to find ways of integrating and sharing with this other, in our case, the male other (Cohen, 2006).
The empowerment process necessitates struggling for freedom (autonomy) and self-expression, for constructing an independent value and attaining meaning, mastery, integrity and a feeling of contribution, influence and personal responsibility (Amitai, 2001). Empowerment courses are, in fact, a process of developing leadership.

The issue of leadership is extremely broad. This study deals only with leadership, in the gender context, a topic that was not discussed at length until the breakthrough of feminist research, since it is identified stereotypically with men.

Leadership, by very its general definition, will be defined as a psychological process of influence manifested in two discerned strategies (Cohen, 2006):

1. Male strategy, characterized by competitiveness, decisiveness, authoritativeness, hierarchy and emphasis on supervision and monitoring. This leadership is recognized in the professional jargon as 'authoritative' or 'task-oriented' leadership.

2. Female strategy, characterized by partnership and work in a group, that creates empowerment and caring, manifested in the moral commitment to activities for others (based on the caring culture); characteristic to women (Nodding, 1984). The female approach is open and encouraging people to examine new ideas and to cope with them. It is flexible and therefore copes with situations of uncertainty; it is based on intuition that enables giving weight and a value to experience together with feelings and thought. Such leadership is known as democratic or social leadership.

Cohen (2006) recommends seeing these two strategies not in a dichotomous manner but as approaches that can be combined to structure a leadership profile that uses diverse strategies according to need and situation.

The classical leadership characterized by authoritativeness will make it difficult to connect to democratic, cooperative leadership, and will therefore necessitate meaningful change in its perception. The new leadership (Golman, Boiazis and MacKy, 2002) functions through influence on the feelings that will alter behavior. To this end leaders are needed who have high emotional intelligence skills that are manifested in four areas: Self awareness, autonomy (self-administration), contextual social awareness, and managing relationships (Golman, 1995, 1998).
2.6.5 Female leadership

Dr. Rivka Nardi (at the above-mentioned 2005 Beit Berl adult education conference) defined and characterized feminist-female leadership as:

1. Closely connected to social justice, i.e. in its broad interpretation, a struggle against every type of exploitation and suppression; It views ethical standards (equality and justice), prioritizing life needs (education, culture, peace) and a connection between the path and the ideology as important;

2. Having an ideological aspect and democratic style, combining ideology with democracy as essential to avoiding a feminist ideology with macho conduct.

3. Seeing female friendship as an essential condition, i.e. an alliance between women rather than competition between them, or assertive and fair coping in competitive and conflictual situations.

4. Conducting dialogue - an empathic and cooperative style of communications that affords taking decisions considering the people involved (in contrast to the statement, "I also had it difficult – get over it", i.e. the queen bee syndrome);

5. Based on team work at eye level arising from an egalitarian approach that refers to authority of knowledge and abilities (in contrast to role authority hierarchy that is the lot of the male code).

6. Interested in empowerment, mutual empowerment in fact, of the team.

Feminist leadership is not obvious, claims Dr. Nardi but is a process of personal growth that must be learned through empowerment. Thus this researcher concludes that alongside the concept of empowerment discussed till now, another type of empowerment should be emphasized – that of feminist empowerment that creates female leadership.

This empowerment does not deal with control of the other but with giving without criticism and judgment, with cooperation based on the ideology of sharing – I will give power and I will not be lacking.

The forces blocking feminist leadership, believes Dr. Nardi are covert discrimination, the internal, personal and social barriers (the glass ceiling) one of which is the 'desperate male' as Dr. Hen Nardi explains, the male who feels hurt and demeaned, who is not partner to the female distress and does not understand what they are talking about. Dr. Rivka Nardi avers that if women want a place to influence, they have to make an effort to overcome the fears that leave them 'there'. They must take a clear
and exact stand which provides tremendous strength. Therefore the most important question is how to empower and not only to do it.

2.6.5.1 Empowerment and female leadership in Israel

Israel places 37th out of 58 states in the Gender Gap Report, (Lopez-Carlos and Zahidi 2005). Her weighted score is 3.94 out of a possible score of 7. Observation of the parameters comprising this index emphasize that the main problem concerns political empowerment (32nd place) – i.e. leadership.

As this researcher understands it, and based on knowledge of the existing reality, Israeli feminism can nowadays be divided into three foci:

- Legislative feminism, led by members (male and female) of the Israeli Knesset (parliament), women's organizations as organizations for social change and rights organizations. Their work is intended to construct an infrastructure and foundations for the processes of change through legislation;
- Theoretical, academic feminism, based on academic female and male and on feminist research in order to construct a research and theoretical infrastructure that will support, clarify and create tools and alternatives to the existing social order;
- Activist feminism, based on the activities of women's organizations on the one hand and on the activities of advisors or those responsible for the status of women at the public, national and municipal levels. This study focuses on this type of feminism emphasizing the work of the advisors on the status of women.

Activist feminism operates in two main branches:
1. The establishment arm (GO) which is formal and developed on the basis of the WID approach. This branch has mechanisms and institutions that operate on behalf of women (since the 1970s), backed by legislation and declarative policy and clear patriarchal tools – hierarchy, power, control.

In the beginning, the institutional mechanism grew from the activities of Zionist organizations that were once informal and anti-establishment but became, with the establishment themselves with the declaration of the State of Israel.

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124 These data reflect the entire population of the country taking in consideration ethnic, religious and national minorities.
125 Unique roles that do not exist in most western countries. Activity regarding the status of women is based on the Local Authorities Law, 2000 (see Appendix A item 1)
In the 19th century, with the awakening of the Zionist movement, Zionist women's organizations also began to function\(^\text{126}\) (Herzog, 1994; Fogel-Bijaui, 1992; Safran, 2001). They were influenced by the mood of the period and by other global women's organizations, mainly the western world. Most of the activity of women's groups was philanthropic, dealing with welfare and charity for the poor, the homeless, the sick and the needy (LeGates, 2001; Safran, 2001).

This activity became the infrastructure for the feminist movement around the world, since in these frameworks the women acquired the administrative-organizational experience and the power to influence and create social change. Such organizations afforded the sole opportunity for women to work outside the home. The organizational areas of activity interface with the women's traditional roles – caring/nurturing, service, aid etc. Needs unique to the female population arose and existing or new organizations were founded or expanded to handle these realms.

In 1920 the Hebrew Women's Federation was established (Herzog, 1994; Safran, 2001) whose aim was to increase awareness of women's health, develop health services for mothers and their children and to develop social aid services (Safran, 2001). Its work produced two projects that, in the course of time, became an inseparable part of the national institutions for women – the well baby clinic and day care centers (Herzog, 1994) and which concepts were adopted by other women's organizations such as Na'amat, Wizo, Emuna – women's organizations functioning till now. Those organizations can be defined as voluntary multi-purpose organizations whose goal was not necessarily to advance the status of women but to work for extensive community aid as well (Fogel-Bijaui, 1992).

One may summarize by saying that women's organizations in Israel until the 60s are characterized by:

1. Growth out of the political establishment as an organic branch of itself (or of a party). They grew out of basic consensus with the ideas of the organization that founded them. Dependent for their economic needs (buildings, budgets, connections) on the political factors with their patriarchal agenda (Zionist, nationalist and religious) resources created a conflict that was not recognized by the

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\(^\text{126}\) Some of them were female workers movements founded prior to the WWI to improve the work conditions of female laborers; Hadassah has functioned since 1913, WIZO opened a branch in Israel in 1920, and Naamat in 1921.
organizations, that sometimes contradicted the needs of the women themselves whom they purported to represent. The organization's desire to separate the general ideological context from the male establishment and to make room to represent distinct female interests always encounters opposition and punishment, to the point of separation from the source of resources.

2. Having a national collective agenda, they were founded in the 20s and the 30s and represented, in addition to the female interest, the Zionist facet. Their activities were based on the focus on daily social problems (basic needs) such as accessibility to specific domains and developing abilities and means mainly in the realms of education, health and social welfare – distinct female concerns. The economic and the political focus was occasional and minuscule, usually without determining independent policy for the most part and leaving many issues untreated. The party or society related to the activities of these organizations as a given thus they were not to be particularly compensated for their work. The male establishments used them as a platform for political interest, to accrue power, influence and attain public sympathy. Such behavior generally is typical of the attitude towards women by society that did not overlook the organizations themselves.

3. Having a patriarchal organizational structure: Despite the organizations being founded on only female participation, their management was paradoxically patriarchal. The structure is hierarchic, like a pyramid of authority and advancement, whose basis relies on volunteers as activists. The voluntary work is typical of the condition of women in general and makes the women's organizations a central issue, reinforcing and preserving the phenomenon of exploitation of a female labor force without compensation. The organizational culture is copied from the male world and founded on competitiveness, power and status, alongside the absence of professional training in most areas in which the organization deals. The organizational leadership developed from the organization or arrived from outside it, according to criteria based on political proximity and conformity to the establishment and to the patriarchal approach that typified it.

4. Lacking an agenda of change – the agenda of these women's organizations is a nurturing agenda, that focuses on help and support without altering the situation. Some of their activities are likely to lead to change but the significant change has not been defined as an objective.
Over the years, the organizations did not alter their structure and modus operandi, and therefore the innovation of their establishment/founding became a fossilized approach that does not afford any real solution to the social needs that changed. The organizations laid the foundations for the development of future social and community services. The development of an establishment mechanism became more professional after the establishment of the State of Israel. It took those areas of activity under its wing creating a real threat to the survival of the women's organizations.

Over the years, women's organizations became an inseparable part of the social map, but this very fact was a disadvantage since becoming establishment led to reducing extremism in their activities (Ferree and Martin, 1995). Nowadays, the organizations' more dominant interest in activity is in their survival and existence.

As part of the declaratory policy adopted, the organizations actually enjoy the amity of the establishment, since their low-key activity is compatible with their needs. The organizations enjoy this establishment support as proof of the need for them and the quality of their activities. They do not function today based on “feminist purity” (Ahrens, 1980).

Despite this magic circle, the reality demanded change. The institutional mechanism has altered and functions on two planes:

a. The central government – through the legislative authority, the Knesset, via the Committee on the Status of Women, comprising male and female members of the Knesset founded ten years ago (1998); and by the executive branch, the government, through the ministerial committees comprising men and women), which is not actually manifested in the field. The other framework is the Authority whose establishment is anchored in legislation (1998). 127 (This is one of the factors to which this study relates.)

The institutional mechanism in the State of Israel established an infrastructure based on the 'mediating complex', comprised of women only, through whom it wished to further the subject of the status of women. A similar complex existed in the IDF since its inception in the form of Women's Corps officers, who served in all units and at all functional levels 128 as a separate unit. Their role in

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127 The Authority, is a replication of the National Council on the Advancement of the Status of Women that was established in 1984, following the recommendations of the 1975 Namir committee that examined that issue. The Council was not really effective, so that a year later the position of the advisor to the Prime Minister on the status of women was created, but lacked also real authority.

128 The chief Women's Corps officer could not make any rank higher than Brigadier General and for years the most senior rank was even lower. This situation means that the Women's Corps officer was
the IDF was to deal with female soldiers and specific female problems. The 'mediating complex' is somewhat similar to the role of internal agents of change, but it seems to this researcher that this was not the intention when it was established. In 1995 the Department for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the civil service was established, responsible for the activities of some 80 women in charge of the status of women in government ministries and its support units.\textsuperscript{129}

b. The local government: The municipal government is an executive branch of the central government with very little inner autonomy to deal with local issues (Nachmias and Navot, 2002). The municipal domain unified as an organization with common interests and established the Israel Union of Local Authorities (IULA) that represents the municipal urban authorities (www.iula.org.il) and the Organization of Regional Authorities. As in the general civil service, an advisor in the status of women was also appointed at the IULA without the position being defined\textsuperscript{130}, without a budget and with a limited number of hours. In addition, a committee on the status of women convened occasionally, its members (elected male and female, advisors on the status of women) changing constantly.

The three central organizations described here, the Authority, IULA and the Knesset committee, adopted the working assumption regarding the need for a 'mediating complex' for applying policy on advancing the status of women led them to enact the Authorities Law - Advisors on the Status of Women, in 2000.

The advisors are external and internal agents of change, although this researcher believes they were not defined as such \textit{a priori} by any one. They functioned without any clear definition of their position\textsuperscript{131}, without budgetary means or other defined resources, and in addition to their previous positions they fulfilled before their appointment. The Authority, never part of the senior command with no potential for competing for Chief of Staff. The Women's Corps was cancelled gradually in the late 90s.

\textsuperscript{129} The women in charge of the status of women are part of the implementation of policy enforced by the law for their suitable representation for women (1995). The role was additional to their professional or previous role.

\textsuperscript{130} The role was filled prior to enacting the law in the 1990s, and the first person appointed was the late Ilana Chernobroda, followed by Nadia Hilu, former Labor Member of the Knesset. She was replaced in 2006 by Rina Hod.

\textsuperscript{131} Following this study, the researcher, together with a small group of advisors, led change in the legislation of 2000 in July, 2008 (see appendix A item 1) and manifested in the booklet defining the advisor's role.
together with the IULA\textsuperscript{132} are the institutions with which the advisors work without defining the reciprocal relations between them. This study concentrates on the advisors' work and on these reciprocal relations, based on the researcher's experience and on aspects connected to the empowerment courses that were a central part of the authority's policy between 2004-2007.

This infrastructure for the advisors and appointees inspired additional institutions such as the institutions of higher education, the army, large professional organizations, public companies and others to appoint women to positions responsible for the issue of the status of women in the institution.

The institutional, governmental mechanism enjoys the backing of rules and regulations, with access to resources, decision-makers and to the law courts. On the other hand, this belonging forced a situation of dual loyalty, conflict of interests and even of inferiority regarding resources, means and tools that stemmed from policy lacking flexibility, that is encumbered and bureaucracy, from declarative policy regarding the advancement of women and from a covert and overt patriarchal organizational culture.

2. NGOs – the extra-institutional branch

Grass roots organizations or non-governmental organizations are a branch based on the WAD approach. Most of the organizations, entities and associations, that comprise this branch are purely women’s organizations.

At end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century a comfortable basis for social movements was created\textsuperscript{133}, in which women also participated (LeGates, 2001; Safran, 2001). These activities honed the understanding amongst women regarding the need for social change for their gender and afforded the infrastructure for the development of women's organizations for women. These organizations included organizations canvassing for the right to vote, those that worked for reform in criminal law and for the protection of the rights of working women (Rowbotham, 1992; Safran, 2001)

\textsuperscript{132} By law the advisors are municipal employees and are therefore connected to IULA.

\textsuperscript{133} A social organization deals with advancing social ideas and values such as justice and equality, through research, publications and disseminating ideas, creating services and is derived from social needs.
The focus of activity regarding the needs of women alone finds that there is in fact, no area in which women do not have a unique need. The activities exposed the differences in needs within the female population according to the socio-economic situation. The organizations found themselves establishing day care centers, kindergartens and youth clubs; providing welfare, support and knowledge in poor neighborhoods; founded proper sanitation services, built public clinics and founded evening classes for adults (to eradicate illiteracy and complete elementary education) alongside activities that strove to influence political life (Rowbotham, 1992, LeGates, 2001; Safran, 2001). A similar process occurred in Jewish society too before and after the establishment of the Israeli State.134

After a break in female activity of some 30 years, a new type of women's organization emerged (Ferree and Martin, 1995) - feminist women's organizations that are a type of social organization that

"See the customary social and political systems as a male governmental system that perpetuates female inferiority and suppression …the strategy of these organizations is 'to pressure from outside' while presenting an alternative female image"

(Fogel-Bijaui 1992:66).

The feminist organizations are founded, amongst other things, on a shared organizational structure and mechanism for decision-making, that empower members of the organization; they have a political agenda for ceasing suppression of any type (ideological, value and feminist objectives/values) towards women and offer the creation of an alternative for the existing situation, i.e., meaningful social change (Martin, 1990).

The feminist organizations, despite being extra-establishment, are in need of the establishment to motivate the processes, attain resources, legitimacy and applying the changes. The reciprocal relations between the establishment and extra-establishment organizations is full of ups and downs, on an axis between totally disengagement to cooperation at various levels.

134 The Hebrew Women's Association for Equal Rights in Israel was established in 1919 as a non-political national organization functioning under the auspices of "One constitution and one law for men and woman" (Herzog, 1994; Safran, 2001). After anchoring the right to vote, the Association aimed to expand this right to the local authorities and in parallel advanced the establishment of Women's Juridical Advisory offices, mainly to aid in personal and family issues (Herzog, 1994).
Israeli feminism embraces many establishment and feminist organizations some of which are separate feminist organizations dealing with their uniqueness (as lesbians, as being of sephardi origin, immigrants and as Palestinians) (Avidav, 2004). The founding of feminist organizations created a wave that influenced veteran-establishment women's organizations that became more militant, at the declarative stage, with a growing of fear about their existence.

More than 80 women's organizations (Hadayer and Tal, 2008) now operate in Israel, most of which are still based on a voluntary organizational array of various levels, with some professional women in relevant areas. Despite the establishment of coalitions of organizations around an issue of advancement, an atmosphere of separatism and non-cooperation still reigns, for a variety of reasons, enabling the continued situation of discrimination towards women to exist.

The extra-establishment organizations can be classified, believes this researcher:
1. Focusing on social change: Although being extra-establishment they work with establishment institutes, making partial use of their resources, without being completely dependent on them and are not identified with a particular establishment body. The connection between them and the establishment entities is conducted according to area of interest and on the basis of specific point cooperation.
2. Focusing on change in awareness: Characterized by feminist awareness and partially the post–modern agenda. These organizations operate from critical consideration towards the establishment and without declared dependence on it, whose goal is to give expression to the feminine spirit and voice and thereby open a public debate that will alter awareness, sensitivity and the attitude towards women and their needs.
3. Focusing on an issue: This creates a background or a common denominator such as a support group, born on the background of a feeling of loneliness and the need to share a particular difficulty (widowhood, single parenthood, a handicap etc.) or a protest group,

135 Such as 'Ken Association' whose goal is to further women to positions of political power; Women's Lobby, that calls itself the Organization for Social Change aiming mainly for advancing egalitarian legislation and its enforcement (www.iwn.org.il); 'The Centre for the Victims of Sexual Harassment', that has now begun to help men suffering from sexual aggression too, and became a gendered organization; 'Itach' Association, that operates amongst economically weak women to attain rights and make them more accessible, etc.
136 Such as the 'Woman to Woman' organization in Haifa and the 'Feminist house' in Tel Aviv.
born on the background of a particular difficulty that time or a situation created.\textsuperscript{137}

4. Focusing on gender activity: Organizations for social change for both genders\textsuperscript{138}. These organizations are unique and less known to the public. Their development was feasible due to the action for change in the awareness of feminism that creates legitimacy to recognize the existence of different needs and discrimination on a gender basis.

Empowerment and leadership courses for women exist, nowadays, in the establishment framework mainly at local municipal level through the mediation of the advisors on the status of women. Such courses have been held with a minor tone in women's organizations, due to budgetary and resource constraints, mostly at the state/ regional level, lacking consistence, or by connecting to the advisor's work.

From her work experience this researcher realizes that further activity has an empowering potential despite not always enjoying consideration from this actual perspective. Further ways to empower include the various courses held by the advisors on a variety of subjects, as well as the development or creation of services with a feminist orientation, to be discussed later and in the context of empowerment courses.

2.6.6 Empowerment and measuring

Measuring is a process wherein information is obtained by mostly a quantitative description of the attribute or certain ability. This process necessitates tools, (internal or external to the measurer) that enable receiving the data, i.e. a measurement tool.

There is no doubt that measurement at the social level, as the subject of this thesis, is not simple and quantities aspects are not describing in a right way, this phenomenon. The social realm discussed in connection with this study is the status of women, measured only in the last decade for systematic use. Measurement in general concentrates existing information for analysis and for drawing conclusions that will lead to creating new knowledge, that helps in determining subject policy. Policy leads to action plans that realize the knowledge accumulated to the benefit, advancement and desired change, and, in our case, advancement

\textsuperscript{137} The "Four Mothers" movement that protested the war in Lebanon in the 90s demanded the return of their soldier-sons home and withdrawal

\textsuperscript{138} The New Male Organization, founded by men only who objected to the violence towards women but later became an organization representing both genders, and the Organization for Peace and Equality between the genders.
and change in the status of women in order to create a more egalitarian society for the benefit of all – significant social change.

Exploration of the subject around the world finds that gender measurement derives from general social indices.

1. Human Development Index (HDI) that explores the quality of life according to life expectancy (indicating the level of health,) the percentage of infant deaths, access to education and its level, as a product per person. This index relates to the entire population in a given country and defines the placement of that country relative to other countries for three categories: As developed countries, semi-developed countries and developing countries.

2. Human Well-being Index (HWI) that weights indices of health, wealth, knowledge, welfare and equality in the community (Klain 2005).

These two indices afford the infrastructure for more focused indices as equality measurement, of which gender equality is one. The important gender indices, believes this researcher are:

1. Gender Development Index (GDI) that explores the same parameters of the HDI but compares men and women. This index can give different results from the previous index, despite exploration of the same parameters.

2. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was first presented at the World Economic Forum Women's Conference, Beijing+5 in 2004. This tool is intended to assess the gender disparity by measuring the achievements of women in five areas of power and influence:
   a. Political participation and influence at decision-making foci
   b. Participation in the labor force
   c. Educational achievements
   d. Health and welfare
   e. Control of economic sources and resources (Klain, 2005)

3. Gender Index Status (GSI) is comprised of three components:
   a. Social power – referring to ability and divided into two domains:
      • Education – the scope of illiteracy, the percentage of dropping out, the scope of registration
      • Health: Children's health, live births, new infections of AIDS, available time after work
   b. Economic power – opportunities - divided into three domains:
      • Income in the formal sector- public service, the agricultural sector and the informal sector such as small business initiatives, and money transfers within the household;
• Using time in the productive market through employment or other activity;
• Access to sources such as means of production or administrative positions
  c. Political power – referring to motivation to act as regards representation at two levels – the degree of representation at foci of decision making in the public domain and the civil domain (FAO 2005:3-4).

All the indices mentioned till now talk about countries as a unit of measurement and comparison between them. The empowerment index measures gender inequality at two arenas: The political arena, through political participation, and the economic arena through economic participation and the degree of control of economic sources and resources.

This is consideration to third stage of empowerment without examining the other stages of (personal and communal). It may be based on the working assumption that the existence of parameters that define social empowerment are the result of the existence of communal and personal empowerment.

The UN is one of the leading organizations in gender measurement. It differentiates between two groups of countries - that of developing countries, where the GDI, is measured and that of developed countries (the western world) where the GEM is measured as detailed above. However, the conclusions from the GEM measurements indicate the absence of a real model of gender equality in the world. No country has achieved this equality.

However, by identifying and quantifying the gender gap, the UN believes it may be possible to provide some tools for the decision-makers or to design directions of action, and therefore chose three areas it believes will achieve gender equality:
  a. Strengthening the status of women in the economy by focusing on new technologies
  b. Advancing female leaders and political participation
  c. Eliminating violence against women as has been agreed in the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.(1979)

All these areas are part of the advisor's work at the municipal level with greater focus on items b and c.
This researcher believes that the parameters explored by the GEM may perhaps be translated to the municipal level as follows, however unsatisfactory since parts are not the result of activity or its prevention at the local level (such as salary, acquiring a profession etc.). Intervention in change in awareness and encouraging trends can occur at the local domain and are likely to be interpreted as intervening for the sake of change and should be measured.

The indices do not reflect the personal empowerment process, the main product of the empowerment courses discussed in this study and are not accompany the processes that enable a transition from one level of empowerment to another. Furthermore, they do not measure community empowerment in full since they do not relate to levels of empowerment from the perspective of scale, time and place.

This study attempts to propose a tool or ways of assessing/measuring the personal process that is likely to include learning at the municipal level as a result of empowerment courses as well as additional activity with an empowerment facet.

2.6.6.1 Empowerment courses and measurement

Empowerment courses occur in an informal arena, one of whose attributes is the flexible boundaries. This element influences the types of courses that come under the heading of empowerment. The variety is manifested in many components – content, structure (lecture/workshop), composition of the group; in the length of the course, in criteria or lack of criteria for acceptance; in the course objectives for all the factors involved (female participants, those who requested the course and lecturers); in the expected output and those who are accepted etc.

The courses, like the other activities (of which this researcher is aware of in Israel), is held for a variety of reasons, some of which are agenda-dependent, others are situation- or opportunity-dependent (on the existence of financial resources for example).

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139 In 2006 the ‘quartet’ raised a proposal to create an index for the advisors on the status of women known as the ILGM (Israeli Local Authorities Gender Measurement) in the framework of the course for senior advisors. This researcher was one of them and even wrote the basic article for the project.
Since the empowerment courses were not defined clearly as a field of learning or as a tool necessary for the advisor's work, no standards of assessment were applied, which is similar to the absence of any assessment of the advisor's work.

The evaluation is intended to examine the planning, application or results of the course in the existing public and political environment (Smith, 1990). Evaluation has five components (Weiss, 1998:4):
1. Superficial examination
2. Operation
3. Results
4. Comparison to overt/covert standards
5. Improvement or decision-making (drawing conclusions\textsuperscript{140})

The effectiveness of instruction is measured both at the individual level - What was it like? What did I learn? How did I apply it? - and at the organizational level, or in our case, at the community level – What did it contribute to the organization/community? What is the cost versus the benefit?

Evaluating the social and educational programs, since the empowerment courses are a type of such courses, are routine in the education system, usually conducted as a process with several stages, focusing on it or on the results (Friedman, 2005).

Diverse organizations avoid the assessment stage and drawing conclusions. Milstein (1999) tries to explain this phenomenon relying on the human need for survival and avoiding (internal or external) threats. The systems are interested in avoiding seeing their own defects to the point of converting the situation to a type of cultural norm.

In fact two types of assessment are needed – at the organizational plane, encompassing the entirety of the advisor's work and at that of including assessing empowerment course and their products. In both cases assessment entails an element of empowerment for the domain and for the people who are the subject of assessment.

It transpires from the experience of organizations, to whom the process of drawing conclusions is not foreign, that the processes of drawing conclusions is insufficient to improve performance. To this end an additional process is needed of assimilating the conclusions, that

\textsuperscript{140} Conclusion is define as achieved by experience and doing (Even-Shoshan dictionary, 1967)
necessitates synchronization between the two processes. The core of the process of drawing conclusions is the assimilation, and without it the desired improve will not be attained (www.ishrm.org).

The involvement with empowerment, and empowering women in particular, means examining the process more than the product. The process discussed is primarily one of change (Moser, 2007). Therefore we must define and recognize the starting point, decide what we want to measure and what data are necessary for this.

We must establish a toolbox that includes a list of areas and objectives, identify the changes needed to attain these goals, and decide which indicators will be most meaningful for measuring progress and change.

Moser (2007) emphasizes that measuring female empowerment must take into consideration the fact that this is a slow, non-linear process and sometimes is not personal in an overt and clear way. Various researchers including Moser (2007) define the dimensions of empowerment that should be explored:

- Preliminary conditions - resources – including existing access to these resources. Empowerment includes change in the ways of attaining the resources as well as change in their accessibility
- Process – agency – i.e. the meaning, the motivation and the reason for the individual to act. The personal obligation is connected to the obligation of the group and of the collective
- Products – achievements – the potential people have to live the life they wish, while finding suitable ways of being and doing (Sen, 1990).

Female empowerment has unique components (Malhotra, 2003) that are not dependent only on the individual. Women are a category that crosses groups and are not just another weakened group. The private-home domain affords a key barrier to their development and therefore female empowerment necessitates methodical change in a social system that embraces organizations and institutions with a patriarchal basis.

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141 It is sometimes possible to discern changes amongst the daughters of women who have experienced an empowerment process, i.e., they underwent change by conveying other messages to their daughters while the mothers apparently continue in their former ways (Gurumurthy, 2006). This researcher encountered a similar phenomenon when one of the graduates of an empowerment course, was more open to ideas connected to female empowerment, and pushed for holding these courses for disabled women (for which she is responsible), although, outwardly, she did not appear to have undergone change or have been empowered.
The combination of personal-female change with systemic-social change creates an extremely complex situation. One must therefore examine the process since there may well be a situation in which change occurs through external intervention (laws and guidelines for example), but as long as women do not become agents of change in the process but are only clients, the process will not be perceived as empowerment (Kabeer, 2001).
Chapter 3
The Research

Although measurement and evaluation of the empowerment process is the topic under discussion, some claim that it cannot be measured. The measuring processes is complex, and differences of opinion exist amongst researchers regarding every description that refers to empowerment (Moser, 2007).

3.1 Methodology

Academic research aims to discover new knowledge, to reveal rules of behavior while exposing the causal connections and creating theories that will directly or indirectly influence the reality (Krumer-Nevo 2006:26). The study conducted between the years 2000-2009, aims to explore the practices in use today and whether they serve the objective of meaningful social change, in the status of women domain in Israel, through checking empowerment processes based on courses, being, therefore a social, feminist and educational one, as will be discuss later. This research is a "practice that systematically created the objects that it discusses." (Howe, 1994:517) or known also as a grounded theory field study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

From the epistemological perspective the study employs, and is based on, qualitative research methods." It aims to create knowledge" says Shlaski and Alpert, (2007:11) –" but knowledge has a value only if it is published. Its writing must therefore be such that others will want to read it, will find it interesting and also understand it". This study aims to create knowledge that will become the basis, alongside offering an opening for other research. Studies that deal with women or issues connected to their lives arouse the question regarding their uniqueness compared to other studies. This new branch of research is known as feminist research.

3.1.1 Feminist research

Research in general is characterized by a patriarchal approach since many studies are executed by men, with male participants and on issues and topics that are not connected to the world or needs of women. But their

142 From the Greek word episteme, meaning knowledge or information, a branch of philosophy dealing with the essence of knowledge, its sources, attributes and boundaries. The term refers to the conditions under which knowledge can be created or presented, independent of personal beliefs (Trostler, 2008).
findings determine the knowledge, the theory and the practice for too long (Herzog, 2002b). Instrumental–rational-male thought shaped identity (Dillabough, 2000), including female identity.

Two concepts exist in the "other" research space that are connected to women: feminist research and gender research. While measurement is perceived usually as a technical detail, the process of choosing subjects for measurement have political connections (Moser, 2007) that reflect the social agenda.

Feminist research is not restricted only to the study of women, as one might think, but deals with social phenomena (social research) focusing on identifying diverse forms of suppression, injustice and marginality in order to extract useful information for meaningful change (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). An important point in the regard of feminist research, therefore, is connected to the fact that one of the main objectives is leading social change (Reinharz, 1992:251). It focuses mainly on finding explanations for the gender reality from the female perspective, as a category suffering from discrimination and inferiority because of gender.

Based on the feminist theory, the study departs from the assumption that there is no one truth and that the world picture presented is not necessarily self-understood. Therefore this type of research is not based on one body of knowledge (Zellermeier and Peri, 2002), but believes in the existence of many voices, many methods, making it interdisciplinary.

"...feminist research is amoeba-like. It goes everywhere, in every direction. It reaches into all disciplines and uses all the methods, sometimes singly and sometimes in combinations..."

(Reinharz 1992:243)

Feminist research tends to use qualitative research methodology since "listening to the female lives and their interpretation...is central to the feminist reconstruction of the world" (Munro 1998:1). The subjective facet that characterizes qualitative and feminist research keeps the researcher in the research space (heuristic research), gathering data.

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143 Heuristic (whose Greek origin means discovery or finding) research is a pragmatic method of decision making and problem solving, in which the person taking the decision, without a consistent set of possibilities, reaches principles and conclusions. This is a technique of trial and error in which each step serve to determine the formula that will serve the next step. (Avnion 1997). It can be also applied to the process of inner search in which the researcher's self is present throughout the process and experiences inner discoveries that reach his consciousness and help to understand some phenomenon in depth.
while creating relationships with the research participants and enabling seeing the subjective data as something suitable. The research tries to build an interpretation (hermeneutics)\textsuperscript{144} of the domain studied through dialogue (Zellermeier and Peri, 2002).

The attempt to conduct continuous dialogue between the field and the cumulative experience of the researcher and other advisors or instructors is intended primarily to understand the events. This affords theories she found a dimension of new insights and arouses further awareness on her part and on the part of the research participants. A need and an obligation transpire for 'naming' phenomena (Felstiner, Abel and Sarat, 1980). Feminist research in general, and the current study in particular, is needed primarily for constructing a new world of concepts\textsuperscript{145} and for a redefinition or a totally new definition of existing phenomena.

Feminist thought is reflective and aware of the fact that the knowledge obtained is never complete (Herzog, 2002b). The research dissembles the existing world of concepts by applying the gender scheme to the reality. This process enables discovery or offering new meanings to the roles, relationships and other social structures that were not seen previously. (Yanai, 1992) Many feminist researchers agree that feminist research discusses and explores phenomena that, in fact, have no one absolute solution, but it connects ideas to experience and to social reality (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002).

Thus this study examines the empowerment courses as a tool for creating change in the perception at the personal (I), community (we) and social levels (all).

Most feminist studies choose qualitative methodology despite not having unique research techniques, but are characterized by theory, politics and feminist ethics based on the experience of women (Ramazanoglu and Holland. 2002). Opposition and criticism towards feminist research came swiftly, but the researcher does not intend to pursue this track here.

\textsuperscript{144} Hermeneutics - a theory or philosophy of affording meaning to things through their interpretation (Dargish and Sabar Ben Yehoshua, 2001).
\textsuperscript{145} Apart from the correctness of this statement in general, it is true of the State of Israel that is not always at the same stage as other western countries as regards social developments, and even more so in the context of the advisors and systems with which they are connected, that totally lack this knowledge.
3.1.1 Gender research

These studies afford a basis for feminist research since they provide data about phenomena and behaviors pertaining to the differences between the genders. These are perceived as social and cultural structuring, with the product of this structuring being the discrimination on a gender background. Exposing the reality occurs usually through positivist quantitative methods that observe the phenomenon from "without". These methods are limited in the context of exposing the social mechanisms that reproduce this reality (Munro, 1998).

Measuring change from the gender perspective refers to components such as change in the relationships between men and women, change in the products as a result of policy, program or activity intended for women/men, or change in the status of women/men relative to the subject of gender such as the degree of political participation of men/women etc. (Moser, 2007).

3.1.2 Educational research

Educational research is conducted through various disciplinary lenses (Kosminski, 2005) and is intended, amongst other things, to understand and create tools for improving the learning and educational process.

Within the many fields of education this study focuses on the area of adult education and informal educational activity. The researcher would first like to point out that neither adult education nor informal education consider educational activity to be sufficiently and clearly connected to the status of women\textsuperscript{146}. Adult education focuses on marked domains, without gender and/or female consideration, and informal education concentrates mainly on school age frameworks, mainly outside of school.

A close connection exists between ideology, and in this case, feminist ideology, and educational activity. Pedagogic theories afford the underlying basis of education since all educational activity is ideological (Keller, 1996). Therefore, attributing the advisor's activity regarding the status of women to a defined realm of education, to the informal education framework for adults, will alleviate creating a consolidating professional agenda and action policy, to which this study hopes to contribute.

\textsuperscript{146} For example, the article by Toktaly on informal adult education (in S. Romi and M. Schmida, 2007, \textit{Informal education in a changing reality}, that talks of informal adult education in the most general manner without any specific consideration of the learning phenomenon amongst women.
In view of the above assumption, research methods customary in the domain were examined and extensive use of qualitative, together with quantitative, research was found. The effectiveness of each type of research led to the use of a combination of methodologies (Creswell, 2003), and even the development of a holistic approach that sees the need to use the two methodologies together in order to attain a research scope that no methodology attains when used alone (Newman and Benz, 1998).

This approach, developed also amongst feminist researchers who find that the preferred methodology is the combined methodology that employs participatory techniques\(^{147}\) together with gender sensitive indicators\(^{148}\).

In contrast to other pedagogies, informal pedagogy is not formulated and exists in the "field" (Silverman-Keller, 2007). The difficulties observed are the absence of organized educational programs, of written material or of a theoretical basis for the program (Cohen, 2007). These are exactly the researcher's feelings subsequent to her experience regarding empowerment courses for women. The current study concentrates on researching an educational system, although it is not defined thus.

The current study deals with two aspects: The pedagogic aspect (Who are the participants in the course? Who are the instructors? What are the tools and the products?) and the organizational aspect (the functioning of the organizations/frameworks in the domain).

The main research methods that were in use in the current study belong to the realm of qualitative research.

### 3.1.3 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is a general term for methodologies that adopt the diverse methods in research, intended to understand, expose and describe a problem or social/human phenomenon (Shor, 2006). In general, the questions that concern this type of research revolve around four questions:

1. What is the reality studied (What do we wish to know?)

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\(^{147}\) The research participants should be partner at the various stages of research – partner to the decision as to what to be measured and which indicators should be included, except for actually participating as research objects (Moser, 2007).

\(^{148}\) Measuring changes relatively in society over time in the context of the gender of the research participant (Moser, 2007)
2. What are the relations between the person with the knowledge and the object of knowledge?
3. How does one find this knowledge?
4. How do people learn to recognize the reality? This question is based on the answers to the other three questions (Sciarra, 1999; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The prominent approaches included in this research method, according to most researchers (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Moustakas, 1994; Creswell, 1998) and that afford the main thrust of the current study, are grounded theory and hermeneutics, heuristic research and phenomenological research.

The qualitative research method adopted in this study enjoys a constructivist approach that sees a mutual connection between the components of the phenomenon, as one of the research participants said, My change affects the surroundings. Understanding the context of the phenomenon is essential for understanding the reality in which it functions (Patton, 1980) and indeed, gathering the data in this study was based mainly on three methods: observations, conversations and reviewing documents (Yin, 1984; Merriam, 1985), that were gathered directly from activities (in the field). The methods of collection in qualitative research are interactive (Shkedi, 2003), some of which are initiated and others not, bearing a narrative character (Dey, 1993). The combination of data received from diverse sources (triangulation), characteristic of this type of research (Rist, 1982) and prominent in this study are:
1. Verbal communications between the course participants
2. Verbal communications between the participants (in courses and instructors) and the researcher
3. Non-verbal behavior
4. Types of activity or non-activity
5. Archival files and documents (Merriam, 1985).

Qualitative research finds it difficult to function linearly, to start with a review of the literature, a definition of the problem and finding a framework. This difficulty was a key issue experienced by the researcher when writing this study. Findings encouraged her to explore additional theories. The original research question – whether empowerment courses are a tool for social change - was clarified and altered, and raised additional questions regarding the advisor's domain, the reciprocal

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149 Constructivism – structuring knowledge, a social model that developed from the humanist aspect
relationships of organizations involved in the domain, the definition of concepts, work methods and relevant theories. Qualitative research leads sometimes to unexpected directions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

3.1.4 Field research

Theoretical writing in the feminist domain exists and can even be said to be expanding but research of the practical aspect still lacks a serious place. This may be due to several reasons: the lack of awareness, tools or concepts; difficulty in research of this type, amongst other things because lack of documentation, evaluating and gathering information and, perhaps, because it is a domain that is constantly developing and has yet to be researched.

The study developed from the work arena as a bottom-up process intended to determine guidelines – from practice to theory. It is a field grounded study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Mitchell, 2007) that describes part of the researcher's official work as the mayoral advisor on the status of women.

Apart from courses, some of the projects were created following or alongside the courses were studied. Some of them were ongoing projects that continue to operate and develop, allowing constant monitoring and attaining new material for future studies.

The purpose of grounded study is the growth of a theory from the activities in the field while assuring adaptation to the situation examined and the possibility of applying it in other work. The theory is created, in fact, from gathering data and their analysis by the researcher, connecting the findings to an existing theory (Sabar Ben Yehoshua, 1990; Gibton, 2001).

As Strauss and Corbin (1990:23) state: "A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents…"

3.1.5 Phenomenology, heuristic and hermeneutics

Creswell (1998) avers that phenomenological research describes the meaning of the experiences of several people of the phenomenon, and in the above case, that of empowering women. Tangible sketching describes, as far as possible, the array that explains social, historical, and

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150. In recent years several gender study tracks have been opened in universities/colleges that emphasize the connection between the academe-research and theory and field work.

151. Phenomenon – a unique event
economic conditions that affect the main phenomenon – discrimination and the exclusion of women. The phenomenological research will emphasize the fact that the experiences of women as a research object, are significant for those who live them, and therefore precede all interpretation or theory. The experiences of women are the absence from decision making foci and positions of power at the various levels of life.

Moustakas (1994) stresses that the researcher must set his assumptions aside to be as available as possible to hear the voices of the research participants and to construct the picture in a way that it will be a combination of the voices of the former and the researcher's attentiveness. In fact, this is the meaning of the researcher's awareness since it is based on the participants' stories as told, but also on the way in which the stories enter the researcher's awareness through images, memories, and meanings. Therefore, the second condition is the use of the researcher's intuition and imagination regarding the way to understand the research participants (Shor, 2006). The phenomenological approach enables embarking on the research without a clear and defined theory, although the final description in the study is supposed to formulate the essence of the experiences of the research participants, in a way that also will manifest the content and the structure. This description should create insights for the researcher of the phenomenon (Shor, 2006). Since, in the current case, the researcher is an inseparable part of the process as part of her daily work, as a woman and as a researcher, she must feel that she understands better the feelings of the participants and the phenomenon studied itself.

The theoretical background that is used in this study is a collection of articles from diverse disciplines directly and indirectly linked to the research topic. They create a puzzle compiling a new theory. The very use of diverse parts and theories affords an interpretive step unto itself.

The research describes on the one hand her professional and personal growth and therefore is a heuristic study, and on the other hand it describes a process that developed due to working with women in a locale, known as female empowerment through courses (educational research), with the goal of consolidating a theory (field research and phenomenological research).
While gathering the data the researcher attempted to bridge the gap between theory and practice through description and story of the reality, and developing an array of concepts and insights – creating a new story. The life story method is inductive and interpretive, i.e., during negotiations with the research participants, and on the basis of the interpretation of their stories and their analysis, a theory develops and reveals the phenomenon studied (Opletka 1998:74). The narrative-interpretive method is suitable to this research also due to the need to understand the phenomenon over time, as empowerment is defined (Moser 2007).

Every phenomenon studied needs a frame of reference, the definition of its components and adapt to it tools for measuring and theoretical conceptualization that will generalize and interpret the reality studied (Shalev, 2003:55). However, the study does not purport to measure changes - 'empowerment' - but its conceptualization as a tool for social change, examining the work methods of the advisor and of the institutions in the realm of the status of women.

The uniqueness of the current study lies in its being a pioneer in the field, since there are no measurement tools or guidelines regarding empowerment courses for women as a means for social change in the State of Israel. For the first time materials on such courses have been collected in order to construct a conceptual, organizational and practical framework using products that will afford the first infrastructure in the domain for activities and for change in the work methods and for further research.

The researcher found that theories and findings from other studies that relate to female empowerment (Batliwala, 1993, 1994) or show tendencies to change amongst women are usually connected to women who are defined as weak, as victims and forlorn – in geographic locations or communities, ethnic minorities, third world countries, traditional societies that are economically and culturally weak, according to the definitions of the western white, established world. The population that she studied is of women in a country with a western character both as far as subjective perspective and global belonging are concerned, despite a complicated mix of traditional and religious attributes. The profile of the population studied in a more focused manner is of women who live in a large city, who do not belong to the periphery or are marginal in any way.

152 The narrative method aims to employ life stories as a way of understanding a phenomenon.
As a pioneer study of a role that develops its identity and definition with the need for observation from inside to outside and *vice versa* alongside the challenge, the interest and the experience, the need always existed to know the degree of correctness of the findings, of that written and that constructed. This great responsibility accompanied the writer throughout the study, and after its publication she will urgently await the results in the field.

### 3.2 The basis for the study and the research population

Courses for women, including empowerment and leadership courses, are one of the activities conducted by advisors on the status of women. Their scope varies from one town to another and are sometimes totally absent. Similar, but different, activity was familiar from the past as part of the activities of women's organizations. This activity was transitory and not routine, not documented in most cases, lacking assessment and tracking its influence. This study explores courses for women known as "empowerment courses" and other diverse activities. In the beginning the research was directed towards a large project, 'Project 100' which was conducted all over the country.

While conducting the study the researcher understood that a variety of courses and activities in the municipality studied should be explored as part of the broader definition of empowerment activity for women in Israel. The study led to adding tiers and factors connected to the main subject – empowerment course as a tool for social change.

The study was divided into three chronological periods:
1. 2005-2006 – investigating Project 100 in a retrospective and procedural manner
2. 2006 – observation of entities partner to the project and herself
3. 2006-2009 - testing some of the conclusions

### 3.2.1 Project 100 as a factor in studying female empowerment

The project was originally planned by the Authority as a one-stage, one-year program (2004-5), but following demand from the field was extended to two years (till 2007) with two stages. It ended as the initiator's position ended.

The essence of the project was holding courses for women on a national and sectorial distribution that would create community projects and thus enable activity and leveraging the domain of the status of women in Israel.
Its focus was on organizational and functional definitions such as financial resources, timetable, the number of sessions financed by the Authority (8) or the number of women participating (100 per locale) regardless of the content.

Investigation of the project led to a series of questions regarding its management, the role of the partner entities and the professional definitions of those involved.

3.2.2 The organizational partners to the advisor's work

Three institutional organizations\(^{153}\) are party to the advisor's work but only one - the Authority - is relevant to Project 100, a ministerial body belonging to the central executive branch.

The municipal structure in Israel and the reciprocal relations with the central government entail problematic reciprocal relations (Rubinstein, 2004), with the Local Authorities Law (2000), as regards the appointment of an advisor on the status of women, is only one example of this. In this system there are directives from the central government to the local government, without providing the latter with tools for implementation. The advisors, as employees of the municipalities, entered the parasitic-dependency array, manifested mainly in financial dependency and in methods of transferring money from the central government – the Authority to the local government i.e., to the advisors on the status of women in the local authorities.

The advisors' role was therefore defined unofficially, as executive, according to the dictates of the Authority, and raised questions regarding the way of defining the advisor's role and the reciprocal relations with the Authority.

3.2.3 The role of the advisor on the status of women

The role of the advisor on the status of women in the municipal domain is not a common position globally\(^{154}\)

\(^{153}\) This refers to the IULA and the Committee for the Status of Women in the Israeli Knesset, described previously.

\(^{154}\) Advisors have existed for the last 30 years in Germany; in Italy a function exists known as "Advisors on the Subject of Equal Opportunity" that handles issues concerning the status of women from the egalitarian point of view, or other positions, under different names, that may deal with the same subject.
In Israel the position is statutory (Local Authorities Law, 2000), new, lacking in clear definition when Project 100 was running and is still developing. There is no clear differentiation between its being a position, or a profession\textsuperscript{155} or both together (Ben Asher, 2007a).

The position was created for the municipal public sector – the service sector - that affords a local executive arm for the central (governmental) executive arm. The organizational culture customary in the public sector in the State of Israel, as well as in the municipal domain, originates partly from the Ottoman period and partly from the British Mandate (Elazar, 2001). Its features are

1. Hierarchy (a distinctly patriarchal basis)
2. Bureaucracy
3. Criteria for assessing politically-based considerations
4. Outdated and centralized methods of administration, lacking transparency, operating on the fire-fighting method
5. Foci of power of those with personal interest and those close indicating a lack of professionalism

The position joins several public positions in the State of Israel\textsuperscript{156} that deal with women and their status, but is different from them as regards the female population that is intended to serve in the locale\textsuperscript{157}, the accessibility to the population (which is very close) and the consequent opportunities available to the role holder. Thus at the same time, the disparity between the position, that according to its legislative definition is extremely prestigious, placed high on the municipal hierarchical pyramid (Local Authority Law 2000\#2a) and the daily reality in the field, creates frustration and dissatisfaction to the point of paralysis and lack of action by some advisors.

3.2.4 The municipality on which this study focuses

To assure confidentiality, only a concise profile is presented here. The municipality is one of the largest towns in Israel with a population of whom 94% are Jewish and 90% secular. Most of the population is aged

\textsuperscript{155} Role – the work a person does at his place of work or in another framework, whether compulsory or task he has to perform (Schveika, 1997); Profession – an occupation from which one can live, that demands study or specialization (Schveika, 1997). This term has value meaning that also projects on the personal image of the professional (Shulov -Barkan, 1991). It is important to stress that not every role holder is also a professional; there may sometimes be overlap between the two situations.

\textsuperscript{156} Responsible for the status of women in government ministries, auxiliary units and organizations ; advisors on the status of women in academic institutions and the army; responsible for the Law to Prevent Sexual Harassment in Work Places.

\textsuperscript{157} This researcher believes that the advisors should deal not only with the female population but with the entire population, i.e., the males too.
44 and 56% have 2-3 children. Its socio-economic cross-section is upper middle class (Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) (2004); Segal 2007) Women account for more than 100,000 persons.

### 3.2.5 The research population

The research population is comprised of women in two categories:

1. Participants in empowerment courses: The population that is supposed to undergo change.
2. Those running the empowerment courses: The population that is supposed to create the platform for change amongst the participants.

The two groups share an overt common denominator as women according to their biological and social definitions.

#### 3.2.5.1 Participants in the course

The participants are the population meant to experience a process of change (see table) and comprise upper middle class Israeli women aged 30-65, living mainly in the locale where the research was conducted, whose participation is voluntary and whose degree of awareness of the need for change and the type of change is not clear enough.

The data and mapping of the research population are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2000-2003 Period of unawareness</th>
<th>2004-2007 Period of awareness</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct empowerment</td>
<td>38 women = 3 courses</td>
<td>120 women = 9 courses</td>
<td>158 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community target</td>
<td></td>
<td>141 women = 6 courses</td>
<td>141 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect empowerment</td>
<td>287 women = 123 courses</td>
<td></td>
<td>287 women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>586 women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research population participated in three types of courses, as defined by the writer:

158 Business leadership – 22; Leaders and empowerment - 16
159 Leadership and empowerment – stage 1
160 Leadership and empowerment, stage 2: 59 women
161 Computers – 6 groups, 81 women; driving refresher course – 4 groups, 97 women; presentation and image – 2 groups, 41 women.
1. Courses on direct empowerment – in which the word 'leadership' or 'empowerment' appears (stage a). Their purpose was to empower the participants and train them to create and run community projects for women (some of the courses were in the Project 100 framework).

2. Target-focused community courses (stage 2) - were a continuation of the direct empowerment courses intended to help implement community projects that were not defined at that time.

3. Indirect empowerment courses – that focused on developing or establishing tools and personal skills. Some of these courses were proposed and conducted by participants in the direct empowerment courses as a community project, such as that on personal image and presentation, women and money (that failed). Two courses were developed after identifying the needs and barriers of women such as a returning to drive course for those with a driving license who had not driven for some time, and a computer course to eradicate digital illiteracy.

The two chronological periods that appear in the table indicate professional change on two axes – the personal axis (of the researcher as an advisor and as a woman) and the systemic axis (of the advisors as a group and of the Authority as an institutional actor) that, the researcher believes, affords a component no less important in the empowerment process studied.

There was a lack of knowledge and of focus in 2002-2003 that was manifested in the absence of resources, infrastructures and cooperation. This period saw cohesion and the establishment of the advisor's role at the level of a presence in the field, amongst other things as the result of the first advisors' course attended by this researcher.

Project 100 was implemented between 2004-2007 and was a catalyst for the development of the researcher's professional insights. This understanding helped her to push steps for change at the national level, to be detailed below. In another professional course for advisors, in which she participated in 2006, issues were honed and a core of four advisors developed (including this writer) who were involved in, and led, the processes of change together with the Authority and IULA.

It is worth noting, for the sake of exactitude of this study, that in parallel with the activity described, other and similar courses were held for women with other shared critical attributes such as young girls, Ethiopian girls, new immigrants from the FSU, hearing impaired women and so on.
These courses are not described in the above table due to their uniqueness that is likely to affect the findings.

3.2.5.2 Course operators

This population served as the means applying tools and tactics for realizing the change and help motivate the process of change. This group is composed of three sub-groups, each of which has a different weight regarding the level of influence or change:
1. Advisors on the status of women
2. Course instructors
3. People holding additional positions

3.2.5.2.1 Advisors on the status of women

The empowerment courses in the framework of Project 100 were held mainly in the municipal area, thus one of the main factors in the process are the advisors. As one of them, the researcher assumes that the above three population groups also experienced the main aspects of change following the courses.

The advisors' profile that this writer will sketch concisely and in generalized fashion presents an extremely broad and varied range of basic, non-uniform data in four areas:
1. Formal education – from high school to the PhD degree. Some have professional education in areas such as social work, education, social sciences and the humanities. No advisor has specific education in women's studies and few have in public administration.
2. Professional training – in areas relevant to their previous positions, prior to taking on the advisory position. Specific training as new advisors was offered in three courses that have been held till now in which 60 advisors participated.\footnote{From a total of 208 advisors working in Israel when this study was conducted. In some municipalitities the advisor was replaced and so a new advisor was also trained in the same municipality, leaving the number of locations where the advisor had no training larger. Apart from the course, several in-service training courses are held annually focusing on a particular subject. The training courses are not held on a permanent basis (Ben Asher, 2007b).}
3. Status - varies between employee status of salaried municipality employees, as stated in the Law, and volunteers and public electees\footnote{Volunteers – the degree of commitment and responsibility. Public appointees – political interests. In both statuses there is a high degree of temporariness that is likely to affect the conduct and lack of professional tools that are needed.} which runs counter to the law, and positioning status, derived from both the way of employment and from the degree of
closeness to the Mayor. In some cases the professional aspect of her previous position before being advisor is also manifested, or a combination of both.

4. Skills for the position – in the absence of a clear definition of the role the necessary personal skills were not determined explicitly until the law was changed in 2008.

3.2.5.2.2 Course instructors

An additional component that should be explored is the instructors who participated in the project. Known as guides, instructors or lecturers the term is not specific and in daily use the terms are interchangeable and perceived as identical although this is not the case. In this study, the researcher chooses to use the term instructors.

Two main components are typical of this instruction to which this research is referring:
1. The subject – female empowerment
2. The target audience – women

The (informal) pool of potential instructors developed in two stages:
1. A few instructors who coordinated most of the courses. Their unique knowledge led them to exclusive, superior and patronizing behavior towards the potential target audience. Most of them grew from the feminist experience of the 1970s-1990s, mainly in voluntary organizations or the academe. Their professional and personal growth and behavior flowered in the patriarchal world with its absolute internalization
2. 'Discovering' the field – many instructors strive to enter it and the topic of female guidance has become trendy.

In the absence of a guiding professional hand many instructors strive to convey courses to women. A few male instructors also try to enter the domain but are blocked. This wave of instructors developed from the field and from working with mixed groups. Most of them come from the world of organizational consultancy, which is a mainly masculine world of content, or employ their own personal experiences that are used as justification for their instructional skills. The reality in which everyone can participate in a course and see themselves as experts makes the phenomenon common.

One of the common approaches that became rooted regarding the realm of female instruction assumes that women understand women and it is
therefore natural for the instruction in the courses for women to be given by women. As one of the instructors said, "I only employ women because no man can talk about the status of women."

Another instructor with whom the researcher spoke explained this in the fact that the moment a man instructs a group of women, they immediately begin to deliberate before him. It is true that the instructors' role affords a focus of power due to the role and the knowledge. According to her, the situation created when a male instructor enters actually reflects the daily reality of women and as a transformative experience a different situation must be generated.

There was no list of potential instructors at the beginning of Project 100 and the choice of whom to select was in the hands of the advisors. In this study the researcher will focus only on female instructors who taught the empowerment courses in the town in which this study is conducted. The main thrust will be regarding eight instructors with whom she is familiar in her ongoing work. The researcher will employ materials that relate to other instructors, or to the same instructors who led similar courses in other towns in order to reinforce certain aspects.

3.2.5.2.3 Other role holders

The role holders can be divided into three groups:

1. Project initiator: Y.P. presented herself as introducing the idea (Heruti-Sover, 2007:82). She was the Authority director in 2004, the year Project 100 began. Y.P. represented the factor determining policy during the Project, mainly from the organizational aspect (budgeting, scope and method of implementation at the technical level).

2. Professional accompaniment: S participated in the first stages of the planning, and provided professional advice to the initiating factor prior to and at the start of Project 100. As a project advisor, she led the only session that took place with the advisors in June 2004, at which Project 100 was presented. S, who runs an independent advisory institute for advice and guidance, worked with the Authority for the four years after the advisors were appointed and even taught the first course for advisors in 2002. She was originally a member of a feminist women's organization and was amongst the first instructors who dealt with guiding groups of women, in empowering women and in training.

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164 When talking to her about her part in the process she replied that she cannot talk about the subject due to client confidentiality.
appointees. She was considered a charismatic instructor, with knowledge and experience in the domain, as having connections in the new field and therefore as authoritative. Other instructional meetings or meetings to discuss the problems were not held during the project.

3. Organizational accompaniment: Several Authority employees on the status of women, whose main role was to afford a mediating, bridging factor solving mainly technical problems.

3.3 The research tools

The research tools are based on educational-social feminist research (Herzog, 2002 b; Reinharz, 1992) using a qualitative technique (Friedman, 2005; Shkedi, 2003).

The data is based on facts gathered from the field, some of them with retrospectively aspect. The materials which provided the basis for this data (instructional programs, materials and feedback) were gathered routinely as part of the course rather than for research purposes and therefore differ from each other despite their functions being identical.

Gathering the information became more methodical or more conscious only after the researcher decided to study the domain in 2005. That included participant registration during the workshop, gathering instructional materials that were distributed by the instructors, and this writer's initiative to receive information and examine certain issues through the course such as her participation in teaching the materials and in summary sessions.

The phenomenon that drew attention and indicated that something was failing was the reaction of the course participants to the community projects – a reaction that was basically objection and repeated itself in each direct empowerment course. The course operators (this writer and the instructors) were surprised. The explanation voiced in all the courses (stage 1 and stages 2) was "I don't have the tools". This was not clear, since those running the courses knew that things had been said and tools had been provided. The study began in parallel with their ongoing work. An attempt was made to 'correct' matters that the instructors thought might be the cause of the difficulties discovered in the context of the community projects. Only after the changes introduced did not produce the expected results did the operators realize that the projects were just symptoms.
3.3.1 The research and research tools of informal pedagogy

Informal adult educational pedagogy uses unique educational practices that are based on group activity and the reference to tools such as discussion, conversation, and experiential experimentation. The educational practice focuses on learning from daily life, relying on the personal life experiences of each participant and on a reserve of personal tools she developed i.e. phenomenological instruction. This type of learning/teaching is based on the reality (actualization) and concretization instead of abstraction. In both cases a feeling of closeness and belonging is generated by the learner who increases readiness, responsibility and caring (Silberman-Keller, 2007).

This is "situated learning" (Greenfield and Lave, 1982; Lave and Wenger, 1991) that emphasizes the linkage between the individual and the group. The group serves as an educational resource and a main framework that structures and reflects mindedness and is an inseparable part of the educational process (Silberman–Keller, 2007). The group activity is characterized by the motif of developmentability that conditions the development of the individual and of the group as interdependent, together with shaping the learning processes that are adapted to the personal pace of each individual and of the group that are not necessarily linear but necessitate the learners to become partners (Greenfield and Lave, 1982; Silberman-Keller 2007).

The group becomes a safe space in which to be and express oneself, together with the feeling of equality that is generated due to a comparison between the subject under discussion in educational activity and the previous personal experiences, or with the knowledge the participants have. The conversation enables creating connections between the past and the present, the personal and the group, in a spiral process resultant from experiencing learning through coming closer and increasing distance from a given topic while applying diverse means (Silberman–Keller, 2007).

Since informal educational activity is directed towards educational goals as far as content and experience is concerned, these are, in fact, task groups with a rigid structure – the group was established for a defined known period of time to realize a goal or task. But they also enjoy a flexible structure, allowing starting and ceasing activities. Absence does not entail sanctions. The group can be disbanded into sub-groups for task-oriented activity and so on.
Disbanding the group aspect of the learning session contributes to structuring the group identity, whose content also entails nurturing the group aspect. Within the group is a space that helps to develop personal identity together with social identity. Identity in itself is a social concept, since without the agreement from the surroundings the identity cannot survive (Yalom, 1995; Rosenwasser, 1997; Ullman, 2000).

According to informal pedagogy, the group, as a learning framework also shapes the role of the instructor or guide by employing organizational frameworks such as instruction centers that afford the headquarters where educational activity is planned (Silberman-Keller, 2007). It is important to stress that the feminist domain in Israel functions here without a guidance center and has no instructors of its own. It is assisted by a pool of existing instructors who also deal with content relevant to the status of women, together with other content and issues. This fact indicates that their level of knowledge in both specific issues and in work methods needs examination and differentiation.

Instructors/guides are defined as those who work with individuals or groups in the community in order to advance learning. Therefore they must be skilled in informal teaching–learning methods with shared conversations and activities (Jeffs and Smith, 1999; Doyle, 2001), able to process information in a flexible manner, to apply instruction and work with groups, manage projects, work in social networks and plan educational programs (Richardson and Wolfe, 2001). In the feminist activity, the work with the instructors is conducted on the basis of an employee external to the organization, so that apart from lacking a feminist agenda they are not an obliged to, capable of representing the organization in which they function.

Kahane (1997) defined the informal curriculum as including an outline for activity and interdisciplinary knowledge. The instructor's ability to work with a mosaic of knowledge is his/her expertise as an informal educator. This eclecticism is hard for instructors who come to the feminist domain from other distinct areas of expertise (teaching, business management, psychology etc.) and without any training and adaptation to the world of feminism and informal work. The informal style of work is characterized by symmetry (Kahane, 1997) in spontaneity or unplanned interaction to situations created (Katriel, 1999)

Symmetry emphasizes the power relations between the educator and the educated as lacking coercion by the person with the knowledge. In reality instructors are found who outwardly declare openness and
permissiveness towards participants' opinions and in fact work to strengthen the parts that are suitable to their concept of life (Bekerman, 2006) (as could be seen with three of the instructors).

The instructors enjoy a relatively high level of autonomy and it is therefore hard to discover the lack of coordination between their evaluations and their actual behavior. Most of the instructors do not allow outsiders into the group due to the procedural aspect of events in the group and due to it being a safe place for the participants, as noted previously.

This situation, together with the complexity of investigating the phenomenon, comprised of personal stories dictating the research tool.

The study relates to three points in time and to different search tools that were used for each step:

- **Addressing and starting the course:** Registering for and starting the course\(^\text{165}\) the information was based on a type of basic questionnaire, a conversation that explained the course and a preliminary individual meeting.

- **During the course:** Using written and oral feedback (in the middle of, at the conclusion and even at intermediate sessions), reports of events from the instructors, closed questionnaires pertaining to a defined topic, summaries of activities and when it was possible written notes on the sessions by one of the participants.\(^\text{166}\)

- **After the end of the courses** through conversations, questionnaires, observation of behavior and its documentation or from a report by the participants /instructors regarding behavior or avoiding activity. Some of the participants studied remained in the array of activity as participants in other courses or as running community projects that they initiated or joined (25)\(^\text{167}\) Therefore scrutiny of the changes was

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\(^{165}\) These are only direct empowerment courses.

\(^{166}\) In another empowerment course that is not described in this study and took place with hearing impaired and deaf participants, a documentation process was conducted due to the need for making the material accessible to the participants, and therefore the proceedings were documented and distributed to them, to the instructor and to the accompanying staff and the advisor. This material was an alternative to the physical presence and served as valuable information for analyzing and drawing conclusions regarding the process, leading to the idea that such a step was also true for the other courses.

\(^{167}\) Some activists 'vanished' after a while or due to diverse events but at any given time there are 25 activists who afford the hard, even if changing, nucleus. There are participants who at the conclusion of the courses returned to their activities and only after a while was the writer informed what changed in their lives and the connection between the change and the course
also possible two years after concluding the course and in some cases even three or more years later.

The examination related to a comparison of two aspects:
1. According to the participants subjective perception (Fox, 2004)
2. According to the perception of another factor – friends, the advisor, the instructor through actual doing or not doing.

The study was developed based on personal intuition, and trial and error. The main tool used is textual analysis of written or spoken material that was transcribed that included:
1. Questionnaires
2. Official documents – summary reports, circulars, minutes of meetings etc
3. Course programs – including rationale, a short description of the course text and a profile of the instructors
4. E-mails – from instructors and students

The transcripts include
1. Random conversations with participants, instructors, advisors, role holders
2. Intentional conversations in workshops that the researcher herself attended and taught

Another tool was the description and analysis of behaviors she witnessed, was partner to or became aware of through a third party.

In addition to the qualitative tools, a dialogue will be conducted with scales of measurement mentioned in previous sections such as GDI, GSI, GEM (Moser, 2007) when the findings are analyzed. The data and the researcher's interpretive analysis have been concentrated in comparative tables that helped her to see the general picture or the absence of tools for reference.

The table is an attempt to construct standards that do not exist today for a comparative examination of content, products and behaviors. The researcher is aware that this standardization is artificial since the research area in which pertains to the world of content defined in the previous chapter as informal, or in organizational terms as a 'soft' world of

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168 Gender Development Index; Gender Empowerment Measurement; Gender Status Index etc.
content\textsuperscript{169}. At the same time, she believes that a conceptual framework should be determined (every framework being a type of standard).

It is important to her to emphasize that she employed materials written for diverse and varied areas that she projected onto this study, feeling that they shed light on the study and on issues that arise in it. This use certainly employs concepts that developed in these worlds of content, respecting them even if they are taken from, or relate to, the patriarchal world (army, management etc).

3.4 The research topic

The basic assumption of this study is that empowerment courses for women are one of the tools for social change. This is just the starting point for several questions whose main essence lies in the researcher's style of work as an advisor, wherein the empowerment courses are one of the means through which she examined her own work. B, an instructor, claims that empowerment courses for women are one of the most important contributions of the appointed locale advisors according the Law, that reinforces the need for examining their work and its essence.

Several pedagogic issues, which are the narrow part focusing on the courses, are explored in this study: The definition of the courses as empowerment courses for women and investigating their content as suitable; defining the course goals; examining them as tools for social change; defining the products of these courses in view of the goals of social change and finally their location in the circle of empowerment and social change; exploration the instructors of the courses from the pedagogic and behavioral aspects and their contribution to leading change.

The researcher's choice to see the courses as tools for social change facilitates seeing the involvement of the advisors who run them as agents of social change who create/aid such a step to occur. Therefore the second part of the study deals with the organizational aspect, the broader aspect that does not focus only on courses despite the starting point being these courses.

\textsuperscript{169} A soft process is difficult to diagnose, quantify and measure since it is connected to the world of content of human behaviors. A hard process is an organizational technical or administrative process based on the core of the organizational policy, easy to discern, measure and impart as it is clear, focused and brief.
What is meaningful social change for women in Israel in the 21st century? This question will be relevant for discussion since all social change is based primarily on the personal and community space.

3.5 Ethics, validity and difficulties

Like all qualitative research this study dealt with ethical problems, definitions of validity and known difficulties. The research topic clearly raised the problem of the "many faces" (Shlaski and Alpert, 2007) of the domain studied and its complexity, as well as the extent of the lack of knowledge existing together with the considerable knowledge that accumulated. An apparent contradiction although this is not the case. The post-structural approach common today recognizes the many shapes of knowledge/power operating in reality. Women's perspective of reality differs from that of men. They are forced to live within a reality that is not theirs, learn concepts and ways of behavior that are not theirs, and to develop their identity as women, in contrast to that of men.

Feminists understood that in order to lead change one must recognize women's situated knowledge, as it is created as a result of their experience (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991). The researcher sees the empowerment courses as a tool for learning that strives to convert the new knowledge into a lever for change. All writing, like all observation of the phenomena, do not lack for value and political attitudes. As a written text, like this study, we take part in structuring the reality (Shlaski and Alpert, 2007) and the weight of responsibility for this work is well felt by the researcher.

The research domain was interesting and constantly developing. The researcher found new materials that provided new knowledge and conclusions. In interpretive work, according to Shlaski and Alpert (2007) it is not at all clear that we will be able to define ourselves as expressing one particular paradigm. A feeling of lacking boundaries created, for the researcher, the need to define, to acquire knowledge and to find a direction. She quickly found herself shattering them time and again and adapting to the fact that the scientific 'truth' on which she was educated, like everyone, like all definitions of a situation, is fluid and at any given moment there is some truth.

The avoidance of interpretive qualitative research is not based on repeated phenomena since there are no two social events totally and absolutely identical to each other (Shlaski and Alpert, 2007). The subjective research tools are based on classification and filtering the
knowledge by the observer that create difficulty in generalization and constructing principles. A description of the phenomenon, like 'photographing' the situation, together with directing the limelight towards the points that are perceived as significant by the observer, are crucial. Therefore work has been done regarding the definitions and the classifications needed for organizing and understanding the domain, while selecting the areas of knowledge positioned at the center by the researcher: education and sociology. In order to examine the changes, the starting point must be defined, which is what this study attempts to do: which data are needed for definition and how they should be gathered and analyzed. This was not a simple decision. Since the domain researched is fairly new, she found herself establishing a local map that enjoys support from other maps developed around the world, but also sketching unique boundaries that are not yet part of the local discourse with its diverse tiers.

Another point with which she coped while writing this study is that the absence of boundaries also included the insight that women, especially herself and her partners to the process (instructors, course participants, role holders) are not only victims of patriarchy but also its agents (Munro, 1998) and therefore the study included all of them. The transition from a standpoint of a researcher to one of being researched affords a considerable challenge. The conclusion that the need for empowerment and developing a female feminist identity is the lot of all, enables the researcher to see her work as an advisor who leads a process of social change, a source of creating knowledge, tools and experience needed to attain the significant social change.
Chapter 4
The Research Findings and Discussion

The current study deals with empowerment courses for women and tries to understand their impact on the female population. Within the process of gathering and describing the information questions arose pertaining not only to the courses themselves but also to their organizational structure and the characters who fill an official role who were appointed to function in the domain of the status of women.

Consideration of empowerment as to a process of 'increasing choice and activity' is a definition that does not differentiate the category of women from other socially excluded categories, despite the uniqueness of the former.

In view of the fact that there is considerable confusion in the meanings of terms, as the literature in the domain notes (Malhotra, 2003) the writer chose to examine this point and propose an array of concepts that will serve the study and the discourse it will create in the future.

4.1 Defining the courses as empowerment courses for women

Are the courses described in this study empowerment courses? This is an important key question for the researcher, mainly in view of the reality in which there are endless courses, workshops and suggestions that employ the term empowerment. For the course to be an empowerment course it should be defined as such, according to its goals or its results.

Empowerment and leadership courses for women are not new and have existed in the past. It is hard to know exactly when they began and whether they refer to the same type of activity as that offered by the advisors (held under different headings).\(^\text{170}\) The researcher found that the activity is not documented or assessed in an organized or methodical manner. She also found that documents are missing, whether as a result of loss, or as the lack of an information mechanism or preserving of the activity. These make it difficult to compare current activity or to compare diverse courses at the same time in different places.\(^\text{171}\)

\(^{170}\) Courses in whose titles appear the words leadership, empowerment, consciousness, initiative, change, improvement and others.

\(^{171}\) Part of the lack of information is artificial. There is a lack of interest in sharing information - a patriarchal remnant of withholding information as a source of control. An example of this is the researcher's request in 2007 to the Authority to obtain the summary of the meeting held at the end of the first year, as promised. She was told that the materials regarding the empowerment courses are apparently in the archives and cannot be accessed.
In contrast to other pedagogies, maintains Silberman-Keller (2007) informal pedagogy is not written and exists, in fact, in the field. This is an exact description of the world of content and activity in the advisor's field of activity.

Observation of courses that were run by the advisor (and other colleagues) started from the assumption that they are conducted in a social climate (Tamir 2007:35) that has several foci:

- **The political focus** – relationships of power and influence, male hegemony at both the national plane, with a governmental, public interface, and at the local public voluntary plane. The manifestations of this focus lie in the absence of, or access to, resources, generating a lack of consistency in activity, dependency on chance and external factors, loss of knowledge and lack of a systematic approach because of frequent replacement of personnel and not sharing knowledge. The attitude towards sharing knowledge and shared activity, based on the patriarchal approach, created local or narrow development, according to the territorial division (geographic or belonging)

- **The social focus** – religion, army, immigration - that structures the discourse of culture, using educational and communications tools to convey the hegemonic messages, rewarding those that follow them and rejecting the deviants

- **The identity, personal and collective focus** - as Israelis, women mothers etc. based on the two other foci.

The researcher avers that the activity has an educational facet based on the values of adult education and is basically informal. Informal pedagogy exists and structures an image of time and place unique and characteristic of it (Silberman–Keller, 2001) with the two attributes interconnected. The analysis presented below relates to informal education as to a general domain, while observing the suitability to the domain researched in this study.

The image of the place relates to the physical and conscious aspect together, that are manifested in:

1. The perception of marginality (Jeffs, 2001) as it arises from terms such as 'complementary education', defining the fact that it fills something that is missing in formal education or alternative education (LaBelle and Sylvester, 1990) indicating it being an alternative to canonical formal education. The approach that this is marginal education defines the attitude towards it as regards importance, investment and legitimacy by the policy makers and sometimes even by the target population.
2. The procedural approach that is based on the less bureaucratic and hierarchical structure that maintains multi-directional and symmetrical communications. The lack of an uniform procedure results from activity that is conducted in many organizations that differ from each other, including educational organizations or in functions lacking an organizational definition such as the advisors on the status of women. Keller (1988) terms organizations that deal with informal pedagogy in the context of school education 'bypass system'. The writer would like to adopt this term relative to the status of women, whose intention is to afford or create an alternative. The local authority as an arena of events enjoys expanding and adding to its regular activity while dealing with one of the still unsolved conflicts in society. The means and the modes of activity characteristic of the activity are manifested in the absence of appropriate marketing and advertising, professional personnel resources, financial resources and absence of a broad view for the long term and at the strategic level.

3. The 'homely' approach is characterized by an atmosphere that simulates the ideal situation of the definition of the term 'home' – comfort, flexibility, lack of formality in relationships, acceptance etc. The activity is a type of alternative home whose physical existence in diverse institutions is not intended to detract from the atmosphere. This component indicates an additional important factor – the 'everywhere' component.

4. The 'everywhere' component – activity can occur in every place, whether physical and/or emotional. The physical place is a place for spending 'compulsory time' or whether for leisure time. The images of these places create the space for 'other time' (Silberman-Keller, 2007).

The images of time: The concept of 'available time' accompanies the definition of relaxation, rest, play that are perceived as less serious and as lacking boundaries and demands (meeting a timetable, obligations and tasks). Activities conducted in available time take place voluntarily and are not defined by time-age (lifelong learning). One may therefore state that the concept of 'any time' describes well the informal activity. Alongside the feeling of freedom and extremely flexible boundaries 'everywhere' and 'any time' symbolize the conclusion that 'anything is possible'.

172 Keller (1988) terms organizations that deal with informal pedagogy in the context of school education 'bypass system'.

173 Places of education and places of employment
On the other hand, 'any time' can be perceived as not serious and not obligating since the absence of activity in a certain year or period of time is not likely to affect the essence of the program. This situation contributes to the light-hearted attitude by policy makers that enables coming to terms with a given situation (absence of resources, for a while that is likely to become permanent), and maintain the feeling of marginality discussed previously. The comparison is presented in the table below revealing similarity together with uniqueness in some basic values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type and manner of activity</th>
<th>Adult education and informal education</th>
<th>Activities in empowerment courses women run by advisors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content</strong></td>
<td>Values, ideologies, actual events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method of work on topic and tools</strong></td>
<td>Dismantling phenomenon discussed and its recomposition in context. Use of experiential tools and personal experience. Open to variety.</td>
<td>Lack of judgmentally Criticism of that existing and striving for change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of activity</strong></td>
<td>In voluntary and in establishment institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of activity</strong></td>
<td>Cyclicality during the year, partly routine or fixed</td>
<td>Routine, permanent and cyclicality is not be determined yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Without age attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content</strong></td>
<td>Varied with structured educational arrays</td>
<td>Focused on empowerment, lacking structured educational arrays</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When analyzing the expected goals and products of these courses differentiation in the frameworks in which they are held is necessary.

The researcher notes three main sectors in which the empowerment courses are held:
1. The private sector – motivated by economic/business interests that set the professional side in conflict with the value-ideological component determined by the content of the activity with the professional party likely be in conflict with this component.
2. The voluntary sector (women's organizations and feminist activists) that till the 1980s in Israel coordinated most of the activity in this
domain. The distinction of the WARI\textsuperscript{174} organization regarding some of these organizations that lacked a feminist agenda is interesting (www.geocities.com/wari9)\textsuperscript{175}

3. The public sector (government offices, advisors in the municipality) that are the topic of this study. The commitment of this sector is supposed to lack personal interests, while demonstrating a high level of reliability, ethics and professionalism as they are open to criticism, but in reality things are different.

Empowerment courses that were conducted under the auspices of the advisors on the status of women are intended for women only. They are intentional external intervention for attaining empowerment – change. Being a woman is the critical attribute which have a broad consideration that is likely to cause difficulty in the level of planning, implementation and assessment of the course as regards attaining the goal.

The answer to the question of why do women need empowerment courses or why should women be empowered is offered in the introduction and in the review of the literature. Therefore it is important to focus on the uniqueness of the current empowerment process and examine it by comparing it to other empowerment processes.

From the extensive literature review in the last section, it can be summarized that empowerment courses for women should or can point to defined goals and targets such as:

a. Developing consciousness amongst women of their weakened social situation
b. Imparting relevant knowledge in order to establish an infrastructure for action
c. Revealing personal strengths
d. Imparting and expanding the pool of personal tools
e. Developing a feeling of personal capability
f. Motivation to act at the personal, family, community or social levels

\textsuperscript{174} WARI- Women's Action and Resource Initiative- is an independent, non-profit organization based in Bangkok. The main goal of WARI is to promote gender sensitivity and capacity building of government organizations and NGOs. It carries out research, education and training programs.

\textsuperscript{175} "WARI's experiences with evaluation of many projects have shown that the gender elements are often missing in most projects. Even women NGOs are not able to mainstream gender in their own organization as they have little understanding of the interaction of development with gender in a clear and integrated manner… of high quality" (www.geocities.com/wari9)
The courses discussed here were examined in view of the goals by:
1. Exploring the goal in view of its formulation as defined in documents or through additional terminology. This terminology is manifested in selected concepts such as the name of the course, or its content, through programs, instructional means and conversations (with instructors and participants);
2. Analysis of the goals of the factors partner to the project through interviews/questionnaires, conversations or proceedings.

Examination of the issue of goals presents, in this case, four- five diverse factors that have, perhaps, different/same goals according to the interests\textsuperscript{176} of each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women</td>
<td>Institutional factor (government) public domain</td>
<td>Project initiator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority administrator</td>
<td>An appointed position limited in time and dependent on the Prime Minister\textsuperscript{177}</td>
<td>Project initiator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisors on the status of women</td>
<td>Public institutional (municipal) factor</td>
<td>Administrative implementation factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course instructors</td>
<td>Private commercial factor</td>
<td>Professional implementation factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local women</td>
<td>Private voluntary factor</td>
<td>Participatory factor – the target population of the process of change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All this relates to two levels of targets: Covert subjective targets – that are not always conscious, or are manifested overtly, and overt targets (that are supposed to be objective) that are declared orally or in writing.

Defining the objectives leads to defining expected products, which is not simple in the least as regards empowerment courses. Locating the targets

\textsuperscript{176} Preferences, stakeholders, introducing the subjective aspect as a factor, whether this is the personal or professional domain. The concept of preference has a negative connotation vis-à-vis the use of the term goal, that is perceived as apparently professional and objective.

\textsuperscript{177} In recent years, due to a lack of governmental balance, elections were held every three years with a new Prime Minister and head of the Authority, affording the role a political facet often in conflict with the professional aspect. (Ministry of Interior 2008 \url{www.moin.gov.il} )
and expected products is based on some written documents, but mostly on statements. Based on these materials, it is hard to separate the objectives and the goals at the start of the project and those that developed during it or were described as such, as well as between the written objectives and those observed in practice.

4.1.1 Goals and expected products of the course by the initiating factor

The project goals, when observing three different points in time – in 2004 prior to implementation, in 2006, during implementation and in 2007, after the project - find a clear picture regarding the lack of uniform course for the goals that are likely to affect the expected products.

Setting objectives affects the substance – tools that will be in use, and the expected products, and therefore setting unclear or changing objectives will lead to difficulties in assessing the products and the content as shown in the table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2004-5 (prior to implementation) Identification according to behavior – covert and subjective goals</th>
<th>2005-6 (during the project) Identification based on overt, objective and written material declared goals</th>
<th>2007 (on conclusion of the project) Identification based on overt, objective and written material declared goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a. Increasing the Authority's influence while accumulating power in terms of control and creating dependency relationships (of the advisor and additional factors in the Authority administration)  
b. Personal positioning of the Authority administrator | a. Imparting knowledge regarding gender and leadership  
b. Arouse awareness  
c. Encourage women to take on leadership  
d. Encourage women to be involved in the community (Authority Instructions, 2005)  
e. Train agents of change  
f. Train women to believe that they are leaders (Authority Summary, 2006) | a. Allocating resources  
b. Significant doing  
c. Creating change in the status of women  
d. Identifying leadership  
e. Providing tools for influencing  
f. Creating motivation for activity (Heruti-Sover 2007:81) |
According to conduct

| The Authority through the financial component- does not budgeting courses; allocating money for the course/s without criteria; concealing information all reflect a patronizing (patriarchal) power attitude while developing personal relationships that reflect personnel-oriented motives. | Authority aims to create dependency via money continues - budgetary cutbacks for continuous course as requested. Open criteria. |

Analysis of the goals indicates that:

1. The defined objectives were not clear enough at the start of the process and were not overt. Later, the need developed to declare the objectives as part of the reporting, which necessitated writing and submitting them to decision-makers. In the absence of a supervisory mechanism for the activities of the Authority, a situation was possible where differences exist between the declared, overt level and the covert level and analysis of events in the field;

2. Phraseology is very general and intended to arouse awareness of the subject (Which subject?) (Authority /Instructions, 2005), unfocused and tending to confuse concepts, such as leadership, agent of change, empowerment etc.

3. The definition of leadership is unclear, appearing at the opening session in May 2004 and in diverse documents (Authority /Instructions, 2005). It was not clear enough whether the issue is existing leaders, "training female leaders..." (Authority /Summary, 2005) or in creating a new leadership group. Every such decision would immediately raise additional questions such as, "What would be defined as an existing leader"? "Are there 100 leaders in the locale?" "What are the criteria for locating potential leaders?" and "Who decides on/finds the women?" Such questions were not asked or received no answer when asked

4. The choice of the name Project 100 indicates, believes the researcher, a strategic-marketing direction of goal with the greater emphasis on the quantitative rather than the intrinsic facet. "The Authority developed a training array in which 6000 women participated from all sectors of the population in some 100 localities
throughout Israel” (Heruti-Sover 2007 :82 ; Authority /Summary 2006 ). The goals that can be identified did not include procedural goals (according to the period of time allocated\textsuperscript{178}), or the goals of content were not defined and the various possibilities were not taken into account apart from the proposed format. The procedural goal presented in the conversation with YP in 2007 (prior to her concluding her position), was the result of the demand from the field.

5. In general, the overt goals indicate creating change with empowering aspects- imparting knowledge, a feeling of capability, “… providing the tools, going out and influencing the surroundings…” (Heruti-Sover 2007:81), but in view of the proceedings in reality, these goals could not be attained.

In view of these findings, the covert goal returns to center stage as dominant in the process of strengthening the personal positioning of the Authority director, mainly as seen by the Prime Minister. They are intended for survival in a role that has political components that determine the length of time of the position. This feeling intensifies in view of the examination of the expected products – attaining immediate change in a short period of time (eight sessions by December 2004), in as many towns/organizations as possible throughout the country, and in a certain quantity in each town: 100 women will participate in the course. Visible goals are perceived as change from the marketing perspective demonstrating meaningful activity and presence.

Creating community projects, as a product of the courses, was intended to establish the presence through quantitative harnessing of the graduates to the activity. It will be proved that this thought is logically correct but not in the conditions that were offered.

For the sake of research propriety, the researcher is ignoring the subjective facet, despite its centrality, in order to explore the opportunities facilitated by this step, while relating to the weaknesses that are revealed as a way of learning and reorganization. The researcher agrees with the initiator of the project who, after concluding her job, said that "it is hard to lead change in the status of women...when the tools provided for this are so weak". Politicians focus on grandiose deeds and specific, even declaratory, activity. " He (the Prime Minister – I.B.A.)

\textsuperscript{178} For means of comparison, a similar five-year project conducted in India, embraced 6000 women in 91 towns and villages in six states in India (Hay, 2005).
tried to eliminate violence against women but did not involve himself in their empowerment" (Heruti- Sover 2007:81).

This statement regarding the politicians is correct also for the Authority director, who observed the project through political, narrow and self-interested eyes.

This writer has no information regarding the decision-making process, running the project or its management, or the part played by other employees in the network, apart from the fact that they implemented the instructions.

4.1.2 Expected products and goals – the executive factor

The need to preserve the territory and exclusivity (patriarchal attributes) that characterized the start of the project were manifested in the Authority's refusal to involve other factors as sources of funding. This situation left two factors only to implement the project: The advisors on the status of women, who were perceived by the initiating factor as the executive factor, at the organizational–instructional level, and the course instructors as the executive, professional factor.

It is worth noting that the reciprocal relations between the Authority (the initiator) and the advisors (the executive factor) was in total contradiction with the principles of feminist empowerment as the researcher recognized looking retrospectively on the process.

Behavior intended to create dependency, were recognized, (a sole source of funding), patronization, making the advisors to be weakness, lack of transparency, lack of communications or the use of indirect communications. This relationship, with distinct patriarchal attributes, is not typical only of the project under discussion but typifies the

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179 The Authority demanded asking its permission for initiatives such as these. The researcher directed a request to add another factor and did not receive permission. Another step was the emphasis and insistence that the Authority's symbol appear on every document pertaining to the project, the demand to attend the opening of the course and its conclusion, and an admonition to those who infringed the rules.

180 The Authority's decision to hold the courses clearly assumed that all the advisors would want to participate in the project, and therefore there was no discussion of the need for it, its character and goals. It was presented to the advisors in its final form. Their role in the project was not defined clearly, but its management indicates its intention regarding their real place.
Authority's procedure in general. It should be remembered that the Authority is a governmental national factor and such behavior is common from such entities towards municipal and/or voluntary systems. This finding emphasizes the need for meaningful change in the Authority that works paradoxically for its establishment - change and advancing the status of women in Israel and defining the need empowering women that has to include the employees in the Authority as well.

The objectives of the two executive entities can be presented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals of Advisors on the status of women (conversations with about 20 advisors)</th>
<th>Expected product</th>
<th>Instructor's goals (conversations with instructor's that worked in the locale)</th>
<th>Expected product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Personal/role positioning or repositioning of the advisor's role</td>
<td>Attaining outside budget for the course</td>
<td>a. Income and financial gain. Integrating in the project is sure potential for financing (Prime Minister's Office)</td>
<td>Instruction in as many courses as possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Starting a group of female leaders in the town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Influence in the locational domain through outside resources</td>
<td>Producing community projects through the graduates; Obtaining outside budget for the course</td>
<td>b. Advertising/professional marketing – integrating in the project offers a promising potential due to the scope and distribution of integrating in a new and promising realm</td>
<td>Attaining centrality in the domain and regular instruction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the town in which the study was conducted the advisor's (the researcher) objectives were:

1. Exploiting the opportunities for obtaining resources for realizing the program that had already been planned;
2. Further implementation of the program for developing a local female leadership infrastructure;
3. Participating in the project for political reasons;
4. Success in the role through influencing the processes and creating new steps.
The advisors' goals regarding the project, despite the personal and operational differences between them (as described at the start of this chapter), were identical as a result of same difficulties in fulfilling their roles (weak positioning, the lack of role definition and of budget for activities etc.).

The goals presented in the table indicate the subjective aspect as dominating and leading to the conclusion regarding the need for advisors' empowerment. The overt need pertained to the role positioning occurring through obtaining independence and non-dependency on local factors, acquiring influence and leading processes. There is no question that this affects the personal and role self-image and self-confidence.

As transpires from conversations with the instructors and from the materials presented at the conference that was held in May 2004, an outside budget that will facilitate attaining or increasing the existing independent budget was a far more important goal, since the advisors' activity was not budgeted at all, or was only awarded a low budget in most places. The project afforded an opportunity to run local programs that were already planned, as can be noted from one of the flyers that was distributed. The name of the course was "Female empowerment and a workshop on business entrepreneurship and managing a business". This was not the sole case but can indicate that the activity was the leading motive rather than the content or their educational objectives.

The objective regarding creating a leadership infrastructure in a locale resulted from the feeling that the course would create just such a group without considering the procedural aspect of the subject in deep. There were advisors who consciously preferred addressing women who had been identified as "strong" (such as businesswomen or women holding intermediate level managerial positions) and using the course as enrichment and reward.

It is important to note that the operational definitions were not suitable for all the locales (100 women), offering an opportunity for cooperation between the advisors in adjacent towns, or between towns with a different population profile (such as Jewish and an Arab town). These interactions were not taken into account at the start of the project and were another improvisation that developed from the field and whose exploitation was

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181 The method of obtaining a budget is known as "Shekel for Shekel" (Shekel = the Israeli currency), i.e., for every external shekel there is municipal commitment to giving another shekel.
not clear enough, but has an empowering component (cooperation as power) as well as a component in developing professional identity.

The course instructors' goals, as it transpires from the conversations with them, were undoubtedly income resulting from the potential opening in a new field. Competitiveness led to applying fairly aggressive techniques of self-marketing, activities to block competitors, exploiting the influence on the participants that they acquired as course instructors, etc. The object of all this (for three of the instructors with whom this researcher worked) was to find more work. Focusing the goals in the realm of income and self-marketing by the instructors, is the main problem as far as the products of their work is concerned, since the expected product, was participant satisfaction that would influence the advisors' satisfaction. The empowerment product, in its professional essence, was not an expected product.

To the two populations (the initiating and executive) have subjective goals, pertaining to the personal positioning and influence at the role level, indicating the absence of personal empowerment and the need for it

4.1.3 Expected goals and products by the participating factor – local women

Participants in the course are the program's main target audience. No examination of the needs was conducted by the project initiator, as far as the researcher knows, at the course planning stage.

The potential course participants were defined by two basic criteria only - being women and living in the locale. The issue of the population arose at the preparatory meeting in 2004 but no general uniform opinion was formulated (of all the project advisors) or at the local level (each advisor separately). The issue of leadership that appears in determining the targets, as discussed before, was not clear enough.

In order to examine the reason for their participation, several questions were addressed to the project participants in the town studied prior to the course at the preliminary conversation stage; during the course through interim feedback, and on conclusion of the course, a year or two later. The questions pertained to:
1. The reason for joining the course: "Why did you come to the course?"
2. The course expectations: "What were your expectations of the course?"
3. **Realizing expectations: "Which of your expectations were realized?"

Most of the answers indicate several main objectives (without their being ranked according to frequency):

1. **Acquiring knowledge**: *Maybe I'll learn something new...To learn something else and newer...*

   The statements emphasize the claim that women tend to study a field/subject and do not hasten to jump into the water, together with the self-perception and knowledge that they do not know everything and there may be new things, i.e. openness and readiness to learn, perceiving study as an opportunity to develop by acquiring knowledge.

   *I like to learn...To be enriched with knowledge...To study more – to develop...Expanding the areas of interest – expanding horizons.*

   They also employed the terms 'interesting' or 'interest'. *I read the list of topics and they seem interesting and enriching* was a comment repeated as indicating the importance of the 'interest' as a reason for participation. Hence one may conclude that practical, dry learning that is not interesting does not enjoy much attention by the participants.

   A question that was not examined sufficiently or directly is "What is the meaning of the term 'learning' for them"? At the same time, some participants noted that they expect professionalism of the instructor or the material, meaning that learning must meet the standards of professionalism or seriousness. There was also mention of the learning products that has to be *practical, useful and concrete.*

   Noting the desire to acquire knowledge, bordering on the concept of power and *drawing knowledge/power for myself* is compatible with the perception based on statements by Foucault (1979, 1982) and others regarding the need for power that affords control, and that knowledge is a type of power. At the same time, there is no mention of what knowledge they seek bar the definition of *something new* or *the desire to do something else* which are general, broader statements that indicate a lack of clear or focused knowledge regarding what they seek in these courses, or what they should expect. This conclusion was also reached by B, a course instructor: *They are not aware of the (course) demands or of its promises.* In the researcher's opinion this situation indicates the starting point for introducing change.
During the course and in the feedback sheets the women mentioned that I learned a lot about myself and women in general... I had a new look at the world...I saw additional things from additional angles

The issue of required knowledge may be focused more through two other areas that arose from their answers regarding acquiring the tools and introducing change.

2. **Acquiring tools**

The participants noted the need to obtain tools for coping, with great emphasis on the area of personal development. Some of them could clearly define the desired tool or area: *Self-confidence and developing awareness... To know myself...Time management...Focus* Some found it difficult and noted more general things: *To enrich my ability...To cope...with inner conflicts...Additional tools for life including expectation for formulae and prescriptions...Providing a clear way of do and don’t do*

The use of the concept 'tools' replaces or defines feelings of lack of self-confidence, lack of experience, fear of the unfamiliar, the new, fear of commitment, avoidance and passivity through legitimate 'means', and lack of tools. Such an approach characterizes victim behavior that views the deficiency as dependent on an outside factor and serving as an excuse to remain 'nice' and to placate rather than being attacked – the underdog way of coping typical of women.

Tools for cooperation in society were also noted, but always together with tools for personal development: *To hear and to acquire tools for myself and for women...To motivate myself to do things for myself and for others*. These are two statements that indicate the ambivalence regarding the realm of doing on two axes: I-others – does 'doing for myself' not affect 'doing for all' to which they are accustomed? Doing for the children, the elderly, the sick, the poorly etc? And for others – is this for other women? Or for society at large?

On the other hand, the use of the term 'reciprocal' mentioned several times, or 'receiving and giving' is important as regards shattering the myth, since the women never want anything for themselves but always for others, even if it refers at this stage to their friends in the group, and such a request does not yet occur in their other interactions.
The researcher concludes that the need to acquire tools or improvement, stems from an archetypical perception of the lack of tools, or the inferiority of the tools available to them, and they therefore perceive themselves as needing to realize that which is deficient, for development and for self-improvement.

Some of them understood the existence of the need for mutual empowerment for instituting a process that is connected to the very process of personal empowerment so that I finally understood that I have my own toolbox.

The tools they sought may be intended for strengthening the self and for legitimacy for themselves and their behavior. I found reinforcement and confidence...I definitely feel that I grew from the subject...Confirmation for my thoughts regarding an initiative/doing in society or at work.

They understood that it is not enough to acquire tools; the demand to apply them is the harder thing as some of them noted their expectation that the course would allow applying tools which in turn would lead to motivation and realizing desires.

The feeling of a lack of tools is likely to stem, believes this writer, from a lack of practice, from being blocked or from the absence of opportunities for practice, that arouse the desire to. There is need to delve further into the subject;... not clear enough there was discussion of surroundings issues and less of the main ones; it is necessary to expand the subject, to work more on the subject of tools and their use.

The significant point as far as this researcher is concerned is the fact that between the lines, a message is conveyed of the need for a kind of lengthy moratorium stemming from lack of self-confidence and a problematic self-image. This need leads to the thought that was even expresses by them in the following goals.

c. Belonging, intimacy, a safe space
One of the primary goals is creating connections which is particularly interesting since it indicates the isolation and loneliness. The researcher noticed that many of the participants in the course offered an explanation for attending since they found themselves
with a surfeit of time or available time due to the decline in their previous obligations.

*I separated from my husband ...and felt a need...I was widowed.....I took early pension.........The children grew up*

Despite such statements one may still ask why they are interested in filling the time that has become available with an empowerment course. The answer to this may lie in the feeling of loneliness or another type of 'alone' – the lack of attachment to the world of women. *The female atmosphere is very interesting, contributes* or in its neglect for a long time, while there were commitment to the men in their lives and to the family.

Statements such as *real experience in making new connections* aroused awareness of the fact that they felt lacking skills of making connections, apart from those they had made in their lives as mothers and wives.

Recognition of the fact that a group of women is a reference and identification group was expressed well in the expectation of *being exposed to a network of women in the town, to increase female power*... They further expected to find in the group a different and protected space from that which they encounter daily. This was expressed by the lack of desire to find in the group a competitive atmosphere but rather a pleasant atmosphere, cooperation, support, honesty, mutual inspiration, team work, lack of criticism, openness, mutual respect, encouragement, intimacy and confidentiality. These feelings were amongst the aspects mentioned as expectations that were attained following the course, indicating the importance as seen by the participants. *An open, supportive and pleasant group........I managed to open up and learned to accept warmth and support from the other women*

Some of them mentioned that they maintained the connection with some of the group members after the course, and felt close to them a while later too, although they did not see or talk to each other. *I don’t usually open up to everyone...I didn’t see her for a long time, but immediately told her...and she directed me to.."

Such descriptions are also backed by activities that indicate a feeling of connection, openness and the desire to help those who were together in the course, a phenomenon that raised thoughts about
creating a feeling of sisterhood even if weaker than the male phenomenon, but perhaps the start of female networking.

d. Change
The expected change from the participants' point of view is divided between the desire for change in the close personal circle (for themselves) and change in the broader personal circles – family, work and close community (neighborhood, school). In each such circle there is an internal ranking of expected changes, but all enjoy a common denominator on the personal, local, narrow and subjective direction. The perception of the course as a means of change was expressed in diverse ways in the explanation for the reason for participating in it with the motive lying in an inner need I sought change... A need for personal change compared to the external need forced on her, as one of the instructors said- In many cases a woman reaches a feeling and desire to do things for herself, after a crisis, loss, infidelity, death, sickness...

One motive for personal change was the subject of the changing order of priorities, which are also external situations forced on a woman. Usually, the participants noted that they filled the needs of others at the expense of their needs, and therefore because of creating a situation that altered the equation, such as taking early pension or children leaving home, they reached the conclusion that they had to make time for themselves, or learn to use time efficiently.

The use of words such as 'upgrading', 'fulfilling a lack', 'promotion', 'development', 'improvement', 'strengthening', 'realizing desires', indicates their perception of themselves as weak and inferior, while striving to switch to a different situation, i.e. the desire for change, which is more than that existing, and therefore a type of empowerment. The processes necessitates several stages, the first of which is awareness – I identified the places in me that are in need of change. The stage of motivation to arouse and create change in my life can be found more in declarations than in practice for most of the participants.

One of the ways of attaining change is the search for partners to this end. The participants wanted to find groups of women who are interested in change, but did not focus on the desired type of change. They defined the change as connections between women in order to be empowered and find mutual empowerment that would lead to increasing female power. This indicates the broad spectrum of
participants' perceptions of change. The insight of 'female power' embedded in fraternization between women and for women, the desire to contribute and do something for other women is, admittedly, manifested in the participants' comments: *To realize activity on behalf of women.......To be involved in society....To introduce change for women/ on behalf of women*  

But at the same time, a difficulty was noted, as mentioned, in starting the process (implementing a community project), in the type of activity and its timing (close to the conclusion of the course or thereafter).

Personal change, however necessary it may be, encounters several difficulties. The participants *expected the course would teach them to apply tools that would arouse motivation and perseverance so that they would not depart as they came.* One can thus understand the gap between the feeling of need for change and the type of change that actually occurs. This disparity led the researcher to explore the issue of change in greater depth. A distinct need arises here for change and the search for change (although not focused); a lengthy search can also teach about the maturity that has now occurred (timing and readiness) and enables focusing on the search through the course.

e. **Additional motives:** Some of the participants noted that they came because the announcements said, "Come and be a leader", which they found attractive. The concept of 'leadership' may be seen to enjoy high social attractiveness and express the desire to be such and have influence. At the same time, it emphasizes again the disparity between desire and deed, wherein together with the desire to be a leader, there is a lack of tools, they believe.

In groups, as in daily discourse, the need was found to develop feminist awareness a covert need which we learned about, after seeing that higher levels of opposition and denial the stronger the population is defined. Denial dons various forms: *I don’t feel weakened* – a declarative statement that supports the claim by adding a comprehensive statement, *nor do the women around me, the neighbors, my friends...* without any real examination of such statement .another statement- *I don’t feel comfortable in the group; you are doing things for empowerment; you work with certain women.* The reason for this denial by one participant may be her feelings of discomfort and the stereotypical opinion that
empowerment is connected only to specific women, that she does not want and does not see herself as one of them.

Another participant, a civil servant, said, the law (against sexual harassment) embarrasses me. I am an empowered woman, I don’t need a law. The feeling of shame also indicates a stereotypical attitude and ignores research and facts that today are accessible and known about this issue.

The phenomenon of the lack of knowledge and awareness occurred repeatedly in random conversations, meetings and conferences: I don’t think there is a need for empowerment any longer.....Now there is equality

Lack of agreement with the directions of change was expressed while demonstrating concern for the male gender and totally ignoring themselves. We (women) are exaggerating now... we are scaring the men......What about the men? Why only us..?

The lack of trust in the need for change was emphasize look at me in our case my husband helps me.......My husband says to me, go, I don’t want to.

In most cases, the women quoted here hold positions, with a direct impact on women and even work in the fields of education, welfare and the academe (defined as strong women).

To summarize this section, it is clear there is a tremendous gap between the personal and the social reality in which the women find themselves and their concealed, hidden need for change. In reality they choose to ignore, to believe that that is the way it should be, while denying the need for change and offering interpretations and explanations in an attempt to persuade themselves that their situation is good. The courses are therefore intended to cope primarily with this situation. From participants saying four components of empowerment appear amongst the course purposes: Acquiring knowledge = power; acquiring tools = control and autonomy; awareness and belonging = developing individual feminist identity; and change = improvement, expanding the transformation that afford clear educational objectives. The four components entails products at the declarative level – in feelings and logical insights, but at the practical level, as manifested in behavior, the products are different, as will be detailed.
It is clear, beyond any doubt, that most of the participants did not view the course as an empowerment course in terms defined in this thesis. Their answers were instinctive reflecting independent and natural personal and group truth.
This section discussed the objectives of four different factors that are partner to the empowerment courses, most of which focus on the personal, or personal-professional aspect, indicating the existence of the empowerment process at the first stage, as appears in the literature (Sadan, 1997).

4.2 Empowerment courses – content, management and work methods

The contents of the courses were not defined or recommended by any entity. At the outset, the instructors were seen as professionals who knew their work and were asked to suggest materials, after the subject and the method of implementation requested by the Authority were clarified to them. The instructors turned on their own initiative to the advisors or the advisors sought instructors they knew from previous occasions. The Authority did not submit a list of suitable instructors who would be capable of realizing the project's goals or offer guidelines regarding the desired content. The work methods were derived from the instructors' personal experience that was based on their professional backgrounds.

The programs that were submitted by the instructors were examined according to the titles and sessions headings, the workshop outlines (if there were such) or the pages distributed as part of the workshops.

4.2.1 Content

The female empowerment process should be re-examined through the content and subjects of the various empowerment workshops, in order to seek ways "to realize authentic female empowerment that empowers and strengthens the leadership abilities and female influence" (Cohen 2006:89).

Authentic observation of the courses held by this researcher raised two main types of empowerment – direct empowerment, as she terms it, whose first goal was developing personal female awareness that would lead to motivating change or developing conceptualization; and the courses she terms indirect empowerment intended to develop a defined skill, whose acquisition leads to a feeling of capability or concrete empowerment.
4.2.1.1 The content of courses for direct empowerment

The programs offered entailed:
1. A different course structure – the duration and number of sessions varied between 10-16 weekly sessions and the number of hours per session ranged between 3-4 academic hours.\(^\text{182}\)
2. Workshops - a key component that characterized these courses and offered participant tools (conversation, discussion, story), activating the participants (rather than passive participation) which emphasizes the values of informal education.

The courses varied between the procedural type in which the emphasis is placed on the participants' behavior and development, and the (more common) eclectic type – a linked collection of issues perceived by the instructors as connected to women, or to the world of content of leadership/female empowerment (including lectures on general information a sort of a short brief such as medical, legal, communications political topics, etc)

In most courses the plan submitted was based on content and tools that had been used by the instructor previously. The fact that "...I don't have ready instructional plans for all things..." testifies to an intuitive, rather than a focused, approach of several instructors based on materials gathered from diverse sources. They sometimes lacked suitable adaptation such as male grammar in the written and oral material, adopting dichotomous theories and the use of male symbols (the triangle-pyramid scheme, the square divided into four etc).\(^\text{183}\)

3. Assessment - the sole assessment tool used was feedback, usually conducted on the course conclusion.\(^\text{184}\) Feedback was provided in two ways: Written questionnaires that differed from each other (open, closed, question style and topic) and oral feedback- an open and broader question, presented for starting a conversation/discussion. The oral feedback was conducted from time to time as a technique of shared work in each session (its start or finish the session and sometimes both).

\(^{182}\)Workshops lasted 45 minutes; an instructor sometimes agreed to teach for a full clock hour
\(^{183}\) This researcher remembers suggesting to the instructors to use parallels such as a trimmed cone instead of a pyramid, a fan as an alternative to a triangle and of course, a circle within a square divided into four.
\(^{184}\) The researcher does not have all the feedback questionnaires since instructors did not always leave her a copy. At her request, interim feedback sheets were distributed in some cases; and in some courses, with the instructors' agreement, feedback sheets were distributed each session but they were not handled systematically. The feedback content was partially altered by the researcher. Their analysis affords part of the products of this study
However, the researcher does not know if the content in this type of feedback was noted down by the course instructors, nor has she any information regarding the way in which the feedback was used by the instructors in later courses. The researcher did not know if the information from the feedback was conveyed to the organizers, or in our case, the advisors, and at what level of information. From the moment she began to study the subject this was one of the key areas in which she intervened and devoted time to its examination, as she did to gathering and analyzing the feedback questionnaires.

The content, the continuum of topics and the subject of each session were not identical\textsuperscript{185} despite the identical definition of the courses as empowerment courses for women.

In most of the course programs, use it is has been made of eye-catching, but very generalized, titles such as "From dream to reality" for example. It was a very popular one, used by many instructors, including those who did not participate and lead workshops in the project studied. Another popular title was 'Maximizing personal potential' and so on. The titles were somewhat metaphoric such as 'Journey', 'Best foot first', "Golden keys to winning communications" and so on.

The titles did not define content. Further written explanation is only given on demand; explanations about intentions were usually provided orally.\textsuperscript{186}

Investigating the realization of the intentions or written explanations was found to be problematic since when holding the workshop, the management was influenced, amongst other things, but immediate situations of a group or an individual participating (the actual element of the informal education mentioned). Another difficulty was in verifying the intention to implement stemmed from the fact that when holding a workshop only the instructor and the participants attended.

The connection between empowerment and leadership, as a procedural, rather than an alternative situation (Cohen 2006) was found to be one of the points worthy of discussion.

\textsuperscript{185} See appendix C,D item 1, 2 for comparative table

\textsuperscript{186} The feedback studied after the course indicates disparity between that which was written as expected issues and what was conveyed in practice. Claims were also voiced of not discussing or completing discussion of a topic due to processes that occurred in the workshop or other reasons.
Exploration of the names of courses offered by the advisors in flyers distributed for registering therein, found titles such as: 'Empowerment and community leadership from the female angle'; 'Empowerment and leadership'; 'Female empowerment a workshop on business entrepreneurship and business management'; 'Leadership and female empowerment' or titles that included empowering attributes such as 'The women at the center', recognizing female abilities 'Women in their own right '; and even differentiation between stages or types of leadership, 'Personal and community empowerment '. All the titles were provided without consultation between the advisors, each of whom chose a name independently and intuitively but pointing for a connection between them. This writer believes that exchanging the word 'empower' with the word 'leadership' or seeing them as identical underlay the mistake approach of the initiators and course instructors, that was manifested in organizational demands -holding eight sessions of which six were frontal for an audience of 100 participants, and as regards the expected products - producing community projects.

Examination of the context found three main domains that characterize it: 187 Information–knowledge, skills, other 188. By isolating key words in the workshop titles, three main topics were found that are compatible with the area examined in the programs:

a. Leadership – management or empowerment
b. Communications
c. Self-awareness, personal female identity and personal development

Examination of the participants' feedback on the domains and topics below is as follows:

187 See table in appendix C and D
188 "Other" refers to creating atmosphere that will enable openness and partnerships and that will raise diverse issues from the female experience, discussed in the group at various levels and according to the instructor (task-oriented, flowing, integrative..)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Knowledge-information</th>
<th>Skill - Tools</th>
<th>Other experiences – a safe space, very attractive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership/empowerment</td>
<td>Some reported that they got new knowledge</td>
<td>Feel power at the declarative level, fear having to cope, do not act in the short term</td>
<td>Feel empowered, enjoy feeling of security, openness and lack of judgmentalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Thirsty to know more</td>
<td>Thirsty to know and experiment</td>
<td>Happy with the opportunity to share, find someone to hear them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female self-awareness</td>
<td>Denial</td>
<td>Request tools, do not believe they have tools</td>
<td>Hungry to talk, complain, feel unsatisfied and want more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Based on feedback from the middle and end of empowerment courses)

4.2.1.2 The contents of courses for indirect empowerment

The clear and focused goals that characterized these courses, such as knowing how to work on a computer, returning to drive after many years of not driving, and so on, found the content to also be focused on goal attainment. The content is based on universal professional knowledge and was conveyed by (male and female) ‘experts’ in the domain. Adapting work methods, tools and attitudes towards the learning population and its attributes, was aided through instruction by women, as far as possible. The men (driving teachers) were instructed by the advisor (the researcher) how to behave and on what to place emphasis – on distinctly feminine obstacles and difficulties; the learning population was defined only as women, the content adapted and the examples had a feminine slant.

Attaining change that can be examined immediately (as noted by about 90% of the graduates of the computer course, for example) created a feeling of capability, independence, satisfaction and presented success having overcome the barrier. All these are clear empowering tools. Apart from this, the courses created an infrastructure for a female social network and the desire to continue to feeling thus through continued activity and female empowerment courses.
The courses were accompanied by practical work (driving lessons/working on the computer) that allowed participants to immediately apply their skills (buy a computer or car).

The feedback on these courses as regards the three domains and topics are presented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Knowledge/information</th>
<th>Skills-tools</th>
<th>Other experiences – safe space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership/empowerment</td>
<td>Interesting</td>
<td>Very interesting</td>
<td>Very appealing to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Empowerment attained,</td>
<td>Feel power at the</td>
<td>Feel empowerment, enjoy a feeling of security, openness and lack of judgemenetalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manifested in a feeling of capability</td>
<td>declarative level, fear coping, use of tool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Conflicts created</td>
<td>Thirsty to know and</td>
<td>Happy with the opportunity to share, find an attentive person in the group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female self-awareness</td>
<td>Pleasure at 'discovering their rights'</td>
<td>Understand that they are capable despite being women</td>
<td>Hungry to talk, complain, feel unfulfilled and want more – attend empowerment courses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both types of courses the creation of a safe space was discerned which is a central component meaningful to participants. Creating this space demands unique skill and knowledge that will be explored in the light of events in the field.

4.3 Work methods

These findings led to examining work methods that were customarily used by instructors in the empowerment courses. A disparity was observed between the content, the declarations and the instructors' actual behavior, prominent mainly in the absence of personal modeling, a point examined and defined as very significant for women.

4.3.1 The instructors in empowerment courses

The attitude towards instructors, in this thesis, concentrates mainly on those who taught direct empowerment courses, since they defined themselves as having experience (as experts) in such work with groups of women or in teaching similar empowerment courses. Some of the
instructors in indirect empowerment courses were professional instructors in the subject studied (driving, computers etc) and learned the group (women's) characteristics through the knowledge acquired by the researcher (advisor).

In the reality in which Project 100 functioned, the choice of instructors was under the jurisdiction of the advisors. "Each advisor is invited to choose the professional institute with which she wishes to work" (Authority/ Instructions, 2005). There was no list of instructors at the start of the process, as mentioned, such a list was prepared and submitted at a later stage by the Authority. It is not clear how it was prepared and what were the guiding criteria, the advisors did not receive the list and did not receive any instruction from any professional source regarding ways of locating and choosing instructors or as regards desired topics for the course. As far as the researcher knows, there is still no organized pool of instructors in the domain or clear criteria for defining those suitable.

Examination of the subject in the framework of this thesis finds three types of instructor who should not be employed:

1. **Personal experience:** Women who have encountered a personal, usually traumatic, experience and overcame it. Their feelings following the experience provide a basis and infrastructure for a feeling of capability and even of a mission to convey the message to others.

2. **Instant course:** As part of the development of learning possibilities certification courses are being opened that enable those completing the course to work in the field. Legislation on the subject is incomplete and this breakthrough enables dealing with areas without deep knowledge.

3. **Spirituality:** The 'alternative' realm is extremely common today. It is an area to which many women are connected and is therefore popular and in demand. Because in this domain we can find a lot of instructors, described before (personal experience and instant course) we must be very careful

Nine female and one male instructor afford the following detailed sample; some of the female instructors who worked through this researcher also worked in the other locales facilitating cross-matching information and assessment.

It should be noted that during the courses that afforded background for this study the researcher found two instructors who agreed to cooperate in deed and thought beyond working with the group. However, it is not clear
whether they did this routinely or following the push she provided. Their readiness give her the opportunity for a close look and identify an important attribute connected to the methods of work that led her to define the type of instructor as one of two archetypes - the feminine type and the male type\textsuperscript{189}. Added backing came from the attempt to combine three instructors as one (each of whom worked independently), as a team, in 2007 and in 2008.

The instructors examined for this study can be defined as two of the female type (employed in courses), four of the male type (three employed in the courses and one the researcher's instructor). Two other instructors employed in the courses were of the intermediate type (managed to navigate between the various techniques according to need and issue) and finally two instructors were not empowered professionally and could not cope hence did not work as course instructors. The common type is the male type.

The instructors with whom the writer worked, and others she knew, noted a profile which express:

1. The work method: The instructors were self-employed and taught the courses themselves or sometimes employed a small or medium group of freelance instructors who mainly lectured on labor relations. Nevertheless, some of them call themselves CEOs. The perception of their job in the context of courses is not clear; one of them claimed \textit{I don’t see myself as an instructor.} Their employment is indeed likely to indicate the difficulty in defining their place. They are in fact a type of project manager for a specific period of time. They usually have nothing to do with developing the group and have no guarantee of continuing to guide it or other groups.

2. Basic training: Most have training in the realm of organizational counseling (coming from the fields of social sciences or humanities) but lack specific training in the adult education domain, in female empowerment or in teaching processes of social change for and with women. Most of their knowledge is acquired from work experience and from trial and error, that are not insignificant at all, but these data should be expanded on and discussed, believes this writer.

\textsuperscript{189} Male type - characterized by strong competitive attitude, power, judgmental, dichotomous concept of bad and good, right and wrong and do not allow participants to open and grow. Such people are manipulative controlling, authoritarian, keep information to themselves and develop dependency relationships. There is a considerable disparity between the content of the workshop and their management and they are not useful for positive modeling.

Female type - characterized by gentleness, containment, creativity, empathy, and non-judgmental
3. Professional experience: Four instructors had practical experience in teaching courses to women. Four others retrained as instructors mainly for mixed groups of men and women, and even for solely male groups (held usually in organizations such as public and private work places) and one entered the female field as an experiment. The male instructor did not work with a group of women prior to the advisors' course. The use of previous professional experience was the infrastructure for constructing an approach to empowerment courses and working with women. "I only employ business management graduates because it is important to me for them to have a business economic orientation". Such a statement made by one of the instructors indicates the world of content on which she relied. The statement that had no any assessment whether is it right or not, which may well afford a barrier. The writer would like to interpret this statement differently – imparting task-oriented tools and focused thought for women as a way that is considered suitable by that instructor on the path to change.

4. Marketing methods: Some of the instructors exhibited domineering or even patronizing aggressive techniques. They used superlatives, exaggerated reality, concealed the truth with bombastic language and slogans such as one of the instructors said 'pretending to correct the injustice and reshape the women, so that they are adapted to the competitive-business-marketing reality of the third millennium'. Polarity was observed between the competitive approach and the hesitant approach, lacking confidence and even victimized. Instructors who exhibited self-confidence did not hesitate to provide a long list of places where they were active, while demonstrating belief in their ability to provide the product demanded of them.

5. Way of behavior - "The negative force syndrome" as the researcher terms the behavior, is recognized amongst five of the instructors and was directed towards:
   a. The advisors – One instructor tried to prevent additional courses that she did not develop or lead using techniques such as lies and distortion, pretence, lack of loyalty, creating dependence. Another instructor tried, without this researcher's knowledge, to use the participants to avert the issue of projects but pushed to hold the continuing course in any way she could, turning to the participants and organization independently.
   b. The course participants – a participant in the 2004 leadership course wished to quit after the first session claiming that the latter created an uncomfortable feeling. Participants in the Project 100 from another city where the same instructor
worked, felt the same and demanded that she not teach workshops again due to her shameless behavior. In another case the course participants spoke of the instructor's behavior only two years later when about a third of registered participants quit during the course.

c. Amongst themselves: One of the instructors was overly critical, aggressive and quashing to another instructor came to the group to teach the workshop, despite it being done in coordination with her and despite not being present physically during the guest workshop; in another case one of the instructors clearly insulted her colleague in the same course who worked in parallel with her, to the point of asking the participants in her group (who were advisors on the status of women) to speak to the course organizers and tell them their opinion of the same instructor, despite not participating in her workshops.

This fact testifies to the dissonance. The instructors, for the sake of discussion, are empowered women since they come to empower others. They have influence due to being instructors in these courses, but their behavior testifies to the opposite. The instructors were domineering, derisive, contemptuous and competitive but used distinct female tools of underdog communication - avoiding direct conflict through manipulation, covert violence etc. (Simons, 2005)

It is interesting that the researcher did not identify them at the start. Only repeated behaviors and receiving more information from other advisors that reinforced the observation helped to isolate these behaviors and see them as a focus of external power that is manifested in the blatant, aggressive, behavior that arouses a feeling of anger, avoidance, loathing and even fear by the environment. Society sometimes describes this behavior as being "similar to a man", but is less liked or accepted. If the instructors who are expected to help by creating change amongst the course participants behave thus, how can they lead to change? This behavior does not function according to a technique and approach that will facilitate a safe space and misses the target, as will be seen.

The impression received by this writer regarding the instructors' activity, based on her connection with some of them, was that they create a type of disconnection between being women themselves and working with women. This occurs by emphasizing their being different and more 'successful' than the participants on the one hand and on the other they were not conscious and so did not give much weight to the covert
knowledge they had from merely being women who were or had experienced similar /identical experiences to those of their participants.

This feeling intensified when during an attempt to develop an empowerment course in which the writer would apply some of the conclusions that arose in this study in 2007 in an attempt to create cooperative work amongst the instructors. This step placed them in a process of negotiations amongst themselves and between them and this writer. Prof. Amira Glin, in an interview to the Globes newspaper (Cohen, 2008) notes there are two types of negotiations: confrontational (competitive) that is parallel to attributes ascribed to men and is also known as a zero sum game in which one side benefits at the expense of the other. The other type is integrative negotiations in which both sides win and is identified with traits typical of women. Two of the instructors who made up the team, perceived the negotiations as confrontational and the researcher did not manage them even with the help of the third instructor, to make them integrative. Glin also refers to the female behavior when they conduct negotiation with other women, as occurred in our case. According to her in such a situation the similarity effect operates and creates better chemistry. The facts proved that this was not the case and therefore the question arises of what differed between the instructors? Closer observation directed the writer to another important component – that of the instructor's personal and professional empowerment – as a factor of similarity or dissimilarity on the one hand that does not facilitate changing the type of negotiations and making it integrative.

Moreover, when she directed the attention to their personal definitions of themselves and its comparison to the definition of the course participants, their examination of their personal barriers, and the comparison of those of other participants led to a new understanding by the instructors saying clearly You created a revolution in my thought and forced us to redefine things on which we were already fixated.

4.3.2 Values and tools

The attributes of informal pedagogy (activity conveyed by an instructor) with some 20 women at least and includes some practical experimentation (Silberman-Keller, 2007) emphasizes adult education and feminist pedagogy creating an interesting and unique mix. This writer found that empowerment courses for women meet the criteria of these worlds of content as detailed here.
1. The value of accessibility: This stems from the values of attaining equality and symmetry in relationships and in reducing the obstacles as far as possible. The environment in which the activity takes place is 'anywhere', (Silberman-Keller, 2007) (a room or classroom, usually in an urban building intended for informal education, that enables activity of this type and furnished accordingly). These buildings gives a 'homely atmosphere' (Silberman-Keller, 2007) and therefore offer a feeling of security, acceptance, containment and readiness to cooperate.

These buildings sometime are marginalized by the establishment frameworks, together with the array of reciprocal relations between them. The marginality is manifested at the level of maintenance and furnishings that are likely to be minimal, (only tables and chairs due to the lack of large budgets – no fee is collected in most cases for the actual use of the building). The physical location is peripheral (in the various neighborhoods) etc. (Silberman-Keller, 2007).

The researcher ran the courses directly using only the building and was assisted by a local team for logistical needs. Attempts to transfer the entire activity to the auspices of the hosting factor did not succeed in most cases; further accompaniment at diverse levels of involvement is needed in order to maintain the desired character. Cooperation and sharing with an additional factor, as regards shaping policy regarding the approach to participants and the content, created certain difficulties, mainly in the perception of the factor hosting the activity, in terms of belonging, allocating resources, achievement/benefit and so on. Due to the character of the activity diverse organizations have no difficulty in copying it or running it in similar manner, creating competition. This is not good due to the constant lack of resources, of an agenda and of clear goals that are clear to all those involved.

The conflict created here between the value of accessibility and reaching as many women as possible, and the value of professionalism, that demands action of certain standards is extremely prominent and demands consideration.

2. The value of flexibility: This is derived from the accessibility obtained amongst other things, from the lack of definition of rigid rules for acceptance and belonging to a group, and thus prevents exclusion. Two criteria only afford the common denominator of membership in the group: A purely female group and expressing readiness to participate in the course, coming voluntarily and independently (after answering an announcement, a conversation with a friend, previous knowledge of the framework of the status of women etc). The group constructs and reflects mindedness, i.e. is a
task oriented group (Silberman-Keller, 2007) as a means for developing personal and female social identity, with some change in their already existing identity in this regard = a consciousness-raising group. The above task is not clear to all members of the group and therefore a process of acquiring this awareness at an individual pace is necessary, together with generating group cohesion within the boundaries of the existing group as a first stage, and later as a reference group for women in general. This is a process based on trial and error, the use of materials from general and private daily life of the participants and group work disbanding the group into sub-groups (pairs, trios etc) and its reassembling. The question regarding who is suitable to be a member of the group arose sometimes while examining the possibility of the existence of such a question. In the locale studied for this thesis, there was no differentiation done between the women who comes to the course, like done in certain locales( a focused address was made by the advisor to the defined female audience who were perceived as leaders, as already having potential, as mentioned before ).but meetings were held to acquaint the participants with the instructor and the advisor .The porpoise was to develop preliminary, basic familiarity with the participants, to afford an opportunity to ask questions and for initial coordination of expectations. These meetings were not intended as screening but created situations of decision-making by the participants that caused some of them to decide not to participate. (The financial aspect did not afford a barrier to entry; each paid according to her ability, in which context there was great flexibility). The familiarization meeting also helped to direct participants to additional auxiliary aids functioning under the Office for the Status of Women and in fact focused its attitude on women, not only in the direct context to the course and taking part in it but to all the participants' needs. This approach of centering women and their needs was considered a very significant point that was adopted immediately by the Office and should become a basic work tool, but ways to impart this track to additional entities should be found.

3. Mutual respect: This stems from the values of symmetry in the relationships and from the starting point that each participant has her own knowledge and life experience (Shlaski and Alpert 2007) The instructor's role and involvement lie in directing the limelight and focus while using her and the participants' existing knowledge and accumulated experience. Such an approach should serve as a dialogue tool but most people find it hard to apply.
This dialogue refers to several circles of participation that are connected to the course. It is a tool that demands skills, readiness and knowledge. The participant entities did not hold dialogue between themselves nor did the advisors usually since they were an isolated factor in each locale and the connection between them suffered from a lack of connection or weak connections. The dialogue between the advisors and the instructors, insofar as it existed, was not necessarily manifested in the group process and as a tool was not really learned or internalized in the groups. This was observed in the team work that conducted community projects. Many difficulties were identified and most of the staff did not survive for long. Individual work, and even methods of covert aggression by staff members, was prominent.

4. Illustration and concretization: The type of discourse that developed in the group was based, as noted, on the participants' daily life or on other authentic cases. Embarking on activities creates a type of buffer between the outside world and the group. The group's time, place and content create a bubble. The group contract states that things occurring or said in the room do not depart it. Participants emphasized this unique point as one of the participants said- "this is the first time where I am the subject of the studies. Yes, I have never been in such a circle, a variety of realities and examples that can be projected onto my life". The clear demand that arises from the participants' feedback talks of the course creating a new focus "I did not learn something new only the proportions changed", as well as a demand to receive "tangible tools for myself" "More material to cope with life" "more analysis of examples", "tips for a good life", "greater focus on topics". All these manifest the feeling that "tools are lacking for coping with situations" and that "practical means are needed to attain the objective".

5. Modularity: This is founded on the value of variance and individuality of each participant leading to work methods that are based on a broad repertoire of tools operating at the level of experience and creating interest, variety and expansion such as acting, simulation or associative tools (story, poem, written section); open dialogue (conversation, discussion, symposium); means of illustration (play, film, picture, diagrams and statistical data); and more task-oriented methods of defining tasks and tracking implementation, observation and mimicry. Instructors with a more masculine orientation chose less associative tools, emotional and data-focused illustration. A course that had too many concrete and task-oriented attributes generated feelings of 'heaviness' and chased away some of the participants. Part of the
need for concretization led to attention being paid to the need for individual work with certain women for whom work in a large group (the plenum) did not enable full exploitation of their potential despite their enjoying the feeling of togetherness and belonging that gives them strength. Moreover, the work in the plenum is also likely to miss the mark of change since it allows them to hide behind those who jump and draw attention to themselves, the others remaining in their usual passivity.

"In the beginning I couldn't stand the discussion in groups", said one of the participants openly. Others note that they prefer "less work in pairs, threes and fours" or prefer "frontal material" despite this contradicting their previous demands to receive more tools for coping. This contradiction is important since it indicates a certain ambivalence between the practical and the active, and between knowledge and passivity on the part of the participants. This approach led to the question of how can this contradiction be solved or how is activism taught? Another question that arises here pertains to the participants' personal pace and dosage. How does one discern or cope with this?

It is worth noting that the main tool used by the instructors is the verbal tool – conversations, discussions, debates – that is supported by applying means that arouse interest such as movies, exercises, division into small groups and methods of investigation or gathering information. Many workshops use existing techniques and models more than they develop models adapted to the group and its attributes. The introduction of additional tools such as guided imagery, spirituality and cards always arouses a feeling of happiness: most participants find these methods more interesting as generating a feeling of excitement and a great experience.

For this reason planning the three-stage course discussed later included an instructor who used these methods and integrated them in the course. Other instructors believe that guiding women's groups has unique attributes that should be recognized and according to which one should operate. These include the need for a permanent person who would accompany the course, the importance of modeling, the climate and the instructor's approach (not too aggressive or blunt).

4.3.3 Assessment and measurement – the female feedback

This study does not attempt to evaluate Project 100 but employ it as a starting point for studying the realm of empowerment courses for women,
currently held by the advisors, and examining their contribution to the social change.

Program evaluation is usually conducted as a process with several stages. The first and second stage is learning the domain and the program studied (Friedman, 2005). The researcher did not have to examine them in depth since she was part of the advisory array and so part of the process from the outset.

Evaluation usually focuses on the process or on the results (Friedman, 2005) but this study focuses on both.

The three main types of drawing conclusions, conducted in the context of the courses were:

1. Planned evaluation - included written and oral feedback at the end of the course from the written summary of the process that some of the instructors submitted and a summary of stage 1 conducted at the end of the first year, in which meeting the advisors from 30 locales participated and therefore entails elements of summary evaluation. However the researcher will strive to use the data that arose from them together with data from feedback during the course and/or from sessions as well as additional evaluation factors to create a picture of affirmative evaluation.

2. Random drawing of conclusions from processes which were not planned from the outset, but from which extremely meaningful materials are likely to arise, such as team meetings, discussions, reading scientific or administrative documents connected to the course, etc.

3. Drawing personal conclusions – insights of the participants themselves (women in the courses, instructors and advisors) during and after the activities, informal meetings or those that were planned and held between the researcher and course participants (long-term tracking) mainly on the topic of community projects.

4.3.3.1 Planned evaluation – written and oral feedback

The feedback reviewed had no uniform structure and had two forms: Verbal informative feedback that usually asked open questions and all answers were legitimate; and written feedback in

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190 The researcher demanded the distribution of two feedback sheets in the middle of and at the end of the course. Within a year of the start of Project 100 she asked to distribute feedback sheets at the end of each session regarding clear parameters.
1. An open (qualitative) questionnaire: Qualitative feedback enables opinions through open inviting questions such as "State your opinion on…", "Your general impression of…". General discussion also invites relevance such as "Everything is interesting…", "Helped greatly…" and even the absence of answers. The questionnaires relate to the instructor and style of instruction, the general opinion of the subjects that were taught sometimes even without mentioning them, which led to difficulties in providing answers since the participants forgot the topics.

2. Closed structured questionnaire: The questionnaire did not have a summary key in most cases.

3. A combination of the two questionnaires or a combination between written and oral feedback in which comments of the oral feedback were not always noted down.

The researcher did not find a uniform technique for drawing conclusions regarding the findings that arose from the feedback, whether orally or written, and she does not know of a structured process of drawing conclusions at the national level.

She demanded two feedbacks - in the middle of and at the end of the course, since she wanted to perform an intermediate evaluation of that which demands change, if necessary. Feedback that was intended from the outset for the end of the course is likely to examine the results, with a low level of focus on the process undergone since it had apparently concluded. Transferring the feedback in the middle of and the end of the course can facilitate examination of the process, together with the results. At the end of the first year of Project 100, following a sweeping statement by the participants of not receiving tools, she asked to distribute a questionnaire (whose format she proposed) at the end of each session. One of the instructors prepared a feedback sheet based on evaluation of the effectiveness of the instruction (Kirkpatrick and Berret-Koehler, 2005) that was distributed in several groups, in the locale examined and in additional places where she taught. Apart from the change itself and beyond the systemic examination at the end of each session, that afforded a constant examination of the processes together with the results, this step was a type of intervention of the advisor in the instructors' work. The fact that till the researcher's intervention the feedback was conducted only at the end of the course indicates the attitude towards the feedback and towards the course as a means of attaining the purely self-interested objective rather than any other objective.
The attitude towards feedback affords, believes this researcher, a standard for examining professionalism and knowledge regarding the process of change.

Some of the four participant factors opposed the need for feedback or perceived it as an unpleasant obligation.

1. The instructors – did not like the written feedback (making sure to distribute them virtually at the end of the last session and did not insist on the sheets being completed) claiming that it takes up time and it is preferable to hear the participants.

The phenomenon of "talking about" stems from the relationship approach typical to women, that is based on the need for a personal connection, expression for each and a lack of formality. One of the instructors thought we should conduct an appreciative inquiry investigating the successes.

Such an approach results in adding a new component to the customary types of evaluation using the narrative approach that examines the personal story one should connect with the internal (the female) rather than the external (the male) and draw from it. According to this instructor, providing a 'stage' for the story is essential to the participants for maybe their needs are not taken in consideration, while her functions based on her unique connection. Nevertheless, a link between the contexts and experiences can also be seen as a universal component.

This is an approach with which this researcher totally agrees since her suggestion in fact adds an evaluative qualitative tier that does not focus on the questionnaire. It rather offers women the opportunity for self-expression. Such appreciative inquiry can be the oral feedback conducted in some courses. However, while the participants spoke the instructors including the instructor cited above, did not summarize their comments to find key topics and usually wrote nothing.

The oral feedback does not allow all of the participants to say everything they wanted to say due to fear, discomfort, covert social pressure or lack of verbal capability.

In certain cases, verbal feedback was conducted prior to completing the questionnaire.

2. The participants - did not like the written feedback (did not complete the forms, asked if they could complete them at home, and promised to bring them with them another time and of course failed to do so).

Writing is a type of concretization of thought, leaves evidence and therefore entails an element of fact, memory and survival over the
course of time, and some of the participants found this difficult. Feedback with open questions exposed techniques of frequently ignoring matters, or completing an obligation – large script in order to fill up the space available and few words, the use of generalized words while using complex sentences whose meaning was hard to understand clearly: "I cooperated with the girls - enrichment and mutual inspiration", "pooled over / Over-consideration coming from the audience"; a very basic level of analysis: "It was fun, good interesting". A trend towards positivism to the point of extremism was clear – "wonderful, remarkable, important", "very significant path.." "pleasant", "devoted and giving of everything she knows". Here too, some statements are based on the component of 'relationships' typical of female thought - not to hurt, not needing to tell the truth even if it is important for correction and improvement. "It is more important to be nice and for people to like me".

Together with this, there is appreciation and recognition of the process and of those who invested in it - the instructors/advisors. The attitude described here regarding the feedback also typified the instructors as providing feedback on the courses or process and participants in other locales.

3. The project initiator - whose demand for feedback stemmed from the need for administrative reporting. The feedback was not a factor for affirmative assessment in order to alter or improve the project, and was also not used for summary assessment in order to decide whether to continue it.

In the absence of tested information regarding the advisors' attitude to the feedback, the researcher will focus on her. As described previously, she perceived the feedback as a tool for obtaining information about the process and the products in order to examine the effectiveness of the activities. With hindsight, it is clear that she functioned according to intuition and professional experience that she had accumulated over the years.

The feedback indicated to her, more than anything else, that at the stage of planning the courses there was no consideration of the array of objective barriers – cultural and social blocks - or of the participants' subjective, personality-dependent blocks and life experiences. The impact of the interaction between them will vary from woman to woman, interaction that is partially age-dependent, family status and employment situation-dependent. This complexity should be manifested in ways proposed in courses for coping with the situation and mainly in the
definition of the course population\textsuperscript{191} when addressing and recruiting participants.

The findings indicate that the courses did not deal with this issue at all, or only superficially. The reasons for this are, amongst other things, the absence of knowledge and awareness on the part of the instructors, advisors and entrepreneurs regarding the issue of female empowerment and a lack of clarity of the course objectives. This is particularly prominent when differentiating between direct empowerment courses and indirect empowerment courses. In the latter a key problem was located that affects the feeling of empowerment. Defining the goal accordingly created a situation in which the primary objective was attained - removing the problem (the lack of knowledge in the use of computer, lack of courage to drive, etc.) and a feeling of empowerment was realized, although this was not defined as a goal.

Most of the programs are multi-dimensional, and are intended to attain diverse products some of which are planned and others not. The courses discussed here produced diverse products such as entry to volunteering activities in the framework of the Office for the Status of Women, marketing the courses and persuading friends/members to participate in similar courses, opening up to new experiences and readiness to take part in further or additional courses in the framework of the Ministry or other frameworks. Some of the participants even introduced far-reaching changes at the transformative level of their personal or professional lives or such as divorce or changing profession.

Seeing the feedback as an integral part of the course meant devoting planned time for this together with the change in the instructors’ understanding. Adopting another attitude that the feedback is not intended for them only, as one instructor said, will make an important change. The researcher saw these facets as key points and applied them in planning the three-stage course.

4.3.3.2 Unplanned evaluation – analysis of behaviors and procedure

\textsuperscript{191} The issue of classifying the population likely to participate in the course is one that arises occasionally. Feminism, as a social perspective, does not support classification since all classification creates an element of exclusion. On the other hand, defining the course objectives more clearly is likely to necessitate some classification to attain them. Developing a general array that offers a solution for women who do not meet the criteria of one type of course/activity but may well find their place in a different type of activity can offer a solution to this issue and therefore the conclusions and recommendations are offered later in this chapter.
Some of the evaluation of the process was generated following awareness of behaviors observed amongst the course participants and that will be described below.

However, this researcher believes that change also occurred amongst the three other groups (initiators, instructors and advisors) in parallel to the course as a result of running and accompanying them. Each group was unaware of the personal and professional changes they would experience following the courses when embarking on the process, and the extent of their awareness of changes they experienced on conclusion of the courses, or within a period of time after their conclusion, is still unclear. Due to the centrality of the issue of change it will be described in a separate section.

4.4 The course products (the products of change)

The issue of change is discussed in section 2.6. The change discussed in this thesis is female empowerment, described in detail in section 2.7, characterized by three circles (Sadan, 1997):

1. The personal–inner circle – which for women includes themselves but always considering family members close to them (children, parents, partners) and personal internal-external areas. These include circles of work and of education that are also connected and influenced by the family domain that impacts on the personal facet and vice versa.

2. The community circle – which is external. The concept of community has several definitions that refer to the geographic, identity or reference dimensions that sometimes overlap.

3. The social (external) circle - that sets high demands of empowerment and internalization that push for activity for significant social transformative change in the status of women.

Since the objectives of the project 100 were not clearly defined, this researcher chose to examine one of the course objectives as she sees it following the participants' feedback that transects the participating factors - the purpose of change. Change is a process and therefore the dimension of time is meaningful in defining of the expected products that will afford its attainment. The chunks of time and/or the product, that afford an index of the success of parts of the process, should be defined. Similarly, the expected changes should be identified or defined as changes of the first order, or of the second order (significant transformative change).
Another point that should be investigated is whether the process of female empowerment is linear, gradual or other?

Based on this researcher's knowledge of the process from the outset she avers that the purpose of change was intended only for the female population that is supposed to participate in courses, ignoring or unaware of the possibility that the project will also effect and create change amongst those initiating and implementing the project. Thus for them, no goals and products were set in this regard.

The researcher claims that the changes encompassed all the populations in diverse degrees and ways. The main change occurs in parallel amongst the advisors and course participants. These two populations have a common denominator as leading change in the present and the future, and therefore they are defined as 'agents of social change'.

In contrast, the instructors experienced change, but most of them were unaware of it and needed external focus in order to discern this. The fact that they, as instructors, were perceived and even saw themselves as a means to create change amongst others, made it hard for them to recognize the fact that they themselves are in need of change and female empowerment, or that they experienced such change.

The systemic factors underwent least change, although the changes experienced by the advisors will encourage local and national systemic change.

The issue of change was explored at two levels:
1. The subjective level – that divides into two sub levels – the declarative level (through written or oral feedback, conversations with course participants and instructors) and the behavioral level (as interpreted by advisors, instructors, friends) mostly demonstrated through community projects
2. The objective level – gathering data that arose and their comparison to the existing empowerment indices.

4.4.1 Change amongst course participants

The Chinese use the same word for change and for crisis which can indicate that the attitude to change is as to a crisis situation, as one of the instructors chose to term the process experienced by the participants. Coates (2006:2) describes the process of change as
"Introducing a new interpersonal skill (which) is extremely difficult, because it means replacing the old skill. The brain may be an information processor, but it doesn’t work like a digital computer. There is no “delete” key for unwanted programs. Behavior patterns are physically established at the brain cell level. Any new pattern, even one that makes sense, even one that is desired and expected, will seem extremely awkward. The only way to replace an old pattern will be to establish a new one that gets better results. If this new pattern proves to be more satisfying than the old pattern, and if there’s an adequate period of reinforcement, there’s a chance that new connections will establish themselves."

The changes were observed at three levels:
1. The physical-visual level – change in appearance
2. The emotional–perceptive level
3. The behavioral level

Paraphrasing Johari's window and in view of the many conversations with course participants, together with observance of events the researcher noticed confusion and even disparity between the level of declared subjective feeling and that observed in their behavior, as well as their self-perception versus the attitude of the environment to them as a result of the experiences.

One should remember that the group composition, despite the gender homogeneity, entails great variance between the participants, affording a difficulty in examining the products of change that are likely to vary greatly in scope, intensity, issue and time. The information was gathered at three points in time:
1. During the course activity
2. Immediately on concluding the activity
3. A while after the activity (non-uniform periods of time)

Some women were aware of the fact that change can not occur immediately. "At that time I did not discern change, but only after a period of time..." "This still has not happened".

192 Developed originally by the psychologists Joseph Luft and Harry Ingram (1955) This model provides a type of "window" through which information about ourselves and others can be given and received. The "windows" reflect four situations: 1) Blindness in which the group knows something to which the writer is blind; 2) An open situation in which things are overt to the writer and the group; 3) An unknown situation for the writer and the group; 4) A situation in which the writer knows things and wishes to conceal them from the group (the "latent area")
### 4.4.1.1 The changes at the subjective level (according to the participants' self-perception)

This researcher has attempted to map the changes at this level, according to the components of change and of empowerment, as mentioned in the review of the literature, and with reference to the two types of courses as they are defined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indirect empowerment</th>
<th>Direct empowerment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of choice – feeling of independence / non-dependency; Ability to choose;</td>
<td>Legitimacy to insist on personal wishes; self-consideration at the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driving refresher course (37%) Use of computer (90%)</td>
<td>center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to learn additional computer programs</td>
<td>Exiting fixation and receiving tools to cope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the degree of involvement and community activity; involving friends and</td>
<td>Increasing the degree of involvement and community activity;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encouraging them to join additional courses</td>
<td>providing information, Involving friends and encouraging them to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with cynical comments and derision/coping with hostility from husband;</td>
<td>join additional courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness - demanding the right to use the car/home computer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the degree of initiative</td>
<td>Demand for tools for coping or attaining such tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing a car/computer; demanding the right to use car/home computer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasure with the ability; description of feeling of a current connection; knowledge</td>
<td>Help in behavior at work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that affords equality to other family members; description of alleviation and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>efficiency as a result of use</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Obtained from feedback

The table indicates that the components of empowerment are manifested at six foci, most of which are declaratory:

1. Developing awareness – taking responsibility

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193 Thirty five women (out of 98 participants) reported returning to drive during the course; 26 noted specifically that they did not drive and 37 did not respond (course feedback, for the computer courses, based on the course coordinator and the feedback). The computer course is still running.
2. Obtaining knowledge – of themselves, of their deeds, of defined areas from another (female) perspective
3. Revealing personal strengths – coping, self-confidence, capability
4. Acquiring personal tools – feeling of control, of time, of planning, of implementation, change in the definition of borders, assertiveness
5. Motivation to act – a feeling of solidarity, legitimacy, equality, female networking, driving refresher course
6. Activity – return to driving, use of computer ;Implementing community projects ; Diverse personal changes

When differentiating between types of courses it transpires that most of the changes in indirect empowerment, according to the participants' reports, are concentrated in the area of attaining more personal empowerment (autonomy), accompanied by personal feelings of strength, confidence and capability. A few participants mentioned that after the course they bought a car or computer for themselves, or demanded having a share in the car/family computer, that belongs to the realm of initiative and influence. Some of the explanations for not purchasing a car/computer were financial – no money, not worthwhile, not now, while presenting 'participation' in the decision-making process, that, in fact, was not up to them.

An interim conclusion of this section finds that feelings of independence and capability are the start of empowerment, but are still not manifested in practice and previous ways of behavior continue. A disparity exists between change in feelings and awareness and actual change.

Six participants in the driving refresher course registered for a direct empowerment course, and seven participants in the computer course participated earlier in the direct empowerment course (in the 2005-6 courses). This indicates, believes this researcher, viewing the courses as a way of action, i.e. continued self-strengthening.

Exploration of the change amongst participants in the direct empowerment courses two years after the end of the first course in Project 100 (questionnaire of 2006) asked the question, Did the course contribute something to you? Fourteen participants (out of 22 participants about to start an advanced course) replied positively and definitively that it afforded them a feeling of legitimacy, increased self confidence, greater self-perception and assertiveness, tools to cope, female networking, new personal awareness.
In order to explore their opinion of the course another question was asked: Would you recommend the course to a friend and why? Eleven participants replied in the affirmative and explained that "...every woman should participate in such a course". "Every woman must – it's compulsory".

They were convinced that, the course is a good experience for women, mainly for those wanting to realize their personal potential, since it is important to hear new things; the course offers tools and enriches knowledge; contributes at the personal level; interesting, empowering and fun.

Twenty-five of the 96 participants in the direct empowerment courses held until 2007 (16%) actually answered, while another 12 participants (8%) who received the questionnaires did not reply. Some explained this as not receiving the form or as sending it and deleting it immediately thereafter so that they could not reconstruct and send it again, and some did not respond at all.

90% of the respondents noted personal changes. 70% mentioned change at the personal level: It strengthened my confidence and opened opportunities for all sorts of thoughts about doing new things; I received tools for coping with diverse situations and I am applying them. And/or in the field connected to work, career or community activity (25%): I joined voluntary activity in the advisor's office.

The respondents noted explicitly that there is a close connection between change and the course (70%).

These findings show that these courses have an influence and create change, although the change does not focus mainly on activity for the female community, as the objective was presented at the outset but focuses on personal feelings and changes. Some of the participants critically observed the courses. Courses won’t help – women say the course was good but what do I do now? Men do not participate in courses and groups.

However, following these courses other results were obtained that were significant for further work on empowerment at the systemic level:
1. Developing a staff of volunteers for working on projects for women
2. Obtaining an impression of women's additional needs. Recognition...I started an exhibition that took place...this led me to participate in a community leadership course, and since then I am
part of a team that volunteers that is active in organizing cultural and artistic events for women in the town; Significant expansion of circles - I explained to her that she must take part in all sorts of courses of this type and then things will sort themselves out, like I did; things moved on and I am very pleased today with what I am doing.

Recommendations by the women who participated in the course helped to open the way for other women too, despite their not seeing this as a community project *per se*. The number of women who asked to join the course in 2005-2006 as a result of recommendations of friends was extremely high, and when asked why they came, answered repeatedly "A friend told me".

4.4.1.2 The changes at the objective level (according to the perception of society, surroundings, other)

The community projects provided an excellent opportunity for exploring the changes that were defined as one of the objectives of the Project 100 by the initiator and the executive (the advisor).

At first sight the attitude towards the projects was as to something obvious, in the full belief that this would enable participants to apply what they learned. In retrospect, it may aver that there was no in-depth consideration of the issue. There was no consideration of the participants' abilities, their wishes or the contribution to the course through the content, work methods and diverse products that were likely to facilitate holding such projects.

Creating a project means complex ability of thought, planning and implementation. Defining the project as 'community' adds a tier of capability for locating needs and a systemic-community view.

Starting community activity for women is positioned as part of the second stage of empowerment (Sadan, 1997) and refers to the level that examines the degree of participation in decision-making processes, the extent of the involvement and community activity, the extent of the initiative and the impact on circles of reference, including the community.

The general approach (of the course participants) towards the projects was negative. Ignorance/denial was observed, despite the clear statement at different stages of the empowerment course stage 1, that a community project would be undertaken. When the focus on the issue of projects began several incidents of objection and denial were observed. As one
participant said, *from the outset, at the interview stage, I was not enthusiastic about projects and the contribution to the community, but I came nevertheless because I wanted to learn new things, and I continued to the next stage of the course, in the hope that it would be more similar to what we received in the first course. I didn't think that we would focus on project to this extent.*

The objection was so great that the topic was removed at the stage of recruiting participants to a course that was intended to focus on preparing projects *The telephone marketing was most up-to-date and stressed content and not projects and since when you spoke of projects, the second follow-on course was still under development. We saw H's phone call (the group coordinator and graduate of the earlier leadership course) as offering the most current information and she did not talk at all about the projects but about the topics themselves.*

Another participant expressed the reality well and honestly. *We knew that this was the course objective – to develop a project but we hoped that the issue would be pushed aside since the content you teach interested us more. One could say that we took what we wanted to hear from your comments, we fantasized about X although they said Y and we were disappointed when they gave Y.*

The participants expressed concern and adopted tactics of avoidance:

- **Mental avoidance** - *we didn’t know; you didn’t say; don’t remember, wasn’t clear enough.* The reason for some participants to drop out was not understanding that projects had to be done voluntarily, while those who remained understood this.

- **Physical avoidance** - This was a type of 'escape'. Participants stopped coming at all or came occasionally. The defined purpose of the second stage course was to impart tools for preparing community projects. Three years after the first empowerment course (stage 1) 50% of the participants (11 people) quit, apparently because *half of the group quit because they could not identify with project topic and were not prepared to devote time*' was the explanation given by a participant.

Despite the objection to the projects that appeared in all the groups, the methods of communications observed were indirect – 'underdog communications' - as has been defined previously. *The women did not set out to defend their opinions described one instructor but 'deserted' and chose to raise the point with me in the summary (rather than with the factor with which they objected, such as the advisor.)*
Apparent legitimate evasion was adopted through a variety of 'excuses': I haven’t got time; I can’t/am not capable; I don’t have the tools; Perhaps we’ll first learn; the project topic was missed; it did not get underway and when we started talking about it the end came; there weren't enough meetings (seven + a summary); the project needs personal guidance,

Indulgence tactics: If you tell us what to do we'll do it; we're your soldiers.

An example reinforcing the participants' need to satisfy is clear in the description by one of the instructors of the paradox created when a guest instructor received the impression from the participants that it was amazing, while the participants 'tore her to pieces' when they told to other instructor about. This last instructor came to the conclusion that most of the feedbacks do not show their dissatisfaction.

The feelings were created, amongst other as a result from the participants' demand to be involved in a project, were anger, pressure, and We aren’t yet ready emotionally to work for the community. The course emphasized empowerment more and projects less. At the summary session at end of the 2004-2005 course, one of the coordinators complained to the course organizers that You are not listening to the field...they say they are not yet ready, and indeed we seem not to understand what was happening.

The researcher, who was disturbed by the attitude of the participants in the courses, involved the instructors, who, except for one, all reacted with indifference, passivity, or ignored the situation. The instructors' reaction aroused the question of why did they react thus? In certain cases the reason was a lack of connection to this objective due to a lack of caring. Another instructor explained that she did not trust their ability but did not bother to say this to the advisor since she did not want to disagree with her (as the advisor provides her employment). Others sought excuses and justification: I prepared a summary of half of the process. It took me time to formulate insights, since the process involved departing my image as an instructor for systemic observation from the start of the process to the current position…

The instructors' behavior is reminiscent to some extent of the participants' behavior, reactions, indirect communications and not taking the initiative. The fact that professional women did not respond to the phenomenon led the researcher to seek ways to solve the situation and employed one of the excuses given by the participants: We don’t have enough tools. The first reaction of the researcher and of one of the partners in the 2004-2005
course was an examination of the substance and the attempts to prove to the participants that their claims were incorrect. The researcher suggested and even prepared a type of feedback sheet, intended for each session, that would concentrate on the material learned in that meeting as regards the tools, the degree of relevance etc.

The feedback was not consistent: although the instructor agreed to distribute the feedback sheets but at the end of the course it transpired that she had not done this consistently, for which the explanation was, *it didn’t always work out.*

The participants also saw the feedback as a nuisance and chose not to relate to it seriously. Another instructor received the feedback sheet and only then suggested a similar sheet that added a tier of examination of the type and extent of the contribution by the participant from the session and the tools to the extent to which she would apply them in the short and the long term. Most of the participants did not reply to the two last questions.

This instructor sees a difficulty therein that inhibits the progress manifested in the email she sent in which she wrote:

> We need to decide whether it is worth devoting at least 30 minutes each meeting to this. If this is what you want correct then I will do so...from the spirit of things I understand that you are interested in receiving feedback from each participant in every meeting ... completing the questionnaire takes 30 minutes, not to mention H and her friends, from whom an analysis will demand an hour each meeting. This would place us in a situation of endless analysis with a shortage of time to teach additional tools and doing any project. A dilemma. Waiting for feedback from you …

The problem of the feedback that was raised asks the question regarding the way of examining events and occurrences in the group. The degree of sensitivity and ability to observe needed by the instructors who are the only people working with the participants, raises an important issue also familiar from the worlds of therapy and of education, regarding the possibility of knowing what happens in real time.

The written feedback from each session was a type of innovation for the instructors, despite some of them employing the technique of checking the mood at the start and the end of the session, by asking "What do you take from today's session?" Not all instructors ask a general question of the participants, and those who do it do not always make a note of what is said, so that some of the information is liable to vanish or even not to be
identified, since considerable differentiation is needed for that. There is no doubt that in cases in which the participants are asked such a question at the start or end of the session may divert the direction of the session to directions not planned.

In parallel the researcher introduced additional changes at course content that relied on the experience from the previous year, although the focus was on tools and reducing the fear of the project. A workshop was introduced in which a film was screened that described how women perform a project; an additional workshop to familiarize them with areas of activity and entities that would arouse interest and motivation to join to, especially a session with activities for those who had attended previous courses.

Despite the changes, the participants' attitude remained unchanged. The researcher tried to harness the instructors as partners to the effort to develop projects by directing direct questions and asked them to pay attention and report to her immediately on events. They reported, for example, that no leader was found in the group who was ready to lead the project. The same instructor identified a difficulty in the degree of readiness to lead and take responsibility together with knowledge and tools in team work, planning etc. Women have little motivation or commitment to act on behalf of the community.

Further impressions included a point likely to direct to the question of why was the motivation low? The issue of motivation to act appeared again in further explanation by one of the instructors. ...although just knowing the material does not afford the ability to do! My most significant conclusion regarding women... is that they have no desire for anything (desire +intention facilitates doing). The main question is not how to impart tools, which is relatively easy, but how does one create desire for something. The expectation that we will develop desire in them is not realistic. Desire develops from within.

The explanation given by the participants – of an absence of tools - is an apparently logical and legitimate type of explanation that afforded a type of screen for another cause the researcher and instructors overlooked: the internalization of the messages and creating motivation to function towards attaining change. In this case it was aimed change at the community level that was not attained.

Work by the researcher and instructors enabled attaining insights that led to change in the process. In this case, diagnosing the need to study and
understand did not come from the instructors although the contact with the participants and conveying the information to the researcher gave her the tools to better understanding and continue asking.

The project questionnaire was formulated by one of the instructors and sent to the participants in the locale studied and other places where she worked.

The meaning of the word project for most of the participants (33 out of 52) was a challenge; they saw it as commitment (20) and as responsibility (18). Managing a project is perceived as suitable for those who want to advance and introduce change (37), for which they believed management abilities were needed (29), initiative (35), and motivation (22), but there is a difficulty that is usually defined as personal blocks (22), the absence of resources (15), and the lack of direction or an idea (14).

20% of the participants claimed that they lack result oriented thought and/or implementation abilities, testifying to their self-perception. For more than 70% the support of their partner of life and family was important or essential when implementing a project.

Only 16 participants were prepared to run a project, i.e. to lead, while 12 preferred to be members of a team. The others did not answer the question. The participants agreed that the word 'projects' is intimidating because of its 'large' and 'extensive' connotations. It was therefore asked whether replacing the word for the term task or mini project was better. The answer was positive.

The participants were asked whether they had been involved in projects in the past and what kind they were. The answers show that they focused on family (15), such as producing events and parties, buying a house, and on the personal area, mainly in everything regarding work (17), when that itself is perceived as a project. Most of them did nothing in the social–community domain bar for five participants, with three of them participating in the earl stages of the empowerment course. One did voluntary work with the 'weak' population and two were involved in an empowerment course for themselves and for other women.

When they were asked "What are the main things that the program afforded you?" most noted first and foremost that, *it broadened my knowledge regarding advancing community projects for women*
On the face of things this would seem to be a paradox, but from behind the slogan that they apparently thought that we expected to hear, the real answer emerges: Contributing to the feeling of belonging to a group of women that work to advance women and learn about my self, as woman, identifying and developing the personal abilities.

A comparison between direct and indirect empowerment courses and courses that focused on conducting projects found the latter ranked as less interesting and did not create a feeling of excitement, as they termed it. The 'Projects questionnaire' focused the fact that participants were at the stage where they needed insights themselves and in their lives, while a new definition of this life reality and therefore could not commit to projects but wanted to continue developing individually. As one of the instructors defined the situation: there was interest in further learning as compared to doing.

Learning is a passive act, while doing is an active step, that entails taking responsibility, or ...demands courage to operate on behalf of the community and to apply the project as they say.

The term 'community project' was not defined by the project initiator and therefore the researcher defines the concept of community as 'a community of women in the locale' and the objective as empowerment of other people (and of the project initiators) .

At the end of courses in 2004-2005, five community projects were developed, in which about 15 (30%) graduates (out of 44) participated. The other graduates raised ideas or declared intentions but eventually did not manage to realize them. This was also the scenario in the other courses on direct empowerment in the locale studied and others.

A glance at the process of creating a project indicates the difficulty and lack of ideas. The project topic landed on us said one of the participants explaining the fact that the stage of preparing the project, including the stage of examining needs, as well as coordinating the expectations of the project did not occur to a sufficient extent, and in those that did take place failed . All this was in addition to their general objection to the step.

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194 The researcher referred to this activity in the way she was familiar from work with youth in an informal educational framework who, after training, worked with those younger than themselves on projects known as self-leadership.

195 The researcher remembers the meeting on the subject "From vision to reality" that was intended to raise ideas from the participants, and was the first sign of their difficulties regarding consolidating a personal-female vision that would lead to ideas for community projects.
I understood that I would join an active organization and thus I will operate, and not create something from nothing by myself. We do not know the community and that which is existing there, where we can do things, how to get women to volunteer...

The discomfort with the situation can also be seen in the very ambiguous phraseology regarding their suggestions for projects such as *something social for other women; at work and at home; group-social-community workshops on home economics and spirituality*, that indicate a lack of focus and lack of direction.

The ideas that were proposed covered the community-social domain, such as helping weak populations (old people and children), including women and weak women in particular (which is the common approach towards the needs of volunteerism). There were ideas such as a 'home' for creative women which is a very broad concept together with doing workshops for women in practical and empowering areas - Holding courses, founding support groups, holding study days.

The ambition to hold courses for women as a community project that was observed in many of the groups in and outside the locale observed, indicates, believes this researcher, the need to continue the protected "togetherness" experience in the group. The way to so do is by participation in other similar groups, as participants or as initiators, planners and coordinators.

At the personal realm focused on the world of work, six women expressed the desire to advance in work, to change their position as salaried employees or to open their own businesses. Areas of interest to women, such as culture/art/producing events/spirituality and mysticism, guidance and education were prominent.

The researcher decided to take a more active part by channeling participants to areas of activity after identifying needs from the field. This channeling was for totally new projects such as accompanying and coordinating a computer course for women, or adding them to existing frameworks for the entire community, (volunteering for 'Service to a resident'; National Insurance that works with widows, terror victims etc.) or in areas that function on behalf of women only, such as in women's organizations or in the abused women's shelter.196

196 Tables pertaining to the projects proposed in the courses are presented in the appendix E
The new projects were conducted under the auspices of the Advisor's Office and could be divided according to three main attributes:

1. Distinctly empowering projects: Hot line, women's rights center, personal coaching, exhibits, writing group, Computer courses
2. Projects arousing awareness: Walking, culture activities
3. Continued personal empowerment (moratorium): Presentation and personal image course; advanced empowerment courses (stage 2): Accompanying and coordinating new empowerment courses

One of the participants raised the need for personal accompaniment in the project – an important and significant point that did not receive expression in planning the courses. Accompanying the courses was not taken into consideration in most courses the researcher checked, amongst other reasons since long term accompaniment necessitates pricey experienced personnel. The instructors see themselves as completing their work with the official end of the course. They cannot make time for accompaniment for objective reasons such as time but also from subjective reasons such as instructional skills. The lack of awareness of the need for accompanying the project and the period of accompaniment resulted in the subject not being planned or budgeted.

Attempts at accompaniment experienced by the researcher, who took this task on herself, led to a series of insights and afforded an interesting perspective of the process. The participant procedure indicated

1. Administrative and leadership difficulties: The need to be 'nice', and loved, interfered with taking necessary steps, exhibited great understanding towards members of the team who did not come or did not do their work. The lack of desire to take responsibility on the one hand and dependency on the external authority factor were particularly prominent. One of the instructors reported that P, one of the participants in contrast to the others, said that she knows how to run a project...as of an hour ago she had not closed the list with cheques in contrast to what she had been told. She had not finalized a place for payment or gratis. I set a deadline until Sunday to inform me whether there was or was not a course on Wednesday. She keeps saying that she did not understand the women...

2. Team work was faulty to the point of being impossible, with problems of communications and reporting, power struggles and intrigue between members of the team; lack of consistency as a result of being drawn to the needs of the immediate family, while showing desire to satisfy both the volunteering framework and her partner of life and children. As one instructor says the course content was secondary on the scale of priorities relative to family
and social events, and work. The lack of assertiveness and defining the boundaries apparently created pangs of conscience, feelings of burden and lack of time.

3. Lack of taking personal responsibility was manifested in being over-demanding, claims, complaints and blame towards the framework in which they acted (reference to an outside factor). The instructors heard that some participants felt confused. *I think the fears of some of them stop them or cause them to seek guilty parties since it is hard for them to accept the fact that they are stuck and need to find reasons.*

4. Lack of ability – such as no flexibility and adhering to one's opinion, thought, behavior; having only short term vision, lacking tolerance; waiving their own needs almost immediately, without seeking additional ways.

5. Passive coping techniques: Procrastination – as D, one of the course participants, says. *I am sorry that I could not create a connection; several personal problems prevent me from being available to meet my promise and inhibit my desire to establish a forum; I usually meet my promises but...*; Ignoring; denial – *Didn’t know, You didn’t say*; Whining – *We've got nothing, I've got no time, don’t know how...*; Anger – *don’t understand for what*; Slyness – *Say OK, but don’t do what they agreed to do*; Evasion – *they prefer that I talk and not that they work, and I insist on combining the two described one instructor; Avoidance; Escape - *I'm not here till...* Sophism - *I would very much like to...(but in practice don’t come/do)*; Unexpected behavior - *contradiction between declarations, doing and not doing without the possibility of predicting that this is the direction; remaining at the declaratory level; attack; criticism.*

In reaction to the difficulties the participants experience frustration. As one instructor said, *I suggested that she initiate a conversation with you (the researcher) to tell everything she tells me, since I see she...amongst other things reacts like a small child whose mother/father did not buy her what she wanted.. she doesn’t plan to register for the course on money as it's not what she wanted and imagined. I explained to her that she is part of the team and that was her decision not to come to meetings.*

One of the first conclusions reached by this writer was to hold another course (three second-stage courses were held), intended to focus on projects, in order to impart knowledge and adjust tools in parallel to accompanying the projects. This connection helped to distinguish the further development of the empowerment process amongst the participants as the conversations with them indicated.
a. Strengthening need: Belonging to a female group is manifested in motivation to attend additional courses (about 12 women from the driving course registered for the empowerment course for example) or for other activity organized by the department, and thereafter in furthering the connection with the department through volunteering activity.

b. Creating a network of connections: The participants felt confident in an environment that was defined as a female space with a shared critical attribute – not-driving, not knowing how to use a computer needs for change thoughts and awareness - on which background friendships between the participants were created that continued after the conclusion of the course.

c. Developing awareness: The computer course coordinator mentioned that she decided to renovate her house, during which I made a room for myself\textsuperscript{197} with a computer and personal e-mail address. (This was after two years of coordinating the courses, at which point she reached this insight.

However, one of the interesting behaviors was termed by the researcher the 'negative force syndrome': The behavior described previously regarding some course instructors, occurred again in the context of the behavior of some participants. The discovery of the phenomenon is interesting since the concept of 'power' is a key concept in this thesis due to the purpose of the courses – imparting empowerment to women. Empowerment is internal power that is supposed to cope with external power, which is a distinct symbol of the patriarchal behavior that we wish to alter, as part of the essential social change. If it was previously claimed that women are not identified with power, at least externally, we have noticed that graduates of the empowerment courses are more powerful and aggressive, while incorrectly using the tools they acquired and through ideology of I deserve it, I am allowed, I learned that I should insist on my... they seek justice, Right you taught us that.. so I insisted on... This is a known phenomenon termed the pendulum oscillation – swinging from one pole to the other the stronger the primary urge to the point that the movement stabilizes at an intermediate place.

The phenomenon regarding change is familiar, when there is a sharp transition from one pole to the other in the behavior we would like to change. It is therefore suitable for describing the process experienced by several women as part of the changes due to empowerment courses – swinging from one side to the other of the pendulum - lack of power,

\textsuperscript{197} Emphasis on the term "a room of my own" based on the book by Virginia Wolffe (1929) by this name and its significance to the feminist agenda

225
weakened - to the other side of the pendulum path - acquiring power, increased power - that is manifested through external means such as:

1. Declarations regarding having power, while stressing that this is the change that occurred in them 'I as empowered women…'
2. Giving examples from daily life, that will prove outwardly, and perhaps towards themselves, that they actually did acquire power.
3. Behavior lacking proportion that shows its power while adopting direct tactics of demand - *I stood up for myself*; lack of flexibility – *I didn't give in*; voicing an opinion aggressively on every subject – *I was assertive*; indirect tactics – remaining from the rooted, typically female, behaviors such as taking offense (*Why wasn't I told*); indirect and conflicting messages, manipulations, over-centralization etc.¹⁹⁸

4. Lack of tolerance/understanding of frameworks, people and mainly other women, or women who convey weakness or perhaps remind them of themselves as they think they were. One instructor noted that a participant projected coarse aggression when she referred to her husband as a 'snail to be squashed' and stressed that she did indeed identify aggressive behaviors amongst the participants that are the result of a feeling of omnipotence following the course.

Furthermore, communication characterized by vague discourse, employing superlatives and general words such as, extreme apppellations - *We stayed with two amazing women with a fascinating life story, amazing; there was a magic meal..it was wonderful...stunning; awarding indicted apparent compliments compared to the statement that women do not know how to compliment other women. Another expression like Thank you for the nice female organization...Thanks to ... who showed her good taste had been used without knowing as an apparent arrogance, giving scores. Talking in slogans - *We will unite and create equality- was a distinct declaratory stage without any real commitment that often used too.*

The projects actually exposed the typical behavior of the women, or as a member of one of the groups explained, 'don’t be insulted, but none of the women there left the family circle; they reflect a family connection – grandmothers, mothers... they are not ready, they are far from that. In other words, the path is still long and the courses, in the current format, offer change at the sensory, declaratory and cognitive levels. As one instructors says,'no to doing, no to implementation, no to change, but for understanding, absorption and learning – something that cannot and

¹⁹⁸ The use of covert violence motivated by jealousy, revenge etc. as a way of using violence by women (Simons, 2002)
does not need to be quantified for a result...typical female thought that leaves them in the process.

4.4.1.3 Change as a process

The lack of knowledge and needs of role holders (the initiator and the advisor) functioning in a space needing immediacy, success (results) and visibility, pushed to set demands that were found to be unrealistic. Concentrating data that were observed, said or actually occurred in the long or the short term, indicate the impact of the course on the participants and on the existence of changes, some of even transformative.

S, an instructor, describes their situation. *Yesterday, I made a summary of the meetings till now. My interim conclusions are that the group is not uniform and there are women at different points. Some are in need of urgent primary empowerment. Some have undergone empowerment and know, but still cannot implement, and they have a direction...some are capable of implementing but they lack a direction...some are partially capable of implementing and concentrate on themselves and develop gradually...unfortunately*

This statement supports the conclusions that this researcher believes to be central – change is process and an extremely individual.

Another important point is the insight that there will always be a disparity between the desire for change and the insight that it is necessary as has been said: *We want to seek comfortable niches, easy but long way. One must change and make a transformation, meaningful change. And between the realization: Following the workshop on female leadership I decided to open a developmental and experiential business (for activities, lectures and workshops) for women before and after giving birth and for children aged 0-6. The 200 m. place opened in November, and I would like to make an appointment with you to advance the idea of women before and after birth, and some sort of voluntary activity there. The course greatly helped me. So, many thanks again and go on having a good day...*
The table below presents the changes according to area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of change: Personal</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>External appearance: Diet, hairstyle, plastic surgery, dress</td>
<td>Family status married, divorced, separated</td>
<td>Doing projects for women (as a community)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral: speech, search for information, readiness to actively cope, sharing the difficulty/problem with the new reference group – women from the course</td>
<td>Primary relationship: Parents, husband, children, assertiveness, setting limits; demand for equality in the use of property/resources</td>
<td>Participation in projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies and education: Participation in additional courses, university studies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work: Assertiveness and insisting on rights; readiness to take on roles; going out to work/exchanging place of work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: Decision to go for therapy/personal coaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The greatest changes were found at the personal and family levels the fact that *unfortunately, sometimes I am forced to repeat points and content from stage 1...* As one instructor told the researcher, emphasizes and clarifies the need for repetition to strengthen and internalize amongst the participants the need for the process, which is neither easy or brief. The transformative change is in fact a renewed discussion of all angles of the participants' life of and asking questions that shake the constructed and familiar world. Their attitude towards the project indicates more than anything else the difficulty in freeing themselves of social implications and of the world perception regarding feminine roles in society or their self-perception as capable and worthy of activity.
Few participants went the entire route of change at the personal level that led to a personal and/or community project. Examples of these were readiness to serve as the chairperson of a group of women who joined a large women's organization and opened a branch in the town for the sake of women and children in the community; writing a program for establishing and running a new institution in the town, intensive activity to realize the idea over a period of two years and whoever failed was guided to self-realization in the position of chairperson of an NPO and changing the work role; opening a large independent business and managing it with changes at the family level (marriage and having a first child); opening a female personal coaching center in the framework of the Office on the Status of Women and so on. One of the participants expressed the main need or difficulty of attaining change – a supportive environment over time: *One invests a lot in empowerment, which is the same as a stage of motivating a process, but there is no process maintenance...*

Indeed, as noted in the previous section, the Project 100 initiative did not plan long-term activity and certainly not such built on several stages. The need to ongoing accompaniment and support is found to be one of the important and main conclusions of the entire process of change discussed.

The products reported in the Indian Swayamsiddha empowerment project (Hay, 2005) discovered by this researcher while researching this study, as well as the findings of the "Business of Your Own" NGO validate the conclusions that the researcher reached.

Both projects describe a process of empowerment that the participants experience as a long-term process (of 3-6 years), with personality-dependent and personal/social change. However, the content of the changes pertains to the personality-family level long before they reach the community domains.

### 4.4.2 Change within the course operators

During the study the researcher observed that together with the changes the participants experienced, the instructors also underwent change. Her focus and attempts to explore the process were directed towards the participants but the changes in herself and some of the instructors are clear, as will be described.

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199 Details of the center appear in the section on recommendations for the future
200 "Your own business" prepared a three-year program that included learning, accompaniment and support for women interested in establishing their own business (Saar, 2007)
4.4.2.1 Change within the advisor (researcher)

It was difficult to examine changes amongst the advisors since this researcher did not examine them prior to the start of Project 100. It is therefore not clear whether and how they were affected to enable study of the issue. This researcher assumes there was an impact, as arose from conversations with several advisors, but the reasons for the changes may lie in additional processes with which she is not familiar. So this study focuses on the process of change experienced by the researcher.

The changes were manifested at the level which related directly to empowerment courses to which she was involved and which she began to study, and the broader level that includes different observation of all researcher's work as advisor and of the reciprocal relations with organizations that are important to this work – the Authority, IULA and the Knesset Committee. The changes were manifested at the local and the national level.

1. Change at the professional level
   a. Common language- One of the prominent products is the development of sensitivity to the meaning of terms and concepts. Concepts lead us to investigation and they guide our interests (Wittgenstein, 1953). She also realized that we (advisors, instructors and Authority) do not actually know the meaning of the term 'empowerment' or 'leadership' in the female context even when working in the domain. This awareness developed as a result of the researcher's feeling that she knew what to do and how to act in the domain. This feeling was based on her previous professional experience of an informal educational context, and dealt with guiding (youth) leaders. To this was added the fact that she herself participated in guidance and therapy training that involved the random inspection of fliers produced for the project by various advisors and using the terms 'empowerment', 'leadership' as synonyms or two concepts with another equal, gradual or complementary context. In view of the reality as reflected in running the courses questions arose regarding the use of preferring the use of certain terms as a declaration of intentions. The lack of knowledge, the lack of clear knowledge or the existence of superficial knowledge regarding any concept, reflects on the declaration of intentions. Defining intentions ambiguously or incorrectly, or not defining them at all, will create different products.
Awareness of the lack of knowledge that led both to the current research and to intensive study of the topic was one of the main changes at the researcher's personal-professional level. Exposure to the outside world of activity and knowledge lead to additional changes.

b. Change in attitude and professional image: The transition from patriarchal professional attitude = knowledge held by the researcher /individual as a professional woman, to a feminist professional attitude = the knowledge I have is relative, additional, important knowledge held by each of us and does not affect professionalism but rather gradually expands it. The writer learned to ask questions aloud. "What is empowerment?" Her question drew the attention of additional factors involved in Project 100 (guides, course participants, advisors) who hastened to give the researcher an answer, at the start with the feeling of, "What are you asking for – it's clear isn't it?" This reinforces her claim regarding the lack of knowledge to which all have the right of access. The researcher began to gather and record definitions of the concept 'empowerment'. One of the guides defined Empowerment is not being a word – it is a way of thought, feeling, speaking, acting, life; two academic women who participated in a professional conference said that empowerment is connected to a set of relationships between men and women and that empowering women is the first stage in developing real democratic friendships; a participant in an empowerment course in India said for me empowerment is standing at local council meetings and demanding a list of basic services (Hay 2005). Participants in our courses replied that the meaning of the terms leadership and empowerment is connected to the concept of power or to the synonyms, and that concepts such as influence, leading, management and initiative are connected with it. The many answers converted the knowledge into something far broader, tangible and personal, but more than anything else they sketched reciprocal relations of the researcher with the participants as a system based on sensitivity, mutual respect, accessibility, flexibility and acceptance.

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201 The speaker, a young Indian woman, participated in an empowerment course. The card she demanded afforded her access to basic services and subsidized food. Such cards are given first to relatives through personal connections.

202 Based on questionnaires that were prepared by the instructor B and distributed at the researcher's request in empowerment and leadership courses. The findings were analyzed by the researcher and another course participant.
c. Redefinition of the activity – As deeper this researcher investigated the definition of the term empowerment through articles on the subject she began to observe courses she ran and redefine them. This redefinition helped her to define her role and way of working. Driving refresher courses and computer courses, for example, were defined as courses with empowering components (indirect empowerment) together with courses for direct empowerment.

Methods of work were defined and identified as ways of creating a feminist framework that strengthens the empowering components: Providing information on activities for women; close accompaniment of the activity and/or the participants as an advisor; accessibility to the course – consideration of the financial difficulties, and the flexible and modular work that enables adaptations; support and consideration of the personal blocks that were raised, in a containing and not judgmental supportive atmosphere. Thus was the conceptual infrastructure laid in this researcher's definition of the empowerment courses for women as unique, compared to the existing courses currently in the market, with the other services based on three main values – accessibility, accompaniment and support.

The change in the definition of the courses and identification of the main values of the change array that needs to be developed helped the researcher to define to herself the perception of the position.

d. Change in defining the role: The word change is somewhat misleading since at the outset there was no such definition. The insight that the area in which the researcher was involved is a professional area infiltrated her awareness, as she got deeper into the topic of empowerment courses. Advisors were appointed in order to create change and therefore they are agents of social change. In order to create this change, tools and knowledge are needed that focus mainly on the educational, organizational and political facets. Formal definition of the advisor's role was but the first step to institutionalizing the position as a professional.

Together with three other advisors the researcher created an active core that led to a series of activities intended to lead professional changes, which indicates their professional empowerment.

Their shared work and connection to national factors, institutions and organizations according to issue, led to a series
of changes, notably including the definition of an index unique to their work – the ILGM – based on global indices but with local resolution, that would obligate municipal organization for routine statistical reports at a local level.

Cooperation for change in legislation of the Advisors' Law (that was completed in July 2008) and writing a compendium for advisors that includes the clear definition of the position (completed in December 2008) were two important steps in which the researcher was a leading figure.

The researcher was a partner to a lengthy series of additional steps such as preparing a training course for new advisors, preparing a list of professional study days and proposing core content such as converting organizations to those providing Work Life Balance (WLB) atmosphere at work places.

e. Change in methods of work adopting the focused approach of 'Less is more' that was the result of impact of the course for senior advisors in which this writer participated (2006).

At the same time the new insights were immediately translated into two levels of modes of activity – the local and the national, and into two domains – the personal and the general.

2. Personal changes: This researcher's dissatisfaction with the situation was translated into the decision to write a doctoral thesis. The research led her to significant personal change in parallel to her professional growth. She felt more order in her life and work, understood differently the steps she had taken or should take, and her personal and professional self-confidence increased. Her pace of learning and acquiring tools increased, and with them the desire and need to share her knowledge, insights and steps with other advisors and establishment factors involved in the domain.

A course opened guided by a male organizational consultant in which she and nine other advisors participated in 2006 contributed to completing the change. This course was a catalyst for insights that had haunted her previously, and served as a platform for connecting her and three other advisors who came to be known as the "quartet", that became the important nucleus of change that chose for itself modes of activity in the domain.

Sharing knowledge accumulated with colleagues by its organization into professional articles and their publication on the www.articles.co.il site, giving lectures and extensive organizational activity for professional improvement and change represent this researcher's transformative, personal and professional change.
4.4.2.2 Change within the course operators

The importance of those conducting the courses is great especially in view of the perception of them since they are professionals in the domain. As instructors they were confident with their material that led them to suggest the programs and teach them in practice. This researcher/advisor chose two instructors to describe the process of change they experienced, which was a new procedure for them, some of which they were not aware of at that time.

In all the courses and at all the stages the researcher/advisor presented a great degree of involvement, that was manifested in changes of substance: Adding or deleting topics including techniques for conveying workshops and more and other guest instructors, activating coordinators on this writer's behalf who would attend the workshops and report (in writing and orally) from them.

The changes also included organizational demands: such as preparing material relevant for the workshops well in time, introducing feedback and assessment sheets at additional points in time rather than summarizing the course on its conclusion; holding update and assessment conversations; and raising problems, questions and their analysis.

This behavior created an interesting dialogue. I worked for two hours (I'm not complaining, on the contrary, I am very satisfied with the result and the process) developing sheets for personal insights for all the instruction sessions on the status of women. I always love teaching a new model. What do you think? I am enjoying your doctorate material (looks like a deep trench that is overturning the bowl in order to organize things..) making notes and comments. It seems that you and I understand, however the distance from here to the other women is a whole world apart. Such a statement refers to the process experienced by S., one of the instructors. The second instructor T. reported: Although this time we talked about it and I think that they realized the importance of the (feedback) form and will complete it for the next meeting, and thereafter we will complete the first part at the end of the meeting… differing to the feedback sheet she was asked to give every workshop.

These two instructors showed their readiness to cooperate with the researcher, but while S. was enthusiastic and prepares instructional material, thinks about the process and tries to derive insights from it and even applies them in broad manner, T shows readiness but does not alter
her instructional materials, does not talk about the use of tools in a broad manner and does not express any insights.

Observation of S's procedure over a period of two years manifested the type of behavior based on creativity on the one hand and impulsiveness on the other. The combination of the two creates a mix found in externalized activity, the search for challenges and constant interest, together with a lack of internalization of the messages, judgmentalism towards others and less towards their selves, dominance and a lack of awareness of the prices she pay for this.

In contrast, T was open to change during those years and clearly drew personal conclusions when she became a leader amongst the new instructors established by the researcher in order to propose a model for a new empowerment course. The team had two instructors who had not worked with us in the past and had little professional experience. It was immediately clear that they lacked the maturity that would enable cooperative work. T tried to bridge the differences and involved them in her attempts and insights. The researcher thus realized the extent of her internalization and insight.

Documenting the sessions indicates more than anything the need for change, and the change in which course instructors need or participate in, as a result of offering a different angle to the paradigm with which they come. As one of the instructors observed, you changed our entire way of thinking. This writer has no doubt that this issue needs in-depth study.

4.4.3 The changes in the project initiator

The project initiator is also the Authority and is also the person heading it at that time who ended her job in mid-2006 and Project 100 ceased. The empowerment courses continued thereafter in various towns in differing ways.

The Authority and IULA took on new role holders who adapted a way of cooperative work with a group of advisors, including this researcher, that is now leading the systemic and perceptual changes regarding the advisor's role and regarding the entire issue of the status of women in Israel. This writer believes that such change also stems from the character of the role holders but also from the awareness that developed amongst the advisors and in institutions for cooperation and for adapting ideas that develop in the field.
Chapter 5
Conclusions and Recommendations

Many questions arose while this thesis was being written in addition to the questions that led her to this study. She does not purport to answer all of them or to know all the answers, but the questions themselves indicate the areas that must be considered. In this chapter she will try to conclude this journey, while considering the main points that arose till now.

The focus of the study are the empowerment courses for women, in their known form as held till now, they are but one tool on the path to meaningful change, in her professional opinion. The course studies offer an opportunity to examine the domain of the status of women in general in Israel in particular.

The late Yael Rom, a veteran feminist activist, told this writer in a chance conversation (2001) that "We already did this in the seventies…" and sowed the main question mark. If this is the case, why does the essence of the situation not change? It may well be that what is being done is incorrect or not sufficiently correct. The answer is complicated and not simple.

However, it is clear that
1. There is change mainly in awareness, in openness to discuss the status of women and other external behaviors, but there is no change in essential things and internalizing other norms and behaviors.
2. There are breakthroughs alongside regression, as a result of the management in a complex reality with many changes in many areas of our lives.
3. There is much knowledge missing, flawed perceptions and lack of meaningful understanding as a result of the social process in which the media has a key place in our lives. Means of communications that are constructed on rating create a flat and superficial world that is frenetic and hollow.
4. The western world is patriarchal, motivated by profitability and power and is based on competition and individualism.
5. In the State of Israel this scenario enjoys greater validity with the connection to the additional circles of patriarchalism in the form of the security, the religious and the cultural circle built of fragments of traditionalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.

Therefore the requisite question should be how does one create meaningful social change within this complexity?
The main social value of Israeli Jewish society, believes this writer, is that of survival. The social texture is extremely fragile and not sufficiently consolidated while at the same time it must cope with many value-oriented issues. The Holocaust generation is still with us, the implications of the trauma continue mercilessly for generations thereafter. The many years of the Diaspora created life styles, thought and behaviors that are embedded in us. The intense hatred between the Arab world and Israel attacks mercilessly and accompanies each child from the moment of birth. Everything leads to the existential basis. The essential change in the status of women is therefore forced to cope with the archetypical perception that constructs the foundations of human society as regards the motherly womb as a source of life that allows survival and continuity.

On the other hand, maintaining the role of motherhood as defining collective femininity (Kameer, 2004a) and as a means of national survival casts a heavy shadow on the possibility of altering the patterns of thought and behavior at the personal and the community-social level, and inhibits or prevents the hoped-for change.

In a country whose entry ticket to a position is the military rank it is till not possible to appoint a woman as Minister of Defense, as happened in Spain. The myth regarding the importance of the army and the knowledge acquired there continues to be a focus of social attitude. It intensified and received greater validation in the Second Lebanese War (2006) in which it was proven that the Minister of Defense, without a military history, could not survive in the country and was a threat to its existence. A country that needs a law determining that no negotiations will be conducted over the future of the country without including women in the negotiations team indicates the high level of exclusion with which women must cope.

These few examples indicate the breadth of vision of change that is necessary with which empowerment courses cannot cope.

Social change necessitates public debate at a complex value level. Such a value-oriented debate that takes place in an atmosphere of ongoing and constant existential fear for years is redirected from the necessary change.

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203 In July 2008, when the bodies of the soldiers Regev and Goldwasser were returned to Israel, a bereaved mother who lost a son in the Second Lebanon War was interviewed. Her words paralleled the words ‘mother’ and ‘nation’ which in Hebrew are pronounced the same.

204 Despite there having been several Ministers of Defense who were not generals some are still considered to be successful and good ministers.
in gender emphasis. The feminist world of values is so contrary to the point of absolute polarity to the values and daily reality encountered by Israeli society.

At the same time, the post-modern experience also reaches Israel and shatters myths, raises many questions, doubts and distrust of everyone and everything. In such a chaotic process, threads of something different, new and legitimate appear – the status of women.

This writer will discuss her conclusions and proposals for action and change.

1. The role of the advisor on the status of women is a key and important role as a leader (agent) of social change. This conclusion led her to write several articles on the advisor's role and work (2006). For the first time material was first written on the subject that affords a source for developing a new array of concepts. This led to secondary conclusions that:
   i. Shared procedure should replace individual procedure
   ii. There should be multi-systemic procedure using interdisciplinary knowledge
   iii. positioning herself as a unique professional domain

2. The status of women is a professional domain. In order to attain meaningful social change a professional array must be developed with new patterns of work and management in the feminist spirit. This necessitates
   i. Developing and institutionalizing new tools and language
   ii. Developing a guidance and training array for those involved in the domain (advisors, instructors, public role holders)
   iii. Formulating policy, objectives and targets based on, and leading to, an ethical code

5.1 The role of the advisor on the status of women as an agent of social change\textsuperscript{205} (Ben- Asher 2006 a)

The year 2000 is a landmark on the path to meaningful social change in the domain of the status of women in Israel, with the legislation of the Local Authorities Law (Advisors on the Status of Women). The legislation states one thing clearly – the State of Israel needs a defined position in order to deal with that realm since the handling is flawed.

\textsuperscript{205} This researcher first used the term at a session of the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women in 2006. It was quickly adopted by the chairman, Gideon Sa'ar and thereafter became more accepted and familiar to colleagues and role holders
Another meaningful statement is the fact that the position is located in the municipal domain and not in the central government, as part of the understanding that real activity can be conducted in an organizational entity with authority to act on the one hand and with connections and direct influence on the citizens on the other. The birth of the law and its final form indicate the struggles that symbolized more than anything else the lack of social maturity for its existence.

This law joined two steps that preceded it regarding the appointment of employees in the civil service responsible for the status of women (1995) that created some change and had some resonance, but also perpetuated the socially weak amongst women; and the Authority Law (1998), that defined an entity with authority invested by the state to integrate the domain. In these two laws, as well as in the advisors' law, few operative tools were provided for functioning, illustrating the covert means of maintaining an existing situation but showing quasi-indicators of advancing the domain of the status of women.

For six years the advisors, together with those responsible in this role and the Authority operated without introducing meaningful change in the domain. This could perhaps have continued but Project 100 created cohesion around the lack of satisfaction that already bubbled there. 2006 was another meaningful year from this researcher's perspective. The infrastructure was created that facilitated the transition to the next stage in creating the position – profession. The link between the changes at the personal level of the researcher and of a limited number of other advisors, together with changes in the organizational level – personal changes amongst those filling the positions at the three main institutions connected to the advisors' work: The head of the Authority, and the advisors at IULA who create the engine for change and two Members of the Israeli Knesset - the chairman to the Committee for the Status of Women in the Knesset, a male, an outstanding parliamentarian who for personal reasons agreed to help lead legislative change relating to the Advisors' Law together with a new female member of Knesset familiar with the domain. This multi-systemic connection facilitated an interesting attempt and a breakthrough in additional change as well as one of the main conclusions.
5.1.1 From individual procedure to shared procedure

Consolidating a cooperative approach as a work strategy was the new approach that this researcher attempted to introduce and create. 'Cooperative work', 'cooperation', 'team work' are nice concepts at the declarative level, but in reality do not work, or their affect is very limited. Cooperation is the ability to balance the needs of the individual and other needs, brings benefit or higher output than those that would result from the connection between the output of each separately as arises from the synergetic principle (Adiges, 1979).

Feminist ideology aims to achieve symmetry in relationships (power relations) that necessitate flexible and creative principles and patterns of thought/behavior, necessitating the capability to forgo personal egos and interests as a result of a feeling of empowerment and self-recognition. These values afford the basis for cooperative work that is not easy to attain. The stumbling blocks in the path of those wishing to work thus are many and their roots, amongst other things, are in the common patriarchal perception regarding territory, power and control. Women who work in public and municipal systems follow codes that were internalized and improved by them on their path to success within the male establishment.

The researcher's personal insight that she had to work to create cooperation simmered prior to that but she did not have a term for it. In 2004 when planning a leadership and empowerment course, she appealed to another factor to solve budgeting problems. She quickly experienced difficulty when navigating organizational values, when the tools each team member had were insufficient or not suitable for cooperative work. The course was to be the first of six courses held within the framework of Project 100. Intuitively, she decided to invite two activists who had participated in a similar course as course coordinators which added a tier of difficulty to the team work due to the different definitions of belonging – of employees and volunteers, of instructors and administrative role holders and of role holder in different positions etc.

Over the years the researcher worked in several circles of cooperation, usually holding an integrative position in two arenas - the collegial arena of advisors, role holders on the status of women in institutions, whether the Authority or the municipality, and in the professional arena – working with people, organizations and institutions in the locale as work partners and other professionals. A cylinder around which a two-branched spiral develops would be the best geometric shape to describe graphically the work on the status of women, believes the researcher.
In this study the researcher refers to three organizational foci that are found in the cylinder's envelope, affording the systemic space in which the advisors on the status of women operate. The advisors are agents of social change both inside and outside the organization, and afford one of the more central branches in the domain for their very access to the entire population and the geographical and gender distribution.

The first focal point is the Authority as a national, public factor that is supposed to lead and coordinate voluntary entities (for rights, equality etc.) with institutional entities. It is also intended to coordinate academic institutions and the legislative authority, all of which deal directly or indirectly with issues and areas connected to the status of women. The second focus is the IULA, an entity that unites the municipal authorities and is therefore directly connected to the advisors who are their employees, but has no authority in their regard; and the third focus discussed in this thesis is the municipality in which the advisor functions. Each location has its unique attributes that differ from place to place and therefore have implications for the work. These three foci should create a common language that will construct the infrastructure for sharing information and activity, and will propel the circle of social change. Change in the patterns of thought of role holders and of the quartet is not always sufficient, since they continue to work within large organizations mostly managed by men who set diverse obstacles that prevent this cooperation.

Two foci were absent in the current cooperation – the academic focus, that should participate in completing the knowledge and establishing it through dialogue with the field, as this study tries to do, and the political focus which is also not sufficiently and properly applied to attaining the desired change. During the cooperative work use was made of certain parts of this focus that helped attain change in the Law that created a meaningful step towards defining the position as a profession. Organizations and other units and departments exist that belong to the institutional framework, with which cooperation should be maintained, that focus on content but due to the similarity in procedure to foci already mentioned there is no need for further detail.

206 Apart from one municipality headed by a woman
207 The researcher was one of the main activists in introducing change in the Law and in writing a definition of the position
The advisors' ongoing work at the local level there should be considered the spiral within the cylinder that is composed of two main fibers – the female population in general, with a focus on the locational profile. This is the primary population that targets the advisor's work. The second fiber that enjoys least consideration is the male population, to be discussed later.

An important factor that is not taken in consideration and should be considered is the professional men and women (the instructors) from various disciplines who should be recruited and instructed according to the needs of the domain with which we are involved in order to assist with their knowledge and help to create the infrastructures for the longed-for change. Working with the various relevant factors is another important chapter that has yet to be considered in full.

These definitions enable, believes this researcher, differentiation between tasks and areas of activity for each factor, and the place at which the factors unite to create an efficient work array for attaining the goals. Furthermore, the above description explains why there is no place for non-coordinated activities as in the past.

Since the advisors operate individually in local authorities, each in her own locale, there is inbuilt difficulty in performing team work between them. Team work at the national level with IULA and the Authority is also difficult, due to their type of work and in view of the geographical distribution and the many tasks expected of them at the national organizational level. Cooperative work between the advisors and other Municipality departments and/or with organizations functioning in the locale often encounters difficulties on the background of earlier hostility, a feeling of competition and in some cases a lack of a feminist agenda.

Work as a 'flat' mechanism in hierarchical organizations (pyramid) is not simple in the least. The complexity of the operation creates difficulty vis-à-vis the systems as regards language, timetable and products. The possibility of sliding into familiar patterns exists all the time. The pressure applied by various factors, including colleagues, is great and frustrating.

There is no doubt that this domain – cooperation and team work – needs to undergo a deep assimilation process, but is necessary for obtaining the goals of significant change.
In most of the cases the researcher took the position of integrator. The team work produced results that afford significant steps towards change, such as the 'quartet' (of advisors), the Authority and IULA. The researcher, as integrator, established targets of activity in several core issues intended to position the advisors as professional role holders.

1. Involvement of the advisors in decision-making processes pertaining to their role and consulting with them regarding the domain in Israel and in general. This is in contrast to what was customary previously and is very prominent in Project 100

2. Leading legislative change in the 2000 law between the years 2006-2008, when the change in the Advisors' Law was approved. The changes include a clearer definition of the advisor's role, definition of the ways of appointment, suitability for the position and even improvement in the work conditions. All these were intended to anchor the role as an important professional position. The law affords an empowering infrastructure for advisors through their formal and external recognition that is intended to seep down into the organizations and even to the advisors themselves, while improving their self-image and professional image.

3. The definition of the role of the advisors: Preparing a file as a guidebook for advisors, the first stage of which included the interpretation of the position that was completed and distributed in 2008. Another step is receiving recognition, a process currently being implemented.

4. Developing an infrastructure and work procedure that will afford a professional anchor for management and change, while focusing on developing a professional instructional array.

5. Developing an organizational professional infrastructure for the advisors by founding a NPO.

5.1.2 Attaining change by working at several planes

Attaining (sometimes systemic or multi-directional) meaningful change will occur at the personal and systemic level (Rao and Kelleher, 2005) simultaneously by leading local policy adapted to needs. The advisor's role is to be an integrator as being professional - by leading policy and taking operative steps for its realization. Work of this type demands the relevant skills and knowledge.

The work, at the personal level, is directed towards change in the first circle, amongst other things through empowerment courses, but these courses must undergo perceptional, methodical and assessment change. The work at the personal level is with three groups of the population:
a. The advisors, course instructors and role holders at institutions and organizations that are involved with the domain of the status of women. To introduce significant social change the main tool is through education, explanation, and personal example. To this end, they have to experience empowerment at a personal and professional level while adapting tools and a feminist work approach.

b. Women
c. Men

In order to arouse awareness and enable the development of tools and means for adapted change. The question of why most of the effort for change is directed towards the female population arises from time to time. The basic assumption guiding us now is that the impact on the behavior of certain populations, in our case the female population, is likely to afford a benefit for the entire population. On the other hand, she believes that there is definitely room to work with the entire population, both men and women, in order to attain the necessary social change, although it is clear to her that the work with the male population does not need to neglect working with the female population, and even afford it most of the attention.

The work at the systemic level is directed towards organizations and institutions and is intended to generate social change, in parallel to change at the personal plane while exuding reciprocity. Here, too, the work is essentially educational although various political (intra- and extra-organizational) components should be used, while presenting the interests and profits that will be attained following the changes. Systemic work is at the intra-organizational level (to which the advisor belongs as a regular employee) and at the extra-organizational level that is also divided into two - within and outside the locale.

This complexity of parallel levels of work leads to the insight regarding the need to develop an array of tools unique to this domain.

5.2 The realm of the status of women is a professional domain

Accepting the basic definition that the advisors are agents of social change and therefore have other roles connected to the domain encouraged the insight that this is a distinctly professional domain.
Use of the term 'advisor', that is part of the title of the position, describes a continuum between vicariousness and ceremonial through to authoritarian stemming from expertise. The choice of using this term testifies, apparently (believes this researcher) to the ambivalent and contradictory attitude to the position by the decision-makers (Ben Asher, 2006a). At the same time, as a statutory position it enjoys a status and right that should be translated into action.

Advocacy belongs to the same category as teaching, leadership and therapy, termed by Landau (2001) as professions in human service. Profession, in comparison to occupation, is a type of organized activity with eight ideal components that are not necessarily attributes of the reality (Pialkoff, 2001). These include the existence of a theoretical basis that produces unique knowledge relevant to the basic social values, and in this case feminist values, motivation for social service, commitment to the domain, a feeling of community, training that provides unique tools for activity, autonomy and an ethical code that facilitates deriving rules of behavior and procedure. These definitions positions the advisors, the instructors and the other role holders in the domain on the same side of the border, as the writer has concluded, leads to the conclusion regarding the need to develop infrastructures accordingly.

5.2.1 Developing an instructional and training array

Professional training is a controlled ongoing process that encompasses diverse areas of knowledge (Weller, 2001). The scenario, till 2006, points to the conferences and study days for a varied female audience that does not emphasize the role holders but was open to everyone defined as a woman. The first step was therefore change in the definition of the target audience for such in-service training courses and conferences that entailed tension, anger and complicated coping that has yet to end.

The correction to the Advisors Law (2008 # 3a) anchored commitment to training as a condition for competence in fulfilling the role and responsibility for this was placed on the Authority. The dictionary definition notes that this is a professional expert whose role is to advise in the area of his specialization. He/she heads the service and has authority (such as the legal advisor), advisor to the Crown (in England), can be a representative to the tax authorities, a marriage advisor (helping to solve problems) or someone's confidant in a high position (Schwieke, 1997).

These are professions that embrace the ability to influence the fate of others and thus necessitate the role holder taking greater responsibility, since in addition to general social rules of behavior those relevant to their profession are also pertinent (Weller, 2001).

Volunteers, activists, holders of administrative positions in municipalities, appointees and advisors.

The initiative for the step was from the quartet.
instructional array that includes a training course, in-service training sessions according to geographical and sectorial distribution as a tool for creating a connection between needs and accessibility, together with developing a monitoring array and a resource center, that would serve the advisors and those involved in the domain are some of the researcher's recommendations that she is currently trying to introduce. Areas that are likely to provide a theoretical basis for the domain belong to the realm, of social sciences and the humanities.

5.2.2 The development and institutionalization of tools

All those involved in the field are at the developing profession stage that is manifested in the absence of professional tools. This stems from a lack of knowledge and causes a lack of focus and unconsciously harms the action plan for attaining significant social change. Patriarchal management is embedded deep amongst all those involved in activities in the realm of the status of women. As long as they do not manage to alter this behavior, there will not be meaningful change, since they convey and operate counter to the way they preach. Work methods and tools should therefore be adapted together with developing a professional, uniform language that will generate a connection and understanding between the role holders.

5.2.2.1 Social marketing

At the start of this chapter, the researcher presented one of what she considers to be important tools – cooperative work. Here she would like to present another tool – the social marketing tool – that is likely to be suitable for the advisors' work.

The familiar systemic tools that are intended to introduce social change are mainly economic tools such as subsidies, grants, taxes etc. In recent years more governments and NGOs use this tool to create change in attitudes and behavior, in other words, social change.

Social marketing operates like commercial change, although its targets are to "influence the behavior of target audiences in order to improve the personal profits (of individuals) or of society at large of which they are part" (Andreasen 1995:7).

The social marketing tool is used mainly to attain change in the negative patterns of behavior (preventing or diminishing the cases of violence in society). The most common areas that adopt this approach are mainly in
the realms of health, quality of the environment and welfare. Observation of the realm of welfare will note a focus on planning, development and managing services or projects. The use of a tool was not a method of intervention that focuses on the reasons for patterns of behavior that should perhaps be altered, or on strengthening the desired patterns of behavior. In other words, the marketing product focuses on changing the attributes of the organization and the services, rather than on attitudes or patterns of client behavior (Baham, 2003). The conclusion is that the use of this tool will not produce significant results in the world of social change since there is no integrated activity, as was detailed previously.

The basic assumption of social marketing is that all behavioral change is the result of exchange. All behavioral change that is encouraged is a type of product, and involves a price. Change in behavior is only possible if the target audience will be convinced that the benefit embodied in change is greater than the price demanded for its application. The vendors must therefore either increase the benefit that the public relates to behavioral change and/or lower the price. Reducing the price is done, amongst other things, by creating access to the product and by its promotion.

The issue of price is a key issue that should be discussed from the personal aspects of women as a group and as a unique and private case; the price of men as active or passive partners should also be taken into consideration together with the entire social facet.

The issue of a personal price was raised partially in the feedback, from the procedure observed and from the participants' feedback in conversations. Did the change that stemmed from the investment in empowerment courses produce the organizational benefit expected in cost-benefit analysis? This is an important facet that no factor has considered. After holding the courses, no short-term information (feedback) was gathered or processed, and similarly no long-term data (examination of changes over the axis of time) was examined from anywhere Project 100 was implemented. Therefore the stage of drawing conclusions was not reached or a work model developed. Examination of the quantitative results, in view of the level of investment in Project 100, will lead to the conclusion that the above means – the courses – are not worthwhile no matter how they are viewed if the patriarchal profit code is adopted that links quantity to success.

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212 The courses were budgeted at NIS14,000 per group on the assumption that there would be registration of 100 groups. This equals NIS 1,400,000 that were placed at the disposal of the project by the Authority. Additional expenses were estimated to be at least another NIS 35,000 per group, i.e. an
This study led the writer to two conclusions:

1. Empowerment courses as one of the branches of the change array, should be developed according to a goal-focused procedural view. The instructional plans for the courses should be altered drastically, emphasizing the personal aspect as the first stage, and the price extracted by the short term and the long term change together with the benefit. (The researcher is currently trying to investigate this facet through the three-stage empowerment course to be detailed later.)

2. Locating and defining additional activities that will be added to the empowerment array that starts with courses to attain social change. The issue of lowering cost discussed previously will be achieved by increasing accessibility which is one of the key concepts in the world of empowerment - that enables personal empowerment (autonomy) compared to exclusion and control. The researcher maintains that accessibility will be attained by developing and expanding services based on it as a key value. Loyal to this direction, she developed an array of services that will be discussed later such as a rights center, coaching center, a foundation to encourage education etc.

This method of work is suitable, she believes, to the empowerment approach for women, as a tool for social change discussed in this study. The advisors, as agents of change are also supposed to be social marketers.

Social marketing assumes that change in the new patterns of behavior is not something acquired immediately. Clarification only is not enough and application of a policy tool, such as affirmative action, is needed by the systems and institutions. The success of the social marketing process (campaign) was feasible as a result of choice and cooperation between the national and local factors (mainly voluntary).

Social marketing is directed and adapted to the needs and desires of the discerned target audience. Identification at the stage at which the target population finds itself will enable the social marketer – the advisor – to focus on the assignments that are suitable for that stage, in order to advance to the next stage.

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additional NIS 3,500,000 – a total sum of about NIS 5 million for 6000 women who accounted for less than 1% of the female population of the State of Israel at that time.
Five main stages exist in models that discern and describe a process of behavioral-social change (Aaker, 1992; Prochaska, DiClammente and Norcross, 1992):

1. Lack of awareness – the target audience does still not think about the pattern of behavior desired or suitable to him and therefore at this stage, interest in the change proposed must be awakened and generated.

2. Awareness – the target audience considers and assesses the new pattern of behavior and therefore the implications of possibly adopting the new mode of action and the advantages of such a step should be clarified.

3. Preparation – the target audience decided to alter the mode of behavior but checks how to do this. Possible ways of action should thus be proposed and their adaptation to the target audience assisted. It is important to remember that the success of this stage does not always assure consistence.

4. Activity – this allows the target audience to experiment with the new patterns. Ways of alleviating the application of the new patterns of behavior should be located.

5. Confirmation (internalization) – at this stage the target audience already feels committed to implementing the new patterns and does not return to the previous patterns.

The target audience of the empowerment courses, the women, is usually large at the first or second stage. The courses enable most of them to reach the third stage. The assignment of the community project, as a task to be implemented, was supposed to lead them to stage four, but the target was flawed, since its focus was on the community rather than on their closer circles.

The attitudes and behaviors are the social products that are marketed (Harvey, 1999) in the case of this study. Positioning the term empowerment as the course goal is therefore not correct, since the desired change is change in the female patterns of behavior that result in their filling inferior positions relative to men. At the same time, the basic assumption is that a feeling of empowerment is likely to create an infrastructure suitable to change in behavior and to finding ways to function in order to change the given situation of each of them.

Change in attitude, without real action, is not sufficient and thus the stage of developing awareness can only be seen as the first stage towards the change. The targets of social marketing are usually connected to the cessation in the behavioral pattern that generates an undesirable situation
(Baham, 2003), as in our case. Fewer use the marketing tool in order to strengthen the desired pattern, that should be done no less, maintains this researcher.

Social marketing necessitates developing a general intervention strategy, in order to realize change while applying diverse tactics to attain it. Rothschild (2000) suggests three strategies that should be blended to attain change – education, law and marketing.

5.2.2.1.1 Education as an area of knowledge for leading social change

Through diverse explanatory activities education focuses on behavioral change as a result of knowledge. Striving for behavioral change means that there is no real product or sustainable service, but rather a perception as in the above topic – change in the status of women. This researcher dares to claim that the main aspect of the advisor's role is education.

Education affords knowledge and develops skills in order to encourage the target audiences to voluntarily alter (without sanctions) a certain pattern of behavior. This approach, however, is suitable to those who are interested in changing (as a result of awareness), and this opportunity is enabled them.

A target audience is defined through a tool known as market segmentation\(^{213}\), based on geographic, demographic, status, personality and behavioral variables (Kotler, Roberto and Lee, 2002). Segment differentiation enables deciding on which of them it is important to focus the main marketing efforts. Finally a target audience is chosen towards which the marketing is supposed to be directed.

The issue of awareness is basic in leading social change. The fact that there are different levels of awareness, including its absolute absence, must be recognized. Social change in such a state of affairs necessitates a suitable educational infrastructure as a basis for its occurrence, while understanding that most women lack awareness or readiness for change for two main reasons: The price demanded by change, and an incorrect subjective feeling regarding the lack of need for change since it has already been achieved (at the personal or social level).

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\(^{213}\) Individuals with similar attributes (needs, desires, values, life style etc) who are expected to have a similar reaction (Kotler, Roberto and Lee, 2002).
The researcher asserts that two educational areas of knowledge that merge here, both in adult education domain, should be considered by policy-makers:

a. The academic domain known as women's studies or gender studies, tries to lead a process of establishing and recognizing the new domain of feminist theories, emphasizing the technique known as feminist pedagogy that filters down to diverse areas of knowledge and develop additional possibilities for research and knowledge. The approach to academic education is not open to all because of the financial cost, the academic demands for a learning standard and for achievement. The audience that comes to university/college is defined as an aware audience although not necessarily in the gender domain. Most of the population does not reach the academe or does not study in faculties with a gender emphasis, therefore gender education should occur at another dimension.

b. Informal adult education is defined as voluntary planned and organized learning activity that takes place during the adult's life, according to Tokatly (2007). The definition of the goals of this framework by UNESCO(1976, 1990, 1997) and the Commission of the European Communities (2000) includes eradicating illiteracy of various types and release from suppression as well as other topics in many areas of life, but without any special emphasis on the female facet. In fact, one can say that adult education in general deals with aspects of indirect empowerment, through imparting knowledge, completing formal and professional education, encouraging egalitarian open and respectful relationships, creating a supportive social atmosphere, and improving human relationships and reciprocal relations in diverse situations at home, at work, in society and in the meetings between diverse social groups (Perlmutter, 1993).

The level of reference towards gender education as intentional policy, while adapting content and subjects in the formal educational frameworks (kindergardens, schools and training institutions for educational personnel) is extremely low and does not afford the possibility for social change.

Empowerment and leadership courses that are run today, or those that are supposed to be developed, are not defined in any one educational domain. The lack of definition leaves them at an unprofessional level, without the resources for their realization and without supervision, assessment or monitoring. In order to introduce significant change, an educational
infrastructure should be developed that will lead to the required change through a connection between the establishment and the voluntary, the formal and the informal systems.

It is important to continue holding empowerment courses for women, however a more complex array than that existing must be developed. The educational array should include training instructors and role holders for the domain and defining the compulsory programs for the formal education system (schools and teacher training colleges) as well as in the informal education system for youth. Further steps should include containing and defining empowerment courses as part of the informal education array and strengthening the academic frameworks in the domain and containing gender aspects in as many professions and stuffy tracks as possible.

Together with education, social marketing tactics must be adopted – an area that is not applied in a conscious and educated manner.

5.2.2.1.2 Marketing

The second strategy is marketing strategy that also has an educational aspect through changing habits, awareness and consumption. Marketing generates an alternative that is worth maintaining. It deals with the issue of the cost mentioned previously, as one of the barriers preventing women from entering the process of change. Ways of offering both genders profits that are greater in their importance than those currently existing must be found.

This strategy is simultaneously directed towards the basic target audience – women and/or men- and towards decision-makers and service providers (Andreasen, 2002).

Some of the marketing can take place in the framework of empowerment courses and/or learning frameworks, in which emphasis will be placed on developing awareness, as well as on the issue of prices accompanying the existing situation, while suggesting alternatives to attain the desired future situation.

However, coping with fears, stereotypes, personal barriers and social blockages needs great skill. There is no intention of remaining in the realm of commercial marketing that adopts such tactics as brainwashing without providing the suitable product. In the framework of the courses, a procedural step must be taken, backed by experimentation and accumulating positive experiences at a personal pace and while offering
an opportunity for a personal example. This latter topic, as it arose from observing instructors of empowerment courses, was not successful since many women who deal with the issue of the status of women have yet to alter their personal behavior despite their purporting to convey a message of new feminist behavior. This contradiction affords an obstacle in conveying the marketing messages for the time being. This situation led the researcher to conclude that there is a real and urgent need for training instructors according to feminist models.

The social marketing system can develop at the national or local level. The national level necessitates training mediating factors that will be accessible to locales and will know them and their attributes (Baham, 2003). In this case, these are the advisors on the status of women who were appointed in almost all the locales and sectors in Israel.

Developing a social marketing project necessitates management, research, planning and developing strategy for change, direct communications with the male and female target population (Baham, 2003), means of communications, resources and a leading staff. Baham believes that social marketing can be a suitable tool for leading change in several domains such as preserving the rights of groups in the community, advancing active social involvement in decision-making processes, and influencing decision-makers for policy change at the national and local levels. All these areas are also suitable for the subject examined in this study.

The fact that community work does not focus on a significant target population – women – arouses therefore a question mark or defines the degree of blindness and lack of awareness of the systems, and of those involved in community work, of the need to focus on this population and apply the social marketing tools for change in the patterns of behavior of both the women and the men regarding the women, in all areas of life.

The purpose of the empowerment courses should emphasize the strengths and existing tools that women have, while the social marketing emphasizes the weak and negative points and is interested in changing them. These differences in approach are significant and thus the social marketing approach should be adopted while endorsing it, as Cohen (2000) terms the "strengths perspective" – a process of change that should focus on recruiting the forces existing and strengthening them.

214 The forces approach has been applied in many populations but with diverse pathological attributes (disease, disability, low socio-economic condition, or those with difficulties and who have suffered harm of any type such as single parents, grandparents who raise their grandchildren etc.) while
5.2.2.1.3 The law

Of the three above strategies, that of law exists quite prominently in Israel in the context of the status of women. This is a way that is assisted by law and enforcement in order to realize change and is needed in extreme cases that cause real damage or when there is opposition to change.

This researcher believes there is room to develop the first two strategies – education and marketing - and then there may be no need for the legal strategy.

5.2.2.2 Developing an assessment system, measuring and managing knowledge

The absence of an evaluation culture as part of the agenda and procedure regarding the status of women in Israel, but not as regards holding empowerment courses was discussed at length in the previous section.

In order to examine the work and the extent to which the goal is attained there must be assessment and conclusions must be drawn. Empowerment courses should be perceived as a tool for attaining social change and therefore this is a realm that demands a professional approach. Course evaluation should be a structured stage and part of the current or future program of action. Part of the definition of professionalism of the domain relies on its having an academic and research tradition that provides those involved with the expertise and authority (Weller, 2001). Since the area in which this researcher works deals with providing service to people and their responsibility is great, developing evaluation indices and drawing conclusions is most needed.

This is the place to note that statistical data that relate to the gender distribution are not a common phenomenon and there is still work to be done in the field as part of the process of systemic and even global change. The report of the UN Department of Statistics, "The world of

this study discusses a diverse population that is not defined as having any pathology. At the same time, the idea is also apt for the population under discussion

215 A profession is an occupation from which one makes a living that demands study or professional expertise. A professional is someone who studied a specific subject and is qualified and skilled therein, doing his/her work expertly (Shveika1997). Professionalism describes the quality of a person's professional work and their professional commitment together with their knowledge and skills. It is a term with value significance with implications for the individual image of the professional (Shulov - Barkan, 1991).
women 2005: Progress in statistics" (DESA 2005) (Blum, 2008) examines the statistical progress of women in the last 30 years and finds only slight progress, reinforcing the conclusions described by this researcher previously.

The report notes that amongst the most common problems is the lack of data or its partial gathering that lag seriously behind the time of its gathering. Furthermore, differences of opinion exist regarding the measurement methodology of diverse phenomena such as human rights, poverty, power, force, decision-making, and violence against women, that emphasize the difficulties in measuring in view of the difficulty in defining terms, or the need to define them as this study concludes.

It is important to stress that the gender sensitivity and understanding that the gender element is manifested differently in the many measurement issues, is a relatively new phenomenon and still not established enough, amongst other places in Israel too.

The indices developed by the UN relevant to empowerment (GEM, GSI) and those of the OECD, that publishes a report on the global gender differences, examines the degree of equality in the approach to resources and opportunities between women and men while ignoring the reasons for this disparity taking the State as the unit of consideration/measurement.

These indices pertain to four separate domains in each of which the relevant sub-domains are examined such as
- Economics – the art of female participation in the labor force, in salary, income and professional advance
- Education – the ratio between levels of education of men and women and the percentage of students
- Politics – the relative representation of women in parliament, in the government and as Prime Ministers in the last 50 years
- Health – the healthy life expectancy of women compared to men (Plotzker, 2007).

Based on this, the quartet, in 2006, suggested developing an effective measurement tool likely to afford a turning point significant in the advisor's work - the Israeli Local Government Gender Measurement

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216 2008 saw a change in the Israel Statistics Law and the Female Equality Law that relate to the obligation to edit statistical data with a gender emphasis, which, believes this researcher, is likely to create an infrastructure for significant change in the domain.

217 Three of these areas are also found in the definition of the core topics that the advisor must deal with as previously proposed and described.
(ILGM) (Ben Asher, 2006b). Its guidelines are based on the values of global indices but with a resolution to the municipal domain. The development of such an assessment tool will provide a foundation for formulating a work plan and examining the work in practice is likely to upgrade the domain and even to lead to meaningful social change. This, and its preparation as a tool, are still being developed as part of the national and local systemic work array.

However, the global indices that were developed in the context of empowerment indicate the quantitative parameters (the number or percentage of women) in gender realms that can be examined as an overt phenomenon. In contrast, our involvement as advisors through empowerment courses, is at personal aspects in family or community circles, that precede the significant social change, while procedural domains are less externalized and individualistic.

The means at the advisors' disposal are the interim and the final questionnaires, decisive conversations and summary (subjective) impressions which are effective and suitable for examining only certain components, as described previously.

Attaining the training/course objectives – converting theoretical knowledge (the 'what') to operational skills (the 'how') should be examined through practical tests, such as assignments and tasks. In the above case, community projects can be seen as an example.

This writer believes that the personal parameters vary greatly from one woman to another, and should be examined using narrative tools while relating to on an axis of time.

The current study indeed proves that women who participated in empowerment courses reported change, some of which they were able to describe. At the same time, most of the changes they experienced were at personal rather than at immediate transformative levels. This description is aimed at the conclusion regarding the need to document the personal empowerment process of female participants in the empowerment courses. To this end a mechanism is necessary to gather data and information that will have to be processed and interpreted.
5.2.2.2.1 Managing knowledge

Female activity lacks for documentation and knowledge management, despite the years of activity and considerable accumulated experience. This situation is not a new phenomenon and does not characterize only the domain of the status of women. The importance of managing knowledge in organizations is a relatively new area that is today accelerating, but is not something of which many organizations are aware, or is manifested only in a minor manner.

Managing knowledge is composed of tacit knowledge, that affords some 90% of the organizational knowledge and is concentrated amongst women themselves, primarily. The other part of knowledge – explicit knowledge - is found in documents and data that can be gathered from the field (Badihi-Eyal, 2004).

The process starts with gathering data whose organization makes it information that becomes knowledge when aimed at action. One of the main foci in the domain discusses the issue of converting tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge, mainly in view of a reality of employee turnover and the loss of knowledge. According to Geva and Ben Ezer (2008) Prof. Snowden avers that the tacit knowledge comprises attitudes, values, culture, personal experience, insights and skills, and he constantly departs for the overt space through the interpretation and deeds of the individual. This knowledge is hard to define and convey to others.

Knowledge management refers to organizations and is a cultural issue. The advisors are not an organization unto themselves but their work is supposed to afford a type of framework that replaces the organization for the sake of the current debate – a professional community. Their belonging to establishment and bureaucratic organizations means that they come from an organizational culture that does not hasten to share and reveal knowledge.

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218 Knowledge management is another term with many definitions. In the broadest terms it is practice to exploit the human wealth and sources of information to the maximum. Some ascribe knowledge sharing and organizational learning etc. to it. This is an interdisciplinary domain that combines knowledge from a variety or worlds (Badihi-Eyal, 2004; www.mop.ort/org/il, retrieved 1.3.09)
Failure in communications and lack of readiness to share knowledge was also noticed by all the participants in the empowerment courses, whether the establishment factors or by the advisors. The lack of sharing planned and tacit knowledge creates many attempts to "steal knowledge/ideas' by all those involved in the domain. The discovery of this behavior supports the approach of concealment instead of one of sharing that this writer believes should be a central work tool. Many organizations and communities believe in sharing knowledge and in the importance of intergenerational transfer since they maintain the community identity and the feeling of belonging that are so needed by the advisors who function as individuals in the organization, as mentioned previously.

Several processes are needed in this field of work:

1. The systematic gathering of data and materials – documentation. In fact, there has been no real and structured documentation regarding the course procedure, but this is true of all the activity. In other words, there is no data base for the parameters, procedure and products. Therefore one must define standards for such a procedure, the evaluation and documentation of the activities.

2. Developing a central information base accessible to everyone involved in the field. Its development will necessitate defining areas and the types of material to be included.

3. Including the value of sharing the information in the training programs. The goal is to alter attitudes on the subject amongst those dealing with the domain, including the instructors, develop a mechanism of cooperation at the level of exchanging information amongst all the advisors and role holders, and construct a mentoring array, as has been noted. Its importance lies in helping to overcome the difficulties of conveying the tacit information.

A clear difficulty exists at present, regarding the need for a factor that will lead these steps when logically this factor should be a national one – the Authority and IULA - that suffer from the same difficulties cited above. All this led the researcher to conclude that there is a need for developing and introducing a uniform clear language.

5.2.2.3 Uniform language

Language is the main tool through which people create reality and meaning (Goldstein, 1997). Change in language is likely to lead to change in the reality in which it functions. One of the clear conclusions arising from the current study is the need to develop a language for the domain/ profession.
Uniform language that is clear and understood to all those involved in the domain means professionalism and separatism (Weller, 2001) concepts that advisors strive to attach to their activity. Language enables shared identity that is based on accumulative experience and knowledge. The development of the realm of the status of women in Israel replicates ways of coping adopted from other places, but not in depth and methodically. "Adopting" approaches and transference necessitate on the one hand, local orientation and exact examination of that which is 'transferred' in order to understand it. Thus diverse concepts will be found to be in use, but are not sufficiently understood, or whose interpretation alters their meaning. This researcher would mention several examples such as 'female issues'\textsuperscript{219}, gender equality\textsuperscript{220}, advancement and gender. Since our domain is interdisciplinary, the language can contain concepts from other areas of knowledge, thus they must be adapted to the gender reality in which they are supposed to express ideas, work methods, phenomena or changes.

The importance of common language is manifested not only at the level of professionals but also at the level of change anticipated in the field. The change in perception needed by both women and men is extremely significant, and this researcher believes that the 'new' language will greatly contribute to this.

The circle of change positions on its circumference all the official entities whose role it is to deal with the status of women and the voluntary organizations in the field although they do not talk an identical language. The knowledge accumulated is not the property of all and territory struggles or power games weaken the ability to cope vis-à-vis other factors.

One should be extremely careful with the use of words/concepts assimilated in the collective awareness and the lack of sensitivity in their regard continues to perpetuate a reality that we would like to change, that which we would like to change. Language is also shared basic perception. The need to distinguish in order to present the variance and uniqueness

\textsuperscript{219} In The 2000 Local Authorities Law (Advisors on Women's Issues) that was changed (in 2008) to the term 'Advancing the Status of Women but name of the position of the advisor to the Chief of Staff still remains women's issues. The term in Hebrew has connotations of involvement with unimportant issues. 

\textsuperscript{220} In Hebrew the real translation is equality between genders although around the world it is used as gender equality, gender education etc. (for example the unit's name in the Ministry of Education whose task is to prepare plan of study and in-service training, in the definition of the Authority's roles that includes "Promoting and encouraging policy…on advancing equality between the genders" (Local Authorities Law, 1998).
(place for many voices) is sometimes greater than the broad female need to join together in order to realize a transformative goal. The rules of ethics and modes of behavior are another stage needed to establish this domain as a profession.

5.2.2.3.1 Feminism as a key concept

Amongst the many concepts that one should know and understand, and then to cease 'fearing' or 'escaping' is the concept of feminism.

Mor, as Segev reports (2006), observes that only 12% of the women who participated in the sample define themselves as feminists. Many women (78%) do not afford a gender identity particular importance, and define themselves more according to their family situation. The reason is their fear of a negative reaction from society when they emphasize their gender identity which is often connected to feminism and to the struggle over the rights of women.

The immediate context of feminism is the act of burning bras that never actually occurred (Rozin, 2000). Feminist ideology reached Israel from abroad relatively late (in the 70s and 80s) and spread slowly. Feminist female identity was adopted in two stages, where in the beginning the woman was to liberate herself from traditional femininity and only thereafter could she adopt feminist identity that positioned her and her ambitions in the center. Nevertheless, there are also a few traditional and even religious women who exhibit feminist attitudes, but they are usually less extreme in their positions.

And nevertheless, Mor (Segev 2006) recounts that the percentage of women who adopt a feminist identity rose in recent years since her previous study in 1995, where 20% of the women related to themselves a strong gender identity compared to 25% today. She summarizes her study noting the new feminism phenomenon that began to consolidate in recent years: instead of militant feminism that struggles in the male world according to its rules, competition with men means subjugation to patriarchy. They did not accept the position that economic or professional success reinforces the status of women at home (despite the many studies that prove this), and see intensive motherly femininity as the ideal, real source of feminine power.
The stereotypical perception of feminism is so strong and rooted\textsuperscript{221} that it is the estate of many educators who are supposed to adopt the feminist ideology, and convert it to the professional and cultural flag, as well as of women who managed to break through in other areas.

After establishing the attitude to the concept of feminism, and as part of the recognition of its contribution, it is important to recognize the term 'gender', that lies mainly in the professional definition of those working in the field, and adapt the insight that one must work as quickly as possible to consolidate gender policy, that is likely to be useful in introducing the change and converting it into a social asset. There is no doubt that the use of the new term affords an upgrade and is based on role empowerment of those working in the field.

Recognition of the diverse needs of each gender, recognition of the unique relative value of each gender and ceasing/reducing discrimination on a gender basis afford the targets of social change.

5.2.2.3.2 The complexity of the concept empowerment

One of the key concepts discussed in this study is that of empowerment, and it is important to this researcher to concentrate on it in this chapter too. It is one of the key words in constructing the 'new' language.

The researcher accepts the approach that empowerment cannot be attained by an external factor, but only through those who are not empowered (Mosedale, 2003). Therefore, agencies, or in our case, the advisors are not able to empower but only create suitable conditions for attaining empowerment that will be achieved by the women themselves. Are the courses these conditions or should an additional infrastructures be created? This is one of the questions that results from this discussion. The weakness exists as a result of brainwashing and its internalization by women, control and suppression that affect the perception and self-confidence. This is the place where empowerment courses are supposed

\textsuperscript{221} Statements such as "I'm not a feminist" together with an expression of clear revulsion were statements made by female school principals at a meeting at the education department in 2007 and it is a common situation. Together with clear policy of burying ones head in the sand by the educational establishment through statements such as "There are lots of plans...", "We do.." or "There is no problem in our municipality." At the same time, activities in the field were not explored and submitting budgets for holding the training courses or implementing programs was sufficient. The approach adopted is not effective for marketing the programs and reports are produced on activities based on a subjective truth.
to function – raising confidence and recognizing the self-value while attaining autonomy.  

Furthermore, this writer concludes that all women need empowerment, since it deals with expanding the personal boundaries that vary from one woman to the next. A good example of this is the large scale of eliminating illiteracy, following which knowledge can be acquired and access afforded to many domains as a result of the above skill, to the point of access to higher education and key roles in society and the economic community on the climb up the personal spiral.

Evans (1980) maintains that in order to develop critical feminine thought, women need a safe environment in which they will be able to consolidate independent thought that contradicts their usual social (weakened and secondary) positioning. They must observe imitation images that fractured the circle of passivity and accept an explanation for the sources of suppression. Only thus will they be able to imagine a different future. Belonging to a group enables the insight that through cooperative work their power is more significant than individual activity. This new understanding is likely to give birth to broad social activity while choosing an action strategy that will lead to change in the positive mood. The very belonging to a group produces a feeling of power and confidence.

At the same time, empowerment occurs at personal levels, also when the issue is activity intended for group empowerment. This is a basic condition for every empowerment process, in which a person learns to take decisions regarding the things that are important to him in life and how to apply them (Mosedale, 2003).

Courses may be primarily to create a feeling of group belonging and to develop collective female identity. In view of this researcher's experience, she agrees with the assumption that empowerment is more a process than a product (Mosedale, 2003). In other words, empowerment cannot be the final purpose of the course, or some sort of activity. There is no way that one can be completely empowered, but this is always a relative situation and must be explored relative to other people or relative to empowerment, as regards time or a given situation.

In view of the above, the course achievements must be examined, as well as the content conveyed and to where they are likely to lead.

222 Schrijvers (1991) defines gender autonomy as an anti-hierarchical foundation stone that enables creative critical thought and activity, which is transformation from within.
It is clear that the courses had diverse influences on the participants, but one of the things observed amongst several of them in the empowerment courses was the feeling and use of 'power', that the researcher terms the negative power syndrome. These expressions of power were manifested in
1. Declarations regarding their having power while emphasizing that this is the change occurring in them
2. Providing examples from daily life, that will prove outwardly and perhaps also towards themselves that they in fact acquired power.
3. Behavior lacking proportions – that demonstrates the power while adopting direct tactics of demand (I insisted on what I wanted), lack of flexibility (I did not give in), voicing an opinion aggressively and on every subject (I was assertive) and indirect tactics that are the remains of rooted behavior such as insults (Why wasn't I told?), conveying indirect and conflicting messages, manipulations, over-centrality etc
4. Impatience/lack of understanding of frameworks, people and mainly other women, or women who convey weakness or perhaps remind them of themselves as they think they were.

Examination of the background of the participants whose behaviors were observed suggested a background of suppression, internalization of feelings of severe inferiority, and covert and dissatisfaction with their lives. However, other aspects were prominent when their behavior was reminiscent of the behavior of other women such as female public figures, instructors and advisors. These are women who helped to create the stereotype of women in positions of power and control who do not know how to say a nice word to other women and are termed 'bitches'. This similarity in behavior created the connection between power afforded through an outside factor – the social position or role - and acquiring power through a course has yet to develop and become power. In other words, one of the products of the courses is creating a feeling of power that has not yet matured or been internalized, and they experience the dizziness of power.

Rowlands (1997) claims that empowerment is a new option for power, in female language\textsuperscript{223}, that presents a situation in which there are no losers but only winners and therefore is likely to provide an effective tool for activism.

\textsuperscript{223} Power, in male dichotomous language, is an entity that positions a zero sum game situation in which one side wins and the other loses (Mosedale, 2003)
This researcher assumes that attaining a feeling of empowerment following which there is a positive attempt to realize personal targets that lead to positive social and economic positioning will motivate future activity. Tools that are acquired and applied as the result of the empowerment process cannot be forgotten and lost, unless a process of intentional and traumatic methodical suppression occurs over a period of time (such as life under suppressive regimes) or a traumatic experience that shakes the emotional foundations (such as rape).

A focused target regarding the course products at the policy (strategy) and the implementation (tactical) level necessitates a complex and structured assessment stage as mentioned.

The researcher came to the conclusion that in addition to the structural change, empowerment courses should be backed by continuation and procedural plans together with developing an array of courses of empowering trends as will be presented later.

The use of the term empowerment together with the concept of leadership, as has been described in this study, is flawed in the basic approach that connects empowerment to the desire to lead. Despite noting their feeling of empowerment women who participated in the courses emphasized the fact that they were not interested in community work or in leading it but preferred to only be members of the team.

Female leadership differs in its attributes from male leadership and therefore is still perceived as 'not leadership' or as weak leadership. The price demanded of female leaders is still heavy and therefore is a deterrent. Therefore, the terms should be separated as regards defining the course products at the first stages and create a nurturing and accompanying array for whose women who are interested in taking leadership roles. Since an image to imitate and with whom to identify is important for women this should be taken into consideration in training agents of change who will afford a proper example for them.

5.2.2.4 An ethical code

The ethical code is a professional attribute and defines all the values, traits, skills, obligations and behaviors of a professional man/woman (Weller, 2001). The accumulated experience indicates the increasing need for institutionalizing processes, content and types of activity, knowledge and defining the professional identity of each of the actors mentioned in
this study, and creating a basic ethical array for the entire realm of the status of women.

The first step was taken in changes in the Advisors' Law in July 2008, and furthered in the preparation of the advisors' files by including a detailed description of the position.

Ethics emphasizes reciprocal relations (Landau, 2001) and those of the advisors are complex. Hence their discussion affords, believes this researcher, the next step to be considered, i.e., creating a comprehensive value system (Ben Asher, 2007b) for the status of the women's domain.

Landau (2001:25) avers that "ethics is a type of educational effort, intended to cause people to understand the meaning of their lives with greater awareness and in greater depth. It draws attention to important issues and conflicts". The need for a discussion of the reciprocal relations between the advisors and two establishment systems that are connected to her position - the Authority and IULA, the establishment axis - were of the prominent topics in this study. A system of reciprocal relations that has not been defined formally was created through practice. Project 100 exposed the patriarchal organizational culture of competition, territory and power as the Authority's activity. Since it is an entity that provides money it could also define the modes of action, the goals, the means etc, thus creating dependency making the municipal factor a parasite, or lacking power, or unprofessional. The use of the financing tools as a means of applying pressure to attain goals is clearly manifested throughout and in all other behavior such as preparing study arrays through to cooperative work on preparing the advisor guidebook.

This type of reciprocal relations usually occurs in nature when organisms grow close enough to affect or disturb each other (http://web.macam98.ac.il/~mukyg/ecology/relation.htm ), or, in other words, competition is created that is liable to harm the two partners, or parasitism, when one side benefits at the expense of the other. This is in fact a type of solution for one of the factors but reduces the potential of one or both of them together. On the voluntary axis – that includes feminist organizations, rights organizations, women's organizations and social entities the advisors become the establishment factor with resources and are liable to fall into the same trap described above. Identification and a broad common definition of the goal, as well as ways of realizing it in a feminist spirit, necessitate a set of reciprocal relationships founded on mutuality - in which the partners in the system benefit – a win-win situation.
As noted, this emanates from attaining professional independence for the advisors and for all activity in the domain. The reciprocal relations described above refer to the inter-organizational system, and above all to inter-personal relations. In this regard, "included in teaching, guiding, counseling and therapy, there is an encounter between the diverse moral values" (Landau, 2001:25). This is special in the connections in which these role holders are involved, as Landau (2001) adds, who in most cases enjoy a relative advantage compared to their interlocutors or their instructees. These role holders, who afford an address for the problems of others, have power and influence. The way in which this power is used is likely to have many implications.

This definition of ethics leads clearly to the conclusion reached by this researcher regarding the need to define those leading courses as instructors.

5.2.2.4.1 The instructors as a professional factor and agents of change

The findings of this study note the fact that the instructors come from various areas of knowledge and work in diverse associated fields such as counseling and coaching. They define themselves as professional women, but the areas connected to instruction are not always the first or sole part of their definition. Working with groups of women is not their only area of instruction.

Many of the instructors have no distinct feminist agenda and their procedure is not compatible with these values. Involvement in instruction as a source of income together with the need that arose from the field, makes them instructors in female empowerment groups. An attitude to these courses as to yet another course, whose content can be adapted to their ongoing arsenal of material is a mistake, avers this researcher.

Support for this attitude was provided by conversations with course instructors, who claimed that the questions posed drew their attention to topics of which they had not thought previously or which they had not considered in such a light. The instructors' surprise with the behavior of women in the group, described previously, indicates that they studied while preparing the courses for a new field - working with women. This situation led the researcher to the conclusion that a special training course should be held to train instructors that the area of their specialization will be guiding groups of women and empowerment courses for women, with
an important section devoted to their professional definition as instructors.

Instruction is perceived nowadays as a professional area in which specializations such as adult instruction and parent guidance developed, and this writer also adds female guidance. Instruction as a profession is located in the area between teaching (education) – imparting knowledge - and the use of suitable didactic tools (Aloni, 1997) and psychotherapy that feed each other (Weller, 2001). Instruction deals with enrichment, empowerment, and motivation, and is adapted to the adult learner's needs. Two approaches exist to instruction: that which sees the instructor as a means of achieving goals and finding new methods and the second that views instruction as a means to improving the participants' functioning. In both cases, the researcher sees the instructor as an agent of social change, just like the advisor.

Is the training likely to create a type of instructor who is committed to the approach regarding the need for social change and feminist procedure is a question that still needs to be tested.

5.3 Suggestions and Recommendations for action

The insight that empowerment courses, in their current format, cannot lead to social change, as expected, was greatly reinforced for this writer following her research.

The courses must be changed, but they are only a first stage in the array of necessary change – an integrated complex for leading social change. This will function according to the fan model in which independent foci or activities (the fan's ribs) are connected by a common trend or goal (the fan's base) and unify forces for social change-oriented activity. The possibility for developing activity/service as a separate unit, while focusing on the construction process and on evaluating the products following the activity, are essential for measuring and assessing the achievements defined in the objective. At the same time, the value of each service/activity is identical and affords part of the entire circle (the open fan).

224 The fan is an accessory that is identified with women. Its shape is like an outline that is reminiscent of a triangle (often used in management and organizational theory i.e. in male language), but in the reverse. Its edges are curved rather than straight, and its opening enables a gradual distribution to complete a circle. Each section is independent, but all are connected at the core to a center on which their existence depends.
While conducting the study, this researcher identified several modes of activity that seem essential to her:

1. **At the personal-professional level:**
   a. Adopting the cooperative approach as a main method of work, based on sharing knowledge and information, transparency, mutuality, personal example (modeling), flexibility and containment. Feedback, assessment and documentation, including tracking on a time axis and drawing conclusions (Ben Asher, Orlev, Hershkovitz and Raveh, 2008).
   b. Adapting empowerment strategies – as a professional and personal approach. The terms accessibility, equitability, holism, respect, egalitarianism and symmetry, personal independence (autonomy), borders and assertiveness should be included in this framework.

2. **At the organizational-systemic level:**
   a. Identifying and harnessing key people in the organization, such as the municipality comptroller, to advancing the subjects while using their power and professional status to this end. These key persons generate intra-organizational coalitions that create both change in the area for which the key person is responsible and change in the general array.
   b. Exploiting opportunities – identifying projects, organizational interests/systemic vacuity in order to work one's way through them and realize the objectives in the advisor's area of responsibility.
   c. Developing/exploiting role positioning in the organizations: The use of the organizational underdog tools (absence of threat) should the advisors have no additional role and strive to become a key figure in the organization, or exploit the other position in which she affords as a lever for attaining objectives in the realm of the status of women.

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225 Projects with an educational facet are preferable such as that used by the researcher to penetrate the education system. This project fights student dropout rates and necessitates allocating many enrichment hours into which this writer introduced gender programs whose nature and success served as a method of introducing them to all classes in school, and also forced the establishment of a large and new budgetary array in favor of the topic.

226 This researcher only fills the position of advisor and she therefore agreed to lead the project of computer assimilation that crossed the boundaries of position and departments in the organization. She has recently agreed to lead the organization of the municipal emergency array that again crosses boundaries and positions. In both cases she benefited from connections and resources.
5.3.1 Developing new municipal services for women

Till now this study has focused on empowerment\(^{227}\) through direct and indirect leadership and empowerment courses. The process is long and slow, and is manifested first in minor, and mainly personal, changes. The experience accumulated during this researcher's work indicates that the needs of empowerment are many, and she therefore understood that additional ways of empowerment must be located. The significant change, she believes, will happen as the result of combining the areas of the changes that will occur in the diverse derivatives (personal – systemic and formal-informal (Rao and Kelleher, 2005). She therefore chose to establish several unique services that afford an example and potential for future research.

The writer believes that the municipal arena (Status of Women Canada, 2004 a) affords an ideal infrastructure for generating social change through its main role - providing services to the residents. Some of these services are found in the realm of the access to rights. The statistics indicate that in many locales the population's attitude tends usually (50-53%) in favor of women, forcing consideration of them as a defined target population. Women are not sufficiently involved in political, municipal or national activity, despite the fact that they are affected by it in all areas of life. The result is that their uniqueness is not presented to the policy makers, who in turn suffer from gender blindness (Dahan-Caleb, 1999) and lack of awareness.

The government culture applied today in the State of Israel creates the dependence of the municipal authority on the central government, leaving it without a status to intervene in determining laws and management\(^{228}\) (Deri, 1994). The residents are caught in a situation of disparity between the expectation of the municipal authority and its abilities and actual status. A "Rights Center" should handle this disparity.

The potency of the municipal service is connections, tools, and physical and other resources. But it also has weaknesses and limitations stemming from procedure, bureaucratic work methods and a lack of creative thought.

\(^{227}\) Empowerment = attaining personal, organizational and community resources that allow control of the surroundings and realizing ambitions (Greene,Lee and Hoffpauir 2005).

\(^{228}\) One of the most prominent and frustrating examples lies in the realm of housing for example, allocated to citizens by the Ministry of Housing and Building with barely any contract with the local municipality.
5.3.1.1 The municipal Women's Rights Center

In reality, it is mainly the rights of the weakened population that are affected (Al Bashan, 2004), and how paradoxical that this is particularly true in democratic western society (Dorner, 2003). The ideology underlying the Rights Center relies on the approach that every person has basic rights. One of the transformative documents on the rights approach is the Declaration of Human Rights (1789www.elysee.fr) drawn up following the French Revolution. Recognition of basic human rights pertains only to those of men, based on the perception common then but reflected still today regarding the secondary rights of men compared to women. The men, filling decision-making positions, and positions of influence and power, determine policy in all areas of life and at the legal level. This policy relates in general to women as a secondary rank, and suffers from a lack of sensitivity, insight and awareness of their various needs, and from discrimination, a phenomenon familiar in the legal world as a lack of balance for the worse towards the weakened populations (Al Bashan, 2004). All women meet this definition.

Most rights centers are the products of voluntary organizations, hence they function on a national distribution as a result of a notable lack of means that necessitate pooling resources. The entire population benefits from these services without special emphasis on women and their needs. Most organizations stress the need for preserving the autonomy that will allow separation from the local political interests that will violate the balance and neutrality in order to attain results for those turning to them.

At this tangled junction of interests and needs the Women's Rights Center is located as a unique service, that focuses on women as a population that suffers both from under-representation and from harm to their status and rights, without diminishing the importance of treating all the populations answering this definition.

When establishing the Women's Municipal Rights Center the existence of mechanisms to enforce and assure human rights was not ignored – whether establishment (statutory) mechanisms such as the court system

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229 As appears in the treaty (section 2): The aim of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
230 This fact indicates the difference in systemic perception and of the change that occurred when such a decision was taken at the public and the municipal institutional levels.
and others (Benziman, 2001) or the extra-establishment (voluntary) mechanisms such as human rights organizations and women's organizations\(^\text{231}\).

The State of Israel signed a non-discrimination UN treaty in 1979 to assure the rights of women\(^\text{232}\). This affords a key source for creating treaties and international agreements. However, only some of these treaties refer to women specifically\(^\text{233}\); in most cases they were swallowed in the general discussion mentioned under the heading of "Human Rights", and thus some of their basic rights were erased. Reality proves that anchoring human rights in international treaties and constitutions of countries does not promise that they will be respected. Alongside the treaties and constitutions, there are long-standing social mechanisms that have blocked women.

The Women's Rights Center\(^\text{234}\) that was opened by us is a public declaration and recognition of the target population, that women and girls have special needs since there are distinct female issues such as in the realm of work, personal relations and health. The realm of legislation that deals with the status of women has been very active in the last decade\(^\text{235}\). Women, however, face personal barriers\(^\text{236}\) as well as a multi-systemic life reality in which the women live – the realm of the home and of the career is their responsibility socially, and from the value perspective. The fact that they cope with these very broad areas does not leave them time and energy to fight.

In order to demand their rights women need awareness that is based on three stages (Felstiner, Abel and Sara, 1980):
1. Naming the problem: The ability to give a name that is understood in legal terms and which is clear to those affected are two tough demands.
2. Blaming – at which stage the guilty factor is identified so that in the future it will be possible to file a complaint against it. The female

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\(^{231}\) We did not enjoy much cooperation from some of the women's organizations, notably those that do not have a feminist agenda, and the opposite even occurred.

\(^{232}\) The 1998 Municipal Authority Law mentions the obligation to deal with this, and now it has been included in the definition of the advisor's role (2008). This situation affords a legal and organizational basis for dealing with women's rights and in establishing a rights center, believes this writer.


\(^{234}\) Two institutions can be considered women's rights centers that existed as early as the 1970s and the 1980s – the shelters for beaten women and the legal bureaux.

\(^{235}\) More than 20 laws and updated or expanded laws since January 1998.

\(^{236}\) Barricade – a barrier at the social/external level; a blockage – a difficulty, inhibiting preventive attitude at the personal, internal level.
population finds it difficult to identify the real guilty parties and first directs the blame towards themselves or to their bad luck (a victim attitude, not empowered thought).

3. Claiming – which is also not a simple stage despite it symbolizing the end of the current process. The difficulty lies in both the financial aspect needed for its realization and in the reticence from legal proceedings that are not friendly to all and to women in particular.

Additional important barriers exist together with the process of consciousness (Ben Asher, 2006c) such as

- The physical geographic barrier – the location of the service since many women use public transportation and it must thus be in a familiar and accessible place
- The barrier of language may be divided into four facets:
  * The mother tongue - Israel is a country of immigration and documents and conversations need to be translated
  * The cultural language of the applicant – which depends on the country of origin, the ethnic origin, age, socio-economic situation and certainly gender, in our case, women.
  * Legal language – that is not simple or automatically understood by the public at large
  * The institutional language - that adopts an ambiguous, matter-of-fact and brief approach while using terms, numbers or laws that are not familiar to everyone.

A combination of all these languages will help to create faith and an opening to effective treatment.

- The psychological barrier – that is based on personal or collective experience and creates a lack of trust in the existing system
- The economic barrier – that stems from women earning less than their partners, or a lack of any independent income whether they work in the family business or stay at home to raise the children. All this creates economic dependence. This prevents them enjoying the assistance existing, or the quality of the service which depends usually on the money and connections resources.

The barrier of female gender blindness - awareness of the needs of women is extremely low. The systems are not intended to consciously hurt women, but the existing laws are not suitable to the gender variance, amongst other things due to the lack of understanding of the need for equality on the basis of variance. This stems from confusion and basic
misunderstanding of these concepts\textsuperscript{237} and therefore do not contain the just solution for that group. The institutional since women are not suitably represented at the decision-making foci in almost every area. In most institutions the patriarchal approach is adopted that is also employed by women in the same system. Many of the rules of work, regulations and criteria were compiled without any gender consideration and therefore determine one rule for all, without checking it in the light of the unique condition of women and based on real ignorance. Moreover, some of the rules demand of the women themselves or on their employers the main burden for applying the law (laws at zero cost to the country). This reality generates anger, misunderstanding, reservation, or finding alternative ways to outwit the existing laws. Women find themselves affected/hurt despite the existence of the laws, as a result of using covert and sophisticated cover that were developed by the diverse elements.

Despite the above, women are found to be greatly motivated – they fight due to the need to survive, and therefore they must receive assistance. This situation, in which the woman is the one who continues to try and does not give up is also observed in cases when the woman is not a single parent family, but is still in a regular family framework.

The guidelines applied in establishing the Center\textsuperscript{238} were based on policy that determined that all those direct and indirect barriers (Rabin, 1998) felt by women will be neutralized as far as possible. One of the goals was to those turning to the applicants into 'people with faces' \textsuperscript{239} and to remove them from enforced anonymity.

The purpose of the help will focus on the distribution of a range of possibilities that are suitable for the situation presented. The woman, and only the woman, will decide how to act based on proven information regarding the prices and profits of each option. A further purpose is to empower women by returning control of their lives to them despite the chaotic situation in which they may find themselves (Herman, 1994).

\textsuperscript{237} The municipal council did not want to harm the principle of equality...the decision was invalid not only when the motive was to harm equality but also when it was different, but in practice equality was affected.” (Justice Barak, 23.5.1988)

\textsuperscript{238} A similar center exists that preceded ours and afforded a model for the founding of the center in Herzliya, on Israel's coast. Today it is run by a law graduate (not a practicing lawyer) who works voluntarily, while we developed a service with a municipal position opening that is remarkable in the municipal scene.

\textsuperscript{239} In some of the services the client is identified through a code or number which alters their attitude.
The municipal decision to establish the Center as an organic unit and as a service is not obvious since such a service is not defined as one of the obligatory services by the municipal ordinance\textsuperscript{240}. On the other hand, the decision affords adopting a sensitive and gender-focused approach to the basket of municipal services. Establishing the service is interpreted as taking a stand and as social activism, while allocating the necessary resources for the wellbeing of more than half the population – the women.

Policy makers (male) understood and recognized the fact that following the establishment of the service, a pool of information, connections and experience would be created that would be able to serve additional sectors in the population as a by-product of the main purpose – assuring the rights of women. Thus such as service has two main objectives:

1. Empowerment through increasing access to rights and help to realize them. The empowerment returns the feeling of control and trust in this ability to the applicants who are likely to realize it when continuing the path and over time, beyond the situation in which they need help. It will improve not only their lives but the lives of their children and their families too, and even alleviate matters for the urban mechanisms and institutions who would be liberated of coping with multi-systemic problems, apparently lacking a solution, that till now limited finding a solution to the problem.

2. Social change – the aid enables locating systemic failures and sets a demand for their correction and institutionalizing the correction. This affords social–systemic change that affects the feeling of trust by the addressee.

5.3.1.2 A women’s personal coaching center

The idea of establishing a Rights Center was based on the tailor-made approach in which the researcher and other employees believe. Its legal focus served a clear purpose of relevant help and obtaining results. The daily encounter with the additional hardships, that the legal system cannot help, together with the insights attained from the empowerment courses, led to the search for another way to empowerment and leading social change.

Observing the need to focus on the personal circle of the participants in the courses and the search for ways to assimilate the tools and/or the ideas to which they were exposed during those courses, led to the thought

\textsuperscript{240} In the Municipal Ordnance, clause 249.
that in addition or further to them a tool should be developed that will help in the process of change in pace, time and place of each individual woman. Establishing the Center for personal female coaching in 2007 was another piece in the municipal puzzle for empowering women.

The concept of 'coaching' familiar to us from the world of sport was replicated to the world of social sciences as a tool through which change can be generated, starting from the change in private life and its redesign through to developing skills in the work world, the world of society etc. The coaching is based on the power approach (Cohen, 2000) that is common to the empowerment programs discussed in this study. The approach indicates a life philosophy that does not emphasize the weaknesses and the pathologies. It rather believes that the possibility of creating change depends on the woman (person) herself who associates with the coach from an egalitarian and cooperative status, and creates a "debate of forces" (Wolin and Wolin, 1993) that provides the feeling of self-value and empowerment.

Social coaching relies fundamentally on the male world of values – assignment-oriented, striving for touch, achievement, focus, coping, courage etc. The language and tools of coaching, on the other hand, are a distinctly female world of values – modesty and waiving the ego, containment, creativity and flexibility etc. The combination of these values is supposed to be the force that motivates change.

As a tool, coaching helps both genders. At the same time, this researcher would like to claim that despite the coaching for the female gender it is not significantly different from any other coaching process. It is nevertheless unique and different since the array of barriers noted previously also exists regarding coaching.

Eastern theories, as Guttman notes (Cohen, 2000) believe that one must die in order to be reborn. Death means forgoing the existing, the habit, the familiar, the comfort and it facilitates change, growth, the new.

Many philosophers aver that everything is open to negotiation, everything has an influence, everything can be changed, but change is one of the areas that scare people as it is counter to the human nature that seeks stability, balance, permanence and a safe space. In other words, coaching first creates a paradoxical, but not, natural situation.
The subjects that must be handled in female coaching focus on removing the social barriers that stem from the stereotypes internalized by them and thus become personal barriers. The social entanglement, the norms and the years of management according to clear patterns, make it hard to go against the socialization that is perceived as the natural development and way of the world. Women have other orders of priorities and unique attributes, such as the perception of the self-identity, the female identity, that defines itself through the roles of mother and wife. Modern reality meets the woman and presents her with a multitude of roles as well as assures her the caring and support roles that are perceived as obvious and receive no compensation including the lack of appreciation.

Time and availability are powerful barriers. The basic need of women for relationships, from a view of the needs of the other (family members, friends, place of work etc) as pre-empting their own, does not allow them to be managed as they desire or according to their needs, but they are managed by the need for friendship and desirability. Women tend to be sucked into daily life; they have no choice but to perform a tremendous number of tasks whether as a social product or from choice and believe that this is their role.

Women function as collaborators and greatly appreciate the opinions of others, mainly members of the family or more correctly, of their male partner. This set of relationships creates dependency and lack of autonomy amongst the women. Their male partner sometimes becomes a type of decider in their affairs who determines various issues such as, for example, attending a course or coaching. This waiving of their independence is also manifested in the way things are managed and in ways of thought. Loyalty, another female attribute, may help this situation.

Situations also exist in which there is a lack of knowledge or awareness of the need for change. Change itself is a situation that runs counter to nature of women's experiences, since they represent stability, permanence and transferring the culture from generation to generation. Their social role is to maintain that which exists.

Therefore the connection between empowerment and coaching as a way of leading change is entirely clear. This is an ongoing process rather than a one-time event, and concentrates on the personal level at which the change is experienced as regards the personal ability to attain control of
steps and objectives that is based on the process of choice\textsuperscript{241}. This is strategic choice based on several different and real possibilities without paying a high price for it and with implications for the other areas of life (Kabeer, 2001).

In the coaching process women acquire knowledge about themselves, while committing to activity that removes them from the passive space lacking initiative, values on which the women were educated. Society still finds it hard to accept change in these areas and therefore does not regard them, and even punishes them, for their activity and female initiative.

It is essential to understand the female reality as our professional experience teaches us, in which not every frustration will arouse the need for change, as Alderfer (1969) claims. Thus other ways of motivating people and additional activity must be found.

Establishing the Center closed a personal empowerment circle for one of the participants in the 2004-2005 empowerment course, when she was appointed its coordinator. That had been her community project in the empowerment course. The same graduate underwent a process of personal change – she made a career change and became a personal coach. In the framework of the second stage of the empowerment course that focused more on implementing projects and took place in 2007, she suggested examining the coaching tool as a means of helping women to introduce change into their lives.

Her proposal was compatible with this researcher's professional impression described above and met the criterion that was defined by her for the community project – female empowerment.

The fact that the idea for this service arose from the empowerment process itself marks achieving the goal, as the empowerment course and the idea grew from within the array of the status of women. This was a process of personal empowerment that led to personal and community awareness and internalization of the change to activity on behalf of the entire female community. Such personal growth affords positive modeling for the entire empowerment project, but emphasizes the fact that the participants were ready for change. There was a two-year process of maturation; the personal change met the needs of the individual and enabled readiness to contribute to others.

\textsuperscript{241} Significant change or inner transformation is basically needed for the very existence of choice (Nussbaum, 2000; Kabeer, 2001). The use of terms such as "Free choice" or "Freedom of action" are not always suitable for the women's world and therefore the goal is missed in their regard.
To sum up: One may aver that the establishment of a municipal service stems from the researcher's world perception that developed due to this study claiming that in order to achieve meaningful change in the status of women, one must construct suitable systemic infrastructures or convert the existing services through adapting gender vision to activity. This researcher's experiences show that in the public organizational culture existing today it is harder to alter the existing frameworks than to establish new ones.

The new frameworks encounter certain difficulties, mainly budgetary, but their development within the Office for the Status of Women allows them gradual growth from the professional feminist agenda. They position real data of the need and success regarding the validity of the process, with which it is hard to argue, that help to attain resources and recognition.

The success of these services and others depends not only on their professionalism but also on marketing strategies and relationships.

5.3.2 Developing an empowerment course as a tool for attaining meaningful social change

It is important to remember that this study is the result of the experience with empowerment courses for women. The clear conclusion arising from the accumulated experience is that women as a population, are not aware or are not sufficiently aware of the need and way for the necessary change.

The approach to change, to any change, is well-described by Machiavelli who claimed in 1532 that there is nothing more difficult than to introduce a new order, because the innovator has for enemies all those who have done well under the old conditions and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well under the new. Through this paradox one can understand the existence of human conservatism.

Basic coping is therefore with the actual insight of the need for change, and one should thus ask what that change is? What are the objectives and goals?

Change is a process. Therefore what is needed or desired to attain this should be defined. Where does the process begin? By defining the target population? By defining the substance? Or what are the techniques that should be adopted to attain the change?
The very definition of this study as leading a process of social change sets the meaningful basis for all empowerment activity and work with women, as the courses are only an additional tool in the general array.

Developing as broad awareness as is possible of the weakened situation of women in society and its implications, even today, for the female population itself as individuals and as a community, and for Israeli society at large, is the first goal in any process of change. This is true here too.

Sadan (1997) avers that results must be realized at three levels - the personal, the systemic and the social, community and group tier - in order to attain significant change. This researcher's role as an advisor focuses on the first two tiers, wherein all change will impact on the third tier. This study describes two parallel processes in these two tiers, with the two services established described in the systemic facet. This section will focus on the level of personal change through empowerment courses.

5.3.2.1 The target population

The courses are an alternative learning tool to the socialization and educational arrays common in society. Their primary goal, in the researcher's opinion, is to create a feeling of belonging and collective female identity, aware of the social barriers and arousing motivation for change.

Three focused target populations should participate in the process of change:

1. Agents of change – this category is divided according to the criterion of role definition into
   a. Holders of formal or voluntary positions in the domain of the status of women (of which advisors are one)
      ai. Women/men in key positions (heads of municipal authorities, senior managers etc.)
   b. Professional women/men (such as the instructors)

2. All women

3. All men

The complexity and scope of the population targeted for change lead to the conclusion that there should be consideration of defining the issue of the population for which the empowerment courses are intended. The area in which the advisor is involved most of the time, directly focuses on
all the women in the locale. In some cases there has been secondary segmentation of the women according to additional categories. In the locale in which the writer works as an advisor on the status of women she chose the broad aspect of empowerment courses for women as women.

From the approach that every woman needs empowerment and the very classification generates a situation of preference that is not compatible with the value of exclusion. Together with the ideology, she was also guided by professional lines/directions regarding the composition of the group and therefore chose to hold preliminary familiarization sessions with everyone who expressed interest in participating in the courses.

Most participants in the courses are mid-life people aged 45-60\(^{242}\); they have time and money available as their children have grown, up, and at the developmental level, they have not inconsiderable professional and life experience that leads to dissatisfaction with the existing and with routine.

This age also has behavioral attributes that are extremely blocked as a result of life habits that have become norms and social conformity. They have something to lose; they have commitment.

It is important to examine who are the women participating in the courses in order to understand the personal background and forces motivating them – their needs, because empowerment courses are in line with other activities and courses now offered in plenty. As the era of life long learning allows people significant activity for themselves the combination of time available and a social climate that encourages learning, together with the feelings of need for renewal, dissatisfaction, and the desire for change, lead women to courses termed empowerment courses, without considering in depth the feminist or transformative connections.

5.3.2.2 The definition of the content that will lead to change

Referring to the conclusions drawn from this study the writer decided to alter the content and emphases of the empowerment course and create a work infrastructure based on teamwork between instructors, diversified work methods and close documentation of the process from the outset.

\(^{242}\) Younger women aged 30-40 also interested themselves though few actually registered for the courses while others made a transformative change in their lives following the courses.
The first attempt in 2007 failed at the stage of choosing the instructors with whom the researcher wished to develop the general array. The second attempt in 2008 succeeded and the course was developed together with work methods presented here.

Three objectives were defined for the course on a procedural time axis:
1. To arouse awareness of the need for gender change amongst women
2. To help them to create their personal change
3. To expand the circle of agents of change (to locate, identify and motivate them to activity at the community/social level)

Defining the content of the courses is a function of their objectives and therefore the substance of the three-stage course will deal with the two first objectives and focus on:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Personal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Providing information</td>
<td>Defining personal and female identity (the role of mother, grandmother, wife as definers of female identity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Developing new information</td>
<td>Identifying and defining the participants' personal behavior; developing a new independent identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Developing awareness</td>
<td>Developing sensitivity to their personal needs</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Developing an array of tools</td>
<td>Recognition of the tools they have and their personal conversion to identified needs; strengths and weaknesses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Establishing the array of tools</td>
<td>Enhancement and internalizing the change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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243 The key concepts selected by this researcher were based on the findings of this study and included responsibility, accountability and authority, autonomy/dependency relationships (control, power), choice, free choice (channeling, cost), right.
It is important to differentiate between the theoretical substance as a basis for knowledge and the concentration on the change-focused core topics that will be manifested in tasks and experimentation with professional support and help. The decision was taken to set 'homework' to internalize and apply the material. Insofar as the third objective of identifying agents of change was concerned, it was decided to wait for developments on the part of the participants.

Towards the end of the course, interested participants were offered to continue the personal processes of change under the aegis of the Personal Training Center (described earlier) on an individual track or in small groups. The response was positive from some 90% of the participants. The material distributed to them in the workshops was collected and analyzed vis-à-vis the course content and its targets.

5.3.2.3 Techniques for attaining the change

Language cannot be taught perfectly and significant change cannot be created in a course limited in time. The modes of activity relative to the axes of time and personal change have therefore been defined and include:

1. Working with the instructors who will participate in instructing the course using a model with a clear and uniform message, while insisting on feminine values (partnership between the instructors, personal modeling, not applying glorifying or aggressive techniques etc)

2. Conducting an affirmative assessment array

3. A combination of work techniques – informative (lecture), experimental (workshop), experiential (multi-sensory operation), and task-oriented (personal coaching)

4. Applying a general support system composed of the two services described previously, but there is no information regarding further possible future needs in this realm. The importance of the supportive array results, amongst other things, from the crystallizing work with a group. This provides a certain answer to the need for support and connection networks that are important to women but also creates a protective hothouse effect. What happens at the end of the course, when leaving the protected place for the daily environment, the hostile environment, full of wars, competition and obstacles is a question that arose and must be considered.
The empowerment courses should be based on feminist pedagogy at the behavioral and content levels. They must have a fixed spine of basic topics which are the results of field work with women. The material will be adapted to the group for local purposes and needs. Defining these needs should be a combination of the advisors' and the instructors' accumulated knowledge. The instructors must be knowledgeable at the universal level regarding women and their behavior while the advisors must have knowledge of the local needs and targets. The advisors' knowledge of the universal needs will afford a very important advantage as a means of monitoring and determining realistic local objectives.

5.3.2.3.1 Working with the instructors

This researcher wished to experiment with the recommendation she raised following the research regarding the need to train instructors for women's empowerment courses.

The role of the instructor is extremely significant in the entire process. Personal work depends on the group and the instructor. Most of the sessions are based on experience which creates the significant impact, with the instructor identified with this experience and perceived as an important figure from whom it is hard to part (a familiar phenomenon in groups).

The first attempt in 2007 proved the need for locating the instructors who would be empowered professionally in order to be ready for integrated work with additional instructors in a parallel and open way. Another fact that transpired was the disparity between the material taught by them and their personal behavior and approach to feminist concepts, which strengthened the conclusions of this study and increased the need for preliminary training for the planned type of work.

Most of the instructors met by the researcher exhibited a lack of awareness or ignored the dissonance in their work. Most of them lacked knowledge regarding the use and choice of the material they wished to teach and their connection to the course objectives. They were convinced they had the knowledge and had no need to introduce change to it, using shelf products. As an external factor that does its work from a clear economic interest, they are usually not interested in being part of the process of developing the content or the group, since this takes time and is not compensated financially.
T. who was identified with the feminine type (taught an empowerment course in 2005), also participated in a failed attempt in 2007. Her importance as a member of the development team was in addition to her enjoying personal and professional empowerment, fact she could have served as a type of historical memory of the process should she have been a partner prior to the change the researcher wants to make.

The process of developing the course through cooperative work amongst the instructors set them on a process of negotiations amongst themselves and between them and this researcher. Prof. Amira Glin, in an interview to the Globes newspaper (Cohen, 2008) notes the existence of two types of negotiations. One is the competitive/belligerent type (that parallels the attributes ascribed to men and also known as the 'zero sum game', in which one side wins at the expense of the other. The second type is that of integrative negotiations and is identified with characteristics typical of women in which both sides win. Two of the instructors from the 2007 experience, perceived the negotiations as a struggle rather than as success-oriented, and, together with the additional instructor we have not succeed to transform it integrative. Glin also relates to the women's behavior when they manage negotiations with other women, as was our situation. According to her, in such a situation the imagination effect functions and generates better chemistry. The facts proved that this was not thus in this case and therefore the question must be asked, what differed amongst the instructors? Deeper observation directed this researcher to another important component, that of the instructor's personal and professional empowerment as a factor for the dissimilarity on the one hand, or for the similarity that does not facilitate changing the definition of the type of negotiation and making it integrative.

Based on these insights and understandings the instructional team that was developed in 2008 turned to three instructors with a feminist orientation and/or function according to the pattern of feminine type or the combined type. After meetings with each instructor, the researcher organized a meeting with all of them together and they began to work on the objectives, content and work methods for the future course. The bonding between them and this writer was rapid, lacking any ego trip and at a high level or readiness for the process. Their readiness to devote time and to be part of the process beyond teaching courses was not compensated financially, which was not an obvious matter.
5.3.2.3.2 A combination of work techniques

The definition of adopting feminist work methods underlay the teamwork due to the readiness to work as a team. We started to consolidate a work vision and to clarify concepts, attitudes and perceptions. The findings of this study helped the researcher to present an approach and clear data that, she believes, contributed to a feeling of lucidity and order amongst the instructors too.

Organizational definitions of the course were prepared in the second session. Through shared work and dialogue during the frontal sessions and by email inclusive definitions were constructed:
1. The course will have 18 sessions.
2. All three instructors will attend the opening and closing sessions; they will instruct together with preliminary coordination between them.
3. The course array will be developed in joint sessions. (The instructor will be chosen according to the material of which she has a better knowledge and with which she works better). Consolidating the program stemmed from reducing and adapting the contents that each instructor submitted to this writer at the outset. The substance was discussed in the session, detailed by the instructor who proposed it regarding the objectives, techniques of converting the material and the relevance. Changes were introduced following the dialogue that developed which continued during several rounds of debate till the point of the general consolidation of the program, and compared to content defined a priori as basic substance. The researcher hardly intervened in this process; the instructors determined the order and the workshops that should be allowed, as well as the conveyance techniques
4. The content is divided into three anchors:
   a. Women and femininity – concepts and developing a common language. The concepts that are important to discuss include responsibility, accountability, choice, direct and indirect communications, authority. This section affords the 'head'.
   b. Awareness – creating reality – introspection, release, change. It is necessary to work on identifying barriers, and blockages, interpretation and change. This part affords the 'heart' and the 'stomach'.

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244 As seen by the instructors involved with the course. There might be changes in the future.
245 One of the instructors suggested seeing the content in the form of a figure with a head, body and limbs and to relate each content anchor to one of the parts that together comprise the complete figure.
c. From vision to reality – the change array through defining personal goals, managing negotiations, taking decisions. This part affords the 'arms' and the 'legs'.

5. Assessment – the process should be accompanied by assessment (to be detailed later)

6. Tasks would be set at each session that would be in the context of needs that the participants raised in order to start the process of change and success. This idea emanates from the experience accumulated, in which the researcher and instructors saw that some of the participants managed to avoid real work because of being part of the group. Knowledge was created in each session, even if it is old but appears again in another context. Each session offers opportunities to become familiar with, to experience, share, connect and to participate. The group affords a motivating factor, and the moment the sessions conclude that same motivating force declines to the point of totally vanishing. Creating a personal motivation mechanism is therefore necessary that can be provided by the tasks and successes. Interested participants will be able to continue the personal process through a coaching array presented previously.

5.3.2.3.3 Developing a transformative evaluation array

The evaluation array will be conducted in several ways:

- Reporting by the instructors – one of the proposals was for each instructor to submit an ongoing summary of the activities to the entire team (a proposal for a reporting sheet was prepared by one of the instructors). Submitting the information also helped to update the team in order to create a logical sequence in the content, but was also used as an evaluation tool as it recorded a somewhat subjective situation.

- A personal feedback sheet of 'folded insights' for each session, with an explicit request to write one thing that each participant gained from the meeting was found to be particularly interesting.

- Interim feedback contained a feedback proposal prepared by two instructors that combined the open and closed feedbacks. The feedback was collected mid-course, summarized by the researcher and transferred to the instructors who related to the findings.

- Final feedback - Written summary feedback is distributed at this stage; oral feedback/conversation is also held for the group and written feedback and a conversation with the instructors is conducted. Combining the information from all the feedback is summarized into conclusions and compared to existing data and previous experience. There is no doubt that further tracking of
course graduates, in the framework of their integration in the coaching program offered them and in their further work, includes embarking on community activity in the future and will complete the picture. Moreover, the findings from this experience are certainly still being processed and its first products should provide interesting information for further research.

5.4 On the fringes of the study – an epilogue

One of the recurring questions is the place of the men in the social change discussed in this study. The researcher is aware of the fact that we may not ignore this group for a variety of reasons.

The question arises of the ways to create perceptual change amongst men regarding their approach to women in the context of the integration of professionals such as lawyers, coaches or instructors should be included in the activities discussed till now. And it arises again as long as people believe the stereotypical approach should be re-examined.

The writer has been a student of a male instructor in a course for senior advisors. She also had a male tutor during her research. Personally this has not bothered her and furthermore, she is interested in and challenged to hold an inter-gender dialogue. She has no absolute answer in this matter apart from an examination of her experience in the course.

This was her first experience of working with a male advisor on the status of women, and differed significantly from the familiar. This feeling was shared by colleagues, also advisors, who participated in that same course.

The instructor came to our course without any real knowledge of the subject, as he told us. The advisors were originally suspicious and doubtful of him, feelings that were apparently mutual and felt he was aggressive which entailed anger from the participants. Some of the latter were defensive and others wanted to quit. Others, including this writer, wanted to prove ourselves to him or to ourselves and decided to contend with the situation, mainly since our positions also faced a personal question mark. This necessitated coping with direct questions and with real answers. The dialogue that developed after the stage of objection and seclusion was passed was been fascinating at all levels.

This writer's basic insight was that it is important for such dialogue to exist en route to constructing a work track that would lead to meaningful change. The difficulty experienced by the advisors as agents of change...
stemmed from entrenchment in the familiar – in women - and from the fear of opening up to the other – to men - due to our lack of maturity and personal empowerment. Through this, the fact that one is 'allowed' to feel dissatisfaction, even for a lengthy period of time, was honed for the researcher, since it became increasingly uncomfortable the more she felt it, and her choice regarding modes of activity would be wiser. The feeling of professionalism intensified as a way to balance the frustrating reality and the 'concessions' made to the system and to the topic. This led to the need for a clearer definition of the concepts, methods of work and activity.

The understanding of the process of constructing the role and exchanging the problem-solving approach for a 'motivation to act' approach was sharpened. Thus was the idea born of creating an index for the advisors, currently known as ILGM, as a work tool that professionalizes the advisors' activity.

The process of empowerment awakens conflicts, amongst other things since it hones the need for change while focusing on personal community and social change. The women were educated to victimized thought that focuses on the problems and not on the solutions, while forming a circle of guilt. This situation is suitable for every woman, and it does not matter what the formal or informal role is. It is hard to change habits and patterns of thought such as learning to ask again, instead of asking why, who, when. These are questions that people who encounter problematic situations ask while seeking to blame others; learning to ask what and how are typical of empowerment and taking responsibility (Miller, 2006).

Thus constructing a training array is also necessary for agents of change, such as the advisors and additional role holders in the field. The advisors are currently working on such an array.

This course will have to focus on social change in the status of women, as a link in the chain of change, mainly on the basic assumption of the personal-feminine-role awareness. The content should relate to meaningful basic concepts such as the development and existence of a women's network. This network should replace the existing type in which the woman manifests herself through the achievements of the 'other' in the context of the motherhood task, characterized by endless giving, self-negation and existential anxiety as giving life. 'Motherhood' is a focus of power for women and they refuse to forgo it. There is no need for any waiver, such as converting the tools in favor of new conceptualization.
The 'male network' that is presented as a mechanism blocking women is attained through success and conquest, in its context of overcoming anxiety, coping with difficulties and dangers, including death, as being the one who receives life. This network cannot be the pattern for which women strive, although they are interested in being part of such a network, amongst other things by demonstrating loyalty to men (the nurturing man) that is usually at their expense.

The insight that significant change will be attained by combining the networks, while allowing equal place for the strengths of each gender, is directed to the need to integrate men in the processes of change experienced by women and building an array of agents of change that does not rely only on the female gender.

At the same time, it is now important to establish this array of more women for attaining a breakthrough in the female population which needs more work to the point of the developing extensive conscious changes.

Despite our clearly defined role as dealing with the status of women, due to our access to theories that present social change we must also lead the change in perception regarding the need for a gender sensitive if dependent attitude.

In this study the researcher will briefly present the beginning of such a process that is currently in preparation, whose goal is to create change amongst men and women in one of the very important domains in life – the family.

In 2006 this writer proposed that IULA adopts the topic of developing a work life balance organizational strategy, after being exposed on the one hand to the amazement amongst women regarding the feminist achievements that in fact push them to burst through the boundaries of the stereotypical feminist roles. However, this breakthrough entails adding areas of responsibility and coping, paying a price in various areas and a feeling of very great frustration after being exposed to the women's constant wonder about the feminist achievements. Further to the conclusion presented in this study regarding the need to combine personal and systemic change the researcher came across articles describing the perception of the acceleration in western countries of the conversion of organizations to family supporting organizations.
The organizations serve as educational tools based on explanation and providing knowledge and as an infrastructure for activity and generating change.

The connection between the field and the academic world and *vice versa*, as well as the connections to politics hinted to in this study do not describe these topics at any great length, but should be considered.

As regards the political aspects she would just note that she was exposed and participated actively in changing the Advisor's Law that passed in the Knesset in July 2008, and therefore she is proud of her cooperative work with all the factors during the two years in which she worked on the change.

The cooperative work that led to achievements of course also created further dynamics that are called inner 'politics', of which it will only be said here that these politics partially exposed the need for training the advisors for their role with greater fervor.

In parallel she also addressed the academic realm and held several preliminary contacts in which she wished to create an infrastructure for integrating the advisor's work in the field and in academic activity, and here, too, there are several preliminary breakthroughs that will certainly be described in future articles.
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## Local Authorities Law (Advisors on Women Status issues) 2000

### 1. Definitions

**In this Law**
- Advisor on the Status of Women – whosoever is appointed according to this law as advisor on the status of women
- Women’s Council – A council representing those who work to advance the status of women in the local authority
- Local Authority – Municipality or local authority
- The Minister – Minister of the Interior

### 2. Appointment of an advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women

The local authority shall appoint an advisor on the status of women who will be an employee of the local authority at one of four highest ranks in the ranking to which she belongs and is customary in that authority.

b. In accordance with the instructions of sections a and d, fulfilling the position of advisor on the status of women may be in addition to another position that she fulfills in the authority, as long as the latter does not interfere with fulfilling the position as advisor on the status of women; the instructions of this paragraph do not prevent the local authority from employing an advisor on the status of women for this position alone, as long as her employment is financed in the budgetary framework approved by the local authority.

## Corrections to the Local Authorities Law (Advisors of Women Status Advancement) 2008

### 1. In clause 1

- i) The word 'issues' shall be replaced everywhere by the word 'advancement';
- ii) The definition of 'Women's Council' shall be replaced by 'council, committee or other entity that represent', and conclude with, 'or function to advance the status of women within the local authority'.
- iii) 'Local authority' …

### In clause 2 of the main law

- i) Before appoint (in the title) shall be stated 'obligation' (to appoint)
- ii) Everywhere it says 'issues' shall be stated 'advancement'
- iii) Before the conclusion to subclause (a) starting with 'will be' it shall be stated 'in the local authority'
- iv) Instead of subclauses (b) and (c) shall be stated:
  - b) An advisor on the status of women will be selected via a tender and her appointment presented to the local authority council. Should an advisor be appointed, the local authority will inform the Minister and the Authority and will send them a copy of the appointment.
  - b1. The scope of the position of advisor will be determined in consideration, amongst other things, of the number of residents...
c. If the local authority did not appoint an advisor on the status of women within three months of that date the previous advisor ceased filling her position, the Minister will instruct that municipality to appoint an advisor for the advancement of the status of women within three months. Should an advisor not be appointed, the Minister will appoint one without further delay for that municipality, in which the conditions of competence exist according to clause 3. The advisor on the advancement of the status of women appointed by the minister will hold that position until the appointment of an advisor by the municipality according to the instructions of this clause
### Conditions of competence

Whosever has an academic background or professional or practical experience of at least two years in areas pertinent to the status of women shall be competent to be the advisor on the status of women.

**Instead of clause 3 of the main law:**

**Competence and professional training:**

- **No person shall be appointed as advisor for the advancement of the status of women unless she meets all these conditions:**
  - **i.** Has a recognized academic degree from an institution of higher education in Israel, as detailed in the 1958 Higher Education Law, or an equivalent academic degree from a foreign university recognized in another country, or a certificate confirming completion of other studies recognized in Israel for equivalence in an academic salary scale
  - **ii.** Has proven academic or professional experience of three years in an administrative or public position or in working in areas pertaining to the status of women

- **b.** Within a reasonable period of time of starting her position the advisor will receive professional training in areas of her activity. The Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women will approve the professional training program and be responsible for its implementation.

**3a (i) The advisors' role is to work in the local authority with the local population and the authority's employees to advance the status of women and the gender equality, to eradicate discrimination against women and to prevent violence against women (in this law, areas of role activity)**

(ii) To perform their roles the advisors will take these steps, which, amongst other things, include:

- **(a) Involvement in determining policy of the local authority together with the mayor and municipal council to advance the areas of activity of the role**
- **(b) Supervise the implementation of policy as noted in clause (i) above and the allocation of funds**
4. Subordination, authority and reporting

a. The advisor shall be directly subordinate to the head of the local authority when fulfilling her position as advisor on matters pertaining to the status of women.

b. If there should be a Women's Council in the local authority the advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall maintain contact between the Women's Council, the to that end including implementing instructions regarding offering a suitable expression for the representation of people of both genders amongst municipality employees and employees of the municipal company. The 'municipal company' is whose means of control are held by the local authority.

c. Examination of the implications of local authority decisions regarding areas of activity of the position on gender equality, and submitting opinions regarding the said implications.

d. Identifying needs and populations in the local authority in areas of activity pertaining to the position to prepare suitable programs for them.

e. Expanding and improving existing services in areas of activity pertaining to the position.

f. Cooperation with people, entities and organizations functioning in the local authority in areas relevant to the position.

g. Gathering information and data pertaining to the areas of activity of the position, including everything pertaining to the employment and salary of women.

h. Nurturing public awareness in the areas of activity relevant to the position through education, instruction and explanation.

(i) The word 'issues' shall be replaced everywhere by the word 'advancement'.

(ii) The words "Committee for the Advancement of the Status of women shall be removed from subsection (d).

(iii) Thereafter shall be stated (e) The Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women will include in its annual report submitted,
local authority and the head of the authority.
c. The advisor on matters pertaining to the status of women will work together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end; should a Women's Council function in the local authority, the advisor on the status of women will work together with the Women's Council.
d. The advisor on the status of women will report annually to the Knesset Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women, to the National Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women and the local authority in which she works on her activities, policy she applies and the resources at her disposal.

5. Obligation to be invited to meetings
a. The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall be invited to every session of the local authority council and to each of the committees.
b. Should the advisor on the status of women attend the meeting she shall be given the opportunity to state her opinion before any decision pertinent to issues on the status of women is taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall be invited to every session of the local authority council and to each of the committees.</td>
<td>Should the advisor on the status of women attend the meeting she shall be given the opportunity to state her opinion before any decision pertinent to issues on the status of women is taken.</td>
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</table>

In clause 5 of the law:
(i) The word 'issues' shall be replaced by 'advancement' everywhere.
(ii) Subsection (a) shall state at the end of the clause, "And she shall be given the opportunity to express her opinion orally or in writing prior to taking a decision that affects the areas of activity of the position to residents of the local authority or to employees of the local authority. Instead of subsection (b) it shall be stated:
(iii) The advisors on the Advancement of the Status of Women or an employee of the local authority who qualified people to attend meetings of the local authority and of committees in which decisions are taken pertaining to the personnel array in the local authority, including in tenders committees.
(iii) Should a member of the local authority request that the Advisor for the Advancement of the Status
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Removing the advisor from her position</td>
<td>7. Implementation order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall not be removed from her position unless according to the decision of the local authority council, after all members of the council have been informed according to law and after all members of the council have been informed that this step will be discussed in that meeting.</td>
<td>Within five months of the application of this law, the local authority shall appoint an advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women according to the instructions of this law; if the local authority has not appointed an advisor on the status of women as stipulated, the instructions of section 2(c) shall be applied.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Implementation and regulations</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Minister of the Interior is responsible for implementing this law and for introducing regulations in everything pertaining to its implementation.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clause 6 of the main law:
1. That which it contains shall be marked (a) and instead of 'issues' shall be stated 'advancement'; instead of 'and after' shall be stated 'after', and at the end shall be stated 'and after having been given the opportunity to state her claims before the council'.
2. After subclause (a) shall come:
   (i) An announcement regarding the intention to transfer the advisor from her position should be appointed to Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women, and so the date of the council meeting at which her transfer from her position shall be discussed, shall be given [] at the first opportunity and no later than 48 hours prior to the meeting of the council on the subject.

Clause 7:
That which it contains shall be marked (a) and instead of 'issues' shall be stated 'advancement'

Clause 8
After the words 'and is entitled' it shall be stated 'with the permission of the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Knesset'

The Municipal Ordnance, fourth addition, after item 10a shall be stated
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>10b</strong>: The budget shall include a separate clause for financing the activity of the advisor on the Advancement of the Status of Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Local Authorities Ordnance, clause 34</strong>: Instead of clause 10a shall be stated clauses 10a and 10b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) The instructions of clause 2(c) of the main law, as phrased in clause 3 of this law, will pertain to the local authority that did not appoint an advisor on the status of women prior to the enactment of this law with necessary changes and with this change: Instead of 'From the day that the previous advisor ceased filling her position' it shall be stated, 'From the date of the enactment of the local authorities law (Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women) 2008'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Instructions of clause 3 to the main law as phrased in clause 4 of this law:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Will apply to the advisor for the Advancement of the Status of Women who was appointed from the first day and thereafter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Will apply at the end of four years from the day of the enactment of this law to the advisor for the Advancement of the Status of Women who was properly appointed on the eve of the enactment of the law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A  item 2

Section from the Israeli Declaration of Independence

"The State of Israel …will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture…. "
Appendix B item 1

Scheme of change

Based on Rao & Kelleher (2005)
Appendix B item 2

Wheels of change

Social-systemic focus – norms and codes

Personal focus – empowerment courses

Social-systemic array – legislation and enforcement

Personal-municipal focus: Access to services and rights. "Gender focus"
### Appendix C

#### Course programs for the lack of awareness stage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introducing + coordinating expectations + time management*: Determining goals, identifying and examining factors that waste time</td>
<td>We have many faces*: Introducing, coordinating expectations, basic concepts in psychology of women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Interpersonal communications and assertiveness: How to create better personal and business communications. What are the barriers in communications? Communications between men and women</td>
<td>What is female leadership?**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Emotional intelligence: Identifying and managing emotions</td>
<td>Encounter with leaders: Panel with female managers and leaders through whom we will meet different styles of leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Strength *** How to develop personal strength and its correct use</td>
<td>What is feminism actually? Experiential lecture and discussion of the development of the feminist movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Decision-making: Characterizing and improving decision making processes</td>
<td>Coping with leadership situations through acting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Leadership**: Leadership styles emphasizing transformative leadership</td>
<td>The glass ceiling***: strength and influence; how to use organizational politics and succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Financial intelligence: Basic concepts in economics</td>
<td>Women's health – a holistic view: The connection between body and soul in Chinese philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Financial intelligence: Basic concepts in economics</td>
<td>Women and the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Personal and business networking: How to develop and nurture a network of connections</td>
<td>Marketing ideas and persuasion: How to present a topic to an audience***; non-verbal communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Self-marketing and public relations: Methods and means for self-marketing and public relations</td>
<td>Summary exercise: Team work – cooperation versus competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Effective presentation of a topic to an audience****: Methods, means and skills</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The psychology of success + summary: Summary, feedback, distribution of certificates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of heading</td>
<td>Relevance - (leadership)</td>
<td>Arousing interest with wide connection (&quot;We have many faces&quot;); relevant -(women's health)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The subjects</td>
<td>Focusing on the course topic: Business leadership</td>
<td>Eclectic – health, law, feminism; having a connection to the subject of the course - female leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching techniques</td>
<td>Standard: Workshop, work sheets, written summaries</td>
<td>Integrated tools: Workshop, lecture, drama, spirituality, panel; diverse lecturers/instructors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to feedback</td>
<td>Existing: Summary + feedback + distributing certificates. The summary was held in the room where the workshop was conducted: oral and written summary; gifts were distributed in addition to certificates</td>
<td>Non-existent: The feedback and summary were held in the home of one of the participants; oral summary; gifts were distributed in addition to certificates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further attribution</td>
<td>Domain focused – businesses emphasizing the female aspect, recognizing their limitations; more formal type of workshop with informal attributes – circle around a table; summary sheets distributed on which one could write</td>
<td>General, eclectic, with emphasis on women; informal – circle without a table; preference for not writing during the workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The instructor/instruction</td>
<td>Stemming from the realm of organizational counseling and dealt with the economic business facet of counseling, focusing on a group of women only. One person taught the entire course</td>
<td>From the educational domain according to her studies; conducted courses on organizational counseling, focusing on awareness and empowerment for women; the course was taught by a main instructor and included other instructors/lecturers according to issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The asterisks indicate the identical subjects in both courses that were manifested in the name of the workshop intentionally, or in the broad topic, but there is a difference in the sub-topics or emphases. The identical topics are communications, leadership and strength.
The emphases within the workshops varied. In the first course, for example, the emphasis was on personal and business communications, barriers to communications, communications between men and women, while the second course included one meeting that dealt with non-verbal communications. In contrast, the second course dealt with the topic of leadership in greater scope and discussed what is female leadership and included a meeting with the female leaders through whom the participants met different styles of leadership, coping with leadership situations and so on.

The second course focused more on women and dealt with issues like "What is feminism actually? Experiential lecture and discussion of the development of the feminist movement" while the first course dealt with the business realm and specific issues such as "personal and business networking", "how to develop and nurture a network of connections" adapting the subjects to the relevant target population – women.
## Appendix D item 1

### Course programs for the awareness - empowerment stage

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Empowerment and community leadership: Third course</td>
<td>Empowerment: Fourth course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Opening, introduction, coordinating expectations, contract</td>
<td>Course opening, presentation of course content, structure etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Starting conditions for success, or, how to start on the right foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female personal identity: Barriers that block women</td>
<td>Introduction through the gender angle, basic concepts in feminism and the connection to empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Communications – essence, conceptualization and studying the basic model in communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Women's status in Israeli society and her role in motivating change to shape the world of tomorrow; review of the urban system</td>
<td>Communications model – the Johari window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding diverse types of communications, their impacts and their significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cognitive emotional and awareness tools for developing personal power</td>
<td>Personal status in view of the theory and reality</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Maximizing the personal potential: Identifying sources of power, strengths and authority and their harnessing to advancing personal leadership</td>
<td>Assertiveness – as a strategy for self-realization and empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assertiveness – theory to practice: Practicing skills of assertive behavior in diverse areas of life; couple hood, family, friends, work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>What is female leadership?</td>
<td>Women, femininity, women in the diverse circles of life; contact network, experiential workshop, using artistic methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-verbal communications – body language and the connection to assertiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Personal, female, urban vision</td>
<td>Level of individual assertiveness: Measurement, assessment and foci of weak points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Empowerment, emotional intelligence and the connection between them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Activity</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Project planning: Creativity and creating ideas</td>
<td>Watching film on the course content entitled Chocolate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis of conflicts arising in the film using skills and knowledge acquired in the course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Interpersonal communications and assertiveness</td>
<td>What is female leadership? The leadership in me, Am I a leader? Can everyone be a leader?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Project planning</td>
<td>From personal vision to a community idea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Project planning</td>
<td>Projects, planning, construction, implementation, assessment; recruiting resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Team work</td>
<td>From pressure to success: Pressure generators unique to women and coping with them; time management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Recruiting resources</td>
<td>Decision-making: Essence and styles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Presenting topic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Presenting projects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Mixed: Relevance – assertiveness, teamwork; Bombastic: maximizing personal potential</td>
<td>Lengthy and relevant: Introduction through the gender angle; basic concepts in feminism and the connection to empowerment</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work technique</td>
<td>Workshops, work sheets; informal type</td>
<td>Activities; film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to feedback</td>
<td>Interim feedback, long and detailed summary oral and written feedback</td>
<td>Oral feedback; written feedback was requested but did not reach the researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further attribution</td>
<td>Currently the longest course (16 sessions) together with a national informal educational factor providing close accompaniment; focused on community projects and intended as a leadership course. One instructor led seven of the workshops and the others were conducted by different instructors. Informal character – open circle, discussions, activities, film, creative activity. Two coordinators (graduates of the leadership second course) were integrated in organizational roles who attended each session but they participate in the workshops too.</td>
<td>Opened as a second group for the third course intended as purely an empowerment course. One instructor guided most of the workshops and attended when a guest lecturer came; Limited informal character, sitting in a circle around tables; discussions, work sheets, film and creative work. One of the participants was responsible for the organizational aspects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

334
The coordinator, a graduate of the previous course, functioned in two courses in parallel. She participated in each session and even summarized them in writing.

| About the chief instructor | Rude, provocative, aggressive, interesting, arousing thought. Comes from the private business sector – fashion, transition to organizational consultancy and from a brief experience with mixed groups, but mainly men; lacking experience working with women. This work was a type of discovery of the domain for her. | Came from the academic world (was concluding her doctorate), worked with women's empowerment groups and in group instruction in general. Manipulative and focused on submitting her thesis, warm and empathic to the students, hid information and material, disloyal | Open to receive and learn more. Young or looked young but managed to arouse trust and win over participants; background in group instruction including women |

The programs presented in the table are the final programs that were preceded by several other proposals. When preparing the third course, that took several months, we used programs presented in the course held in other big city and that had an identical objective to the course we planned.

Here too, one can see there are topics that are identical to the three courses and others that are not identical (the identity in the topics is greater than those that are not identical). The identical subjects include communications and sub-topics such as the network of connections, non-verbal communications, assertiveness, styles of communications that appeared in or in two of the three courses. The subject of leadership was identical and held a respectable place in the courses, as did the subject of empowerment. Another topic that was identical and defined as compulsory by the researcher was the area of the status of women with an emphasis on the Israeli and local facet. Another important change was the conceptual facet, defining concepts that are connected to the core issue
such as the significance of the words empowerment, female leadership and woman.

These courses indicate a greater emphasis on the feminine facet and the presentation of the diverse topics such as personal female identity, barriers that block women and so on from this perspective. Another emphasis was on the realm of conducting projects to which end issues connected to planning, tools and implementation were discussed. The emphasis in the third course was on the community facet, as can be seen from the skills studied – team work, presentation of a topic or recruiting resources compared to the more personal aspects that were prominent in the two other courses – coping with stress, managing emotions, controlling anger; separating emotion from action, fear versus anxiety, managing negotiations and others.
Appendix D item 2

Comparison of the content of the various courses taught by the same instructor

The chief instructor of the third course taught other courses in the same locale. It was interesting to compare the programs of the other courses and examine identical aspects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership and empowerment course 2004-2005 (third course)</th>
<th>Empowerment 2005 Seventh course</th>
<th>Team heads &quot;From dream to reality&quot; 2005-2006: Continuing course for graduates of first stage</th>
<th>Continuing program (not implemented) intended for graduates of the seventh course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 sessions</td>
<td>10 sessions</td>
<td>9 sessions</td>
<td>7 sessions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content: Opening, introduction, coordinating expectations and contract</td>
<td>Cognitive emotional empowerment: Presenting self, coordinating expectations,</td>
<td>Defining demands, goals and targets. Defining group expectations;</td>
<td>The whole is larger than the sum of the parts: Opening, cohesion workshop, support, cooperation, synergetic thought and team work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tools for developing personal potency</td>
<td>identifying sources of energy and the resources available to women – time, money, love, body, soul</td>
<td>&quot;Do you know your abilities and talents?&quot; Mapping personal and environmental strengths and weaknesses for each participant (SWOT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Release from manipulations applied by women in life and work</td>
<td>Developing a model for balanced personal behavior between the personal and public domains</td>
<td>Value workshop &quot;Do your values serve you?&quot; Values, vision and their conversion to a goal focused work plan – in life, in couple hood, in voluntary activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional cognitive</td>
<td>Release from manipulations that</td>
<td>Communications workshop: Tools to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

337
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barriers that block women</th>
<th>Cognitive, emotional and mental tools for developing personal potency</th>
<th>Maximizing personal potential: Identifying sources of strength, power, and authority and their harnessing to advance personal leadership</th>
<th>Interpersonal communications and assertiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment: Tools for identifying personal barriers that inhibit growth</td>
<td>Emotional cognitive empowerment: Cognitive, emotional, mental and spiritual tools for creating awareness, harmony, balance and growth</td>
<td>Emotional cognitive empowerment: Tools for maximizing personal potential; identifying sources of strength and harnessing them to personal advance</td>
<td>Skills: Tools for winning communications –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhibit growth</td>
<td>Team work: Development, leadership, cohesion, working with…</td>
<td>Shaping personal-economic-social purpose and vision</td>
<td>Group work on defining a shared vision, goals,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify the communications barriers and develop assertive communications</td>
<td>Ways of recruiting women</td>
<td>&quot;To exit your own box&quot;: Creative thought and innovation in team work</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focusing workshop – guides the six movements for focusing in life and work: parenting, couple hood, work and circles of activity for the community</td>
<td>Models for team structures in community work (fan model*)</td>
<td>The plenitude workshop – how to &quot;embrace&quot; criticism, opposition, competition and uncertainty; how to convert conflictual situations to means of growth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team work</td>
<td>Skills: Tools for realizing intelligences in interpersonal communications and in managing emotions</td>
<td>Developing a marketing program for the group initiative</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>Skills: Tools for use in verbal language from a place of strength</td>
<td>The basics of coaching as a tool for personal-social-economic development through the communications, cognitive and emotional toolbox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skills: Tools for assertiveness and persuasion: Coping with conflictual situations, positive thought, structuring reality</td>
<td>Personal coaching in teams to attain goals and targets in projects; summary and feedback</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skills: Tools for non-verbal communications and body language, marking territory, relaying strength</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skills: Tools for a winning presentation</td>
<td>Summary, feedback</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The four plans analyzed in this table prepared by the same instructor, find the overuse of interesting titles but without focus or clarity regarding intentions and content. There is great confusion of topics and domains (information, skills, knowledge) such as "Emotional cognitive empowerment – tools for maximizing individual potential".

* The instructor, uses the term 'fan model', a concept this researcher introduced pertaining to work and developing community projects that characterizes the work approach adopted by her in her daily work as advisor.
There is no differentiation between the course objectives and the domains, an example which can be seen by including the subject of barriers in the first stage course (third course) and in the continuing course for team heads under the heading "Release from manipulations inhibiting growth".

The crowded topics, together with providing "prescriptions", such as "Basics of coaching as a tool for personal–social-economic-development through the communications; a cognitive, emotional toolbox; a focusing workshop – a guide for the six movements for progressing in life and at work.." clearly show the unfocused target along with a promise of an easy and quick way to solve problems.
## Appendix E

### Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of project</th>
<th>Description of project</th>
<th>Procedure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>Image and personal presentation</td>
<td>Developed as part of the community project of graduates of the direct empowerment course (course c, appendix b). 41 women participated, 19 of whom were graduates of direct empowerment courses for whom the course was a continuation focusing on personal empowerment; the other participants were recruited by them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Summary

The project was considered a clear success and a lever for other courses.

| **2** | Women and money | Developed as part of the community project by graduates of the direct empowerment course (course c, appendix b), as a continuation of the trend of these courses by the same team that began with the image and presentation. | Self leadership and relying on the accumulated knowledge; power struggles continue with increased intensity, emphasizing the refusal to waive and apply techniques of covert violence, that intentionally |

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246 Activities of the team included locating an instructor and conducting negotiations with her over the cost and content and collecting money, planning and organization, finding a suitable place and times for the course, marketing it, coordination – registration, photographing materials etc, solving problems.  
247 Developing a leader from within the group.  
The youngest participant (aged 32) was very angry and assertive. Her inability to realize her wishes caused her to adopt avoidance tactics, non-attendance, demonstrative refusal and harsh verbal pronouncements. In time, after participating in more courses that did not help her to realize her wishes, she left angrily and had no connection with the office.  
248 The youngest participant (aged 32) was very angry and assertive. Her inability to realize her wishes caused her to adopt avoidance tactics, non-attendance, demonstrative refusal and harsh verbal pronouncements. In time, after participating in more courses that did not help her to realize her wishes, she left angrily and had no connection with the office.
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| Summary
The course was consolidated, registration began but there were insufficient participants due the long time between advertising and registration |

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Coordinating courses (as distinct from the coordination described before where the initiative of the course was theirs)</td>
<td>A coordinator who is the organizer and mediator in the course for women Two coordinators from the second course and three from the fourth course participated</td>
<td>Applying the principle of 'self-leadership and personal modeling: I was like you and see where I got</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Walking group</td>
<td>As detailed at the case study</td>
<td>At the end of this table</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Culture with a female slant</td>
<td>A plan was drawn up for a year with monthly activities in an attempt to bring cultural programs with a statement about the status of women, empowering women and female growth</td>
<td>Implemented over a period of two years with some success. Ended after an attempt to cooperate with an urban entity responsible for the domain, that referred to the team as a factor that only sold tickets and attract the public. After separating from the professional factor another attempt was made to function independently but in view of the difficulties, mainly economic, the project was ceased.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Exhibitions</td>
<td>Two exhibitions were held in 2004 for the International Women's Day and for the day of the struggle against violence against women. The 2007 exhibition on the latter subject was even displayed in the</td>
<td>Still implemented today (2009)</td>
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<td>Israeli Knesset. For the last two years a professional catalogue has been produced. Each exhibition revolves around a subject with a social feminist message to which male artists are also partners.</td>
<td>The group was founded in 2007 and is still active. It has undergone changes due to difficulties in the team work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A group of writers</td>
<td>The group numbers about 15 women who mainly wrote poetry but also prose, coordinated by one of the group members. Most of them wrote for their own pleasure and were exposed to a public for first time as members of the group. In 2008 a course on creative writing was held organized by the coordinator. They also participated in reading evenings to an audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Talking walks</td>
<td>A project proposed and dictated by the instructor of the continuation course on 'Team leaders'. The objective was to create a dialogue following the statements of women on topics such as leadership, power, needs etc. Course participants distributed about 400 sheets designed like a brick from a wall and asked women to relate to it. All the pages were gathered and arranged in long strips hung as part of the 2005 Women's Day exhibition. The project continued throughout the exhibition through an active wall in which there were blank pages.</td>
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</table>
Projects initiated by the researcher are detailed in the study

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hot line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Women Rights center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Women Coaching Center</td>
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</table>

Proposals for projects that were not implemented

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Study tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Theater visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Women study Bible stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Workshop for children of divorced parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Recording a women's song in a studio</td>
</tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Bridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Home for creators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Social club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Local yellow pages for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Workshop on fixing cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Workshop for men to do things simultaneously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Pampering evening for battered women/Pampering women in the Neve Tirza prison</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The methods of work and the difficulties in the process of developing and accompanying the projects can be understood through a case study of the walking group. Walking entailed the idea of creating cohesion (addressing women in the locale to create a group that walks together, with identical shirts) and exposing more women to the activities of the Office for the Advancement of the Status of Women, as well as taking part in national walking as a group from the locale. This program was implemented for a period of about six months and ceased due to the lack of perseverance by the organizing staff. The project staff included three participants from the third course, one of whom is a deputy school principle who agreed to be the group coordinator.

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249 There were many more suggestions raised for a variety of courses that were not implemented or were similar to those already noted.
During the course the staff’s idea was discussed as a case study. Thus the idea was consolidated and clarified by the instructor, the staff and the members of the group. The immediate feeling was that the staff knew what should be done in order to implement the project. A week later in the group meeting, it transpired that the staff did not really know what they had to do and again the instructor sat with them to plan the stages of the work. Starting with advertising in the local newspaper for women who would want to join the walking group.

Most of the work was done by a team member who was not appointed to be the team coordinator. The coordinator, however, announced that for personal reasons she would not have time to work with the team (her daughter had arrived from overseas and her husband was going overseas). The third team member was in telephone contact with the active member but did not contribute actively claiming she had no time to meet.

The newspaper advertisement brought nine inquiries. Team members, who received the phone calls, did not take down details that would enable forming a group (since they did not discuss previously how to receive the inquiries and what they should know about them). They sometimes noted only the first name and phone number so that it was hard to identify them.

On the researcher's intervention and in view of the situation, she explained to them where it was possible to improve and to thus phrase a second flyer that was improved by this writer. Five hundred copies of the flyer were printed and distributed amongst women's groups and activists. The office telephone number of the office was also provided and those interested were registered by a new volunteer from the course group, who had more time and who sat in the office to receive and organize the inquiries. The inquiries were noted on an organized chart with identifying details, the address serving to identify the place of residence and sending the inquirer to the walking group closest to her address. Under this researcher's instruction, every person interested who registered was invited to take part in the next walk that was urban activity, the "Spring Walk". The walkers were given shirts, advertising material about the activities on the status of women, and a flyer about the opening of the walking group. The Spring Walk had a marketing role, with the original walking team backed by additional activists who had expressed interest in this.

At the end of the walk more names were added. In a meeting with the team and the women who participated the names were divided into two geographic areas. The original team remained responsible for one
geographic area; the second group, responsible for another area, had difficulty finding people to manage the group and thus eventually the second group did not open.

As part of setting methods of work, "Walking regulations" were formulated, possible situations that could arise while walking were examined versus possible ways of coping, a walking path was tested, telephone announcements were conveyed to those who registered regarding the start of the walk, and an opening ceremony was planned as well as material for distribution. It was decided that another volunteer would do warm up exercises at the start and finish; the team was connected to the head of the municipal sports department to receive guidance and also to attain recognition of this activity in the future.

The group opened with 25 participants. It functioned for two months until interest waned and finally died. This stemmed amongst other things from the team responsible not managing to attend every walking meeting and to operate the additional plans on the matter or persist in contacting people who did not come etc. The team coordinator in fact did nothing.