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CONTENTS

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Last-minute preparations for the play "Hide-and-Seek" performed in Jaffa "D." The play and the TV film about it are discussed in the article "Trapped in Marginality? The Exposure of a Community Theater in the Israeli Media," p. 15e.

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Introduction / Michael Keren — 2e

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles:

On the Media and Bereavement in the Bible / Yair Hoffman — 4e

Women in the Hebrew Press — Beginnings / Nurit Guvrin — 5e

A Forgotten Figure: Hava Shapira, "The Mother of All That Lives" / Rachel Yoktan — 7e

"Ha'isha" (The Woman) and Civil Society in Eretz Yisrael During the 1920s / Michael Keren — 8e

"La'isha" (For the Woman) — An Israeli Weekly for Women That Defines Home, Self and Contemporary Reality / Sonia Leiden — 10e

The Women's Press in Israel: An Arena for Reproduction or For Challenge? / Hanna Herzog — 10e

A Disappearing World? Women in TV Election Campaigns in Israel / Gabi Weimann and Jonathan Cohen — 12e

Women Journalists in the Israeli Press / Einat Lachover — 13e

Have Pink and Blue Become Interchangeable? Gendered Language in the Israeli Press / Diana Luzzatto and Yehuda Jacobson — 14e

Trapped in Marginality? The Exposure of a Community Theater in the Israeli Media / Anat First and Shulamit Lev-Aladgem — 15e

Women in the Israel Broadcasting Authority: Data and Status / Dalia Liran-Alper — 17e

Jewish Women in American Film / Dganit Borovsky — 17e

Jewish Women Military Reporters in the U.S. / Aryeh Hashavia — 18e

"Company Jasmine": A Production Diary / Yael Katzir — 20e

Contributors to This Issue — 22e

Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications - Information Center

The Information Center has established a computerized research library with an on-line data base of some 110,000 articles and newspaper clippings published in the Jewish and Israeli media from 1989 onward, updated daily. Topics include the functioning of the Jewish print and electronic media; relations with governmental, public, legal and economic networks; the mutuality between media and society; and information on media figures. Such areas as security, criminal and economic affairs widely covered by the media are on file, as is a wide range of bibliographic materials on the history of Jewish media in Israel and throughout the world.

A special section contains titles and details of approximately 10,000 Jewish periodicals in some 40 languages published since the late 17th century, constituting a significant portion of the estimated 15,000 Jewish periodicals thought to have existed.

The Center also houses several collections of current and historical exemplars of the Israeli and Jewish press, including special issues, and about 1,500 relevant books, video and audio cassettes and photographs.

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INTRODUCTION / Michael Keren

Each year, the Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications awards scholarships to outstanding students in memory of Tali Gordon and Inbar Attiya, two students at Tel Aviv University who were killed in the terrorist explosion on Dizengoff Street on 4 March 1996. We open the present issue of *Keshet* with the lecture delivered this year at the award ceremony in May 2000 by Prof. Yair Hoffman, head of the Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies at Tel Aviv University, dealing with a transcription of the media and its role in bereavement in the Bible.

The greater part of this issue of *Keshet* is devoted to the activity, status and representation of women in the Jewish and the Israeli press and media.

A path-breaking survey by Nurit Govrin examines the appearance of women Hebrew writers in newspapers and periodicals before World War I. The study reveals the difficult, slow and hesitant steps that these writers took, starting from Rachel Morpurgo nee Luzzatto, who is considered the first woman Hebrew writer. Acceptance for publication in the early Hebrew press required the intercession of male mediators and was accomplished peripherally, for example through the genre of letters. These published efforts often elicited deprecation, and only a few women writers ever appeared in print in the period discussed, even in the labor press.

One of the women writers discussed in the survey is Hava Shapira, a descendant of Rabbi Pinhas of Korets, who perished in Theresienstadt. Her appearance in the important periodicals of the early 20th century was an exceptional achievement, yet Hava Shapira has been forgotten, a situation which Rachel Yoktan seeks to remedy in her biographical study.

Two women's periodicals are discussed next. My article analyzes the monthly *Ha'isha*, which was published during the 1920s by the so-called "civil circles" and which fought on behalf of the articulation of women's distinctive interests in a milieu of labor movement hegemony. The article highlights the characteristic refusal of this periodical to view women's participation in public life as necessitating the relinquishing of private life.

Sonia Leiden's article analyzes the socio-semiotic status of the weekly *La'isha*, arguing that despite the low status that this magazine has in the perception of the public, the journal-

ism community and academia, it has exerted a significant influence on the Israeli social arena.

We are reprinting the article by Hannah Herzog that first appeared in *Keshet* No. 25 but was marred by printer's errors in the references. The piece proposes a research base for the study of the women's press in Israel. The author describes the development of the commercial press geared to women in Israel and argues that on the one hand it led to a narrowing of the representation of the woman, but on the other to the opening up of new avenues of choice for women in their negotiation with society.

Gabi Weimann and Jonathan Cohen present research findings on comparative gender representation in the TV election campaign in Israel in 1999 showing the significantly higher rate of the appearance of men, including in broadcasts prepared by liberal parties. Moreover, a clear distinction is made between the content aimed at men as compared to women, with women depicted stereotypically in terms of age, role in the broadcast and other aspects.

Einat Lachover presents data from a 1998 survey of the participation and status of women in print journalism in Israel. The findings show that despite the growth in the rate of women's participation in the Israeli press, their status is lower than that of men in terms of job definition, managerial responsibility, salary and fields covered. The article also analyzes in-depth interviews of men and women journalists on the issue of gender equality in the profession.

Diana Luzzatto and Yehuda Jacobson reveal a pioneering finding in their examination of gender characteristics in journalistic language in Israel, namely that women journalists tend to write in a language commonly considered in socio-linguistic research to be "male." The explanation that they suggest points to "rhetorical acrobatics" that women journalists use to cope with the conflicts created as a result of their entry into editorial areas previously closed to them.

Dalia Liran-Alper, who served as chair of the Broadcasting Authority Committee on the Status of Women during 1993-98, describes the perceptions of women employees of the Authority who appeared before the Committee.

Anat First and Shulamit Lev-Aladgem explore an event in which a play mounted by Sephardi women taking part in a community theater in Jaffa "D" was documented in a film (ti-

itled "Hide-and-Seek") that was shown on prime-time TV. The writers analyze the role of the play as a vehicle for forging the participants' self-identity in the face of entrenched images in Israeli society. They then analyze the film in terms of the attempts by its director, Iris Rubin, to document her own experiences as a woman and a Sephardi. Lastly, they reveal what they describe as a process of reintroducing stereotypical nuances of the female Sephardi identity and reinforcing the circle of marginality surrounding these women through the treatment of the film in the press.

Dganit Borovsky examines images of Jewish women in American film and shows the degradation of the image of both the young Jewish woman as a spoiled princess and of the older Jewish woman as a castrating mother.

Two articles conclude the issue - one, by Arie Hashavia, on Jewish women military reporters in the U.S., and the other consisting of segments of a production diary kept by Yael Katzir while making her film, "Company Jasmine," about a women's officer's training course in the Israel Defense Forces. The diary reveals, by the author's own account, a series of professional dilemmas dealt with from a feminine point of view.

The *Kesher* Editorial Board will be happy to receive proposals for articles in the May 2001 issue, which will be devoted to economic aspects of the Jewish press and communications in Israel and throughout the world, past and present.

Readers will notice that we have altered the English spelling of our name to a more acceptable phonetic format.

ON THE MEDIA AND BEREAVEMENT IN THE BIBLE / Yair Hoffman

Excerpts from an address at the scholarship awards ceremony, Institute for the Study of the Jewish Press and Communications, Tel Aviv University, May 18, 2000, in memory of Tali Gordon and Inbar Attia.

The pairing of the thoroughly contemporary term "media" with "Bible," the ancient Book of Books, may seem odd, yet the concept of "medium" is a central aspect of many Biblical episodes.

The oldest stories in the Bible show an astute awareness of communications, or media. The dove and the raven in the story of the flood may be viewed as media agents sent to endangered regions to report: "The waters have receded from the earth" (Genesis 8). The story of the Tower of Babel, the etiologic legend that attempts to explain the phenomenon of multiple languages in the world, reveals an interest in the most important communication tool of all, that which distinguishes human from animal communication. Other communication-related narratives deal with political propaganda (e.g., Rabsakeh's speech to the besieged Jerusalemites in II Kings 18 and Isaiah 37) and war news (e.g., Isaiah 10, interpreted as a report by scouts of the approach of an enemy to Jerusalem). The Bible is filled with stories, poems and prophecies that were set down in writing to convey messages to the reader. In this respect, the authors and editors of the Bible are agents who dealt with the same problems that media people do today: what to report, to whom, how and when.

Four episodes from the Bible that relate to tragedy and bereavement illuminate the essential, timeless dilemmas faced by the media in terms of the reporter, the recipients of the report and the reciprocal relationships between them.

In the story of Joseph, the brothers come to Jacob as "media people," or information agents, presenting him with the blood-stained coat of many colors without further commentary (Genesis 37). Jacob views this as an objective report and concludes that his son Joseph has fallen prey to a wild animal. He does not wish to delude himself with false hope. Yet, the reader knows that the brothers are not objective media agents, but a party with an ulterior motive. They tell a half-truth ("We found" the coat) and they lead their father ("Do you recognize this coat; is it not your son's?") to the conclusion they desire. The lesson to media consumers is: Examine the reports you

receive carefully, learn to read between the lines and see beyond the pictures. The lesson for media agents is more cynical: Knowledge of the audience enables you to slant reports effectively.

The second episode involves Satan putting Job to a test. Will he bless or curse the Almighty if disaster befalls him (Job 1)? The anonymous reporters who bring him the terrible news of the destruction of all his livestock and all his children have been sent by Satan on behalf of the Almighty. The pattern of delivery of the news in stages is designed to further weaken Job. He is also denied the knowledge of who stands behind the event. The editing of the scenario, therefore, is manipulative and provocative.

A third episode deals with the reporting of loss of life to the person who will be most affected by it. The suppression of Absalom's rebellion against David, his father, ends with the killing of Absalom by the chief of the army, Joab, despite David's prior request to spare his son's life (II Samuel 18). Who will bring David the news both of his army's victory and his son's death? Ahimaatz, son of the High Priest Zadok, a runner (i.e., a media professional), volunteers for the task. Joab rules this out and sends a Cushite, more junior in the profession, instead. Ahimaatz, nevertheless, sets out, too, and overtakes the other runner. Arriving at the destination first, he tells David a half-truth — that the king's forces won, but in answer to David's question about his son, he replies that he has no information. The second runner falls into a trap to which even experienced reporters are prone: he not only reports but adds his own commentary, announcing insensitively: "...the enemies of the king...be as that young man is [i.e., all are dead]."

An entirely different aspect of the media is reflected in the story of Saul's visit to the woman diviner at Ein-Dor (I Samuel 28). Saul requests the diviner to bring up the dead Samuel so that he can ask him what the result of the impending war with the Philistines will be. Samuel's reply is that the Lord will deliver Saul, his sons and Israel into the hands of the Philistines. Here the diviner is the information medium between Saul and the dead Samuel, while Samuel is the credible media commentator. He is the only commentator who will tell Saul the truth. Saul may have wanted to silence the media (he forbade the use of diviners) to prevent reports of his kingdom's unsta-

ble condition. Yet he himself could not manage without a medium in order to learn the unvarnished truth from the single credible source. The lesson to be learned is that working with the media is difficult, but working without them is impossible.

The essential problems involved in the media, therefore, are timeless. In the eyes of the authors of the Bible, one aspect of media reportage — the conveying of news of personal tragedy — also reflects the character of the reporter. The media, as illuminated by the Bible, are an integral part of the sociocultural fabric of life from time immemorial.

WOMEN IN THE HEBREW PRESS — BEGINNINGS / Nurit Govrin

Women as writers and as readers were absent from the early Hebrew press, which began in the mid-19th century, primarily because they were not taught Hebrew (and received little education of any kind), and Hebrew was not their mother tongue. A few families, influenced by the *Haskalah* (enlightenment) movement, did educate their daughters both generally and in Hebrew, although women who were drawn to active intellectual pursuits then had to be independent-minded and self-motivated.

A survey of the content of women's writing in the early Hebrew press reveals that the authors had a high degree of feminine consciousness and were motivated by the need to compete with men and prove that they were as capable, for they were received coldly by the critics and by society at large. Educated women generally were viewed with hostility. Another aspect of this unwelcoming response, if perhaps unconscious, may have related to the elevated status of Hebrew literature and reverence for the holy tongue, which men feared would be sullied if it became the preserve of women.

Probably the first woman to write for a Hebrew periodical, or to publish in Hebrew at all, was Rachel Morpurgo (1799-1871), born in Trieste, Italy, to the prominent Luzzatto family of *maskilim*. Atypically, she received a Hebrew education at home, while also studying Italian and science. Her first work to be published, a poem, appeared in 1847 in the Hebrew periodical *Kokhavei Yitzhak* ("Isaac's Stars"), published by Mendel Stern in Vienna during 1845-73. Additional poems by her appeared in other issues of the periodical until 1868. Morpurgo, however, was not to be the harbinger of a new women's Hebrew literary tradition. Her singular breakthrough, rather, was the product of the uniquely tolerant Jewish society in Italy, which integrated Jewish tradition with European edu-

cational norms.

Kokhavei Yitzhak did, however, publish works, titled "compositions," by another woman, Yenta Kelman-Wolner (1810-91). The daughter of a wealthy merchant in Lvov, she, too, was educated privately alongside her brothers and studied Bible, Hebrew grammar and *Haskalah* poetry.

An unusual development was an article titled "The Question of Women" by Toiva Segal of Vilna, published in six parts in 1879 in the Lemberg (Lvov) periodical, *Ha'ivri* ("The Hebrew") edited by Jacob Verber. The writer, then about 20, as the other women writers, was the daughter of a *maskil*. The series constituted the first published argument for Jewish women's equality and educational emancipation, expressed vigorously and through the use of satire. The editor, nervous about the impact of such controversial material, yet obviously aware of its drawing power in terms of circulation, introduced the series with a demurrer regarding her views. Significantly, Segal targeted the male *maskilim* for criticism, for despite their erudition and declared quest for Jewish renewal, they view the *Haskalah* movement as the province of men and seek to subjugate women no less than other men, she held. Women's equality, she concludes boldly, is ultimately conditional upon their attainment of economic independence. In this, Segal accurately pinpointed the conflict of the *maskilim* on the question of educated women, which accounted for the slow progress of women in Hebrew journalism and literature.

Much of the published work of women during the early years of the Hebrew press was in fact written for the private domain in the form of letters and was submitted by others for publication, as was the case with Rachel Morpurgo. As such, the participation of these writers in the press was essentially technical and not self-motivated. Another format was the "open

letter” sent directly to the editor, a genre that eased the transition from the private to the public domain. Such letters were written by educated women with a heightened awareness of issues of equality and education, in particular the Hebrew education of girls, during the latter 19th century.

The first woman to be published in the Peterberg-based Hebrew daily *Hayom* (“Today”), edited by Judah Leib Cantor, was Sarah Faige Foner-Meinkin. She, too, had been taught Hebrew as a child in Riga, receiving the same level of education as boys. The first woman writer of Hebrew children’s books, she later became an impassioned Zionist and at the end of her life an advocate of the ultra-Orthodox way of life.

A better-known writer, Nehama Feinstein Pukhachewsky (1869-1934), of Brisk, Lithuania, born to a family of *maskilim*, first appeared in 1889 in the Hebrew periodical *Hamelitz* (“The Advocate”), edited by Alexander Halevi Zederbaum. Her article, “More on the Question of Girls,” was a sharp attack against the entrenched perception of women as unable to take part in any aspect of public life. She advocated the education of girls in Jewish studies as vital to the passing down of a heritage of national loyalty to future generations, a possible reference to the abandonment of their religion by many European-educated daughters of wealthy Jewish families. Pukhachewsky went on to become a leading women’s rights activist, married and immigrated to Eretz Yisrael, where she continued writing stories, impressions and editorial articles published in the Hebrew press, namely in *Hamelitz*, *Hashilo’ah* (“The Messenger”), *Hapo’el Hatza’ir* (“The Young Worker”), *Ha’olam* (“The World”), *Ha’or* (“The Light”) and *Hatkufah* (“The Era”). She took an active part in public life, especially in the field of education, in which she stressed the feminist point of view.

Hemda Ben-Yehuda (1873-1951), of the Yunis family of *maskilim*, began writing for the Hebrew periodicals published by her illustrious husband, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, at age 20. The first woman journalist in Eretz Yisrael, she wrote stories, articles, translations and fashion columns, while also playing an active role as editor. Her work appeared in *Hazvi* (“The Deer”) from 1896, *Hashkafah* (“Outlook”) and *Ha’or*. She edited the first Hebrew children’s newspaper, *Olam Katon* (“Small World,” 1893), and the earliest women’s columns.

During the same period, women began to write for the

Hebrew press in the U.S., primarily for *Ha’ivri* (1891-96), edited by Kasriel Sarasohn. They included Rازه Damash, Ida Suzan, Haya Altman and Sofia Kaplan.

From the turn of the 20th century until World War I, the presence of women in the Hebrew press and in Hebrew literature grew, although it remained limited. The trend began in Eastern Europe and was reinforced in Eretz Yisrael by the work of Pukhachewsky and Ben-Yehuda. Another woman Hebrew journalist during this period was Hava Shapira (1879-1943), whose first short story was published in 1902 in the Cracow-based *Hador* (“The Generation”) edited by David Frischmann, and who continued to write in Hebrew in Eastern Europe and America (*see separate article on her, p. 7e*).

The first story by the best-known woman writer of the period, Dvora Baron (1887-1956), was published in 1902 in *Hamelitz* when she was 15. The daughter of a rabbi, Baron received the traditional *heder* education given to boys. She continued to be published, while still in her teens, both in the Yiddish press (*Der Tog*, “The Day”) and in the Hebrew press: the Warsaw-based *Hatsfirah* (1903) edited by Nahum Sokolov, and the Vilna-based *Hazman* (“The Time”, 1905) edited by Ben-Zion Katz. She went on to contribute to all the contemporary Hebrew periodicals, including children’s magazines. Immigrating to Eretz Yisrael in 1910, she became literary editor of *Hapo’el Hatza’ir*, which published all her stories and translations.

Despite the egalitarian image of women in the labor movement in Eretz Yisrael during the early part of the 20th century, a survey of the participation of women in the two labor print organs then, *Hapo’el Hatza’ir* and *He’ahdut* (“Unity”), supports the opposite conclusion drawn by researchers. The number of women writers was minimal, their pieces appeared infrequently, and the content of their work was generally marginal. Besides Baron, other women writers were Rahel Yana’it (Ben-Zvi), Sarah Malkin, Sarah Thon, Ada Fischman (Maimon), Dvora Feldman and Irah Yan.

Significantly, even the juvenile press was dominated by men. Only three women writers — Hemda Ben-Yehuda, Nehama Pukhachewsky and Dvora Baron — played an active role in this area.

Women as editors were even scarcer. Three women only were active in this area: Ben-Yehuda, Baron and Yana’it.

A FORGOTTEN FIGURE: HAVA SHAPIRA, "THE MOTHER OF ALL THAT LIVES" / Rachel Yoktan

Born in Slavuta in the Volhynia province of Ukraine in 1878, Hebrew writer Hava Shapira began her career at the turn of the 20th century and produced 17 short stories, dozens of articles, translations of literary works and a diary that spanned four decades. Nevertheless, she is nearly unknown today.

Her family, of prominent scholarly lineage, descended from Rabbi Pinhas of Korets and were associated with the first Jewish printing press in Russia, the Slavuta Press. They also owned paper mills, flour mills and other industries. Hava's upbringing was unusual for traditional Jewish families, for she was given the same religious and Hebrew education as her two brothers. Exceptionally intelligent (she was considered a genius), she also studied foreign languages, read foreign literature, and began writing in secret at a young age. Her mother, Menuha, an educated woman, instilled a love of Hebrew in her children and they attained fluency in it. Eretz Yisrael, too, was a central focus at home.

Slavuta, a Zionist town, had a Lovers of the Hebrew Language club which Hava joined. Her broad education, combined with a sharp intellect, self-confidence and financial security, impelled her to pursue writing.

Married at 17 to the son of a wealthy banker in Warsaw, Hava gave birth to a son at age 19. The marriage, however, was unsuccessful, probably because of the couple's incompatible interests. Hava befriended writers and journalists in Warsaw and frequented the theater and opera. Unable to reconcile herself to her unhappy marriage, she decided to leave her husband, paying the heavy price of separation from her child. Her diary reveals her pain and guilt.

At the same time, she met and fell in love with the Hebrew writer Reuben Brainin and developed an intense relationship with him, reflected in a prolonged correspondence (1899-1920). He was 16 years her senior, married with children, and had no intention of leaving his family. Hava, wounded emotionally from the relationship, nevertheless benefited from Brainin's recognition and his encouragement of her talent in the early years. Additionally, she established connections with authors Y. L. Peretz and David Frischmann in Warsaw, then the center of Hebrew literature. Both men guided and influenced her as a young writer. She published her first story, *Hashoshanah* ("The Rose") in 1902 in the Hebrew peri-

odical *Hador* ("The Generation") edited by Frischmann.

Relocating in Vienna, she studied philosophy and psychology and in 1906 was accepted at the University of Bern in Switzerland, where she attained a doctorate in philosophy in 1910 at age 32. A year previously, in 1909, she published a volume of stories, *Kovetz Tsiyurim* ("Compilation of Pictures"), which, however, made little impression on the Hebrew literary community.

Shapira traveled to Eretz Yisrael in 1911. Following World War I, she settled in Prague, a decision stemming from her admiration of the democratic government established in postwar Czechoslovakia by its president, Thomas Masaryk. Living with her son, she aspired to continue building her life as an independent woman and writing fiction. Her last story to be published, however, was in 1921. With this, she continued to publish a large number of articles, primarily in *Ha'olam* ("The World"), *Hatoren* ("The Mast") and *Hado'ar* ("The Mail"), which provided her with a livelihood. She also wrote in German, Czech and Yiddish, and published a monograph on Masaryk (Prague, 1935).

Remarrying in the mid-1920s, again unhappily, Shapira felt isolated from the mainstream of Jewish cultural life and from family and friends. The little that she wrote in her diary during the 1930s reveals frustration and desperation, intensified by the impending war. The last entry was in 1941, when she wrote that she was entrusting the diary in someone else's hands, her fate destined to be that of her people. She died in the Theresienstadt concentration camp in February 1943.

Shapira's 17 published stories are written mostly in a pictorial genre typified by psychological realism, with an emphasis on the status of the woman in society generally and of the Jewish woman in a changing Jewish society in particular. She portrays women as victims of male society, or depicts situations that symbolize this relationship.

She viewed herself as having a mission in her life, namely, to advance not only her own status but that of women generally and of women in literature in particular. Significantly, she signed her works "The mother of all that lives," revealing a self-awareness of her pioneering role in Hebrew literature.

A survey of the periodicals of the time shows the pronounced absence of women in the print medium, revealing

Shapira's presence in the important Hebrew periodicals then (1913-38) as exceptional. The author has located a total of 62 of Shapira's published articles, although this may not include them all, as they were never compiled. Their content centers on Hebrew and general literature, Jewish and general culture, philosophy, Jewish communal life, Zionism, noted figures and current events. They reflect her broad erudition and her inter-

est in women in society and in literature, Jewish life and Eretz Yisrael. They also demonstrate her fluency in Hebrew and the richness of her vocabulary. All this takes on even greater significance in light of her struggle to define herself as a writer in an exclusively male field at a time when to do so invited personal hardship, frustration and isolation.

“HA’ISHA” (THE WOMAN) AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN ERETZ YISRAEL DURING THE 1920S / Michael Keren

Israel is unique in that neither the left nor the right ever fostered the concept of civil society, i.e., voluntary public-interest groups that function independently of the state. In this, curiously, they both follow the Bolshevik pattern, which dictates and controls the entire gamut of economic, political and cultural life of the state. Both the left, which sought to entrench its class-based vision, and the right, which promoted a national vision, ignored the lacunae in day-to-day life in Israel – the inefficiencies of the health system, prolonged reserve duty, a high accident rate on the roads, environmental destruction, and the fear of terror – in favor of their ambition to achieve the larger objectives: security, immigrant absorption, settling the territories, building national infrastructures, and the peace process. The major parties built up strong, centralized party networks controlled by political appointees, shelving the notion of voluntarism, including in the political arena itself. Their efforts were devoted essentially to ideological education rather than to the education of an independent-minded citizen activist.

This does not mean, however, that civil society did not exist in Israel. Even though they did not attract very much political or historiographic attention, individuals and groups with particularist concerns made efforts to express themselves and to operate in independent political and conceptual venues. One such venue was the monthly *Ha'isha*, published during 1926-29, a period in which the labor movement in the Jewish *yishuv* (community) was at the height of its influence in terms of the settlement of Eretz Yisrael. A study of the magazine illuminates one of the most interesting civic struggles in the history of Eretz Yisrael and stimulates thought about the conceptual basis of similar struggles in the present.

Ha'isha was published by the Federation of Hebrew Women in Eretz Yisrael, which was associated with the Hadassah Zionist Women's Organization in the U.S. and later with WIZO. The federation hoped to become an umbrella body for women's groups in Eretz Yisrael that would blend philanthropic civic activity with the advancement of the status of women. It tried – unsuccessfully – to function in cooperation with the women's labor organizations, but they perceived philanthropic activity in particular, and “civic elements” generally, disparagingly. Historically, civic bodies stemmed from the middle class, which acted as the catalyst for democracy. The emergence of a middle class in Eretz Yisrael in the 1920s, with the advent of the Fourth Aliyah (the immigration of 1924-1928, mainly from Eastern Europe), was reflected in the thrust of *Ha'isha*, i.e., a message of progress and social freedom. The dominant Socialist theory, however, true to Bolshevik thinking, categorized the middle class as exploiters and parasites.

The editor of the monthly, and its most distinctive figure, was Hannah Thon. Outlining the conceptual basis of the publication in the opening issue, she pointed to two opposing views in the *yishuv* on the status of women: one traditional, espoused by the Orthodox, which held that “the woman is naught but for her children,” and the other radical, espoused by the labor movement, which viewed the achievement of women's rights in terms of employment in men's manual work, for example stone-cutting. While acknowledging the ground-breaking accomplishments of the women labor activists, Thon criticized their disregard of the fact of women's physical limitations in comparison with men, to the detriment of the overall well-being of society. The contribution of these activists, she wrote, limited as it was to the labor sector, ignored the need to con-

tribute to society as a whole. Between the two extremes, Thon positioned women with a broad liberal national outlook, recognizing the family as the natural nucleus of the state and viewing the elementary role of women as caring for home and children as a positive attribute.

Ha'isha's position, while not negating women's integration in agriculture, road-building and factories, emphasized the reality that only a small minority of women undertook this work, and of these many eventually left it and assumed the traditional role of family caregiver. Moreover, typically, chronic unemployment in the *yishuv* affected women first. The magazine aimed to move past theoretical conceptions of women's liberation promoted by the Socialists and test the status of women in the context of their personal lives. Its basic, and no less revolutionary, premise was a refusal to view participation in public life as necessitating relinquishing the private domain. The women's struggle for equal opportunity, *Ha'isha* held, must be waged in the typical women's context then as wife, mother and responsible for the family. However, not only is she not isolated from social and political developments in national life, she makes a significant contribution to them by keeping up the struggle for equal rights.

This line was not always understood by the magazine's readership. Some readers demanded more mundane subject matter dealing with home management. In fact, *Ha'isha* dealt with such matters extensively, but always in the context of women's activity, whether at home or at the workplace, and as an integral part of their civic contribution. The goal was to get the woman actively involved in society, to stimulate her social conscience, and to help her acquire better tools – namely, education, and especially vocational or professional education – in her struggle with her environment. This view of homemaking, child-rearing and the acquisition of a broader education as constituting an important part of the overall state-building effort constituted the essence of the civil ideology that guided

the magazine.

The opposite side of the coin was editorial criticism of the Mo'etzet Hapo'alot – the Histadrut's Working Women's Council – for confining itself to issues of class and party, thereby hindering the productivity of society as a whole. Zionism, argued Thon, must link the various populations gathered in the country and create a true social whole. Instead, she pointed out, extremist factions are in a perpetual struggle with each other. The labor movement, in its ideological rigidity, she charged, ignores an entire sub-stratum that lies below the worker class, and which constitutes the true proletariat – the Sephardi Jews who live in poverty, ignorance and helplessness. To integrate this population, Thon proposed organizing social service institutions, a task viewed by women's civil groups as their special province. *Ha'isha* focused on the harsh lives of women in this sector, in the Arab population and in the ultra-Orthodox community, who bore the brunt of ignorance and discrimination in their societies. An examination of the magazine reveals a deeply felt awareness that social concerns must not be limited to selected classes only, and that civil activity must be stimulated in all sectors.

Above all, the magazine put forward a model of an educated, trained and intellectually forward-looking woman relevant to every sector of the population. It accomplished this first and foremost by the image it itself projected through well-researched, in-depth articles exposing traditional injustices against women and illustrating constructive alternatives, many based on developments in other parts of the world. The achievements of women in legislature, politics, the professions, literature and the arts were highlighted, as were published works by contemporary women writers such as Elisheva, Rahel and Else Lasker-Schueler. Consciousness-raising, however, was carried out with moderation. Not coincidentally, it was the humanist Ahad Ha'am, of all the Zionist leaders, who was viewed as a national model.

“LA’ISHA” – AN ISRAELI WEEKLY FOR WOMEN THAT DEFINES HOME, SELF AND CONTEMPORARY REALITY / Sonia Leiden

La’isha (“For the Woman”), a weekly published consecutively since 1947, was the first commercial women’s magazine in Israel. It is viewed in this article as an important informal cultural manifestation and as a channel of communication that both reflects and molds vital aspects of contemporary socio-cultural life.

The most widely read women’s publication, it constitutes a public forum for women’s experiences which allows women to examine existing perceptions, refashion them and establish new norms. It has consistently advocated behavioral change for the Israeli woman and for her family in the home as well as outside it — in the workplace, the army and the community, repositioning the status of the woman in each area. It also encourages perceptual personal change in terms of heightened self-awareness, norms of femininity and masculinity, and social and moral values that impinge on the country’s solidarity and viability. Controversial issues explored in the magazine illuminate how an informal conceptual system in the area of home life acquired a palpable, concrete form throughout the country.

Israel, an overwhelmingly immigrant society in the early days, was in need of rapid rural and urban settlement and the provision of housing under severe budgetary constraints. This engendered new concepts in the design and format of homes, which in turn influenced the lifestyle of the occupants. These rapid sociocultural changes were reflected in *La’isha* week by week through articles and photos that provided legitima-

tion for new societal norms.

La’isha took as its model the news and features weekly, *Ha’olam Hazeh* (“This World”), which in the 1950s introduced a new, upstart journalistic conception in the Israeli press: critical of the establishment, muckraking and linguistically and pictorially brazen. *La’isha*, in its emphasis on ostensibly “bourgeois” topics — consumerism, society, esthetics, the family — which were systematically marginalized in Israel’s relentlessly political-oriented press, had a serious agenda: to conduct an alternative, informal dialogue with a public of women who read Hebrew, and thereby institutionalize new norms of civil society. At a time when immigrants were housed in makeshift camps, the magazine urged its readers to volunteer to help out with child care there. A “Woman of the Week” column emphasized the public-service activity of women prominent in their fields. Photo displays of robust babies carried the message of the importance of informed child care. Recipe columns focused on the use of vegetables at a time when meat and fish were scarce in Israel.

Still, *La’isha* is not generally regarded as a significant cultural manifestation in public, journalistic and academic circles, despite its wide circulation. Conceivably, this may be because a large part of its readership is identified as being on the lower end of the socioeconomic and educational scale, although evidence suggests that many other sectors of women read it without acknowledging this. Such disregard overlooks the vital role played by the magazine in molding the ideals and values of the Israeli middle class.

THE WOMEN’S PRESS IN ISRAEL: AN ARENA FOR REPRODUCTION OR FOR CHALLENGE? / Hanna Herzog

Although the women’s press is generally denigrated worldwide, including in Israel, and is not considered a serious or an elite press, it is a press with a consistently high circulation. The secret of its success puzzles readers, journalists and researchers alike, although the topic has not yet been studied in depth in Israel.

Sharp criticism of the women’s press was voiced in the 1960s with the rise of the feminist movement in Europe and

the U.S. Such leaders of the movement as Betty Friedan charged that the women’s press represented a stereotypical and discriminatory perception of women, and that reading such material reproducing the repression of women. Later research revealed that control of women was only one aspect of a more complex perception of the duality and inferiority of the feminine/domestic/private domain vis-a-vis the male/rational/public one. During the 1980s, heightened interest in the study of the

role of popular culture embraced the field of the women's press as well. Women's magazines, it was found, were a source of entertainment and pleasure. The feminist movement developed a love-hate relationship with the women's press and the promise it held out to transform the woman. The movement viewed criticism of this press as a sign of patronization, similar to that of patriarchalism. Research in the 1990s questioned the very definition of society's expectations of women, as this was constantly in flux, influenced by history, class, ethnicity and nationality.

The question of the construction of gender, and the role played by the media in the construction of the gender discourse is relevant to this discussion. So many factors are involved in the media-gender discourse, that the argument that the media create a stereotypical image of the woman is untenable.

The women's press first emerged in England in the 18th century, growing significantly with the spread of women's literacy. Initially geared to the upper middle class woman, women's magazines eventually became a general model of femininity. The woman as a consumer began to be targeted in this press in the 1880s, a trend that continues to this day. Consumerism became an integral element of femininity, with women's magazines containing approximately an equal number of advertising pages as editorial pages by the end of the 19th century. During the second half of the 20th century, the very distinction between advertising and editorial content became blurred, a development enhanced by sophisticated print and photo technologies.

The perception of the existence of separate social sphere for men and for women, reflected in separate columns for women in general newspapers and a separate women's press, held true for the early Hebrew press in Eretz Yisrael as well. The first women's periodical was *Zvi Lebeit Ya'akov*, a bi-weekly edited by Haya Hirschenson (1893) aimed at "influencing the women of Jerusalem toward love of Torah, Israel, the people and...the land." A different image was projected by Hemda Ben-Yehuda, who wrote items of interest to women in the newspaper edited by her husband (Eliezer Ben-Yehuda), *Hashkafah* ("Viewpoint"), centered on manners, home and beauty (1904).

Regular women's columns in the daily press began to appear in the 1930s, pioneered by *Do'ar Hayom* ("The Daily Mail") in the style of such columns in the European press, focusing on advice and guidance. Interestingly, during the

1940s and early '50s these columns also dealt with issues of legislation, women's organizations, women's equality and women's welfare alongside proper nutrition during a period of food rationing. The daily *Davar* opposed the appearance of a fashion column as contradictory to the pioneering spirit.

The Hebrew women's press has not projected a uniform image of women and has aired issues that depart from the stereotypes that are widespread in this press. Significantly, women's political movements during the pre-state period published their own periodicals, preceding the women's commercial press. The earliest of these was *Ha'isha* ("The Woman"), subtitled "On the Life and Interests of the Woman in Eretz Yisrael" (1926-28), published by the Federation of Hebrew Women in Eretz Yisrael (see article on this by Michael Keren, p. 8e). Decidedly feminist, it dealt with issues relevant to women from all sectors, including women at work, marriage of minors, the status of women in politics, Jewish women of various traditional communities, relations between Ashkenazi and Sephardi women, and the absence of contact between the Jewish women's movement and Arab women in Eretz Yisrael.

A monthly published by the Jewish National Fund during 1930-40, *Bat Yisrael Ve'eret Yisrael* ("Daughter of Israel and of the Land of Israel"), later renamed *Bat Ami* ("Daughter of My People"), came out in Yiddish and reported on the activities of various women's organizations. *Dvar Hapo'elet* ("Women Workers' News"), published by the Histadrut-General Federation of Labor, first appeared in 1934, changing its name to *Yarhon Na'amat* ("Na'amat Monthly") in 1988 with the change of name of the Women Workers' Council. A monthly published by the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) appeared in 1948, titled *WIZO Bemeditat Yisrael* ("WIZO in the State of Israel"). Later, WIZO published a monthly, *Bamat Ha'isha* ("The Woman's Platform"). The National Religious Women's movement began publishing a periodical, *Dapei Pe'ulah* ("Activity Pages"), in 1961. Women's newspapers in Arabic were published by the Women Workers' Council in 1964. All these periodicals dealt with issues related to the status of women in society. Purely feminist journals that appeared included *Noga* (1980), *Isha Le'isha* ("Woman to Woman") and *Bit'on Shdulat Hanashim* ("Women's Lobby Newsletter").

The first commercial women's magazine was *Olam Ha'isha* ("Woman's World," 1940-48), aimed at the woman as a consumer. *La'isha* ("For the Woman"), the longest-running wom-

en's magazine, appeared in 1947 and is still being published (see article on this by Sonia Leiden, p.-). Profitable from the start, the magazine actually helped cover the losses of its parent newspaper, the daily *Yedi'ot Aharonot*. It played an active role in the construction of a woman's world that distanced itself from the country's political and economic problems and focused on a lighthearted, enjoyable milieu centering on women and femininity. It was integral to the establishment of such institutions as the country's first national beauty contest (1950) and Mother's Day. A competitor was the weekly *Olam Ha'isha* ("Woman's World," 1958-61), published by the daily *Ma'ariv*. *Ma'ariv* later came out with a monthly, *At* ("You"), in 1967, while *Olam Ha'isha* was revived as a monthly in 1984. Women's magazines that appeared in the 1990s included *Lady Globes*, geared to career women, and *Bat Melekh* ("King's Daughter"), for religious women.

An interesting observation by journalist Zvia Cohen in a seminal article on the women's press is that the content of the women's political journals and the women's commercial magazines eventually began to merge, each anxious to attract the other's readership.

An analysis of articles written about the women's press in Israel during 1986-98 in various newspapers reveals four findings:

1. The women's press is an industry. Content strategies aim first and foremost at selling the newspaper so that it will continue to attract advertisement. This press has the addi-

tional attraction of having a long shelf life, as it is often found in waiting rooms.

2. The women's press functions as a platform for airing feminist issues. Even though the solutions proposed in this press do not always involve changing the traditional images of the woman, the very fact of the discourse exposes readers to various options.
3. The women's press aims at different target audiences, depending on the focus of the periodical. All, however, assiduously cultivate the reader as a consumer. All also assume the role of educator, giving advice and guidance on femininity while also publishing authentic accounts of women's lives.
4. It is a vehicle for reproducing and for challenge. Significantly, the trend in the general press in Israel is toward supplements focusing on the "soft" facets of life, with titles such as "Style," "Gallery" and "Modern Times." Moreover, the entire press has undergone a change in writing style, incorporating the private realm into that of the public, as epitomized by the treatment of the Clinton-Lewinsky affair in the American press. Paradoxically, side by side with the promotion of beauty contests, the Israeli women's press challenges the status quo. It does so by means of the economic status it has acquired, as well as by the barrier-breaking side effect of the promotion of beauty, namely that beauty is not the preserve of any single class or ethnicity.

A DISAPPEARING WORLD? WOMEN IN TV ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ISRAEL / Gabi Weimann and Jonathan Cohen

The link between gender and the media is one of the most discussed issues in critical discourse about the media. Within this context, the analysis of media contents both in representational terms and in terms of significance is a key measure of gender balance. Representation is measured by frequency of appearance in the various media contents; characteristics and roles attributed to men and women; and images and stereotypes in the gender context. Significance is examined by testing the encounter between media messages and the audience that interprets them.

Gender and TV election campaigns in Israel have been shown to consistently exemplify gender inequality. An analy-

sis of the 1988 campaign revealed that fewer than 15% of the televised images were women; the women who were shown were younger than the men; they were unidentified by profession; and they were more emotional. Mainly, they appeared as electioneering assistants - attractive young women dressed in high-fashion clothing who introduced and concluded the broadcasts or linked segments of it verbally. They did not express individual political opinions but only conveyed the party line. The women politicians who did appear addressed "feminine" issues only, such as education, health, welfare and family. Research on the 1996 campaign revealed no significant change: women remained marginal in the campaign, even

though the status of women in society had improved. Similar findings - and even a worsening of the gender balance - were revealed for the 1999 campaign.

Thus, although a change in the status of women in Israel has occurred during the past decade, including in the political realm, no change has taken place in their marginal representation in TV election campaigns. The reason is apparently linked to the perception of politics as a male preserve in at least two respects: the creators of the campaign seem to believe that men set the tone in the political context and are therefore the more valuable target; and the targeting of men as the primary audience for electioneering reflects the perception that interest in politics is a male interest. The conclusion is that there is a two-way link between the media presentation and the political reality, and that a change in the status of women in election campaigns requires not only a change in the social status of women but first and foremost a change in politics itself and the way it is perceived.

In effect, a causal vicious cycle has been created in which the election broadcasts reflect an existing perception of politics as a male realm while at the same time they themselves perpetuate this perception. Audience viewing of the broadcasts is extremely high, as this format constitutes the parties' only opportunity to reach the public directly and not through a journalistic prism. Thus, the male orientation of politics through the broadcasts underscores and fixes politics as discriminatory toward women. The broadcasts determine that topics considered as male are given highest priority in the elections, as men are thought to better understand these topics.

Still, the gender-representation gaps in election campaign broadcasts are greater than such gaps in TV commercials, which leads to the conclusion that discrimination against women exists generally but that it varies from area to area. The political arena in Israel is apparently a source of greater discrimination than is usual. In as much as this area is so influential, such discrimination is dangerous and unsettling.

WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN THE ISRAELI PRESS / Einat Lachover

The field of journalism in the Western world has undergone a significant change in gender employment which began in the 1970s when women entered this previously all-male domain. At the same time, a process that has elicited less attention also took place: gender segregation.

These developments characterize the field of journalism in Israel as well. The author presents data on women's representation in the Israeli press in the late 1990s and on their status in it. The feminization, along with gender segregation, that have occurred in the field are discussed in comparison with other countries and in the broader context of these processes in the labor market. Original research is presented on the perceptions of female and male journalists in Israel regarding gender opportunity in the newspaper that employs them and in the profession generally. The data are evaluated in the context of the question: Have female journalists in Israel benefitted in employment status and in economic terms from their entry into print journalism?

A survey in 1998 of 470 male and female journalists employed in ten Israeli newspapers - two national dailies and eight local papers - forms the basis of the research. The two

dailies are *Yedi'ot Aharonot*, exemplifying a popular paper, and *Ha'aretz*, representing a qualitative paper. The local papers surveyed represent a variety of regions and publishing networks. Following the survey, 47 in-depth interviews were conducted with a range of journalists employed at the newspapers surveyed.

Data has shown that women constitute 37% of the work force in the Israeli press, a relatively high proportion in comparison with other countries, yet considerably lower than the proportion of women in the Israeli work force generally (44% in 1998). The feminization of the press is attributable to the expansion of the media generally; a drop in the attractiveness of the field to men because of falling salaries and benefits; the opening up of employment opportunities in areas considered "feminine" (i.e., graphics, the shift from "hard" to "soft" reporting, and a greater focus on the women's audience); the availability of women employees at lower salaries in exchange for more flexible work conditions; and the introduction of new electronic technologies that facilitate such flexibility. With this, the rate of entry of women into the press work force in Israel (and worldwide) slowed in the latter 1990s, conceiv-

ably because of the constriction in the number of newspapers as well as the saturation of demand.

Despite the overall growth of women's participation in the media worldwide, and the attainment by women of better jobs and higher status, they are still in an inferior position in comparison with their male colleagues. Nearly all areas of the field are typified by gender differentiation in jobs and in decision-making responsibilities to the detriment of women. This is pronounced in the area of the press. The present study tested the status of women in the press by four criteria: job definition, managerial responsibility, salary and journalistic field. The results show the inferior status of women: 64% of the rewrite jobs in the newspapers surveyed were filled by women, 45% of the reporters, 33% of the editors and 23% of the editorial writers were women.

Although in 1974 three women served as editors in chief of Israeli dailies, viewed retrospectively this did not mark a turning point in the status of women in the press. Today, no woman holds this position. Moreover, the research under discussion reveals as much gender segregation in the less prestigious (local) newspapers as in the national papers. It also shows gender segregation in journalistic fields: women cover more personal/social news, men the "hard" news, although this gap is less evident in the local newspapers surveyed. Distinct gaps in salary to the detriment of women are also shown

HAVE PINK AND BLUE BECOME INTERCHANGEABLE? GENDERED LANGUAGE IN THE ISRAELI PRESS / Diana Luzzatto and Yehuda Jacobson

This analysis of gendered language in the Israeli press is based on a study of articles in a prominent daily, *Ha'aretz*, from June 18, 2000, to July 18, 2000. The assumption in professional literature dealing with gender and language is that "female" language is perceived as lacking power and authority and as seeking approval and consent, while "male" language is perceived as functional and rational. Additionally, women tend to express intimacy and shared feelings and thoughts, while men tend to stress expertise, control and analytical ability. Furthermore, women tend to use "emotional" language, while men favor "reportorial" language.

The choice of *Ha'aretz* for analysis stemmed from the medium-to-high socioeconomic status of its readership and their relatively high level of education. The authors' assumption was that they would find relatively little sexual segregation in

in the findings.

With this, the study found that a majority (about two-thirds) of those interviewed perceived their profession and their workplace as egalitarian and as offering equal opportunities, while approximately a third criticized it as hierarchically gender segregated, blocking women from reaching the highest managerial positions. In their view, the field was only ostensibly egalitarian, in light of the entry of many women into the field and the attainment of women of middle or even senior positions.

In answer to the question of whether women in Israel have benefitted in employment status and economic terms from their entry into the field, the ideological viewpoint of the respondents seemed to determine their response. From a liberal feminist point of view, the answer is: yes, but not sufficiently. Women have broken into a previously male field and some have risen to senior positions. From a radical feminist point of view, the answer is: not very much. Gender segregation has accompanied the process of feminization both in job level and in field of journalistic coverage, with salary ramifications. However, gender integration is present as well. Women have apparently not advanced very much economically, either, as they entered the field when it had lost a great deal of its attractiveness to men as a result of falling levels of compensation.

terms of the journalists' fields of interest and choice of issues, an assumption that was born out. Journalists of both sexes dealt with similar issues whether in politics, economics or cultural life. The content analysis focused on linguistic techniques only and not on the news events themselves.

Various linguistic trends were found, pointing to consistent differences between female and male journalists in terms of nuances of gendered rhetoric. The authors' conclusion is that the writing process and, more precisely, the end result – the article – reflect the journalist's broader socialization in his/her personal and professional life.

Male journalists tended to use more sensational, analogical, metaphoric and/or figurative language. They often opened their articles with resolute opinions using rhetorical questions or sarcasm. They tended to express value judgments and as-

cribe intentions – often malicious – to the subjects of their articles. They systematically used claim-reinforcing terms such as “therefore” and “accordingly.” In contrast, women journalists tended to use language that gives the impression of objectivity, anchoring their opinions in facts that appear unobjectionable. Even arguments based on fact were sometimes tempered by reservations, giving the impression that the woman journalist is less committed to her point of view and seeks greater objectivity. Toward this end, women writers tended to rely on authoritative sources and numerical data and make use of moderating terminology such as “possibly” and “probably.” Women journalists also expressed criticism more moderately and indirectly, using literary language, while men tended to be more resolute and judgmental, using everyday language for a more emotional and direct effect.

Surprisingly, the women journalists tended to use a style viewed in socio-linguistics as “male,” i.e., objective, rational, dry, less emotional and more balanced, while the men tended to use a language considered “female” – emotional, personal

and empathetic, focusing on human interest.

A partial explanation for these findings is that they relate to the role of print journalism today and not to gender perceptions. Male language makes use of rhetorical tactics that incorporate female elements because they better serve the goal of sensationalism and directness. Female journalists adopt “male” language because it is perceived as more rational and better suited to “important” issues, a strategy to survive in the male-dominated journalistic world.

The main finding of the study points to gendered journalistic micropolitics not directed to a power struggle between the sexes but rather reflecting the specific demands of the mass media. Male journalists adopt an emotional, sensationalist approach for maximal effect. Female journalists adopt a critical approach, seeking to avoid the stigma of women’s language as reflecting weakness. Put another way, the professional discourse in print journalism, in contrast to everyday discourse, uses a trans-gendered language that holds different meanings for each sex.

TRAPPED IN MARGINALITY? THE EXPOSURE OF A COMMUNITY THEATER IN THE ISRAELI MEDIA / Anat First and Shulamit Lev-Aladgem

The documentary film “Hide-and-Seek,” screened on Israel TV’s Channel Two at prime time at the end of Passover 1999, marked a breakthrough for this hitherto obscure prize-winning film that describes the daily lives of a group of Sephardi women in the Jaffa “D” neighborhood who act in a community theater. It also marked a breakthrough for this local drama group, from ingroup communication in the form of a community theater to outgroup communication in the form of the film, TV and press media. The outcome, however, was the reversal of the subjects of the film – the actresses from Jaffa – to their previous marginality.

Community theater in Israel, which first emerged in the 1970s, originated neither from the theater world nor from the community but rather from the social welfare establishment, which conceived it as a vehicle to alleviate societal frustration and entrench establishment norms. The various communities that adopted the device, however, ultimately turned it into a form of ingroup communication opposed to the dominant culture and supportive of their “co-culture.” This communication tactic has the therapeutic potential of stimulating both

self- and communal empowerment by enabling dialogue between the actors themselves, between actors and audience, and within the audience.

The theory of co-culture (known more negatively as sub-culture, or minority culture) is based on the feminist perception of a group that is at the bottom of the hierarchy as mute vis-a-vis the group in power. Inter alia, the group in power dominates the media and stifles the voice of the co-culture by denying it access to public channels of communication. Women, in the same fashion, also do not mold communication in society. This is especially so for Sephardi women in Israel, who are in a double bind: gender and ethnic. Israel has only recently begun to deal with multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-national perceptions and the notion that the country’s central ideology of cultural subversion under the dominant group created a society founded on power relations.

During the 1980s, community theater was given an impetus under the aegis of the national “Neighborhood Rehabilitation” project. Not only were young people encouraged to join, as had been the case in the 1970s, but older people too. This

drew mostly older women with an immigrant background. Significantly, they chose to present their authentic culture in its traditional forms: story-telling, poetry, dance and ritual, making an important contribution to the legitimation of the multi-faceted Jewish cultures of the East. Today, the community theaters draw mostly first- and second-generation Sephardi Israeli women, for whom this venue serves as a form of internal communication to reinforce self-identity and bridge the home culture and the hegemonous culture outside.

The theater group in Jaffa D, which has functioned for three years and has produced three plays, is composed mostly of women. They have molded their theater to reflect their inner world and daily lives. Unlike other such theaters, the women themselves located the theater director. At first, the group encounters were contentious and noisy, a reflection of the intense sense of release of the participants upon having an opportunity to break out of their enforced silence and express themselves. Gradually, the group became a supportive replacement family, in contrast to the participants' real families. The participants learned theatrical concepts such as dialogue, listening, stimulation and response. These techniques helped them not only to produce a play but to acquire inner communicative skills useful outside the group milieu – in the family and the community.

Their choice of the central theme of the play "Hide-and-Seek" – compulsiveness – impelled the actresses to view the relationship between self, family and community more critically. The result was a process of empowerment that spread outward in the community. The actresses viewed their role as initiating a similar dynamic transformative process in other women in the neighborhood. They adopted various strategies to tempt their neighbors to see the play and to engage them in discussions about the characters in it. In writing the play, the actresses used personal elements such as gender, self-identity, motherhood, self-fulfillment and the male-female relationship to flesh out the concept of compulsiveness. The characters are presented humorously, with the message imparted lightly through parody and irony. The story revolves around dysfunctional mother-daughter and husband-wife relationships reflected in a compulsive preoccupation with food; the pressure on young girls to find a husband; and the thinly veiled admiration for an Ashkenazi marital partner by many Sephardis which, in the play, ends in a grotesque wedding.

The entire process of creating and mounting the play was

recorded on video by a woman film director who herself is of Sephardi extraction. She blends the personal experiences of three of the actresses with the theme of the centrality of the community theater in their lives. The film focuses on the universal conflict at the center of the feminist debate: family and/or personal fulfillment, with each actress presenting a different solution to this conflict.

The film also explores the perceptions of its three subjects toward other groups of women: Jewish women in the neighborhood, with whom the subjects identify completely and who are the target audience of their work in the theater; Arab women in the vicinity, who, despite their national otherness are viewed empathetically; and Ashkenazi women, who are viewed ambivalently as different and distant yet worthy of imitation.

As a documentary film, a generally marginalized genre in the film and TV industry, "Hide-and-Seek" in itself reinforces the marginality of the community theater. Moreover, while original, important and sensitively done, it is ultimately a personal commentary by the director of her own search for identity. Her feminist evolution differs from that of the actresses in the community theater: she has already spread her wings, while they are still in the process of learning how. Furthermore, her focus in the film on the problem of marriage vs. personal fulfillment is more constricted than that of the play, which also touches on other problems in the marital relationship.

In the wake of the awarding of the Wolgin Prize to the film in 1998, it gained its first exposure to outgroup communications in the form of press interviews of the director, the screening of the film on TV, and reviews of it thereafter. Nearly all the interviews focused on the history and emotions of the director, thereby shifting the women of the community theater from subjects to shadowy figures. The single article that interviewed the women in the film and attempted to sketch a new image of the Sephardi woman ended with questions about the decrepitness of Jaffa and the crime there, leaving the reader with the old images. The reviews of the TV showing were similarly stereotyped. This leads to the question: were the women of Jaffa D given a voice at last? In the authors' view, both the film and its screening on TV, in contrast to the play produced by the women in the theater, project and reinforce a non-authentic image of female Sephardi existence.

WOMEN IN THE ISRAEL BROADCASTING AUTHORITY: DATA AND STATUS / Dalia Liran-Alper

A series of discussions were held by the Israel Broadcasting Authority Committee on the Status of Women over a five-year period (1993-98) with the participation of board members of the Authority, media executives, academicians and Authority employees. The committee studied program content and the image of the woman in the Broadcasting Authority, as well as the empowerment of women within the employment structure. Findings contained in the minutes of these discussions, together with employment data taken from internal Authority records for 1998, form the basis for the article.

Some 42% of the Authority's 1,820 employees in 1998 were women. Overall, they were underrepresented by 10% as compared to male employees. Although a large number of women entered the journalism field during the 1990s, they were generally clustered in the lower rungs of the hierarchy, even though more women eventually became presenters on TV, including

in the prestigious area of news. Women were represented most highly in the task of assistant producers (75% of employees in the radio, 70% of employees in TV), data which bear out findings in this area in the U.S. They had equal representation as men in lower management both in the journalism and the administrative levels. However, a significant gap in favor of men existed in senior management posts, especially in the journalism area.

Opinions expressed by women managers employed in the Authority revealed the perception that advancement was determined by professional criteria that were gender-equal. The author notes, however, that the interviewees were veteran Authority employees who had advanced over time in the Authority hierarchy, which until 1993 was the only electronic medium in the country. These managers tended to view their work not only as a profession but in the context of a national mission that was integral in the state-building process.

JEWISH WOMEN IN AMERICAN FILM / Dganit Borovsky

A survey of literature on Jewish women shows a nearly total absence of research in the realm of film. This is partly explainable by the fact that Hollywood traditionally ignored the Jewish question altogether. Still, the question of the image of the Jewish woman in film merits analysis, primarily because a hatred of Jewish women is observable in cinematic narratives. It is not explicit, but it is one of the manifestations of the general backlash to the empowerment of women slyly expressed. The portrayal of Jewish women in film constitutes a rich vein for denigration.

A popular image of Jewish women in film has been that of the Jewish American princess, whether assertive (as exemplified by Barbara Streisand) or spoiled (as in the film versions of "Margery Morningstar" [1959], "Goodbye Columbus" [1968] or even "Private Benjamin" [1981]). Jewish women, in the Hollywood perception, appear as more tied to the past and to tradition than Jewish men, so that mixed marriage, or even full assimilation (as in "Hester Street" [1974]) do not work for them, in contrast to Jewish men.

The most widespread image of all is that of the long-suffering Jewish mother. She has little control over her destiny, worries most of the time, and moans and cries a great deal in her efforts to protect her children. This image has undergone significant change, from its first appearance in "The Jazz Singer" (1927), where the mother was an admired figure in the comforting Victorian tradition, to later portrayals as a demanding and threatening figure, for example in "Last Stop Greenwich Village" (1976). The Jewish mother passed through various stages in this metamorphosis, from the comical but non-threatening "Yiddishe mama" (as portrayed by Gertrude Berg in "Molly" [1950]), to a critical but still human image in "Goodbye Columbus" (1969), to a narrow-minded and provincial figure (as played by Shelley Winters in "Last Stop Greenwich Village" [1976]).

The reasons underlying hatred for the Jewish mother in film during the 1960s and early '70s relate to the popularity of the theme of Jewish identity in American literature by such writers as Saul Bellow and Philip Roth, and to changes in Ameri-

can society generally during the 1960s which focused on parent-child conflict and the negative influence of mothers. The popularization of Freudian ideas on the influence of the mother played a role in this context. The 1960s generally were characterized by the denigration of women in film, a product, inter

alia, of the sexual revolution then and the rapid rise of pornography in film.

In the author's view, the hatred of the Jewish woman found in Hollywood films could spill over to American culture generally and could serve as an additional pretext for anti-Semitism.

JEWISH WOMEN MILITARY REPORTERS IN THE UNITED STATES /

Arie Hashavia

Dickey Chapelle (1918-1965), born Georgette Louise Meyer in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was the granddaughter of Jewish immigrants from Germany and the daughter of pacifists. A tomboy, she acquired a flying license by age 18, studied briefly at M.I.T., and embarked on a career as a journalist. She was not yet 20 when she married a photography instructor, Tony Chapelle, and learned the craft. Remarkably, she soon began photographing for *Life* magazine. With the outbreak of World War II, Tony volunteered for the Marines and was sent to Panama, while Dickey joined him there as a war correspondent for *Look* magazine. Thereafter, he was sent to Chungking, China. Dickey, barred from that zone, signed up as a military photographer in the Pacific arena for the *Post* publishing chain.

She came under fire for the first time in Okinawa in 1944, one of the few women (together with army nurses) in the navy invasion force. There she realized that being a military photographer was far more dangerous than being a correspondent, for she could not choose her locations. Fearless, she was, nevertheless, prevented by the army from remaining in the war zone and was sent back to the U.S. In February 1945 she reached Honolulu, managed to get on a plane bound for Guam with a group of army nurses, and from there sailed on a hospital ship bound for Iwo Jima. While at sea, the ship was attacked by Japanese aircraft, recorded on film by Chapelle, but it nevertheless managed to reach Iwo Jima and evacuated hundreds of wounded soldiers, some of whom had to be laid out on the deck for lack of space. One of Chapelle's photos of an evacuated soldier was circulated throughout the world. Later, the soldier was to recover and was again photographed by Chapelle. Both photos were used to solicit blood donations in the U.S. for years thereafter. Chapelle daringly continued photographing under fire on Iwo Jima and thereafter on Okinawa.

In 1956 she set out to cover the anti-Communist uprising

in Hungary, was arrested at the Hungarian border by Russian soldiers and was jailed in Budapest. Interrogated for whole days at a time for over five weeks, she was convicted of illegal border crossing and faced a five-year prison sentence. Vigorous protest by the N.Y. Foreign Correspondents Club engendered her release. She later described these experiences in the *Reader's Digest*.

Keeping physically fit in order to endure the hardships of war assignments, Chapelle went on to cover the wars in Algeria, Lebanon, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. She was deathly afraid most of the time, she once acknowledged, yet she resolutely conquered her fear. She also reported on human suffering and refugee problems for such prestigious publications as *National Geographic*. Parting from her husband in 1955, she wrote in her memoirs: "Can a woman be a correspondent and a wife? My answer is: Not at the same time."

Chapelle received distinguished awards from the Foreign Press Club in Washington and the Marines Military Correspondents Association. Returning to Vietnam for a second time in 1965, she accompanied a Marines patrol, stepped on a land mine and was fatally injured. The *New York Times* ran an obituary of her on the front page, and *Time* magazine lauded her bravery.

Another American Jewish woman military reporter was Martha Fishel Gellhorn (1908-1998), whose forbears, too, were Jewish immigrants from Germany. Her mother, Edna, was a pioneer of the women's rights struggle, and she and her physician husband educated their four children in a spirit of liberalism. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Martha dreamed of visiting foreign places. Upon graduating from college she sailed to Europe where she fell in love with a French pacifist journalist and began writing for a newspaper in Albany, later publishing

two well-received novels. A visit to Germany in 1934 turned her from a pacifist to an advocate of a fighting press on behalf of the ordinary people who had no voice in the conflicts in which they were caught.

In 1936 she went to Spain as a correspondent for *Colliers* magazine, focusing her articles on civilian life in the war-torn country. Criticizing the half-hearted American response to Nazi-backed fascist aggression, she accused the U.S. of "abandoning democratic Spain, selling out Czechoslovakia, and refusing to take in anti-fascist and later Jewish refugees trying to escape from the claws of the Nazi regime." While in Spain, she entered into a liaison with Ernest Hemingway, who was also a war correspondent there. He dedicated his best-selling book, *For Whom the Bells Toll* (1940) to her. Thereafter, they lived in Havana, Cuba, where each wrote novels. With the outbreak of the war in Europe, however, she was drawn to the war arena, and although she and Hemingway were married in 1941, their marriage was stormy from the start.

Gellhorn covered the outbreak of war in Finland, followed by the Japanese-Chinese war, about which she wrote a book. Daring and headstrong, she flew over the Burma road held by the Japanese, traveling with Hemingway by truck, horseback, motorboat and sailboat to the Cantonese front. At one point she lunched with Chang Kai Shek, later meeting his Communist rival, Chou En Lai, at a secret hideout that required her to be blindfolded en route. Predicting that the Communists would eventually win in China because they were concerned about the people, Gellhorn was labeled a Communist sympathizer in rightist circles in the U.S. This was untrue. In 1944, covering a Polish unit fighting the Germans in Italy, she wrote that the Poles feared the Russians more than the Germans because of the atrocities perpetrated by the Red Army and the Soviet military government in Poland when Stalin was an ally of Hit-

ler. *Colliers* refused to publish that article because the Soviet Union was then an ally of the U.S.

Stealing onto the first hospital ship to reach the Normandy coast after the allied invasion in June 1944, Gellhorn preceded Hemingway, also a war correspondent then, in reaching the landing force. He criticized what he termed her ambition. Their marriage broke up at that time. During the Battle of the Bulge of January 1945 she daringly flew over Germany in an American bomber, later joining the U.S. 82nd Airborne Squadron. She was among the first military correspondents to arrive at the Dachau concentration camp and to write about the shocking sights there.

After the war, she covered the Nuremberg war crimes trials, an experience that left a searing impression on her. Interviewed about it years later, at age 82, she vividly described her perception of the Nazi defendants as inhuman, recalling her violent physical reaction (bouts of vomiting every night) to their testimonies.

Later, she covered Indonesia's war of independence from Holland, criticizing all forms of colonialism, including the unofficial type practiced by the U.S. Covering Israel's war of independence in 1948, she showed great sympathy for Israel, a perception that remained unchanged over the years.

Gellhorn moved to England in the early 1950s, distressed with McCarthyism in the U.S. She wrote several books of recollections of her wartime experiences and compilations of her published articles. Covering the war in Vietnam in 1966 for the *London Guardian* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, she criticized the South Vietnamese government and the American military presence there, with the result that only some of her articles were published in the American press. Her home in London became a meeting place for writers and journalists.

“COMPANY JASMINE”: A PRODUCTION DIARY / Yael Katzir

The diary kept by the author while producing and directing a documentary film on an Israel Defense Forces women's officer course held during March-July 1998 reflects both the struggle of the young women to complete the grueling course successfully and the struggle of the producer-director to make the film against difficult odds. The author is a lecturer in film.

The idea for the film was prompted by a notice published by the Israel Government Film Service in March 1997 seeking proposals for documentary films to mark the 50th anniversary of the state. The author envisioned a project that would reflect the essence of her life as a woman and as the daughter of a Zionist family in Israel, showing both continuity and change. The notion of making a film about the relatively new army training program for women field officers seemed to capture this idea, especially as the author herself had been an army officer some 35 years previously.

Upon submitting her proposal, she learned, to her surprise, that she was the first woman to seek to do a film on women in the army (other films on the topic had all been produced by men). Once her project was approved, she began a long, arduous process of locating funding for it. Another challenge was finding the right photographer. She had hoped for a woman but none was available.

A preliminary meeting with the platoon commander in the Armored Division women's course, Lieutenant Rotem, an exceptional young woman, gave the author a sense of assurance that she would have a strong ally in the project. The first encounter with the trainees, which took place at the very same base in which she herself had served long ago, thrust the author backward in time. She spoke personally with each of the young women, asking questions about why they had signed up and about their home background, struck by the variety of their motivations and personal histories.

Accompanying the 18-week course during 32 days of filming, she was with them on their 15-kilometer “cohesion trek” with weapons, full packs and stretchers during a fierce sandstorm. Just before their first weekend off, several of the trainees were given a punishment and had to stay back, reducing a few of them to tears. On parents day, she noticed that Lieutenant Rotem's father brought her hair gel. Preparations for Seder night on the base were taken remarkably seriously, con-

sidering that none of the trainees was religious in the formal sense. At the pin (insignia) ceremony midway through the course, held at night by the light of torches, the author noted that none of the trainees had been dropped (although two had dropped out on their own). Two were selected to travel to Auschwitz to represent the course in the “March of the Living.”

With the approach of summer, the weather in the south where the training was held reached 40 degrees C., but the trainees were resolute. At the end, they were awarded their stripes in a joint ceremony with the men Armored Division trainees. Contrasting the young women with her own remembered sense of herself, the author commended their greater awareness of their femininity, on the one hand, and of their defined goals on the other.

With 120 hours of film that had to be compressed to an hour's production, the author searched for a woman editor and was happy to locate a second-year film student who has served in the army. A long, exhausting editing process began, with day and night shifts in the editing studio. In the meantime, the author's beloved mother-in-law died suddenly. Funding that she had counted on evaporated. Her supportive husband urged her on, giving her confidence that other funding would turn up. At a pitching forum for films in progress, attended by representatives of foreign TV stations, she was gratified by interest shown by the BBC and by a French company.

Taking a partial sabbatical in the fall of 1999, the author hired a male editor for the second stage of editing, for lack of a female alternative, and in February 2000 was able to show a rough cut to the foundation that funded her. The reaction was that she must make further cuts. Debating with herself as to whether the film would be understood on its own or whether it required narration, she hoped that even after more cuts it would stand on its own. The officer stars of the film, by now toward the end of their army stint, were invited to view the film when it was down to a length of 62 minutes. A surprise for the author was that they were concerned and self-critical about how they looked and sounded in the film.

An article published in *Ha'aretz* about her and the film, carried in translation in the paper's English edition, led to an interview on Jerusalem Online for foreign TV. Her film was

accepted for the prestigious Wolgin documentary film competition. Rushing to meet the deadline for the screening in July 2000, she herself wrote lyrics for a theme song, titled "My Sister." The final editing was done at fever pitch. The film, now down to 52 minutes, became more personal and more focused.

The day of the screening in Jerusalem was fraught with last-minute hitches, including the breakdown of the festival projector. In the end, however, the film was well received. Representatives of Jewish film festivals approached her to screen the film, which was her first goal. Her diary ended at that point, with the author aware that the hardest struggle - marketing the film - was still ahead.

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