

# Guarding the Border, Crossing a Barrier

## Women Trooper Integration in the Israel Border Police, 1995–98

Shlomi Chetrit

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**Abstract:** Between 1995 and 1998, the Israel Border Police conducted a large-scale experiment, training women conscripts to operate with male police and deploying them in operational units. At the time, this was revolutionary: Israeli women did not serve in operational roles in the police or the military. Moreover, the Border Police, a masculine and traditional organization, was not the natural candidate for such a gender-neutral policy. The experiment proved successful, and it led to the widespread integration of women in the Border Police. This article examines the history of female integration in the Israel Border Police, the rationale behind the project, the challenges faced by its participants, and its outcomes. The way in which the project evolved is a relevant case study for any military or paramilitary organization seeking to improve gender equality.

**Keywords:** police, Israel Border Police, gender integration, internal security, Mišmar Ha-Gvul, trooper, policewoman, gendarmerie

**O**n 3 February 2016, an Israel Border Police patrol noticed two suspicious-looking Arab civilians near the Damascus Gate, outside the Old City of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The patrol team, composed of a noncommis-

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sioned officer (NCO) and three troopers, split according to regulations: the commander and another trooper approached the suspects to identify them, while the other two stood a few meters back, for backup in case of attack.<sup>2</sup> Following a short interaction, the suspects drew a handgun and a knife and attacked, severely wounding the trooper. Within seconds, a 19-year-old private, Hadar Cohen, successfully neutralized one assailant.<sup>3</sup> However, a third terrorist, who was sitting apart from his coconspirators, approached Private Cohen from behind, shooting at point-blank range. Hadar Cohen collapsed, mortally wounded. In the ensuing firefight, the police killed all three terrorists who, as the investigation later discovered, carried explosives and were on their way to attack Israeli civilians.<sup>4</sup> The only thing that set this terrorist attack apart was the troopers' gender: all three, including the late Hadar Cohen, were women; they were young conscripts in basic combat training on their very first active duty posting.

A year later, on 16 June 2017, Staff Sergeant Hadas Malka, a Border Police NCO, fell in combat with Arab terrorists, again near the Damascus Gate.<sup>5</sup> Hadar Cohen and Hadas Malka were the first female Border Police troopers killed in the line of duty as well as two of the very few Israeli women killed in action.

These fatalities, and more so the gallantry demonstrated by both troopers, brought into the public eye the full scope of female integration into Border Police units.<sup>6</sup> The fact that today women perform a major role as a part of Israel's last line of defense, participating in the war against terror just like male troopers and soldiers, is the result of a process that began 22 years ago in the Border Police.

This article examines the early beginnings of female integration in Border Police operational units from 1995 to 1998. During that period, the idea to deploy female combatants was born, and the first troopers were recruited, trained, and deployed. The experience gained served not just the Border Police but also the police force as a whole and the Israeli military. The research seeks to explain why the project formed, how it evolved, what challenges it faced, what its results were, and what its current influence is.

To understand the integration of female Border Police, some background is necessary. Therefore, the article begins with a description of the Israel Police and Border Police, their organization, roles, and duties, followed by a short historical overview of female integration in the Israeli armed services. The history of the female integration project follows. First, this article will look at the immediate historical background for the project and the reasons for it. Second, we will consider the selection process and training of the first female troopers. Third, the article covers the early operational deployment of women in Border Police units and an evaluation of their deployment. Fourth, the various challenges and objections that faced the female troopers are described, followed by the solutions offered to them. Finally, a discussion of the project and its

outcomes, alongside a description of the current integration of women in the Border Police.

Research regarding the history of the Israel Border Police is scarce. Few academic publications, a minority of them in English, deal with the history of Israel's law-enforcement agencies, the challenges they faced, their triumphs, and their failures. The subject of female inclusion in the Border Police is no exception. Though the experience gained by it helped further female integration into the military, no researcher has yet looked into it. Therefore, while the introductory section of the article relies on secondary sources, those dealing with the core subject depend on primary sources of various kinds. These, however, are also few. Israeli Archives Law (1955) requires the review of every document created by the police, prior to its release to the public, to prevent infringement of personal privacy, revealing of operational methods, or harm to national security. This delays the release of police documents considerably, and severely limits the sources available for research. The sources used in this research include contemporary official reports, the few declassified headquarters discussion minutes, and press reports. The study also included interviews with three of the project participants: Israel Sadan, Border Police commander who initiated the project; Hadas Shapira, who headed the first trooper training course; and Dikla Hanuqer, one of the Border Police's very first women troopers.

## **The Israel Police and Border Police**

The Israel Police (*Mišteret Yisra'el*) are responsible for law enforcement, public order, traffic control, and internal security throughout Israel. It is a national organization, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Security. The police are centrally commanded and directed by the inspector general, who holds the rank of lieutenant general and is appointed by the government. Seven police districts divide Israel's territory. Each district includes 2–4 subdistricts, which are divided in turn between police stations. The national headquarters contains seven professional divisions, each responsible for force building in a specific field, such as investigations and intelligence, training and doctrine, and human resources. The headquarters also includes the national crime investigations unit, Lahav 433, and several other offices, such as the police spokesperson and legal adviser. Commanding the different districts and divisions are officers of major general rank, who form the general staff of the police.<sup>7</sup> In 2017, the police included 29,727 men and women.

In 1974, following the Yom Kippur War and due to the ongoing threats posed by Arab terrorist organizations, the Israeli government transferred the responsibility for internal security from the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to the police. Since then, the police operate as a dual-purpose service, capable of performing civilian police duties, such as preventing and combating crime, along-

side counterterrorism operations. The Border Police play a major role in these activities.<sup>8</sup>

The Israel Border Police (Mišmar Ha-Gvul, or “border guard”) is a corps within the Israel Police, equivalent in organization and responsibilities to a headquarters division. Essentially a gendarmerie, it is a paramilitary unit, employing infantry organization, tactics, and armament. In 2016, the Border Police included 7,272 men and women, roughly 25 percent of the entire police force. About one-half of Border Police personnel are conscripts who join the corps for their term of mandatory military service, which lasts 32 months for men and women in combat roles and 24 months for women in noncombat roles. The rest are career police officers, serving for more extended periods. Regardless of their service status, all Border Police members have legal jurisdiction identical to that of regular police officers throughout Israel and the territories it controls.

Border Police use a wide variety of military-style equipment, from personal protective gear to M4 carbines, Glock handguns, and armored patrol cars. All members wear dark green military-style uniforms and dark-green berets, distinct from the IDF’s olive green and the regular police blue. The different uniforms created the common distinction between the “blue” police, who focus on public service and crime prevention, and the “green” police, who specialize in internal security.<sup>9</sup>

The Border Police perform security and counterterrorism duties, patrol the border areas between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, counter riots and public disorder, and combats crimes against Israeli agriculture. It can operate as a highly mobile reserve force and can counter terrorist, criminal, and public order threats.<sup>10</sup>

The basic Border Police unit is the company. Each company includes 70–100 troopers, NCOs, and junior officers, and is commanded by a major or a lieutenant colonel. Companies differ in their areas of expertise but have a similar basic organization. For example, SAMAG (*Sayeret Mišmar Ha-gvul*, or “Border Police Reconnaissance”) companies specialize in crime fighting, while BATASH (*Bitahon Šotef*, or “routine security”) companies mostly deal with public security.<sup>11</sup>

Border Police companies are subordinate to the local police district or sub-district commander or (in Judea and Samaria) to the IDF. In several areas (most notably Jerusalem and the areas surrounding it), Border Police battalions are composed of two to four companies. Border Police territorial brigades serve as a liaison between the corps’ headquarters, police districts, and the companies, and can operate as a command echelon in times of crisis. The Border Police also operates several special units: YAMAM (*Yehidat Mištara Meyuhedet*, or “Special Police Unit”), Israel’s national counterterrorism and hostage rescue unit;

YAMAS (*Yehidat Mista'arvim*), the undercover counterterrorist unit; and the Tactical Brigade (*Hahativa Hataktit*), a rapid response force for riot control and severe terror attacks.

Border Police headquarters are responsible for the corps' preparedness and buildup and does not directly command the operational units. Therefore, it deals mostly with organizational planning, training, human resource management, and logistical support. The corps includes several training camps, separate from those of the regular police. The Border Police commander, a major general in charge of the corps' headquarters, reports directly to the inspector general of the Israel Police.

From its first days in the early 1950s, the Border Police specialized in monitoring Arab communities, first within Israel's 1949 armistice borders and later, following the victory in the 1967 Six-Day War, in the territories of Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and Eastern Jerusalem. The Border Police were the primary police force used to counter the Arab uprising of 1987–93 (the "First Intifada"), as well as the insurgency waged against Israel by the Palestinian Authority and other terror organizations during the late 1990s and early 2000s (the "Second Intifada"). Today, Border Police units primarily operate in areas susceptible to terrorist attacks, such as Jerusalem and the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and along the Israeli West Bank barrier that defends the Israeli hinterlands from terrorist attacks.

From its early days, the Border Police established a unique and robust esprit de corps based on the camaraderie between troopers and the commander's devotion to them as well as its special social composition.<sup>12</sup> Historically, the Border Police recruited mainly from peripheral communities in Israeli society, such as new immigrants and ethnic minorities. While Ashkenazi Jews (immigrants from European countries and their descendants) predominantly staffed paratrooper, infantry, and armor units, the Border Police included mostly so-called Mizrahi Jews (or Oriental Jews originating in Arab countries), Druze, Circassian, and Israeli Arabs.<sup>13</sup> The trend continues today, with a disproportionate number of troopers coming from the Russian and Ethiopian immigrant communities. These characteristics helped shape the organization of the Border Police culture as a close-knit, familiar, and supportive group, connected by strong unit pride.

## **Women in the Israeli Military and Police: A Short History**

Women's participation in the armed defense of the Jewish community in Israel, and the debate regarding it, predate the establishment of the IDF and the Israeli police. On the one hand, the socialist, democratic, and egalitarian ethos that characterized the leading elements of the Zionist movement in Palestine,

together with the grave security threat posed by Arabs, made the arming of women seem logical. On the other hand, traditional perceptions of gender roles continued to affect the debate and hinder women's full integration in the matters of security.

Although women were part of the very first Jewish self-defense organizations—Bar-Giora (1907–9) and Hashomer (“The Watchmen,” 1909–20)—they were few in number and typically did not participate in actual guard duties.<sup>14</sup> During periods of intensive Arab terror attacks, first in 1929 and then in 1936, women were forbidden from participating in armed defense.<sup>15</sup> During the early phase of the Arab revolt in Palestine of 1936–39 (“The Great Arab Revolt”), this led to confrontation. In the *Kibbutzim* (Jewish collective agricultural settlements), women demanded to train with firearms and to stand guard alongside men. Following a fierce debate that included, in one instance, a boycott of a kibbutz's assembly by its female members, women joined men in guarding their settlements.<sup>16</sup>

Female integration in defense grew during the Second World War. With the encouragement of the Jewish Agency (de facto leadership of the organized Jewish community in Palestine), Jewish Palestinian women volunteered to join British military units. About 3,000 women joined the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), and another 1,000 enrolled in Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF).<sup>17</sup> The women mostly served in various administrative, technical and logistical roles, such as clerks, orderlies, technicians, nurses and drivers.<sup>18</sup> Many of them, who were also members of the Haganah (“Defense,” the Jewish Agency's undercover security organization), secretly served the interests of that organization while in British uniform.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, women joined the first Palmach (*Plugot Hamahatz*, or “Storm Companies”) units, formed by the Haganah in 1941.<sup>20</sup> The two other underground movements, Etzel (Hebrew acronym for *Irgun Tzva'i Le'umi*, or “National Army Organization”) and Lehi (*Loḥamey Hērut Yisrael*, or “Fighters for Israel's Freedom”), also included many women.<sup>21</sup> By 1948, 20 percent of all underground organization members were female.<sup>22</sup> However, even though women were integrated into combat units (mainly within Palmach), it seems that very few participated in actual combat operations, either during the Mandate or Israel's War of Independence (1948–49).<sup>23</sup>

Following Israeli independence, women were conscripted as part of mandatory military service. However, for most of its history, Israeli women did not serve in combat or frontline units and were primarily relegated to ancillary duties. Israeli law stated that women could not serve in combat roles.<sup>24</sup> Only during the 1970s and 1980s did matters change. Following a severe workforce shortage, the IDF began training and posting women in positions previously reserved for men, explicitly to free male soldiers for combat duty. These included

the role of instructors in the infantry, armor and artillery schools, drill instructors for noncombat trainees (men and women), wireless and radar operators, and other supporting functions.<sup>25</sup> In 1995, a Supreme Court ruling forced the Israeli Air Force to accept female candidates to its flight academy, leading to the integration of women in other field units and combat support roles. The first integrated light infantry company began operating in 2000. This unit and others that followed it used the experience gained in the Border Police since 1996. Today, about 7 percent of all female conscripts (approximately 30 percent of the IDF) serve in combat units, including the Border Police.<sup>26</sup>

The story of female integration in the Israeli police is somewhat different. During the War of Independence, the police recruited and deployed women in various roles, including that of patrol officer, to free male recruits for military service.<sup>27</sup> However, after the war ended, most policewomen were discharged, and the few remaining transferred to technical and clerical positions or to duties that required contact with female civilians and prisoners.<sup>28</sup> In 1960, due to an ongoing failure to recruit and retain sufficient policemen, the police established the Policewomen Patrol Unit (*Yehídat Hašotrot*) in the Tel Aviv District. The unit employed women patrol and traffic control troopers in Israel's most densely populated area. In numerous cases, civilians resented the policewomen, ridiculed them, or treated them condescendingly.<sup>29</sup> However, in time, the public accepted the presence of policewomen who became, in the words of a 1969 news bulletin, "an inseparable, and pleasant, part of the city."<sup>30</sup>

During the 1970s and 1980s, women entered additional units and roles in various fields, including forensics, police prosecution, intelligence, legal counsel, and others. The Policewomen Patrol Unit was disbanded, and policewomen became an integral part of regular patrol units in every station. Women also achieved positions of responsibility, first in the administrative and legal branches, but as time passed, in operational units as well. The first female major general, Hannah Hirsch, was appointed in 1989, and four other women attained that rank after her.<sup>31</sup>

The service of women in combat roles and their service alongside men raised a fierce debate within Israeli society. Some claim that women integrating into combat units detracts from combat readiness. Several reasons for this have been cited: first, that women are not as physically fit as men and cannot endure the rigors of training, deployment, and combat.<sup>32</sup> Second, that women tend to be less violent by nature, and therefore adversely affect masculine military culture.<sup>33</sup> Third, the proximity of men and women leads to sexual tensions and jealousy, which harms morale.<sup>34</sup> Other objections come from traditional views of gender roles. Such arguments include the claims that combat duty would interfere with a woman's "natural" role as a mother, or that women should be protected from the horrors of battle and especially from captivity in enemy

hands.<sup>35</sup> Last, some religiously observant Jews object to integration due to their belief in the proper separation of men and women in the public sphere.<sup>36</sup>

## **The Border Police Women Integration Project: Immediate Background**

In April 1995, the newly appointed Border Police commander, Major General Israel Sadan, ordered a preliminary study regarding the integration of female conscripts in Border Police companies. Ten months later, on 11 February 1996, the first training course for female troopers opened.<sup>37</sup>

What led Sadan to that unorthodox course of action? It was not due to any public demand: at the time, the Border Police faced no outside pressures to integrate women. The struggle for gender equality in the IDF, as far as it existed, focused on integration into Israel's most prestigious military establishment: the Air Force Flight Academy. The public image of the Border Police, by contrast, was relatively weak. There were several reasons for this. For example, the corps' main task, policing Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, was seen as less "heroic" than the tasks performed by IDF combat units. The history of violence against Arab civilians by the Border Police, most notably the Kafr Qasim massacre of 1956, also contributed to its negative public image.<sup>38</sup> Another critical factor that affected the Border Police's public image was the fact that most of its recruits came from groups on the periphery of Israeli society, namely Oriental Jewish communities and various ethnic minorities, such as Druze, Bedouin Arabs, and Circassians. Jewish youth with high socioeconomic status rarely joined the corps, preferring higher-status units such as the paratroopers or the armored corps.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, the Border Police had an overly masculine image, due to the frequent use of physical force by its troopers, as well as to the disproportionate number of recruits from a Jewish Oriental background and ethnic minority communities. Both groups categorically hold relatively traditional perceptions regarding gender roles.<sup>40</sup>

During the mid-1990s, the Border Police faced new challenges. In 1993, following a five-year-long insurgency (the Intifada), Israel's government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) concluded the Oslo Accords in Washington, DC. That treaty led, in 1994, to the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, an autonomous Arab polity in parts of the Gaza Strip, Judea, and Samaria. The accords included the withdrawal of all Israeli security forces, including the Border Police, from the areas allotted to the Palestinian Authority, and their replacement by the newly formed Palestinian Police and security organizations.<sup>41</sup> The Border Police had to adapt quickly to the new situation. Many companies redeployed to new areas, following the transfer of their former bases to the Palestinian Police. Missions changed accordingly: troopers ceased patrolling Arab cities and towns and began securing the newly created "Seam

Zone,” the areas between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Most notably, the Border Police supplied personnel for mobile joint patrols, together with Palestinian Police troopers.<sup>42</sup>

These changes contributed to Sadan’s decision to integrate. First, the new units needed additional personnel, which had to come through the IDF conscription apparatus. While the military needed combat-fit men for its units, it had less need for female soldiers, who at the time could not serve in frontline units. Any female soldier transferred to the Border Police, therefore, would have added to its force.<sup>43</sup> Second, it is probable that the change in operational emphasis ensuing from the Oslo Accords, namely the shift from urban patrols and intense friction with the Arab population to frontier control duties, also promoted the idea that women could integrate within the corps. Another, less tangible influence of the accords might also have helped. The agreement between Israel and the PLO ushered feelings of hope for an impending and everlasting peace in parts of the Israeli public. A brave new world, many believed, was in the making. Shimon Peres, Israel’s minister of foreign affairs, summarized these feelings: “We will bring a new, modern Middle-East to everyone’s children, not according to the narrative of yesterday.”<sup>44</sup> The acceptance of women in combat duty fits well within that “end of history” outlook.

According to Sadan, his background contributed to this project as well: “I grew up in a *Kibbutz* and educated to egalitarianism from childhood. For me, that means total equality between the sexes. Both can contribute to a goal.”<sup>45</sup> It may be that the results of the 1936 struggle for equality for women in these organizations had long-term effects.

## Selection and Training

IDF Lieutenant (currently Israel’s police colonel) Hadas Shapira transferred to the Border Police in January 1996 to command the first-ever course of female troopers. Shapira’s experience as a commander of a female drill instructors’ course prepared her for her new role. She also brought with her a firm belief in feminism. When asked on national television her reason for joining the project, she said: “[I do it] out of ideology. . . . I believe this is what is right for women, that’s the way forward, that’s what I can contribute to women[’s] advancement in our State.”<sup>46</sup>

Border Police staff looked for volunteers in the IDF’s women basic training camps.<sup>47</sup> The main factors for selection were a high Quality Index score, sound physical condition, and motivation.<sup>48</sup> The examiners chose 60 appropriate volunteers from approximately 1,100 recruits. These volunteers underwent further selection, and 33 successfully passed a day of tryouts.<sup>49</sup>

The offer to join a combat training course and to serve as an operational trooper surprised the candidates. “We were initially frightened, none of us

wanted it,” said one of the trainees, Private Na’ama Mutznik. “Personally, when the sorting officer told me I was going to the Border Police course . . . I didn’t want to, and that day I cried to my mother on the phone. But then we went to the tryouts, and got excited.”<sup>50</sup> Another trooper, Dikla Hanuqer, remembered: “I didn’t know much about it, everything happened very quickly. They told us that we would serve just like men, and that got me interested.”<sup>51</sup> Mutznik and Hanuqer’s positive experience was not universal: five candidates, who successfully passed the tryouts, chose not to volunteer and remained in the IDF.<sup>52</sup>

The recruits moved to the Border Police Training Center in Beit Horon, near Jerusalem, for their Basic Combat Training. Lieutenant Shapira’s team of instructors included a staff sergeant, a sergeant, and three drill instructors. Besides the commanding officer, only one other drill instructor was a woman, who was transferred from the IDF, with the rest being veteran Border Police instructors.<sup>53</sup> During the following 15 weeks, the recruits prepared to become operational troopers: they studied about police duties and the core values of the Border Police, learned to shoot various firearms, underwent physical training, participated in tactical field exercises (up to and including platoon-level combat), and practiced primary counterterrorist warfare. The training program was almost identical to that of male conscript training, with some changes made to adapt it better to the feminine physique. For example, to prevent stress fractures, which can be caused by a variety of factors including lack of sleep, female trainees were exempt from guard duty at night.<sup>54</sup> For the same reason, female trainees marched shorter distances than males.<sup>55</sup> Three trainees did not complete the course and returned to the IDF.<sup>56</sup>

Training women for combat roles, while in contact with a large group of men, proved challenging. “We were ‘shooting on the move,’ solving problems as they came,” explained Shapira. “We had very little time to prepare for the course, and honestly we did not know what to expect. All kind of questions arose . . . [such as] what shoes should they wear? Should we allow them wearing sleeveless shirts during physical training?”<sup>57</sup>

Motivation was high: “We knew nothing of the Border Police, I even didn’t know it was a part of the police,” said Hanuqer. “All we knew was that we were pioneers.”<sup>58</sup> Another trainee, Private Meital Gueta said, “Nothing will break us. That’s our motto. . . . We compare the bruises in our legs. Whoever got more . . . it shows she worked harder.”<sup>59</sup> Shimon added, “That’s what we will remember at the end. Not sitting between four walls, writing letters like clerks, but that we went out to the field, jumped, and crawled in thorns.”<sup>60</sup>

At graduation, the recruits were qualified Rifleman 05, as required for all Border Police operational troopers and IDF infantrymen at the end of basic combat training.<sup>61</sup> These were the first Israeli women trained as an infantry unit and the first to receive that qualification. In October 1996, another basic

training course commenced. This time, more trainees participated, and in January 1997, 42 troopers graduated and were deployed. During 1997, two more classes added 101 female troopers to the corps.

In addition to the basic courses, Border Police headquarters decided to train female NCOs and officers. The goal was to create a cadre of female junior commanders to accompany the troopers in the companies and to lead the following basic courses. During 1996, seven NCO women transferred from the IDF and joined Border Police command courses. Four of them, previously drill instructors, participated in the NCO course, while the remaining three enrolled in the officer's course.<sup>62</sup> Also, a certain percentage of graduates went directly to NCO training, thus quickly enlarging the number of available junior commanders.<sup>63</sup> Unlike basic training, women in those courses participated in lessons and exercises alongside male troopers. That was another new occurrence in Israel.

## Deployment

After completing their training, the women transferred to their active service postings. The majority moved to Border Police companies and began performing their duties. The first 16 troopers and two NCOs were posted to *Lamed-Vav* Company (Company 36, LV), which operated on the southeastern area of the Seam Zone, near Beit Guvrin Kibbutz. In LV, the troopers patrolled the border area between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and gained their first experience in active operations and unit life. A few months later, 10 of these troopers relocated to two SAMAG units, 5 troopers each. Further assignments to companies without policewomen included at least four troopers who graduated together and created a female support group in a mostly male environment.<sup>64</sup> However, to prevent the opposition from company commanders (as discussed later), the Border Police commander ordered that female troopers should not account for more than 10 percent in any single unit.<sup>65</sup>

At first, women mostly acted on patrol as regular troopers, but in time they trained to fill all positions available, such as patrol commander, driver, radio operator, medic, and so on.<sup>66</sup> In principle, female troopers were fit for all operational duties, but actual practice varied from unit to unit, according to the company commander's policy, which is described later.

The first operational female troopers felt as if they were under constant scrutiny. They knew they were making history and were aware of the objections toward them. "It seemed everyone was looking at me all the time," said Dikla Hanuqer. "I had to prove myself to them, show them that women can do everything like men." Hanuqer was one of the troopers transferred to a SAMAG company, where she participated in policing the Negev Desert in Southern Israel. Hanuqer continued, "When confronting violent criminals and car thieves,

[we] sometimes needed to use force. As a woman, I knew that I had to prove [that] I also could hit when needed.”<sup>67</sup>

Some female troopers went from basic combat training directly to the NCO course. After graduating, they acted as NCOs in operational companies or as drill instructors. These instructors commanded the cadres of women recruits that followed them, as well as male conscripts.<sup>68</sup>

The initial reports on female integration in active duty varied. Because the women were select volunteers, unlike the men, they were usually more intelligent, as well as better disciplined and motivated. Female presence on patrols improved the behavior and discipline of male troopers. In missions that involved contact with female civilians, suspects, or protesters, women proved invaluable. Finally, social integration between men and women in the companies, as a whole, was also very successful.<sup>69</sup>

However, women were prone to lose their motivation when engaged in monotonous duties, such as long and repetitive border patrols. They also tended to be less physically fit than was required, which detracted from the unit’s preparedness and contributed to their chances of being injured.<sup>70</sup>

## **Challenges**

The integration of women in the Border Police faced various challenges from its earliest stages. First, the innovation posed by women in combat units, which broke traditional gender roles, raised many objections. “We had to change the Israeli prejudice regarding women in combat roles, prove that a woman isn’t only a mother,” said Shapira.<sup>71</sup>

This change did not come easily. “Girls have their office, their telephone . . . they don’t need to shoot and fight,” said Rami Levi, a male recruit who trained alongside the first female course, in an interview, while laughing with his comrades.<sup>72</sup> Not only 18-year-old conscripts objected. “Ideologically and principally, I think that women troopers should not integrate into Border Police operational units and that men should replace them,” said the head of the Border Police training department in 1997.<sup>73</sup> Major General Sadan recalled: “We had to fight male chauvinism and prejudice . . . even within the Border Police, against commanders who believed the stereotype, [which claimed] that women could not be warriors.”<sup>74</sup> Sadan continued, saying that “some disparaged the idea. [They said,] ‘Why did he do that for?’ ‘Who needs women in fighting units?’”<sup>75</sup> Even the minister for public security, the renowned war hero Avigdor Kahalani, was a skeptic.<sup>76</sup> When interviewed in 1997 with then-Lieutenant Shapira, he said, “I prefer that my wife will continue wearing nail polish, rather than wander around the house with a knife between her teeth.”<sup>77</sup>

Some senior officers had little faith in women’s abilities. At least three out of five brigade commanders were opposed to women integrating in their units.<sup>78</sup>

“Company commanders are opposed to women troopers, and their opinion should not be disregarded,” claimed Brigadier General Bentzi Sau, commander of the Northern Brigade. “What if,” he added, “a patrol that included women needs to enter Palestinian-controlled territory?” This officer and some of his colleagues advocated posting female troopers in the areas around Jerusalem, “mainly on checkpoint duty.” That meant putting women back in their traditional police role, conducting searches on female civilians.<sup>79</sup>

Another cause for objection was the traditional male belief that a man’s role includes protecting and sheltering women. Kahalani voiced such feelings when explaining his opposition to women in combat service: “I believe that girls can do anything. But I fear the moment when girls will be under fire, facing an enemy. I wouldn’t want a girl to go through that horrific experience. . . . [Women] should not experience facing an enemy and seeing friends [killed].”<sup>80</sup> Such attitudes caused male instructors, at times, to lower their demands of the women. “The boys had some difficulty at first. . . . with training girls,” said Lieutenant Shapira. “If a girl had a stomach ache . . . [they would say to her,] ‘Sit down, it’s OK’. . . . Until we taught them that they [the women] could train even if their stomach hurts and that even if someone is crying, its [*sic*] fine. When a man sees a girl crying . . . that’s it for him! [He thinks that if] she is crying, she should sit down and relax. No! She can continue training even if it’s difficult for her.”<sup>81</sup>

These reasons led some commanders to refrain from using women in more complicated or dangerous, and therefore prestigious, missions. In some units, for example, female troopers were barred from participating in arrests or were positioned in safer positions in the rear.<sup>82</sup> Hanuquer concluded: “We felt that our commanders were overprotective. They wouldn’t let us participate in some missions, either because they feared for us, or they didn’t believe that we could perform as well as men.”<sup>83</sup>

Gender-biased views of women troopers were not limited to the police. Civilians, especially those from communities that hold traditional views of gender roles, such as Oriental Jews or Arabs, found dealing with the new policewomen difficult at times. Integrated patrols in Taybe, an Israeli-Arab town, reported that civilians repeatedly insulted female troopers.<sup>84</sup> Hanuquer reported a similar experience: “Bedouin Arabs, who have no esteem for women, didn’t know what to make of us, or why a woman would want to check their identity cards. In the beginning, they would completely ignore us, and only speak to policemen.”<sup>85</sup>

Resentment, based on the feeling that women received preferential treatment during training, also fueled objections. Differences in service conditions during basic training were another cause, or excuse, for a grudge. One example of this was the difference in lodging conditions: while men trainees had to sleep under canvas, the women were posted in a concrete building. Another was the

fact that female trainees were exempt from guard detail, which added to the burden on the men.<sup>86</sup> “There was a lot of it [objection to women’s service]. The troopers in the training center kept saying that the staff was pampering us, that we are not doing the same things they did, that we cannot [do it],” said Hanuqer.<sup>87</sup> A report cautioned that male trainees saw their female colleagues as “prima donnas” and advised combining both sexes in as many details and exercises as possible.<sup>88</sup>

The physical aspect of training and operations also was challenging. At the time, Israeli women did not grow up considering service in a combat unit possible, and usually did not prepare themselves physically for military service. Male recruits, on the other hand, tended to train for months before enrolling, many of them under the supervision of private or IDF-sponsored professional trainers.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the women who joined the Border Police at that early stage were relatively unfit.

Knowing this, and wishing to accept as many suitable candidates as possible, the Border Police set relatively low physical fitness demands for the female volunteers.<sup>90</sup> Combined with the inexperience in training women, this led to many injuries during the course. “We all returned wounded from the squad exercise: [with] blood, cuts, dislocated elbows,” said Private Hannah Shimon, and she added that for them “[visiting the] hospital is a regular thing.”<sup>91</sup> While Shimon spoke enthusiastically, telling a news reporter how she and her friends surmounted every obstacle in front of them, others found the training too hard. Three trainees left the course, apparently due to the physical and psychological strain.<sup>92</sup> Others remained and suffered. In a Border Police general staff meeting, the officer responsible for the project admitted that the level of skeletal strain fractures among female trainees was higher than average and that adjusting the training program did not succeed in preventing injuries.<sup>93</sup> Additionally, female troopers were more likely to need medical treatment and sick leave while on deployment, due to the strenuous activity.<sup>94</sup>

There were also practical and technical problems. For example, the bases of the Border Police, which had never housed women before, were unprepared for the new inhabitants. At the training center, there was no room for female trainees in the tents used by men or to set separate ones. The training center’s staff vacated one of the few buildings available, which became a women’s dormitory. Likewise, companies’ home bases lacked facilities for women. In some units, female troopers were lodged in “soldier houses,” government hostels located in major cities, and not on the base in which they served.<sup>95</sup> Another example was the weapon issued to women. At that time, troopers carried the M16A1 assault rifle, while NCOs and officers used the less common CAR15 carbine, which is shorter and lighter. Experience showed that most female troopers, being shorter on average than men, had difficulties handling the standard assault rifle.<sup>96</sup> In the

beginning, only exceptionally short troopers (both women and men) were given carbines; but in time, all female troopers carried them long before the weapon became standard issue. However, this caused further resentment. The men, who considered the carbine a status symbol, considered its issue to rookie women unfair.<sup>97</sup> Other problems involved the military's bureaucracy. At first, the IDF refused to acknowledge the training women passed as equivalent to the military level or to grant them "warrior status" like male troopers.<sup>98</sup>

Existing sources do not mention sexual harassment as a serious problem. There could be several explanations for this. First, perhaps discipline, esprit de corps, and camaraderie prevented harassment from becoming a widespread phenomenon. Second, the constant supervision of the project by headquarters, as well as the corps commander's personal interest in its success as discussed later, might have encouraged officers to prevent misconduct. Third, it is possible the different social norms at the time made women accept behaviors we consider offensive. Last, the women, feeling like pioneers and knowing that they were continuously being tested, might have chosen to "keep a stiff upper lip," seeing sexual harassment as another way for men to project their resentment toward their position. "There were many [offensive] remarks, at first," said Hanuqer. "Remember, the harassment [prevention] law was not too well known then. You got some good [male] friends, but there are also those who see you simply as a sexual object."<sup>99</sup>

## **Precautions and Solutions**

One of Major General Sadan's first steps, when initiating female integration, was to gain his superiors' support for it: "I went to Minister of Public Security Shahal and Inspector-General Hefetz and presented my idea. I received their full support. . . . Without it the Border Police would not have succeeded."<sup>100</sup> That support ensured the cooperation of senior commanders within the police and Border Police, as well as the ministry's help in dealing with the IDF.

The most serious objection to overcome was that of commanders within the Border Police. Headquarters rightly regarded the commanders' attitude toward integration as crucial for success: "Some brigade/company commanders have concerns regarding women troopers in operational units and duties. Wherever they are concerned—there is no integration. Wherever they are not—we see that women troopers integrate successfully."<sup>101</sup> Sadan, the Border Police commander, countered this in two ways. First, he personally followed the project and helped solve the problems that arose. Lieutenant Shapira felt that interest firsthand: "I got full support from the Border Police Commander. Whatever I asked for, he would supply. . . . I had an open line to him."<sup>102</sup> Moreover, Sadan made it clear to his subordinates that he expected the project to succeed. In September 1997, facing the opposition of brigade commanders, he ordered the

further integration of women into almost all available training courses and declared that the project “had passed the point of no return.”<sup>103</sup> Unit commanders were told that successful integration was a part of their duty and that they were personally responsible for any outcome. Conversely, Sadan agreed to limit the number of female troopers in any single company, at least for the initial phases of the project, as a means to decrease objections among company commanders.<sup>104</sup>

The initial deployment of women was accompanied by activities aimed at educating the men regarding the right ways to integrate women. “I went from one unit to another, and met with the officers and NCOs,” said Shapira. “We would have long discussions. . . . We told them how to integrate [women], how to notice harmful remarks [toward the female troopers], how to make sure that the boys don’t leave the girls behind [at the base] when going on mission.”<sup>105</sup> These meetings, as well as routine visits by the officers in charge of the project, enabled headquarters to closely monitor the way in which integration progressed and reinforced the company commanders’ responsibility to success. “We watched them through a magnifying glass,” summarized Shapira.<sup>106</sup>

Border Police headquarters planned women’s integration as a long-lasting project. The human resources department created a new office dedicated to female integration to oversee integration throughout all different phases and units. The recruitment of women directly to officer and NCO training, alongside those sent to basic combat training, illustrate one forward-looking solution, which was designed to provide the new troopers with both assistance and role models from their first day on deployment. Another was the integration of female instructors in predominantly male training courses, such as the NCO course and basic combat training. This accustomed male trainees to seeing women both as professional troopers and as commanders and promoted cooperation in the units to which those men later deployed.<sup>107</sup>

During the first years of female integration, the Border Police studied it intently. Headquarters sponsored research projects designed to improve integration. These examined the attitudes of female troopers, commanders, and staff officers to integration and inspected the various phases and components of the project. For example, one study discovered that a high Quality Index score did not necessarily predict successful integration and might even be detrimental. Shapira admitted that “we had very high quality girls at first, but we found out it wasn’t always for the best. The gap [between women and men] was too wide. . . . If a woman is reading poetry on a Jeep, while the other team members do not understand why she does it—it’s a problem.”<sup>108</sup> Other research, led by the police chief medical officer, looked into the physical side effects of operational duty on women.<sup>109</sup> The corps quickly implemented the lessons learned by those studies, for example, by supplying female trainees with a special diet or by issuing them appropriate boots.<sup>110</sup>

The last measure that likely assisted integration had to do with the troopers' gender identity. While assuming a role previously reserved to men, conscripts did not embrace nor mimic stereotypically male behavior. When asked whether she feared losing her femininity, Private Mutznik replied, "I don't think so. When we return home [on leave], we pretty up again. . . . And also here [in the training center], as aggressive as we are during exercises, when we get to our rooms we love to shower, wear perfume."<sup>111</sup> "We are women first, warriors second," added Private Gueta. "We bring new points [of view] to warfare."<sup>112</sup> These women's attitudes mirror their commanders' beliefs and actions. "We didn't try 'making men out of them,' on the contrary," said Shapira. "It was all about who we are and what our character is."<sup>113</sup> One scene on the television report shows where that attitude came from: a trainee sits on the ground, pressing a bruise on her head and sobbing. Lieutenant Shapira consoles her, offering her water and gently encouraging her. Shapira's behavior sends a strong message: that she regards crying as legitimate behavior.<sup>114</sup> Because some researchers claim that women combat soldiers are "distanced from their femininity" during service and internalize misogynistic, self-hating viewpoints, the policy of the Border Police on this matter probably helped engender a more wholesome viewpoint within the troopers.<sup>115</sup>

## Conclusion

In May 2000, the Border Police human resources department presented the status of female integration in the corps. Four years after the first experimental basic training course, there were 150 operational female troopers in more than 20 companies, accounting for 3 percent of all operational personnel in the Border Police. Few women were also serving as career officers, having opted to remain in service after the termination of their mandatory term.<sup>116</sup>

The concerns regarding female troopers mostly dispelled with time. As more women joined, they stopped being a curiosity and became a part of the natural order of things. Male troopers, commanded by women drill inspectors and officers at basic training, regarded female troopers as equal colleagues when deployed together.

Female troopers quickly gained their final vindication while under fire. During the first years of the twenty-first century, Arab terrorist organizations increased their attacks on Israeli civilians. In October 2000, an undeclared war broke out between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, accompanied by massive riots in Israeli-Arab settlements. Police officers, and especially Border Police troopers, participated in the struggle against terrorism and anarchy. In countless incidents, female troopers proved themselves as professional and brave as the men fighting beside them. Since 2001, nine female troopers were decorated for bravery under fire, including the late Hadar Cohen and Hadas Malka.

The Border Police set the trend in female integration. In early 2000, the IDF deployed the first integrated infantry company, which in 2004 became the Karakal Battalion (33d Battalion). In the following years, women integrated into many other units, including artillery, air defense, military police, search and rescue, and the IDF K9 unit (*Oketz*). These units made use of the experience gained by the Border Police. “The IDF came to learn from us,” recalled Shapira. “*Karakal [sic]*, the Air Force . . . they wanted to know everything: physiological aspects, diet, how to integrate women together with men.”<sup>117</sup> The Israel Police also were affected. Women officers, who began as troopers, transferred to the “blue” police and advanced within the service.<sup>118</sup> Following the precedent set by the Border Police, policewomen entered into new operational police units and roles. For example, women serve today as SWAT operatives (YASAM in Israel), K9 operators, crime scene investigators, and bomb disposal technicians.

As of 2018, 1,000 women serve in the Border Police. A significant majority of them, 807, fulfill operational roles, the rest serving in the corps’ administrative branches. The 745 women troopers constitute about 25 percent of all conscripts and 20 percent of all of the corps’ operational personnel. Another 100 troopers serve in the Border Police Women Patrol, which is a separate unit tasked with assisting the regular police in Jerusalem.<sup>119</sup> In addition, 50 civilian women, which were former troopers, continue to serve in reserve companies and are recruited in times of emergency.<sup>120</sup> Female Border Police officers attained high ranks, though no woman has yet served as an operational company commander.

Female integration also helped improve the public image of the Border Police. The Israeli media followed the female warriors from the beginning and reported on them disproportionately to their initially small numbers. For the first time, the press presented the Border Police as a forward-looking, ethical organization, which helped advance female empowerment and equality. The results were dramatic. In the last few years, the Border Police has become the most sought-after unit for recruits, ahead of IDF’s units.<sup>121</sup> This change, in part, is due to the widespread integration of women in the corps.

The story of women troopers in the Israel Border Police is an example of successful integration of women into security organizations. The women and men of Israel’s Border Police proved that motivation, determination, planning, and continuous learning could lead to revolutionary outcomes, especially when the organization itself is committed to successfully integrating women.

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## Notes

Editor’s note: sources originally in Hebrew have been translated into English by the author.

1. The Damascus Gate is located on the border between the Jewish and Arab parts of Jerusalem and was the location of numerous terror attacks against Israeli security forces and civilians.

2. The term *trooper* denotes a low-ranking operational law-enforcement officer. It provides a gender-neutral alternative to “policeman/policewoman,” while preventing any misunderstandings, which may arise from the use of the term *officer*.
3. Because police rank titles differ between various organizations, the article will use the equivalent standard military nomenclature (e.g., “private” instead of “constable,” “lieutenant” for “inspector,” etc.). The complete Israeli police rank ladder can be viewed at “Structure,” Israel Police, 13 February 2012.
4. Efrat Forsher, Shlomo Cesana, and Yori Yalon, “Heroic Policewoman Murdered by Terrorists in Jerusalem,” *Israel Hayom*, 4 February 2016.
5. Daniel K. Eisenbud, “Hadas Malka, Killed by Terrorist, Remembered as Loving, Brave Warrior,” *Jerusalem Post*, 17 June 2017.
6. Both troopers were posthumously promoted and commended for valor: Hadar Cohen was awarded the Medal of Distinguished Service, and Hadas Malka received the inspector general’s citation.
7. Tal Jonathan-Zamir, David Weisburd, and Badi Hasisi, *Policing Terrorism, Crime Control, and Police-Community Relations: Learning from the Israeli Experience* (Heidelberg, Switzerland: Springer Cham, 2014), 12–13. Note that since the book’s publication, another district and division were added to the police, bringing their numbers to the ones cited above.
8. Zamir, Weisburd, and Hasisi, *Policing Terrorism*, 14.
9. Zamir, Weisburd, and Hasisi, *Policing Terrorism*, 13.
10. Larrie E. Sullivan and Marie Simonetti Rosen, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement* (London: Sage, 2005), 1:1, 131.
11. Yossef Argaman, *The Border: Episodes in Border Police History* (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1995), 181–82. Original in Hebrew.
12. Argaman, *The Border*, 32.
13. Argaman, *The Border*, 21.
14. Ofra Elad, “‘Every Man to Arms—Every Woman, on the Watch!’: The Female Palmach Member,” in *Palmach—Sheaves and Sword*, ed. Yehi’am Weitz (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2000): 213–14. Original in Hebrew.
15. Elad, “‘Every Man to Arms’,” 214.
16. Meir Chazan, “The Struggle of Kibbutz Women to Participate in Guard Duties During the Arab Revolt, 1936–1939,” *Journal of Israeli History*, no. 31 (2012): 83–108, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13531042.2012.660380>.
17. Hanoch Patishi, *An Underground in Uniform: The “Hagganah” Organization and the Jewish Soldiers from Palestine in the British Army, 1939–1946* (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2006), 79–80. Original in Hebrew.
18. For example, see “The A.T.S. Are Doing Well,” *Palestine Post*, 11 May 1942, 4; “ATS Drivers to Parade in Jerusalem,” *Palestine Post*, 25 August 1943, 3; “Our A.T.S. in Italy: Doing Fine Work,” *Palestine Post*, 23 June 1944, 4; and “WAAFs Complete Course,” *Palestine Post*, 8 December 1944, 4.
19. The Haganah, established in 1920, was the largest self-defense organization of the Jewish community in Mandate Palestine. A nation-wide organization, it followed the orders of the Jewish Agency and had, therefore, left wing and socialist tendencies. It generally followed a moderate line, combining collaboration with the British government and covert preparations for independence. See Patishi, *Underground in Uniforms*, 80–83.
20. The Palmach served as the Haganah’s standing army; 1,000 of its 6,000 members were women. See also Elad, “‘Every Man to Arms’.”
21. Etzel (the Hebrew acronym for *Irgun Tzva’i Le’umi*, “National Army Organization”), established in 1937, and Lehi (*Lohamey Herut Yisrael*, “Fighters for Israel’s Freedom”), established in 1940, were smaller movements with right wing political leanings. These two groups generally took a more aggressive stance regarding the conflict with the Arabs and the British authorities.
22. Uri Dromi, ed., *Women in the Israel Defense Force: A Symposium Held on 21 November 2001 at the Israel Democracy Institute* (Jerusalem: Old City Press, 2003), 8.
23. Elad, “‘Every Man to Arms’,” 232–33.

24. Idit Shafran Gittleman, "Women Service in the IDF: Between a People's Army and Gender Equality," Israel Democracy Institute, accessed 23 May 2018. Original in Hebrew.
25. Edna Lomsky-Feder and Orna Sasson-Levy, *Women Soldiers and Citizenship in Israel: Gendered Encounters with the State* (London: Routledge, 2018), 16; also see Gittleman, "Women Service in the IDF"
26. Amos Har'el, "Gender Equality Reached the Egyptian and Jordanian Borders," *Haaretz*, 23 October 2016. Original in Hebrew.
27. Draft for the *1948 Yearly Police Report*, L-2143/8, Israel National Archive (INA). Original in Hebrew.
28. Zipora Shchori-Rubin, "Policing and Gender: The Integration of Women in the Israel Police, 1948–1981," *Cathedra*, no. 164 (2017): 150–52. Original in Hebrew.
29. Shchori-Rubin, "Policing and Gender," 161–62.
30. Carmel Herzelia Bulletin, 27 November 1969, INA.
31. Hirsch was the first Israeli woman to attain that rank at any security service.
32. For example, see Yoram Epstein and Yuval Heled, "Women Integration in Combat Roles: The Physiological Aspect," *Ma'arachot*, no. 460 (2015): 45–49, original in Hebrew; and Gat, "Women in War," 46–53. Original in Hebrew.
33. Gat, "Women in War," 51.
34. Rachel Tevet-Weizel and Ariel Weiner, "Storming Ahead, Despite All," *Ma'arachot*, no. 456 (2014): 38–40. Original in Hebrew.
35. Gat, "Women in War," 48–49; and Tevet-Weizel and Weiner, "Storming Ahead, Despite All," 39.
36. For example, the IDF journal, *Ma'arachot*, published several articles on the subject, arguing both for and against women integration. See, for example, Gat, "Women in War," 46–53, original in Hebrew; also see Anat Qedem, "Women and the Military—a Biological-Historical Analysis or a Gendered Opinion?," *Ma'arachot*, no. 383 (2002): 90–91, original in Hebrew; and Idit Shafran Gittleman, "Women in the IDF: The Challenge of an 'Integrated' Army," Israel Democracy Institute, 28 February 2018.
37. Tal Misgav and Alissa Chibotrayov, "A Woman of Valour Who Can Find?," Israel Border Police Museum (IBPM). Original in Hebrew.
38. On 29 October 1956, the first day of Israel's military operation against Egypt ("The Sinai War"/"Suez Crisis"), the Border Police were ordered to enforce curfew in several Israeli-Arab villages. In the village Kafr Qassem, the policemen summarily executed 49 civilians, who were returning to their homes after a day's work, unaware of the curfew. See Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–2001* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 295.
39. For a discussion of the preferences of Jewish ethnic groups regarding military service, see Stuart A. Cohen, *Israel and its Army: From Cohesion to Confusion* (London: Routledge, 2008): 109–11.
40. Oriental Jews, whose families immigrated to Israel from Muslim countries, have adopted many of the cultural characteristics of the societies within which they lived. Therefore, members of this group tend to have traditional attitudes toward gender roles, similar to those prevalent in Arab society. For example, see Liat Kulik, "Examination of Gender Role Attitudes among Spouses: A Comparative Analysis," *Megamot*, no. 1 (2010): 81–102. Original in Hebrew.
41. Brynjar Lia, *A Police Force without a State: The History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2006).
42. *Israel Police Yearly Report, 1996*, 47, IPHC. Original in Hebrew.
43. *Israel Police Yearly Report, 1996*, 48. Original in Hebrew.
44. Erez Tadmor, "The Peace Formula Blood Test—The Oslo Accords and the People of Tomorrow," *Mida*, 14 September 2014. Original in Hebrew.
45. Misgav and Chibotrayov, "A Woman of Valour Who Can Find?"
46. *Dan Shilon Live*, 13 June 1996. Original in Hebrew.
47. At that time, female soldiers had to undergo a two-week basic training course conducted on gender-segregated bases.

48. “Quality Index” or “Quality Group” (*Kvutzat Eichut*, KABA) is the main personality index used by the IDF to assign its recruits. Scores vary from 41 to 56, 43 being the lowest allowed for recruitment. NCO candidates must have a Quality Index score of 48 and above, while officer and special operation unit candidates need a score of 52 or higher.
49. *Report on Women Recruitment*, Border Police Psychology Branch, 14 January 1997, IBPM. Original in Hebrew.
50. “In the Line of Fire,” Channel 2 News, 23 May 1996. Original in Hebrew.
51. Dikla Hanuqer, interview with author, 30 May 2018, IPHC. Original in Hebrew.
52. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
53. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
54. David W. Armstrong III et al., “Stress Fracture Injury in Young Military Men and Women,” *Bone* 35, no. 3 (September 2004): 806–16, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bone.2004.05.014>.
55. Hadas Shapira-Madmoni, interview with author, 3 June 2018.
56. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
57. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
58. Hanuqer interview.
59. “In the Line of Fire.”
60. “In the Line of Fire.”
61. Tank and artillery crews are qualified as Rifleman 03, while noncombat soldiers qualify as Rifleman 02.
62. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
63. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
64. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
65. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers*, 10 September 1997, IBPM. Original in Hebrew.
66. Hanuqer interview; also see *Report on Women Recruitment*.
67. Hanuqer interview.
68. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
69. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
70. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
71. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
72. “In the Line of Fire.”
73. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers*.
74. Misgav and Chibotrayov, “A Woman of Valour Who Can Find?”
75. Israel Sadan, interview with author, 30 May 2018.
76. Kahalani, a former IDF brigadier general, was appointed minister of public security in July 1996. For his gallant actions during the 1973 war, Kahalani was awarded the Israeli Medal of Valor.
77. *Dan Shilon Live*.
78. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
79. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers*.
80. *Dan Shilon Live*.
81. *Dan Shilon Live*.
82. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers*.
83. Hanuqer interview.
84. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers*.
85. Hanuqer interview.
86. The reason for this was to prevent strain fractures, which the women were more prone to. See *Report on Women Recruitment*.
87. Hanuqer interview.
88. *Report on Women Recruitment*.
89. For example, during his high school senior year, the author participated in a nationwide IDF preenlistment fitness program. The program consisted of groups of youths (all male) throughout the country, who met twice a week to exercise with a professional

- sports trainer. Participation was free of charge and was meant to prepare the trainees for the selection tests of elite units and the physical rigors of basic training.
90. *Report on Women Recruitment.*
  91. "In the Line of Fire."
  92. Hanuqer interview.
  93. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers.*
  94. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers.*
  95. Hanuqer interview.
  96. *Report on Women Recruitment.*
  97. Hanuqer interview.
  98. At the time, combat soldiers were granted "Warrior Status" by the IDF, which entailed different benefits, including a higher discharge grant and better accessibility to scholarships. See Orna Sasson-Levi, "Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles," *Sociological Inquiry* 73, no. 3 (August 2003): 462, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-682X.00064>; see also Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  99. Hanuqer interview.
  100. Sadan interview.
  101. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers.*
  102. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  103. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers.*
  104. *Status Report—Border Police Women Troopers.*
  105. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  106. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  107. *Report on Women Recruitment.*
  108. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  109. *Israel Police Human Resources Division Yearly Report, 1998*, 51, IPHC. Original in Hebrew.
  110. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  111. "In the Line of Fire."
  112. "In the Line of Fire."
  113. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  114. "In the Line of Fire."
  115. Sasson-Levi, "Feminism and Military Gender Practices," 451–53.
  116. One of them was Dikla Hanuqer, who still serves today (2018). See "Women Service in the Border Police," 28 May 2000, IBPM. Original in Hebrew.
  117. Shapira-Madmoni interview.
  118. Col Hadas Shapira-Madmoni is one of them.
  119. The Border Police Women Patrol unit, established in 1999–2000, patrols the Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem to deter and detect terrorist attacks. Their role is similar to that of regular police officers, while the troopers' role resembles that of soldiers. Therefore, the women serving in this unit receive lower-level training than the troopers.
  120. According to Israeli Defense Service Law (1986), women are required to serve in military reserve units until the age of 36 (men serve until they are 40), or until they become pregnant.
  121. Amos Harel and Yaniv Kubovitch, "Border Police Is Now Israel's Most Popular Combat Unit Among New Recruits," *Haaretz*, 8 September 2016.