

Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Israel

Women's Representation in Security Decision Making 2013-2014

Pnina Steinberg





שוות • WIPS
המרכז לקידום נשים בזירה הציבורית



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In memory of Yehudit Sher
An outstanding researcher and a beloved friend

The Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere (WIPS) was established at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute in 2009 with the support of the Dafna Fund. **WIPS** is committed to gender mainstreaming as an overall strategy for promoting the democratic and civil status of women in diverse social groups. Through its focus on transforming the issue of gender inequality into a general social worldview that relates to both women and men and to all social structures, the **WIPS** center aims to make gender equality an inseparable part of the thought and action of legislators and decision makers in various areas

WIPS conducts research, promotes strategic thinking, and initiates projects and programs in areas relevant to implementing gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Israel. The founders of **WIPS** seek to make it a framework that brings together women's organizations, feminist activists, researchers, legislators, and decision makers, so that their dialogue and sharing of ideas will serve as a source of knowledge, guidance, and experience for anyone interested in promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in Israel. The center also promotes strategies to coordinate the efforts and impact of social action designed to promote the status of women and gender equality by connecting grassroots women's organizations, policy makers, legislators, and those acting for broad social change.

WIPS management: Prof. Naomi Chazan, Prof. Hanna Herzog, Hadass Ben Eliyahu, Ronna Brayer-Garb

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Introduction

In the Wake of Resolution 1325: Israeli Women Lead the Way for Peace and Security

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in 2000, is a landmark decision that for the first time calls for equal representation of women in key decision-making bodies, their involvement in processes of conflict resolution and peace arrangements, protection of women and girls from violence, and the prevention of violence in general and gender violence against women in particular.¹ Since then the UN Security Council has passed a series of additional resolutions² meant to enhance four universal values related to women: protection in areas of conflict, participation in key decision-making bodies, fitting and diverse representation, and full participation in formulating and implementing peace agreements—all this with an emphasis on the unique status of women and recognition of the link between the continuation of military conflicts and gender inequality in society (Raday 2004; Aharoni 2014).

The State of Israel was one of the first member states of the United Nations to adopt the resolution into legislation and to approve legislation that made women's representation in public bodies obligatory.³ But there was still a need to write and implement a comprehensive action plan. To that end, dozens of women's organizations, human rights organizations, and feminist activists joined together, led by **Itach** **מעק**—Women Lawyers for Social Justice;⁴ **WIPS**—the Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere, at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute;⁵ and **Agenda**—

¹ See www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps (accessed October 28, 2014).

² Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), and 2106 (2013). These resolutions, together with Resolution 1325 (2000), have more general ramifications regarding the inclusion of women in processes of conflict prevention and in settling and rehabilitating them after a conflict, as well as recognizing the link between the continuation of military conflicts and gender inequality in society. In terms of law, these resolutions symbolize a change in the way women are perceived by international law. Until the 1990s women were perceived as mothers of children and as victims entitled only to protection. The demand for fitting representation of women in international law and in conflict resolution portrays them as agents of action who can make a significant contribution toward shaping global policy (Aharoni 2014).

³ Clause 1C6(B) of the Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951.

⁴ See the organization's website: www.itach.org.il (accessed September 10, 2014).

⁵ See <http://www.vanleer.org.il/en/wips> (accessed September 10, 2014).

Israeli Center for Strategic Communications.⁶ Ten roundtable discussions, which took place from January 2012 to October 2013, led to a draft of a comprehensive action plan that covered many topics, including representation of a variety of women and gendered perspectives in decision-making foci, a feminist examination of the concept of security,⁷ and protection of women of all social groups from various forms of violence.⁸ The draft of the action plan was completed in October 2013⁹ and was presented to the government as a tool for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

6 Agenda has since merged with other organizations and is now called **Anu**. See http://www.anu.org.il/who_we_are_eng/ (accessed September 10, 2014).

7 Although the academic and global discussion on the broadening of the concept of security is far-reaching and has gone on for several decades, in Israel's public sphere the concept is still interpreted in its military and national senses (Ben-Eliezer, 1994; 1995; Dayef, Abramovitch, and Eyal 2007).

8 For the full list of topics and for summaries of the discussions, see: www.1325israel.co.il/new/1325/content/%D7%AA%D7%94%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%9A-%D7%99%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%AA-%D7%AA%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%94%D7%A4%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%94-%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%99-%D7%9E%D7%A4%D7%92%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D (accessed September 10, 2014).

9 The action plan can be seen at http://www.1325israel.co.il/new/1325/sites/default/files/1325_english.pdf.

Chapter One

Women in Senior Positions in Government: Representation and Diversity

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 has three main elements: protection of women and children in regions of conflict; representation of women in political-security processes, including their participation in conflict-resolution processes and the peace processes that follow; and prevention of violence toward women in general and gender-based violence in particular.

This report focuses on one area of gender inequality in Israel: women's representation in senior positions in government. These are positions in which policy is determined and important decisions are made concerning national security as well as social, economic, and personal security. The State of Israel has long recognized the importance of women's representation in decision-making foci, including those concerning peace and security. Amendment 4 (2005) to the Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951, states that "one must ensure fitting **representation** of women from **diverse** population groups in bodies that shape national policy . . . and **particularly in the resolution of armed conflicts and peace talks**." Thus the state declared its desire for gender equality¹⁰ and diverse representation (Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi 2013). This report reviews what the government ministries and organizations dealing primarily with national security, protection of national borders, and public order have done in practice. The definition of each body's function reveals the aspects of security for which it is responsible.

Underlying the demand to include diverse women in conflict resolution and in security decisions are two fundamental principles. The first pertains to the percentage of women in the population—51%—which makes it appropriate that they be represented in the key decision-making mechanisms in society, just as it is appropriate that they be duly represented in every area that concerns the entire population. The second insight concerns the various locations of women: women on the geographical, economic, and social peripheries experience a lack of security, and many groups of women, especially from excluded groups or from the periphery, do not take part

¹⁰ It does this in other, diverse ways, including ratification of UN Resolution 1325, as State Comptroller Joseph Haim Shapira writes in his report: Women's Representation in Top Positions in the Public Service (2014). See: www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_238/6c71c0fc-b931-42e4-8e66-367d4602bb73/2014-%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A6%D7%95%D7%92%20%D7%A0%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%91%D7%AA%D7%A4%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%93%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%94%D7%91%D7%9B%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%91%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%94%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%91%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99.pdf (accessed June 11, 2014).

at all in shaping the society in which they live. These women too deserve to be represented in the decision-making foci (for more on diversity in Israel see the next section).

This report, which deals with women in senior positions, is one of many reports and studies on the topic. Data about women's representation in senior positions in Israel are gathered by academic researchers, government bodies (such as the civil service's Division for the Advancement and Integration of Women; the Authority for the Advancement of Women's Status, in the Prime Minister's Office; the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women and Gender Equality; and the state comptroller), and civil society organizations. The 2012 report of the civil service's Division for the Advancement and Integration of Women states that women constitute 65% of all workers employed in all standard government positions. Their representation in ranks two to five is relatively low, and their representation in the top rank and at rank six and below it is relatively high.¹¹ A wide-ranging report by the state comptroller, retired judge Joseph Haim Shapira, on the representation of women in senior positions in the civil service, appeared in March 2014.¹² In the report the comptroller refers to declarations by the state regarding its desire for gender equality (both in legislation and in its signature on an international treaty for the prevention of gender discrimination), and states that despite these declarations, "the glass ceiling has still not been cracked" and that "there is gender discrimination in the civil service in the State of Israel." The comptroller sees this as a grave distortion and severe violation of one of the basic rights in a democratic regime. Shapira also states that "the absence of fundamental equality between the sexes undermines the social foundations of the State of Israel."¹³ Referring concretely to women in the civil service the comptroller writes:

[Women] comprise 32% to 34% of the top rank, 36% of the second rank, and 39% to 44% of the third rank. When those working at the rank of jurists are removed, the percentage of women in the senior ranks is even smaller; for example, in the top rank it is only 11% to 13%. These data also show the inverse relation between the percentage of women and women in the top management positions; the higher the rank, the smaller the percentage of women. This fact reflects the existence of the "glass ceiling" mentioned above. It should be noted that data of the Civil Service Commission show that between 2008 and 2011 there was almost no change in the percentage of women in each of the senior management ranks in the civil service.¹⁴

11 See the activity report of the Branch for the Advancement and Integration of Women, 2012, written by Adv. Talila Shahal-Rosenfeld, p. 22, www.csc.gov.il/DataBases/Reports/Documents/WomenReport2012.pdf (accessed January 17, 2014).

12 www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Pages/238.aspx?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1 (accessed January 17, 2014).

13 See the introduction to the report, <http://most.gov.il/PromotingWoman/Documents/2014-%D7%A6%D7%95%D7%92%D7%A0%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%D7%91%D7%AA%D7%A4%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%93%D7%99%D7%9D%D7%94%D7%91%D7%9B%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D%D7%91%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA%D7%94%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%91%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99.pdf> (accessed May 21, 2014).

14 Ibid., pp. 11–12.

Table 1. Holders of management positions in rank two and at ranks three and four (2012)

Ministry	All ministry employees			Employees in rank two			Employees in ranks three and four		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Defense	1,971	919	1,052 (53%)	15	15	0 (0%)	78	61	17 (22%)
Religious Affairs	74	38	36 (49%)	4	4	0 (0%)	14	9	5 (36%)
Tourism	196	71	125 (64%)	7	6	1 (14%)	54	25	29 (54%)
Communications	155	75	80 (51%)	7	6	1 (14%)	44	30	14 (32%)
Agriculture	764	445	310 (42%)	26	20	6 (23%)	37	30	7 (19%)
Treasury	1,091	520	571 (52%)	95	70	25 (26%)	92	45	47 (51%)
Transportation	941	473	468 (50%)	7	5	2 (29%)	45	35	10 (22%)
Justice	3,318	1,076	2,242 (68%)	19	13	6 (32%)	203	73	130 (64%)
Prime Minister's Office	1,271	659	612 (48%)	36	24	12 (33%)	35	18	17 (49%)
Economic Affairs	1,321	582	739 (56%)	44	25	19 (43%)	331	179	152 (46%)
Health	3,328	547	2,781 (84%)	70	38	32 (46%)	339	120	219 (65%)
Construction and Housing	645	231	414 (64%)	19	10	9 (47%)	28	19	9 (32%)
Interior	673	286	387 (57%)	22	10	12 (55%)	39*	18	21 (54%)
Total	15,748	5,922	9,826 (62%)	371	246	125 (34%)	1,339	662	677 (51%)

* This data refers to rank three only.

The aims of this report are different. In the spirit of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, the aim is to examine the degree to which women from diverse social groups are represented and participate in decision making on security matters. Therefore this report addresses two additional issues beyond the issue of representation:

1. An examination of the percentage of women in all senior government positions that deal with state security. The first operative question is derived from this goal: How many women are in senior positions involved in security-related decision making, and what percentage are they of all the employees in those positions?
2. The second question pertains to diversity: Who are the women in senior positions directly related to state security, and to what extent are their personal and social characteristics diverse?

About Percentage and Diversity

Israel's policy on gender inequality has undergone several reiterations. At first it focused on the struggle to obtain formal equality, which was manifested in the attainment of suffrage and the legislation of the Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951. However, the formal policy of equality failed to achieve equality (Maor 2004), and this led to the recognition of the existence of other obstacles to women's advancement.¹⁵ Thus began the transition to a policy of affirmative action and guaranteed representation (Maor 2001; Maor 2004). However, even this policy did not succeed in correcting gender inequality. The policy of affirmative action reflects a homogeneous view of women and of inequality and seeks to advance women without considering their different locations in the society, the different types of inequality with which they contend, the various obstacles to women's advancement, and the effect of those obstacles on their opportunities in life. In any case, the policy of affirmative action does address the intersectionality of different types of inequality or of double or multiple exclusions, such as in the case of women who are both Mizrahi and poor or disabled.

Although women comprise the majority of the population, their voices are almost totally absent from the foci of decision making on national matters in general and the foci of decision making on security matters in particular (Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi 2013, 185). Both in political positions and in the professional positions appointed by the politicians, women are grossly underrepresented. Thus, for example, from the establishment of the state to the fifteenth Knesset, whose term began in 1999, an average of 8.3% of Knesset members were women; their representation in Israel's governments went from 0% to 6% (Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi 2013, 185). Even after the 2013 election, in which the percentage of elected women increased, their representation in Israeli politics remains unsatisfactory: even though women constitute 51% of the population, only 22.5% of the members of the nineteenth Knesset are women. Moreover, the identity of the few women who do attain senior positions in general shows that the representation is only of women from hegemonic groups (Jewish, Ashkenazi, secular, and middle-class or higher).

¹⁵ See, for example, Raday 1995; Ben Israel 1998; Herzog 1994.

The issue of diversity is complex and difficult to define: which groups are recognized as being worthy of representation, and what is diverse representation? The concept becomes clearer if we examine it in the local sociocultural context. Yofi Tirosh and Anat Tahon-Ashkenazi conclude that in the Israeli context diversity means including women who are Arab, Mizrahi, poor, queer, religiously observant, or disabled (Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi 2013, 195).

Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline (Bacchi and Eveline 2009, 3) find the answer in the process: in their view, in order to reflect diversity, the weak and excluded groups must lead the decision-making process and determine which identity categories are important. Work on a national action plan in Israel to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 meets this criterion in part.¹⁶ The process continued for two years, in thirteen roundtables in which representatives of some thirty women's organizations participated, and a series of personal meetings with activists and representatives of women's organizations. The work on the comprehensive action plan for implementing Resolution 1325 yielded an operative definition derived from the first goal of the plan: "equal representation of women from diverse population groups in decision-making foci, at the national level and the local level."¹⁷

These are the views of the participants on this issue, as they were formulated in the action plan:

- **Equal representation** means equal numerical representation of the diversity of women from all population groups, including women who belong to groups that are discriminated against on the basis of religion, gender, race, nationality, ethnic origin, age, socioeconomic status, geographical region, skin color, disability, and so on.... The view that underlies the plan is that equal integration of women from diverse population groups in decision-making foci advances the interests of peace and security for all of Israeli society.
- **Representation of women from diverse social groups** means including representatives of all age groups of women who are ultra-Orthodox, Mizrahi, Arab (Muslim, Christian, Druze, and Bedouin, religious or secular), Ashkenazi, LGTBAQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer), of Ethiopian origin, Russian-speaking, disabled, labor migrants, and asylum seekers. Also to be included are representatives of other excluded groups whose exclusion has not yet been identified and conceptualized, and therefore, as part of the aspiration to achieve diverse representation, one must carry on identifying other groups in society whose right to representation in decision-making processes has not yet been recognized and formulated.¹⁸

¹⁶ Only a handful of Arab women took part in the process. There was difficulty in agreeing with Arab women's organizations on the basic assumptions of the project and its goals.

¹⁷ The Comprehensive Action Plan for Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325, p. 8. See the full version of the comprehensive action plan (footnote 9, above); see also the summary of the seventh meeting in the process of creating the comprehensive action plan for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which deals with diversity of women and gender views in the areas of security and foreign affairs: <http://www.1325israel.co.il/new/1325/images/pdf/sicum-mifgash7.pdf> (accessed June 5, 2014).

¹⁸ Ibid.

Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi show that often the answer to the question of diversity is simpler than it seems. Bedouin women should be among the members of the committee that is examining the issue of bedouin lands in the Negev; both Arab men and women should be among the members of the committee examining the issue of the unification of the mixed Jewish-Arab cities Ramle and Lod, because in a stable democracy "it is not seemly that they will decide 'about' groups but rather 'with' the groups whose fate is shaped by the decisions" (Tirosh and Tahon-Ashkenazi 2013, 215). All aspects of security pertain to all population groups, and therefore it is legitimate to expect 50% representation of women in all the relevant positions and at least diversification in key sociodemographic terms, such as religion, country of birth, ethnic origin, education, age, marital status, and residential location (center or periphery).

Chapter Two

Methodology

As noted above, the purpose of this study is to gather as much data as possible, in order to create an up-to-date situation report about the representation and diversity of women in senior positions in Israel in which they have the power to decide on matters of policy and security.

After we identified the bodies that make the key security decisions, we approached them with an official request from the project to receive data about the representation and diversity of women (a list of the organizations we approached appears in the appendix). Each of these bodies has a different ranking system for its employees, and sometimes these are very specific. Nevertheless, we focused on three questions that every ministry could answer with data that could be compared:

- **What are the four top ranks in this body?** Most of the bodies use the Academics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities ranking system (Academic Workers' Ranking),¹⁹ and there is a correlation between the top ranks of this ranking system and senior positions in the ministry. Unlike other studies in this area, ours also includes the highest rank (1) in each body, because there is no reason to make an exception of it with regard to questions of representation and diversity.
- **What is the percentage of women in each of these ranks?** We wanted to know how many employees there were at each rank and what the percentage of women was in each of them.
- **What is the cross-section of women in each of the four ranks?** Initially we had a long list of criteria for characterizing diversity, but we learned quickly that it was not realistic. Data such as "nationality" or "ethnic origin" are not gathered by these bodies; other data (for example, number of children or age of the youngest child), even if they exist, are seen as too personal and not all the bodies agreed to provide them. The data that most of the ministries agreed to give us were: **country of origin, religion, age, education, and marital status.** From these data one can only get a general picture of women's locations in the social and

¹⁹ According to information on the website of the Association of Academics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities, the ranking applies to both temporary and permanent employees and also to employees on a special contract that specifies that their salary is to be paid according to a rank in this ranking system. The salary tables for the various ranks appear on the website of Israel's State Employees Union, and according to the website they apply also to engineers, practical engineers, technicians, and journalists. See: www.hahistadrut.org.il/departments/?did=182 (accessed January 16, 2014).

geographical periphery. We tried to discover something about the connection between motherhood and senior positions (through questions about the number of children and the age of the youngest among them), but even these data were available only in a few bodies and therefore did not provide a basis for comparison.

We sought the information through three successive channels:

- **Open sources:** such as the Knesset website, reports of the Division for the Advancement and Integration of Women in the Civil Service, and the State Comptroller's Report. We sent a direct query to the bodies that do not publish gender segmentation of data.
- **Direct requests:** to spokespersons, the person in charge of women's status, and other officials in government ministries, the IDF, and the police. In cases where bodies did not provide data in this way, we made a request through the freedom of information mechanism.
- **Freedom of information requests:** For the most part we did not succeed in obtaining the data we wanted through the two previous channels. In cooperation with the Freedom of Information Movement, we presented freedom of information requests.

We collected the data for nearly a year and a half, from January 2013 to the end of May 2014. We approached twenty-six bodies directly connected to state security or public security, which are characterized by varying sizes and positions in the system. Cooperation varied, ranging from total disregard to a refusal on the grounds of legal exclusion, and including bureaucratic foot-dragging or providing only partial information. The IDF, the Israel Police, and the Border Police cooperated without our having to resort to formal requests, and their representatives remained in touch with us personally and directly and provided the data with satisfactory explanations of sensitive data that they would not share with us. We also approached two bodies whose connection to the concept of security assumes a broad conceptualization of various kinds of security that all citizens, men and woman, need: the National Insurance Institute and the Broadcasting Authority (see the Appendix, which provides a list of the bodies we approached and the status of the request at the conclusion of the study).

Chapter Three

Findings

The findings are presented here with an emphasis on unique phenomena in each body or ministry that provided data. Also presented are the definitions of the upper ranks as provided by the bodies themselves, mostly according to the Academic Workers’ Ranking, and other rankings used by the body, sometimes with a list of the typical functions of the employee at a given rank. Some of the ministries sent information about more than four ranks, but in this report we used only the four top ranks, as defined by the ministry.

Knesset and Government

Table 2. Number and percentage of women in the government, the Knesset, the cabinet, and the Knesset committees related to security (as of the conclusion of the study, May 2014)

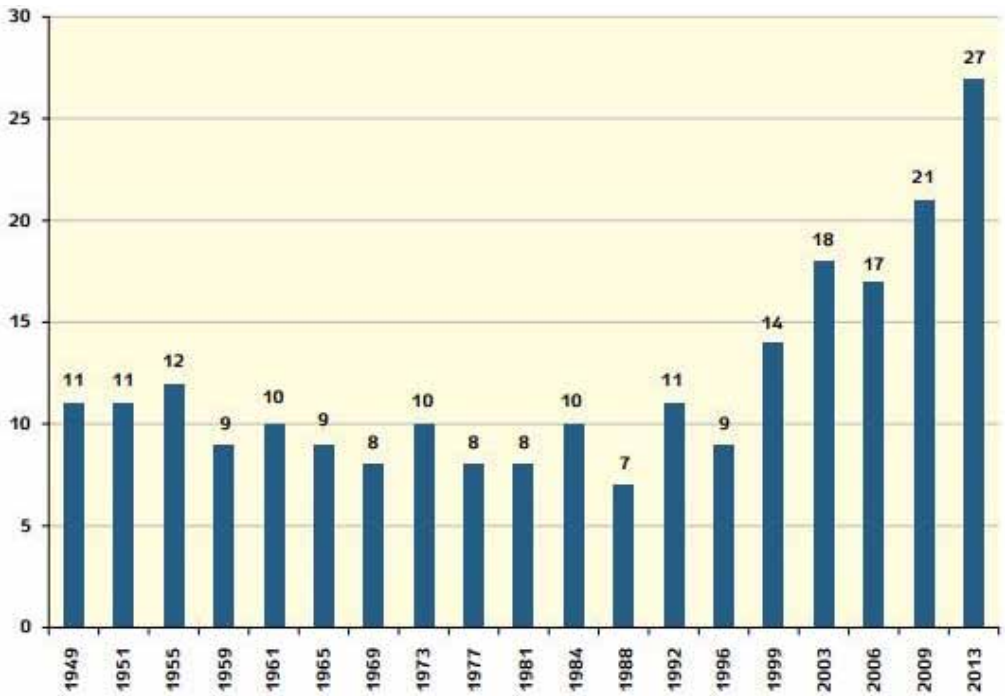
Government (Total: 29)	Total women	Security cabinet			
	4 (13.8%)	1 (10%)			
Knesset (Total: 120)	Total Women	Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee	Constitution, Law and Justice Committee	Internal Affairs and Environment Committee	Economic Affairs Committee
	27 (22.5%)	1 (6.25%)	5 (38.5%)		

Data analysis: Of 27 women Knesset members, one is an Arab woman and one is of Ethiopian extraction; most of the women Knesset members (22) were born in Israel; 11 are young (ages 25–40); 15 have a master’s degree; 19 are married.

In the nineteenth Knesset, 22.5% of the members are women. Their representation in the main committees dealing with security ranges from 6.25% (Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee) to 37.5% (Economic Affairs Committee). Gideon Rahat and Reut Itzkovitch-Malka, who explored the issue of women’s representation in the Knesset as compared with the representation of other minority groups in Israel, concluded that the representation of Jewish Mizrahi, Orthodox, and

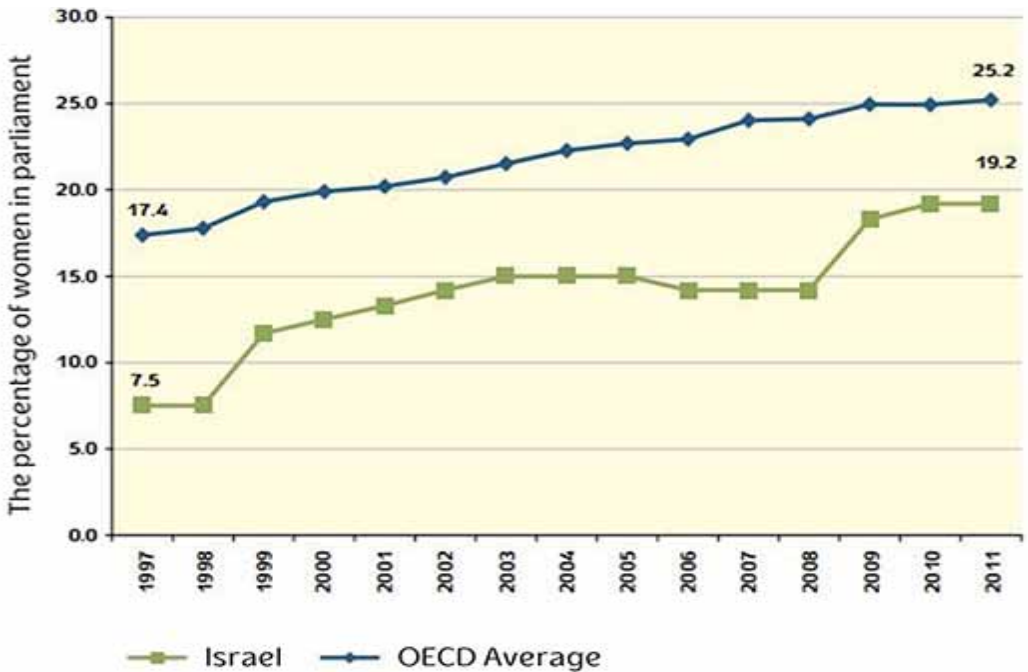
ultra-Orthodox population groups, as well as Arab population groups, rose gradually from the first Knesset election to 2009 (the year the study was published), when their representation in the Knesset represented roughly their percentage of the population. However, that was not the case for women's representation, which remained significantly lower than their percentage of the total population (Rahat and Itzkovitch-Malka 2012, 37). In the figures below one can see clear support for these arguments. Figure 1 shows the number of women Knesset members in each Knesset from the first to the nineteenth, and Figure 2 shows the percentage of women of all parliament members and compares Israel with the average of OECD countries.

Fig. 1: Number of women Knesset members at the time of their election, by year of general election



Source: The Israel Democracy Institute Policy Study (Shapira et al. 2013).

Fig. 2: Percentage of women among all parliament members—Israel as compared with the average in OECD countries



Source: The Israel Democracy Institute Policy Study (Shapira et al. 2013), calculated on the basis of Inter-Parliamentary Union reports

On January 1, 2014, the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN WOMEN), in conjunction with the Inter-Parliamentary Union, published a map showing women's political representation throughout the world.²⁰ In analyzing the map they warn "that while progress on women's political participation continues to be largely positive across the world, glass ceilings remain firmly in place for women at the highest levels."²¹ We find a similar picture in Israel; the State Comptroller's Report published in March 2014 complains that although more than 50% of all civil service employees are women (at the end of 2011 it was 64%), the percentage of women senior managers is substantially smaller, both in comparison to their percentage in the

²⁰ See www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14_en.pdf (accessed June 1, 2014). See also a similar map by the World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS/countries?order=wbapi_data_value_2012%20wbapi_data_value%20wbapi_data_value-last&sort=desc&display=map (accessed June 1, 2014).

²¹ www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2014/3/progress-for-women-in-politics-but-glass-ceiling-remains-firm (accessed June 1, 2014).

overall population and in comparison to their percentage among the workers in these bodies.²² The report's authors emphasize the importance of gathering gender data for monitoring political participation over time, setting goals, measuring the attainment of those goals, and, of course, backing up the demand for gender equality in key political positions.

Elsewhere in the world, the average percentage of women government ministers is 17.2%; in Israel there are four women ministers out of a total of 22 (18.2%). According to the UN WOMEN map, Israel ranks 47th in the world²³ and 29th out of the 34 OECD countries. Elsewhere in the world, the average percentage of women elected to parliament is 21.8%; in Israel's Knesset there are 27 women out of 120 members (22.5%). Consequently, Israel's parliament ranks 65th among all the parliaments in the world²⁴ and 21st among the 34 OECD countries.²⁵ On January 1, 2014, in 46 countries more than 30% of all parliamentarians were women. Even though many women in politics still tend to deal with issues such as society and welfare, education, or gender, one can see a slow increase in the number dealing with subjects such as defense, foreign affairs, and environmental matters. The map shows that the number of women who head countries or are speakers of parliament is dropping. Nevertheless, the world average of women in parliament rose only 1.5% following the data gathering in the previous year (2013), and if this rate of increase of women in parliament continues, it will take 20 years to reach gender equality in parliaments throughout the world.

The WIPS Gender Index for 2014 provides a more nuanced picture of women's political representation. The index links political power and economic power and presents a dire picture of the inferiority of women in the spheres of power that were examined: the Knesset, the government, local authorities, and senior management ranks. The power dimension shows that the number of women in senior positions at the national and local levels is still very small relative to their proportion of the population, and that gender inequality in these areas is increasing.²⁶

Examination of the global and local data reveals that despite improvement in the representation of women in the Knesset, the State of Israel is still far from most standard democracies in terms of the percentage of women in the Knesset and the government.

22 See "State Comptroller's Report: Representation of Women in Senior Positions in the Civil Service" (note 10 above, pp. 11–12).

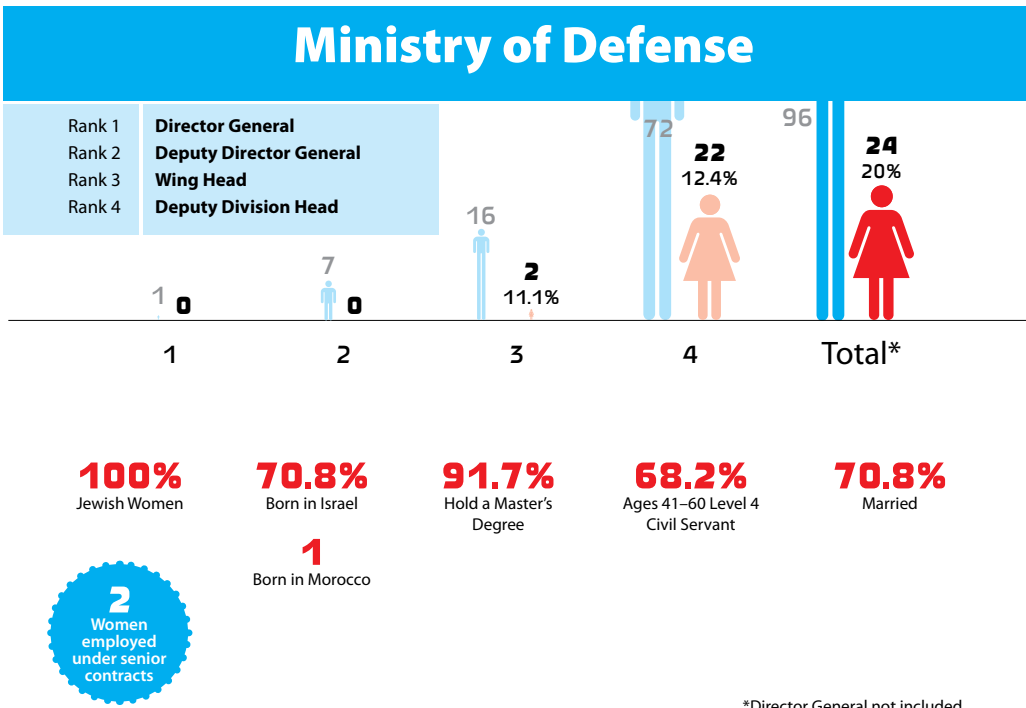
23 The first three places are taken by Rwanda with 57.1% women among all government ministers, Sweden with 56.1%, and Finland with 50%.

24 In the first three places are Rwanda with 63.8% of all members of parliament being women, Andorra with 50%, and Cuba with 48.9%.

25 The source of the data on the OECD countries is the report by Shapira et al. 2013.

26 www.vanleer.org.il/he/content/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%93-%D7%94%D7%9E%D7%92%D7%93%D7%A8-%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%98%D7%95%D7%A8-%D7%90%D7%99-%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%95%D7%99%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%9E-%D7%92%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%99-%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C (accessed September 19, 2014).

Below are the data according to the various bodies that were examined in the study. The formal definitions of the positions in each body make clear the degree of involvement in security issues in their broad sense.

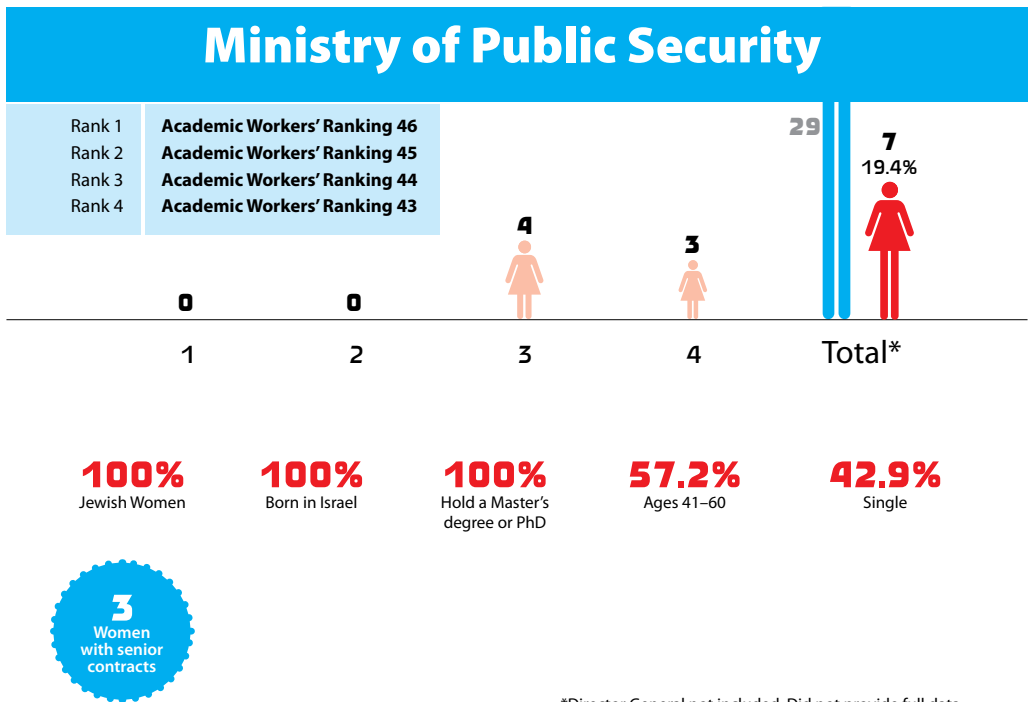


According to the website of the Ministry of Defense, the ministry's primary aim is "to make possible the building and operation of the IDF and to complete its work on the social, technological, industrial, and defense and foreign relations planes":

- to coordinate the government's national defense activities for which it is responsible; to instruct the bodies subservient to or collaborating with the ministry on carrying them out
- to formulate Ministry of Defense policy on strategic-defense topics and to maintain a system of foreign relations with foreign defense systems
- to formulate the defense budget and to execute it in the best way possible
- to provide the IDF with the resources and means required for building and using its power
- to preserve and foster the social strength that envelops those serving in the IDF, from pre-induction through the end of the period of service
- to develop the scientific, technological, industrial, and logistic infrastructure in the areas of national defense for which it is responsible

- to develop weapons and foster a stable national defense industry infrastructure
- to protect the employees, secrets, and assets of the defense system²⁷

Data analysis: In the Ministry of Defense, no women serve in the rank of director-general or deputy director-general.²⁸ Only three women serve as branch heads (some 11% of all branch heads); 22 women (some 12.5%) serve as deputy heads of a division; the average age of most of the women (68.18%) is 41–60; more than 90% of the women have a master's degree; most of the women (some 71%) were born in Israel (only one was born in Morocco); most (some 71%) are married.



The vision of the Ministry of Public Security, according to the government website, is:

- to bring about a significant improvement in the personal security, sense of security, and community security of the citizens and residents of Israel; to create a law-abiding society and

²⁷ See the website of the Ministry of Defense: http://www.mod.gov.il/About/Pages/about_mod.aspx (accessed September 20, 2014).

²⁸ The Ministry of Defense did not provide data about the top rank. The working assumption is that there is at least one person, a man, at this rank.

to reject violence and crime—all in order to provide a higher quality of life for the citizens and residents of the State of Israel

- to be the primary arm of the Israeli government responsible for law enforcement, combating crime, safeguarding lives and property, maintaining public order and protecting the public from terror attacks, incarcerating criminals and rehabilitating them, protecting witnesses (under the Witness Protection Authority), preventing violence and delinquency in society, preventing drug and alcohol abuse; preventing and extinguishing fires; and overseeing firearm licenses.²⁹

Data analysis: There are no women in the two top ranks of the Ministry of Public Security; the seven women in the third and fourth ranks constitute some 19.5% of all the employees. All are Jewish; all were born in Israel; most (some 57%) are between the ages of 41 and 60; all have a master’s degree or a doctorate; and some 43% are unmarried.

The Fire and Rescue Authority

The Fire and Rescue Authority is the official firefighting and rescue operation of the State of Israel and is in charge of preventing and extinguishing the spread of fires, as well as rescuing people and salvaging property. The national authority acts today under the Fire and Rescue Commission Law, 2012. The law was passed as part of the comprehensive reform of the firefighting services in Israel, and it lays the required legal foundation for operating a national authority for firefighting and rescue in Israel. One of the main changes in the law is the transition from a decentralized model of city associations to a national authority that will be established as a supporting body of the Ministry of Public Security.³⁰

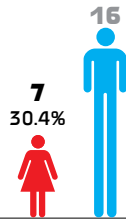
The Fire and Rescue Authority provided the following information regarding its four top ranks:

	4 Top Ranks	Range of Ranks
1	The fire and rescue commissioner (equivalent to a director-general)	43–45
2	Division heads and district commanders	43–45
3	Station commanders, department heads	42–43
4	Branch heads	41–43

²⁹ See: <http://mops.gov.il/English/AboutUsEnglish/Pages/VisionAndGoals.aspx> (accessed June 1, 2014).
³⁰ See: <http://mops.gov.il/safetyandemergency/nationalfireservices/pages/default.aspx> (accessed June 1, 2014).

Data analysis: There are no women in the top three ranks. Two women serve in the fourth rank (in the absence of additional data, we could not know their percentage or basic characteristics).

Home Front Defense Ministry



Total*

100%
Jewish Women

100%
Born in Israel

71.4%
Hold a Master's
Degree or PhD

71.4%
Ages 41–60

42.9%
Married

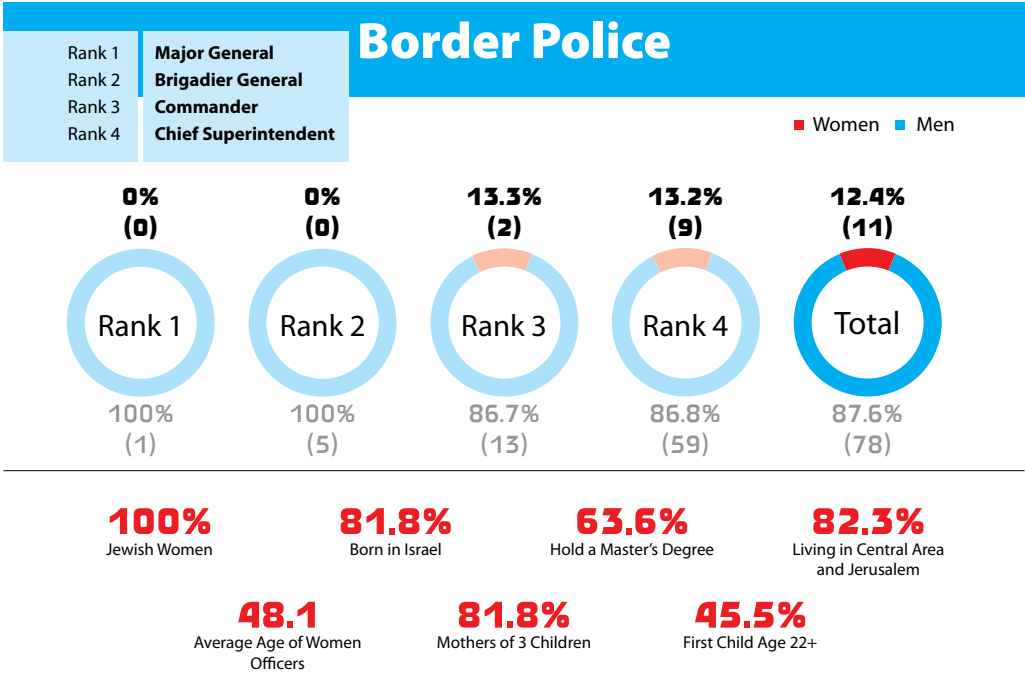
* Did not provide full data.

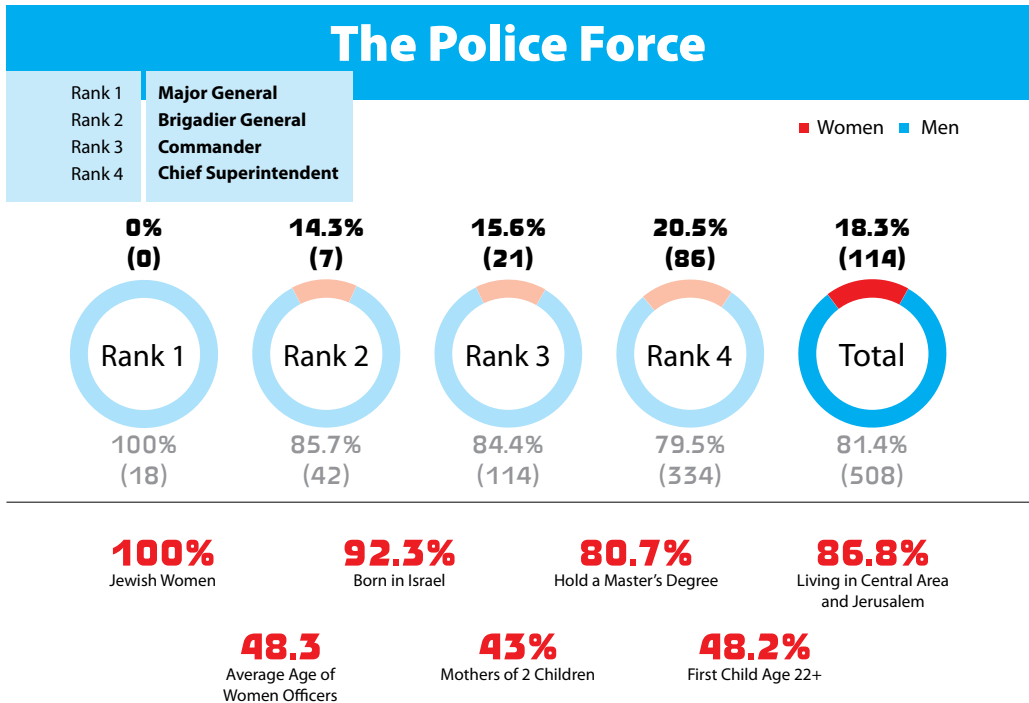
The Ministry of Home Front Defense was established to create the basic concept of mobilizing the civilian front in emergency situations, carrying out a readiness plan, and training and practice of all the relevant bodies.³¹ The ministry is charged with maintaining reasonable everyday routines of Israeli civilians and focusing its efforts on immediate rescue forces (the Israel Police, Magen David Adom, and firefighting) and the Home Front Command. At the end of April 2014, the minister of home front defense, Gilad Ardan, resigned from his post and recommended closing the ministry. The government accepted his recommendation and approved the closing of the ministry and the transfer of its authority to the Ministry of Defense.³²

Data analysis: In the absence of gender-segmented data, we know that a total of seven women served in the top four ranks of the ministry, constituting 30% of all the employees in those ranks. All the women who worked in the top ranks were Jewish; all were born in Israel; most (some 71.5%) were between the ages of 41 and 60; most (some 71%) had a master's degree or a doctorate; and some 40% were married.

³¹ See the ministry's website: <http://ready.org.il/israel/israeli-authorities/nationalemergencyauthority/> (accessed June 2, 2014).

³² See <http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=1059768> (accessed June 2, 2014).

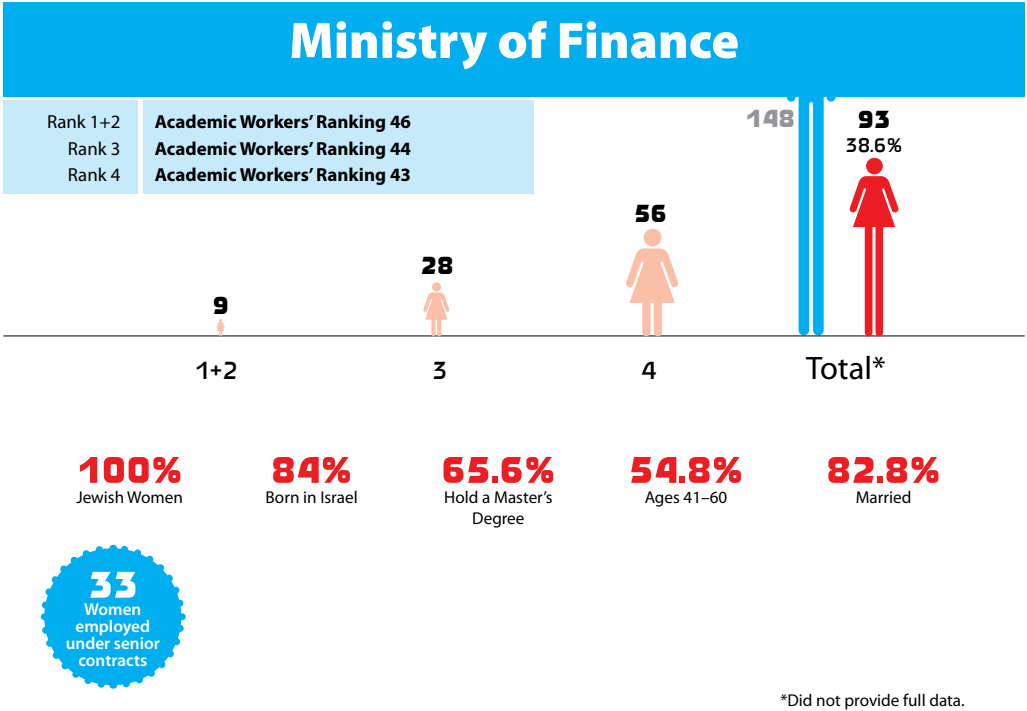




The Israel Police is in charge of internal security and is responsible to the minister of Public Security. It enforces the law, maintains public order, and protects lives and property.³⁴

Data analysis: A total of 18.33% of Israel Police employees in the top four ranks are women. Most (some 92%) were born in Israel; their average age is 48; most (80.7%) have 17 years of education; most (some 87%) live in the center of the country or Jerusalem; most (73.6%) are married.

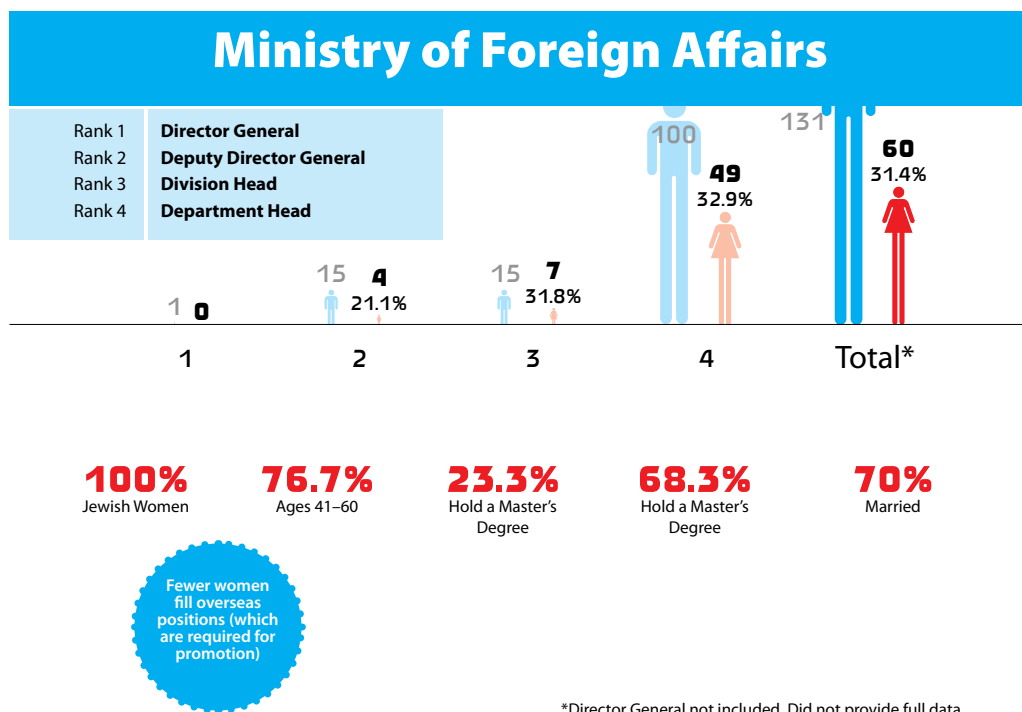
³⁴ See the website of the Israel Police: www.police.gov.il/portal.aspx?pid=49&mid=17 (accessed June 2, 2014). See also the Ynet Encyclopedia: www.ynet.co.il/yaan/0,7340,L-222320-MjlyMzlwXzk2ODlwMTQ2XzE0ODY4NzlwMAeqq-FreeYaan,00.html (accessed June 2, 2014).



The Ministry of Finance is the government’s main economic ministry. It is responsible for setting and executing the national government’s economic policy by preparing a national budget proposal and supervising its implementation, managing the state’s revenues, and collecting both direct and indirect taxes. The ministry is responsible for the activity of government companies, sets salary policy and labor agreements in the civil service, and is responsible for managing the state’s assets and overseeing the central bodies in the capital market.³⁵

Data analysis: The director-general of the ministry (the first rank) is a woman. In the top four ranks women constitute a total of 38.6%. All are Jewish; most (some 55%) are between the ages of 41 and 60; most (some 65%) have a master’s degree; most (some 84%) were born in Israel; and most (some 83%) are married.

³⁵ See the ministry’s website: <http://www.financeisrael.mof.gov.il/Financelisrael/Pages/En/Home.aspx> (accessed Dec. 14, 2014).



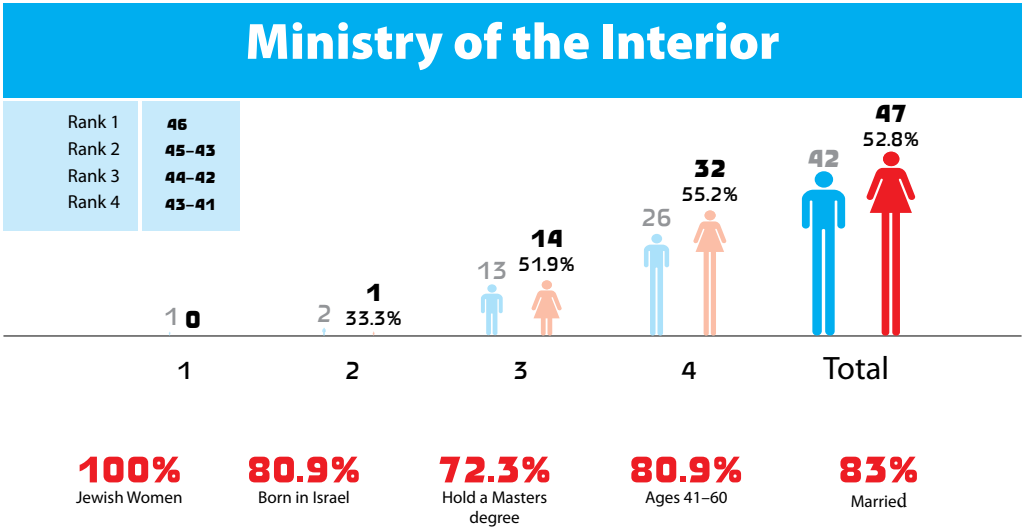
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs formulates, implements, and presents the foreign policy of the government of Israel. It represents the state vis-à-vis foreign governments and international organizations; explains its positions and problems throughout the world; endeavors to promote its economic, cultural, and scientific relations; and fosters cooperation with developing countries. The ministry also promotes relations with Diaspora communities and safeguards the rights of Israeli citizens abroad.³⁶

Data analysis: There are no women in the ministry's highest rank.³⁷ A total of 60 women are in the top four ranks, constituting 33% of all the workers in these ranks. All of them are Jewish; most (76.7%) are between the ages of 41 and 60; most (68.3%) have a master's degree; and most (70%) are married.

³⁶ See the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: <http://mfa.gov.il/MFAHEB/AboutUs/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed June 2, 2014).

³⁷ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not provide data regarding the top rank. The working assumption is that there is at least one person, a man, in this rank.

The ranking system in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is labyrinthine and complex.³⁸ The ministry's top leadership is made up of the director-general, the deputy director-general, and two heads of branches. All the employees in these positions are men. In an article published in February 2004,³⁹ Dana Weiler Pollak lists 23 senior positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (19 are deputy directors-general, three are heads of arrays, and one is the director-general), of whom only two are women (8.7%).⁴⁰ The three key senior positions in the ministry—director-general and the heads of arrays—are held by men.



The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for many areas, some of which are related to defense in its classic sense—for example, setting policy and developing emergency services for local government.⁴¹ The Ministry of the Interior is also responsible for broad areas pertaining to the daily lives of citizens, most of which are dealt with at the local level. Thus, for example, under the ministry's authority is the Population Administration, which deals with the arrangement of

38 See the figure showing the structure of the units in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the ministry's website: <http://mfa.gov.il/MFAHEB/AboutUs/Structure/Pages/mivne%20erguni%20-%20sep%202008.aspx> (accessed June 2, 2014).

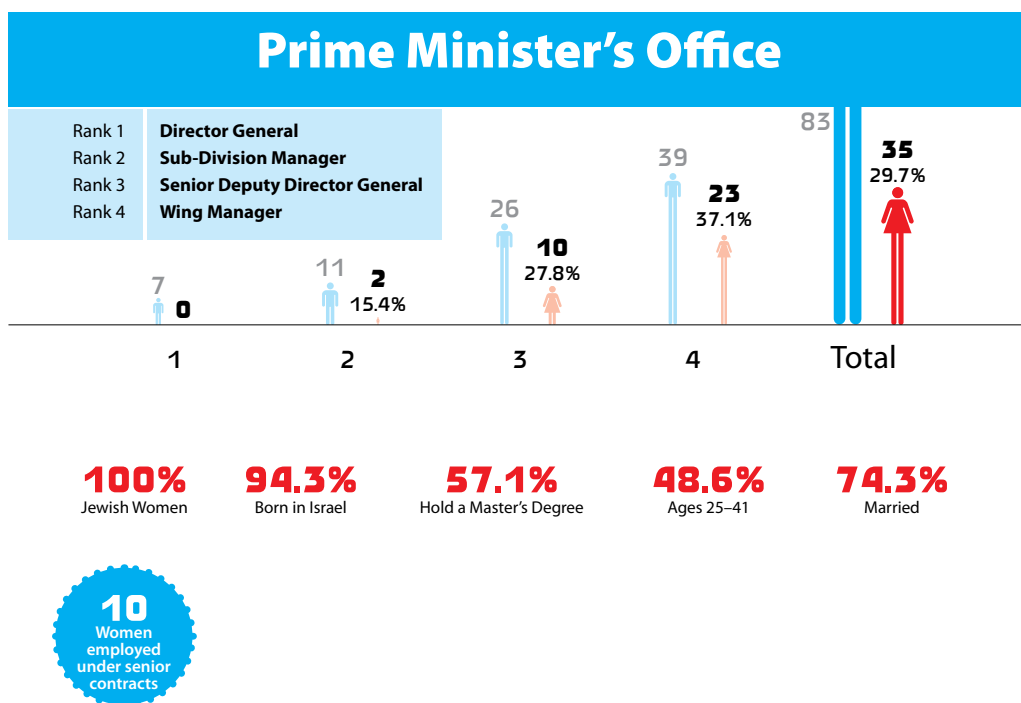
39 See Walla News article: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/9/2723840&m=> (accessed June 2, 2014).

40 Support for this is found in the personal correspondence of Ronit Ehrenfreund, chair of the Anashim Movement—the Movement for the Promotion of Equality in Israel, dated March 26, 2014. On March 30, 2014, I received an update from Ronit Ehrenfreund to the effect that another woman had been appointed, so that there were three women (13%).

41 See the website of the Ministry of the Interior: www.moin.gov.il/About/Pages/default.aspx (accessed June 2, 2014).

the legal status of the state's citizens and residents and of the foreigners staying in it.⁴² Under its authority are, among others, personal status registration and the issuing of identity cards, birth certificates, marriage certificates, and licenses for owning, carrying, and manufacturing firearms.

Data analysis: In the four top ranks of the Ministry of the Interior, 52.8% of the employees are women. They are all Jewish; most (80.9%) were born in Israel; there is not a single woman who immigrated to Israel from an "Eastern" country; most (80.9%) are between the ages of 41 and 60; most (72.3%) have a master's degree; and most (83%) are married.

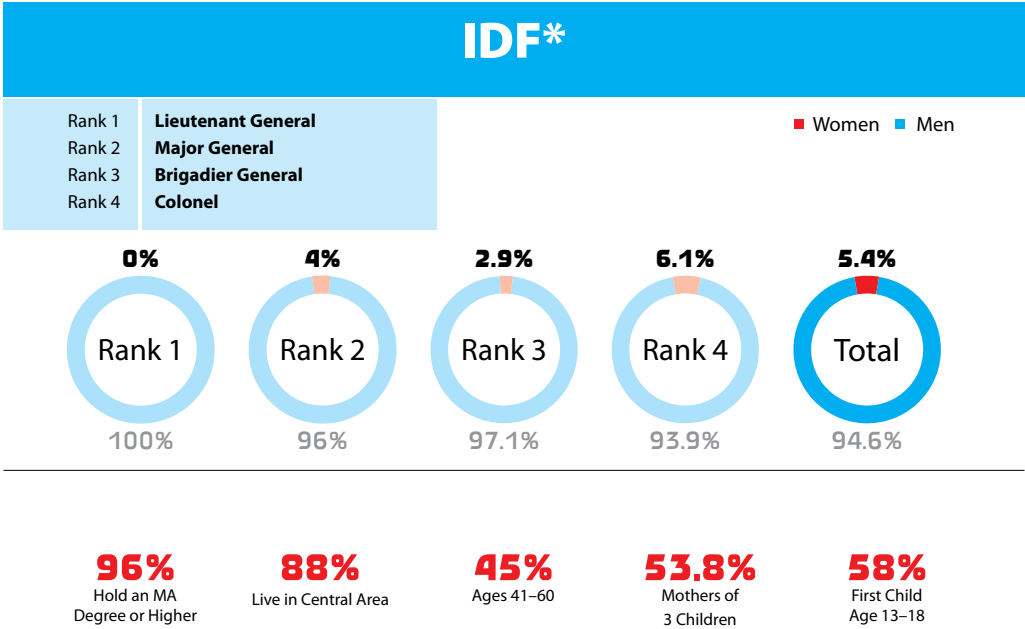


The Prime Minister's Office has many functions in many areas. The office's website provides a general definition: "The Prime Minister's Office assists the prime minister in his work and coordinates interministerial activities in various fields, in accordance with government resolutions and the priorities determined by the prime minister."⁴³

⁴² See the website of the Population and Immigration Authority: www.piba.gov.il/About/Pages/AboutTheAuthority.aspx (accessed June 2, 2014).

⁴³ See: www.pmo.gov.il/ABOUT/Pages/odot.aspx (accessed June 2, 2014).

Data analysis: Of all the employees in the top four ranks in the office, 29.7% are women. All are Jewish; the vast majority (94.3%) were born in Israel; many (48.5%) are relatively young—between the ages of 25 and 41; most (57.1%) have a master’s degree; and most (74.3%) are married.

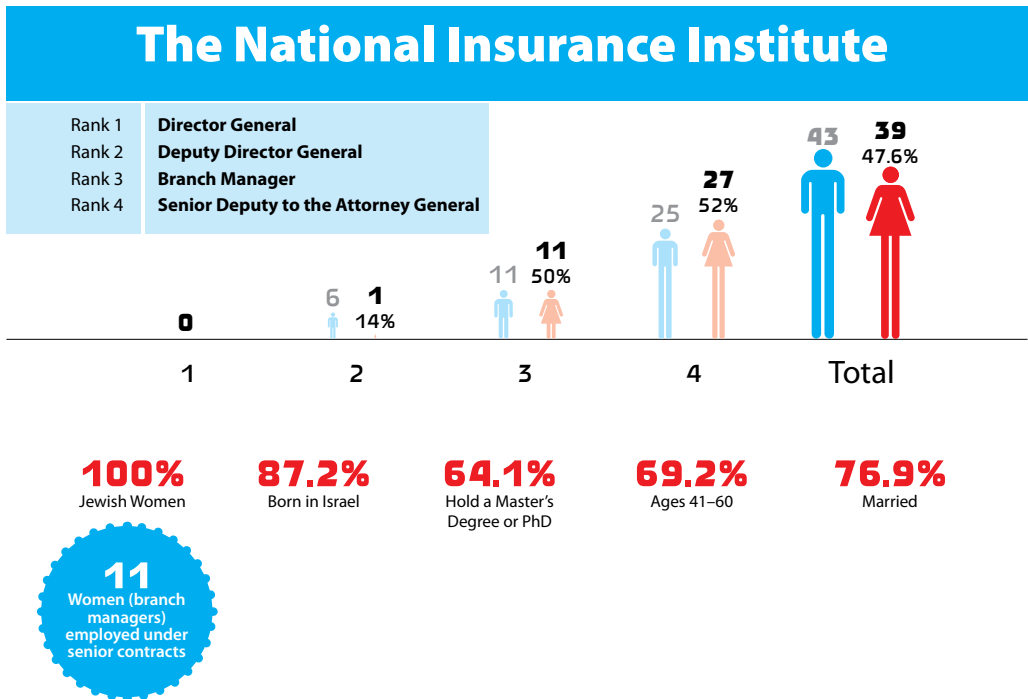


*Provided partial data.

Data analysis: A man holds the highest rank—the chief of general staff—in the IDF. In the second rank, 4% are women (Maj. Gen. Orna Barbivay, who retired recently from the IDF, was the first women to reach that rank). In the rank of brigadier general, 2.9% are women. And in the rank of colonel, 6.1% are women. In total, 5.37% of officers in the top four IDF ranks are women.⁴⁴ The average age of these women officers is 45; the vast majority of them (96%) have a master’s degree; most (88%) live in the center of the country; and most (85%) are married.⁴⁵

44 The data are based on information received from the chief of general staff’s adviser on women’s issues and the work of Haber and Sharvit Baruch (2013, p. 24) on women’s service in the IDF.

45 Oren Barak and Eyal Tsur examined the top-ranking officers in the IDF (Barak and Tsur 2012; 2014). In light of the widespread inclusion of retired top-ranking officers in highly influential civilian sectors, the ramifications of the exclusion of women from the senior ranks of the IDF go far beyond the boundaries of the IDF. Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer developed the concept of the “defense network of Israel” (Barak 2008; Sheffer and Barak 2013), by means of which they document and analyze the phenomenon in detail.



The National Insurance Institute is responsible for implementing the social benefits of Israeli citizens and the laws pertaining to economic security (such as the Income Support Law). According to the official website: “The National Insurance Institute is intended to ensure that weaker populations and families that are undergoing temporary or long-term distress have an economic basis to sustain them.”⁴⁶ We included the National Insurance Institute because of its image as a body that deals with security in its broad sense, which includes economic security, personal security, social security, and nutrition security.

Data analysis: The National Insurance Institute is known as an organization that employs a majority of women (according to the State Comptroller’s Report, women are 80% of its employees).⁴⁷ Women comprise 47.56% of the employees in the top four ranks. Most (some 87%) were born in Israel; most (about 70%) are between the ages of 41 and 60; most (some 64%) have a master’s or higher degree; and most (about 77%) are married.

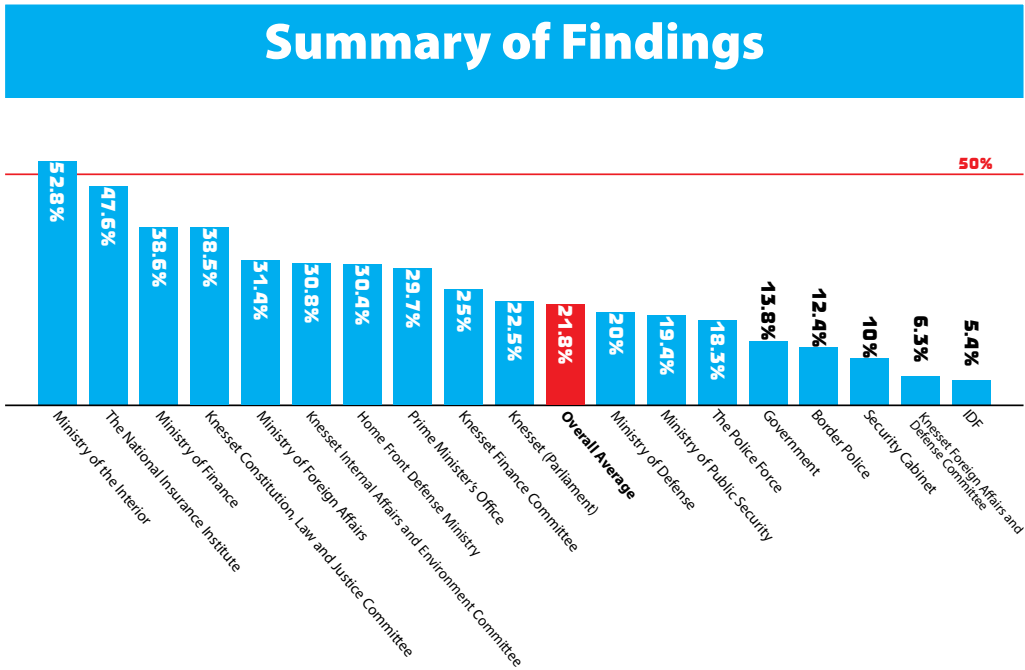
⁴⁶ See the website of the National Insurance Institute: www.btl.gov.il/about/Pages/default.aspx (accessed June 12, 2014).

⁴⁷ See the State Comptroller’s Report (note 13 above), pp. 19, 85.

Chapter Four

Analysis of the Findings

Fig. 3: Summary of findings



The aim of this report is to examine the percentage and degree of diversity of women in security-related decision-making foci. To that end we approached 26 bodies. Three—the IDF, the Israel Police, and the Border Police—responded to our direct request and agreed to cooperate. Seven additional bodies publish their data regularly and openly: the government, the security cabinet, the Knesset and the Knesset committees (the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee [partial information], the Ministry of the Interior and the Environment, the Finance Committee, and the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee). Thirteen requests for information were sent to 15 additional bodies (some government ministries are responsible simultaneously for several relevant bodies; for example, the Prime Minister’s Office is responsible for the Israel Security

Agency, the Mossad, the National Security Council, and the Atomic Energy Authority; the Ministry of Home Front Defense is also responsible for the Fire and Rescue Authority). Most of these bodies responded partially, some agreed to speak to us after submission of the request and to allow us to clarify it; six bodies refused outright to hand over information on the percentage of women in their top positions, even after we submitted a freedom of information request and after correspondence with the lawyers of the Movement for Freedom of Information; these six were the Atomic Energy Commission, the Mossad, the National Security Council, the Ministry for Strategic Affairs, the Israel Security Agency, and the Broadcasting Authority.

Figure 3 shows the bodies that provided us with data that enabled us to compare the representation of women in the top four ranks. The figure shows a total of 18 bodies, in which 500 women are employed in senior positions and constitute 21.8% of all the workers in those ranks. The vast majority of these women resemble each other greatly. According to their average profile, they are Jewish women who were born in Israel, between the ages of 41 and 60, married, and holders of a master's degree. Other data that are likely to be relevant to the question of diversity in the context of defense (for example, ethnic origin) were not supplied, or were supplied by only a few bodies (for example, number of children and their ages). From this we conclude that women are not suitably represented in security-related decision-making foci in Israel and that in any case there is insufficient diversity of women in these ranks.

Appendix

Table 3. List of bodies we approached (in alphabetical order), how we approached them, and the status of the request at the time of the report (June 2014)

	The body	Manner of approach	Status of request
National security and internal security	Atomic Energy Commission	Freedom of information request	Unwilling to respond
	Border Police	Direct request	Complete information
	Fire and Rescue Commission	Freedom of information request	Partial information ¹
	Government	Open sources	Complete information
	Government: Security Cabinet	Open sources	Complete information
	IDF	Direct request	Complete information ²
	Israel Police	Direct request	Complete information
	Knesset	Open sources	Partial information
	Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee	Freedom of information request	Partial information ³
	Knesset Interior and Environment Committee	Open sources	Complete information
	Knesset Economic Affairs Committee	Open sources	Complete information
	Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee	Open sources	Complete information
	Ministry of Defense	Freedom of information request	Complete information
	Ministry of Finance	Freedom of information request	Partial information
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Freedom of information request	Complete information
	Ministry of Home Front Defense	Freedom of information request	Partial information
	Ministry of the Interior	Freedom of information request	Complete information
	Ministry of Public Security	Freedom of information request	Partial information
	Ministry of Strategic Affairs	Freedom of information request	Unwilling to send separate information ⁴
	Mossad	Freedom of information request	Unwilling to respond
	National Security Council	Freedom of information request	Unwilling to respond ⁵
	Prime Minister's Office	Freedom of information request	Complete information
	Israel Security Agency	Freedom of information request	Unwilling to respond
Broadening the concept of security	Broadcasting Authority	Freedom of information request	General data arrived after the report was already written
	Civil Service Commission	Freedom of information request	Publicly available information was sent, without addressing the request
	National Insurance Institute	Freedom of information request	Complete information

- 1 The person in charge of freedom of information in the Prime Minister's Office promised to provide the rest of the information but did not do so.
- 2 People from the chief of staff's adviser on women's affairs, who provided the data, asked that we be satisfied with the percentage of women (without details that would reveal the total number of people in each rank).
- 3 Did not agree to say who the members of the subcommittees are.
- 4 The person in charge of freedom of information in the Prime Minister's Office explained that the data of the Ministry of Strategic Affairs are part of the data of the Prime Minister's Office and did not provide separate data.
- 5 In an article that appeared in Walla on December 30, 2011, Tal Shalev writes: "The Prime Minister's Office stated that five women serve in top positions in the National Security Council, but since it was established, in 2008, only one woman has served in one of the senior positions in the headquarters: Sima Schein, the former head of a division in the Mossad, who served as a branch head and the deputy head of the National Security Council and who today heads the division of strategic affairs in the Prime Minister's Office. Last year, MKs Nahman Shai (Kadima) and Tzipi Hotovely (Likud) introduced a specific bill stating that the rules of due representation will also apply to employees of the National Security Council, but this bill has not progressed since then. Former MK Brig. Gen. Amira Dotan, who was behind the National Security Council Law, believes that there is no reason not to promote women to senior positions in the headquarters: "This is a matter of mood and decision. Today there are enough women who have reached senior and high-quality ranks in the IDF and in defense bodies. Throughout the world it is said that decisions must be made on the basis of a multiplicity of diverse voices, but in Israel all the political-security decisions are made by the same male defense milieu, and we pay a price for that in the quality of the decision-making process and discussions." See <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/2686/1889697> (accessed June 1, 2014).

