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TEXT 1

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Ultra-orthodox Jewish Women Go to Work

Secular Education and Vocational Training as Sources of Emancipation and Modernization

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Abstract In the last three decades the ultra-orthodox community in Israel has experienced great changes in its internal social functioning. More specifically, these developments were linked to the education of ultra-orthodox women. Through an accurate review of the existing literature and a series of in-depth interviews with Israeli scholars, rabbis, educators and women of the ultraorthodox community in Jerusalem, it was found that the introduction of new vocational and academic tracks in women's education, is gradually changing the internal social structure of the ultraorthodox family and community. The main consequence is expressed in a modification of the traditional patriarchal framework and in a renegotiation of gender roles within the ultra-orthodox family and community.

Summary 1. Introduction. — 1.1. Methodological Considerations. — 2. Haredi Judaism in Israel. — 2.1. Education in the Haredi Community. — 3. Haredi Women: The Private and Public Sphere. — 3.1. Haredi Women: Education, Training and Employment. — 3.2. The Paradox of Haredi Women's Education and the Renegotiation of Gender Roles. — 4. Conclusions.

1 Introduction

In the last three decades the ultra-orthodox community in Israel has experienced great changes in its internal social functioning. Through an accurate review of the existing literature and a series of in-depth interviews to members of the ultra-orthodox (haredi)

community in Jerusalem, this study will try to show how these transformations are linked to women's education. More specifically, it was found that the introduction of new vocational and academic training courses in women's educational tracks, is gradually changing the internal social structure of the ultra-orthodox family and community.

Since the late 1980s some fundamental ethnographical and anthropological studies have paid attention to the haredi community and its lifestyle, focusing on its social functioning and its religious traditions and rituals (Friedman 1991; Heilman 1992). However, all these studies concentrated mainly, when not exclusively, on the male part of the community, completely overlooking women or bestowing on them a secondary role. Numerous ethnographical studies have been conducted especially to examine haredi politics and the ethnic divisions within the community (Shokeid 1995; Leon 2008; Caplan 2007; Abbas 2013); its economic situation (Bezalel 2006; Shiffman 2011) and so forth. In this respect, a special attention was reserved to formal and informal religious education, as one of the main tenets of haredi life (Bar-Lev 1991; Heilman 1992; Shiffer 1999; Maoz 2007). Yet, it was only towards the end of the 20th century that Israeli scholars begun to publish studies on the haredi woman (El-Or 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997; Caplan 2003), its education (El-Or 1994) and, later on, on ultra-orthodox women vocational training and academic education, leading to employment (Lupu 2005; Ben Shahar 2009; Blumen 2002; Longman 2008; Garr, Marans 2001; Baum et al. 2013). Nevertheless, all the studies carried on thus far, have concentrated on a very limited sample survey and on very specific cases (Garr, Marans 2001; Baum et al. 2013), without considering the effects of women's education and employment on the ultra-orthodox community at large. In particular, the most significant study carried out on haredi women's education – *Educated and Ignorant: Ultra-orthodox Jewish Women and their World* by Tamar El-Or (1994) – is an ethnographical research on the education of haredi women, focusing on their life within the community and on informal education, rather than on schools, vocational training and gainful employment. Still it provides the reader with a clear idea and a vivid look on the life in a Gur Hassidic ultra-orthodox neighborhood, and on the traditional role of women as mothers and housewives.

Against this background, the aim of this research is to share some more light on the multifaceted feminine side of the haredi community, and identify key stages in the evolution of women's education, especially vocational training and academic education. The choice of focusing on women was made since they constitute a significant link in preservation mechanisms in the haredi community and at the same time they provide an indication of familial and societal processes of change occurring within it.

As a result, it will be shown how the developments within the haredi educational system mirror the bigger transformations that the entire ultraorthodox community is undergoing, especially with respect to its internal functioning (power relations between men and women, education, work, the role of women etc.). More specifically, this research has two main objectives:

- to show how the haredi educational system for women has evolved in the last decades;
- to explain how the development in the education system changed the role of women within the haredi family and led to a renegotiation of gender roles.

First, through a review of the existing literature, an overview of the haredi community in Israel and of its educational system will be offered. Then the Foscarini. *Ultra-orthodox Jewish Women Go to Work* 55 *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 50, pp. 53-74 ISSN 2385-3042 look will shift to women and their role in the private and public sphere, with a specific focus on girls' educational system and its evolution. The innovative character of the research will be presented in the last part, through the results of a fieldwork activity carried out in Jerusalem in the summer of 2013. The paradox of women's education and the renegotiation of gender roles ongoing in the ultra-orthodox community, will be highlighted through the help of in-depth interviews with Israeli scholars, educators, rabbis and women from the ultra-orthodox community in Jerusalem. The paper concludes with a discussion of the findings and of their implications on the future of the haredi community in Israel.

1.1 Methodological Considerations

From a methodological point of view, all data and sources analyzed to develop the core of this research – i.e. the analysis of the professional and academic education of haredi women – can be divided in two categories: secondary sources and primary sources (Bruschi 1999). The majority of the sources I have considered in my research can be classified as secondary sources, i.e. sources whose data were collected for other purposes. These sources can be divided in: scientific publications, public surveys and surveys carried out by the public administration. As for scientific publications, it was only towards the end of the 20th century that Israeli scholars began to be interested in and to publish researches on the issue of ultra-orthodox women's vocational and academic training. However, the information and data obtained from these sources take into consideration a limited number of cases, and it is for this reason that I have decided to integrate them with other sources: public surveys – mainly those carried out by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics – and surveys carried out by the public administration, in particular those of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Concerning primary sources, to gather and analyze the most updated and reliable information on

the situation of haredi women's education, I collected in-depth interviews with scholars and, in parallel, with rabbis, educators in the ultra-orthodox school system (particularly from Bayt Ya'acov institutions and the Michlalah Haredit), and with haredi women in Jerusalem. I chose to analyse those interviews from a qualitative point of view only, given the limited number of interviews collected.

Finally, it should be specified that the Israeli haredi community is composed of a great number of groups and subgroups (hasidim, mitnagdim, Ashkenazim, Sephardim etc.), which makes it impossible to examine all of them. Therefore this study presents mainly mainstream Ashkenazi haredim, while sometimes considering Sephardi haredim as well.

Adapted from: <https://www.doaj.org/article/049150bf7f24208a9a9cc6b470a0702>. Accessed on May 21, 2022.

QUESTÕES

1. Partindo do pressuposto postulado por Bakhtin de que “o emprego da língua efetua-se em forma de enunciados (orais e escritos) concretos e únicos, proferidos pelos integrantes desse ou daquele campo da atividade humana” e que “esses enunciados refletem as condições específicas e as finalidades de cada referido campo não só por seu conteúdo (temático) e pelo estilo da linguagem, ou seja, pela seleção dos recursos lexicais, fraseológicos e gramaticais da língua mas, acima de tudo, por sua construção composicional” (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 261) e tomando por base a definição de gêneros do discurso do mesmo autor, sendo esses os “tipos relativamente estáveis de enunciados” (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 262), o excerto acima mais se aproxima de:

Referência: BAKHTIN, M. *Estética da criação verbal*. Trad. Paulo Bezerra. São Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes, 2011.

- a) Um essay
- b) Um texto de *blog*
- c) Um artigo científico
- d) Uma *cover letter*
- e) Uma notícia

2. De acordo com o texto, em linhas gerais, os dois objetivos gerais do estudo são:

- a) Compreender e justificar por que razões as mulheres judias não fazem parte do mercado de trabalho em Israel
- b) Expor e discriminar as mudanças no funcionamento social interno da comunidade ultraortodoxa israelense
- c) Enfocar as transformações relacionadas à educação de mulheres ultraortodoxas
- d) Produzir uma revisão bibliográfica da literatura existente sobre o assunto e fornecer entrevistas com pesquisadores israelenses, rabinos, professores e mulheres da comunidade ultraortodoxa em Jerusalém
- e) Demonstrar como o sistema educacional feminino *haredi* se desenvolveu nas últimas décadas e elucidar em que medida tal desenvolvimento influenciou o papel da mulher na construção familiar dessa comunidade

3. Na sentença extraída do texto que se segue: “*since the late 1980s some fundamental ethnographical and anthropological studies have paid attention to the haredi community and its lifestyle focusing on its social functioning and its religious traditions and rituals...*(Friedman 1991; Heilman 1992)”, os pronomes possessivos destacados (*its*) referem-se ... e sua função é ...:

- a) aos estudos etnográficos e antropológicos; gerar frases ambíguas
- b) à comunidade *haredi*; substituir um substantivo ou uma frase nominal
- c) ao estilo de vida da comunidade *haredi*; indicar aproximação, afeto ou respeito
- d) ao funcionamento social da comunidade *haredi*; indicar posse
- e) às tradições religiosas da comunidade *haredi*; evitar a repetição

4. No trecho “**however, all these studies concentrated mainly, when not exclusively, on the male part of the community, completely overlooking women or bestowing on them a secondary role**”, o significado que mais se aproxima do verbo sublinhado – *overlook* – neste contexto é:

- a) visão geral
- b) visão específica
- c) visão excedente
- d) visão excludente
- e) visão exclusiva

5. De acordo com o texto, o registro da primeira publicação de estudos sobre as mulheres *haredi* por pesquisadores israelenses é datado:

- a) do final do século 20
- b) 1994
- c) 2002
- d) 2005
- e) 2013

6. Com base na investigação em questão, as limitações dos estudos que foram conduzidos até o momento sobre as mulheres *haredi*, sua educação e formação vocacional e acadêmica realizados são:

- a) Concentração em amostras variadas e casos gerais, desconsiderando os efeitos da educação e empregabilidade feminina na comunidade ultraortodoxa como um todo
- b) Concentração em amostras ilimitadas e casos genéricos, considerando os efeitos da educação e empregabilidade feminina na comunidade ultraortodoxa como um todo
- c) Concentração em amostras limitadas e casos específicos, desconsiderando os efeitos da educação e empregabilidade feminina na comunidade ultraortodoxa como um todo
- d) Concentração em amostras infinitas e casos convenientes, considerando os efeitos da educação e empregabilidade feminina na comunidade ultraortodoxa como um todo
- e) Concentração em amostras irrestritas e casos inexatos, desconsiderando os efeitos da educação e empregabilidade feminina na comunidade ultraortodoxa como um todo

7. A autora menciona as razões pelas quais se justifica o foco do estudo ser “o lado feminino multifacetado da comunidade *haredi*”. Quais são elas?

- a) lançar luz ao lado feminino multifacetado da comunidade *haredi*
- b) identificar os estágios-chave na evolução da educação feminina
- c) identificar os estágios-chave na evolução da educação feminina, principalmente a educação vocacional e acadêmica

- d) por elas constituírem uma conexão significativa nos mecanismos de preservação na comunidade *haredi* e por fornecerem um indicador dos processos familiares e sociais de mudanças ocorridas dentro dela
- e) por elas serem um “espelho” das grandes transformações sofridas pela comunidade ultraortodoxa

8. Assinale a alternativa que contém a sequência correspondente aos passos metodológicos do estudo em sua ordem cronológica:

- () Resultados de um trabalho de campo realizado em 2013, em Jerusalém
- () Papel da mulher nas esferas pública e privada, com foco no sistema educacional e sua evolução
- () Revisão da literatura
- () Entrevistas com pesquisadores israelenses, professores, rabinos e mulheres da comunidade ultraortodoxa em Jerusalém
- () Visão geral da comunidade *haredi* e seu sistema educacional
- () Discussão dos resultados

- a) 6, 3, 2, 1, 4, 5
- b) 4, 3, 1, 5, 2, 6
- c) 3, 4, 1, 5, 2, 6
- d) 4, 3, 5, 1, 2, 6
- e) 4, 3, 1, 5, 6, 2

9. Em relação às considerações metodológicas, no fragmento “I collected in-depth interviews with scholars and, in parallel, with rabbis, educators in the ultra-orthodox school system (particularly from Bayt Ya’acov institutions and the Michlalah Haredit), and with haredi women in Jerusalem”, *in-depth* assume a função de:

- a) Advérbio de intensidade
- b) Artigo
- c) Adjunto adverbial
- d) Adjetivo
- e) Advérbio

10. O fato da comunidade haredi ser formada por um extenso número de grupos e subgrupos implica:

- a) na diversidade de conteúdo a ser investigado pelos pesquisadores, tornando a pesquisa rica e completa
- b) na facilitação da identificação dos grupos aos quais as mulheres judias pertencem
- c) no aumento da frequência com que mulheres de um determinado grupo são inseridas no mercado de trabalho
- d) na limitação do número de entrevistas coletadas
- e) na impossibilidade de se avaliar todos os grupos e subgrupos

TEXT 2

The countries resisting remote work

By Mark Johanson

17th May 2022

In places including the US and UK, remote work is here to stay. But that's not necessarily the story around the world.

Two years ago, the pandemic thrust us into remote work out of necessity – but now that many of the safety measures have lifted, large swaths of employees are still working from home. And many are doing so permanently. In several countries, companies have transitioned once in-office roles to become either entirely or partially remote. Plus, job listings with a remote component have soared.

A recent study from employment site Indeed shows the number of global job listings that mention remote work has nearly tripled since the onset of the pandemic, up from an average of just 2.5% in January 2020 to almost 7.5% in September 2021, with countries like Ireland, Spain and the UK seeing the greatest increases. Meanwhile, careers site Ladders predicts that 25% of all professional jobs in North America will be remote by the end of 2022. This doesn't even account for the number of jobs that are not technically classified as remote or hybrid yet, but where workers are still at home while bosses toy with formal return-to-office arrangements.

Meanwhile, many employees who have been called back are returning to a partially remote workplace; globally, some 38% of employees now work in a hybrid office, according to Microsoft's 2022 Work Trend Index. Much of the world is rapidly embracing a more progressive model for the future of the workplace, with employers going either remote and hybrid on a large scale.

Yet, this isn't necessarily the case with every nation.

In some places, remote work just isn't as culturally sanctioned, hasn't been embraced by society or never caught on due to technological or logistical barriers. So, while many countries march head-first into a work-from-anywhere future, workers in locations including France or Japan are often returning to the office full-time, rejecting the notion that a five-day in-person work week is a relic of the past.

'French people are, most of the time, reluctant to change'

Working from home has become so commonplace for many workers during the past two years that it can be hard to remember that, outside of Scandinavia and a few pockets in Western Europe, the practice was still quite rare in the 2010s. Now, most European nations – particularly those with higher GDPs – have embraced the concept whole-heartedly.

However, France remains an outlier.

According to an Ifop study for the French think tank Fondation Jean-Jaurès, only 29% of French workers say they work remotely “at least once a week”. That compares to 51% of Germans, 50% of Italians, 42% of Brits and 36% of Spaniards. Even those in France who report working remotely appear to do so far less often than their European neighbours. While in Italy, 30% of workers said they teleworked for four to five days a week and 17% for two to three days, in France, the figures are 11% and 14%, respectively.

“French people are, most of the time, reluctant to change,” says Sonia Levillain, a professor at the IÉSEG School of Management in Lille, and author of the Little Toolbox of Remote Management. “This is a stereotype, but it’s also a reality.”

Hybrid work has made some headway in France ever since workers began returning to the office last June. Many companies are now shifting to a flex office approach with hot desking. Yet, “employees are very sceptical of it”, says Levillain. “They were really attached to the physical office – to the place where they were working – because it was a sign of identity and of belonging to the organisation.”

Reluctance to work remotely may also have to do with how the French workplace has traditionally operated, with bosses feeling a strong need to control their employees. “Historically, the management practices were not developed around trust and autonomy, but more of a top-down approach,” explains Levillain.

Social interactions are also a key tool for decision-making in the French office. Because they’ve traditionally happened quite informally, that’s been hard to replicate on a computer screen. “Communication is spontaneous – it’s not really organised and structured at a specific time with specific people,” explains Levillain, noting that managers prize unplanned contact and interaction in the workplace. “You walk around the office, and you discuss things at the coffee machine, because that’s a place where a lot of decisions are made and solutions are found.”

To work in a hybrid mode on a sustainable basis would mean moving from the current informal office structure to a more structured one. “Culturally speaking,” says Levillain, “I think we still have lots of work to do to achieve that.”

‘Everyone wanted to go back to the office as soon as possible’

Japan is another place whose highly social work structure made it a poor candidate for remote work, as evidenced by the Indeed study, which showed almost no uptick in remote jobs between January 2020 and September 2021.

Parissa Haghirian, a professor of international management at Tokyo’s Sophia University, explains there are a lot of unspoken messages in the Japanese workplace – such as subtle body language cues or ‘reading the air’, which might steer the direction of a meeting – and these just couldn’t be examined on a screen. “In Japan, it’s always better to have a meeting in person than to write an email, because nonverbal

communication plays a very important role,” she explains. “There is this idea that I know you, I like you, I have a good feeling about what you’re saying.”

Dialogue is also essential for decision making. Whereas overseas companies typically assign unique responsibilities to specific workers (and evaluate them individually), roles are far less defined in Japan, with employees working interdependently in teams, and making assessments as a group. This makes it difficult to divide processes and distribute work in a remote setting, leading to lower perceptions of productivity outside the office.

“Since you don’t have a clear line of where your job ends and mine starts, everyone is doing everything together,” says Haghirian. “This kind of interaction in a Japanese firm is very fluid, but it’s often confusing to the outsider, because you never know who is really in charge or who is doing what.”

Japan also prizes mentorship in the workplace. Senior members are often tasked with regularly teaching and monitoring younger peers – something that just did not happen as efficiently in a remote setting. “After a while, people just got really tired of remote work, and everyone wanted to go back to the office as soon as possible,” says Haghirian.

‘Globally, most people are still going to need offices’

Access to high-speed broadband is another barrier that can determine a country’s successful transition to hybrid forms of work, says Loh. Employees in much of the Global South, for example, have now returned to the workplace after lukewarm experiments in remote work hampered by poor technological infrastructure.

“The knowledge economy is growing tremendously, but cultural preferences and typical living standards are not changing to that great of an extent,” says Loh. “So, globally, most people are still going to need offices.”

There has, however, been an undeniable global shift in the ability to get work done beyond the confines of a traditional office, with many white-collar workers now equipped to log-on from home after learning how to do so during the height of the pandemic. So, although not every country may be as keen on remote work as the US or UK, hybrid and remote trends are here to stay.

Of course, so, too, is the office. Companies around the world are now navigating the pros and cons of each model, picking and choosing which aspects gel with the particularities of their unique cultures. Countries like France or Japan might have been slower to adapt to remote and hybrid work, but progressive companies are now chipping away at corporate norms there, too, meaning it may only be a matter of time before the dominos begin to fall.

Adapted from: <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20220511-the-countries-resisting-remote-work>.
Accessed on May 23, 2022.

QUESTÕES

1. Considerando o tema principal do texto, podemos dizer que ele trata:

- a) Das vantagens e desvantagens de se adotar o trabalho remoto em alguns países
- b) Da resistência de alguns países em adotar o trabalho remoto ou híbrido
- c) Das dificuldades de alguns países para adotar o trabalho remoto
- d) Das consequências da pandemia da Covid-19 para o mundo
- e) Da necessidade de se adotar uma nova forma de trabalho

2. Segundo o texto, as principais razões para alguns países não aceitarem o trabalho remoto como uma nova realidade são:

- a) Questões culturais, tecnológicas e de identidade
- b) Questões culturais, tecnológicas e sanitárias
- c) Receio de novas ondas pandêmicas e questões logísticas
- d) Porque a sociedade não abraçou a ideia e por questões tecnológicas
- e) Questões culturais, tecnológicas ou logísticas e porque a sociedade não adotou a ideia

3. Para fornecer argumentos que comprovam o crescimento da demanda do trabalho remoto, o texto apresenta dados de:

- a) Sites de busca de emprego
- b) Sites de universidades que fazem pesquisa sobre o futuro da economia no mundo
- c) Sites relacionados a pesquisas quantitativas
- d) Revistas eletrônicas sobre trabalho remoto
- e) Sites de notícia sobre as consequências da pandemia para o mundo

4. A palavra 'yet', na frase "**Yet, this isn't necessarily the case with every nation.**", é considerada:

- a) Um advérbio, podendo ser traduzida por "Já"
- b) Um advérbio, podendo ser traduzida por "Ainda"
- c) Uma conjunção, podendo ser traduzida por "Contudo"
- d) Uma conjunção, podendo ser traduzida por "Novamente"
- e) Uma expressão sem possibilidade de tradução

5. A alternativa que mais se aproxima do sentido da expressão 'lukewarm experiments' na sentença "**Employees in much of the Global South, for example, have now returned to the workplace after lukewarm experiments in remote work hampered by poor technological infrastructure**" é:

- a) Experiência fraca
- b) Experiência sortuda
- c) Experiência boa
- d) Experiência exitosa
- e) Experiência devastadora

6. Ao relatar o crescimento na tendência do trabalho remoto no mundo, o texto:

- a) Desconsidera a presença do trabalho presencial no futuro
- b) Afirma que a velocidade da banda larga e a infraestrutura de tecnologia são fatores que não afetaram o trabalho remoto
- c) Pontua que há espaço para as duas modalidades de trabalho
- d) Defende que o trabalho remoto é uma realidade que surgiu apenas como consequência da pandemia, mas enfatiza que com o passar do tempo não haverá espaço para tal modalidade
- e) Defende que as duas modalidades irão coexistir por um tempo, mas no futuro não haverá mais a necessidade do trabalho presencial

7. Na sentença "**This is a stereotype, but it's also a reality.**", o pronome 'This' em destaque refere-se:

- a) Aos franceses
- b) Ao livro '*Little Toolbox of Remote Management*'
- c) À autora do livro
- d) À relutância do povo francês a mudanças
- e) À escola

8. Assinale a alternativa que indica a sequência correta dos argumentos para a resistência ao trabalho remoto da França e do Japão.

- () Tutoria
- () Sinal de identidade e pertencimento
- () Comunicação não-verbal no local de trabalho
- () Abordagem ascendente de práticas de gerenciamento
- () Trabalho em equipe

a) Japão, Japão, França, França, Japão

b) Japão, França, Japão, França, Japão

c) Japão, França, Japão, Japão, Japão

d) França, Japão, Japão, França, Japão

e) Japão, França, França, Japão, Japão

9. Ao afirmar que as empresas francesas valorizam a interação social, Levillain procura argumentar que:

a) Esse tipo de interação não pode acontecer no trabalho remoto

b) Esse tipo de interação surge espontaneamente e isso é mais difícil de acontecer no trabalho remoto

c) Esse tipo de interação não acontece no trabalho presencial por ser mais formal

d) Esse tipo de interação somente acontece nos momentos de pausa do trabalho presencial

e) Decisões importantes apenas são feitas em momentos formais e estruturados de reuniões

10. O fato de que, nas empresas japonesas, não há uma linha clara delimitando a função de cada empregado, implica afirmar que:

a) Não há um controle das funções dos empregados nas empresas japonesas

b) De forma individual, todos fazem de tudo

- c) Quando admitido por uma empresa japonesa, o funcionário deve saber de tudo um pouco
- d) Há uma relação de interação em que os funcionários trabalham em equipes, tomando decisões em grupo
- e) Não existem cargos específicos para cada funcionário