

The “mother of all protests” meets Israeli older persons: When age and gender intersect in political protests

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Abstract

Objectives: The Israeli government's announcement of a judicial overhaul has resulted in ongoing protests and strikes starting in early 2023. The present study examines the intersection between age and gender in political protests.

Methods: The present qualitative study is based on interviews with 13 men and 17 women over the age of 65 who participated in the protests. We conducted qualitative thematic analysis comparing and contrasting categories within and between interviews, while taking the gender perspective into account.

Results: The study highlights patterns of gendered but also older age protesting practices.

Whereas men fought for the sake of past generations, women protested mainly for the sake of their children and grandchildren. In addition, men tended to capitalize on their past achievements as fighters, whereas women emphasized their current achievements as grandmothers.

Discussion: Our findings suggest that under some circumstances even stereotypical devalued attributes (e.g., being a grandmother) can be used as powerful tools to attract supporters and fight for a cause. Older men, on the other hand, tend to hold on to their past achievements as fighters, at the top of the hegemonic hierarchy to ensure their power and status in current protests. To ensure the appeal of political protests, heterogeneity in motives and protesting styles should be acknowledged.

Keywords: Ageism, Civic participation, Intersection, Politics, Sexism

The 37th government of Israel was formed on the 29th of December 2022. The ruling government immediately embarked on a judicial overhaul, which has been viewed as a regime revolution by its opponents. Although many controversial new rulings and legislations have been promoted by this extreme-right-wing, fundamental government, the most contentious were attempts to weaken the judicial system and ensure an infinite power to the government. Since the government's announcement of the overhaul, the country has been in turmoil with ongoing protests and strikes starting in early 2023. The opposition to the ruling government and its proposed overhaul has been unprecedented in its strength and breadth, encompassing by March 2023, 23% of all Jews over the age of 18, according to the Israel Democracy Institute. This paper evaluates the role of age and gender in political protests. This is done through qualitative interviews with older Israelis over the age of 65.

The role of age and gender in protests

There is a strong body of research concerning the role of age in political activism including protests (De Moor et al., 2021; Renström et al., 2021). Compared with younger persons, older persons are more likely to vote but are less likely to participate in political protests (Renström et al., 2021; The British Election Study Team, 2021; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). Older persons also are more likely to have formal political representation (Stockemer & Sundström, 2023). For instance, in the United States, during the 2020 election, four of the most influential political figures were in their late 70's and early 80's. This has led researchers to talk about gerontocracy as a characteristic of the United States governing system (Stockemer et al., 2023) as well as various other countries worldwide (Tepe & Vanhuyse, 2009).

Likewise, older Israelis are well-represented in the formal governing system. The Israeli members of the parliament (PMs) are relatively old, with a median age of 51 and a mean age of 52.5. Only 2.5% of the PMs are under the age of 35, whereas 27.5% are 61 and over (Stockemer & Sundström, 2022). The Prime Minister of Israel is 73 years old, and the president is 62 years old. This

is contrasted with the current age distribution of the Israeli population, which has a median age of 29.1 and only 12% of its population is over the age of 65 (DataReportal, 2023).

Just like the case of chronological age, gender as well has been examined as a factor associated with political representation and power as well as with political activism (Dodson, 2015; Forum, 2022; Kunovich et al., 2007). In most countries, women are less likely to take a leadership role (World Economic Forum, 2022; Kunovich et al., 2007). In the case of Israel, the exclusion of women from political representation is quite glaring, especially in the recent election. Only 24% of all MPs are women, and in four of 10 elected parties, women did not capture realistic positions, with two of the parties not having any woman representative. Moreover, despite the unprecedented number of ministries in the current government (n=31), only five are women. Both the prime minister and the president are man and only one woman leads an elected political party (Kenig, 2023).

When it comes to political protests, compared with women, men are more likely to be active and to engage in social movements including protests (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). Direct activism is synonymous with activism among men, thus making the “ideal activist” a man. Women, on the other hand, tend to take the backstage and engage in non-confrontational activism compared with men (Craddock, 2019; Dodson, 2015). This, however, has been attributed not only to gender per se, but to various factors, which distinguish between men and women such as sense of self-efficacy, religiosity, and level of education (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994).

The theoretical grounds of the present study

The concept of “doing gender” reflects the fact that gender is not solely based on biology, thus, is not synonymous with sex. Instead, gender reflects the social construction of norms concerning differences between men and women (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In most cultures and societies men have more physical, social, economic, and political power than women (Greguletz et

al., 2019; Lips, 1991). Consistently, the theory of hegemonic masculinity elaborates the hierarchical construction of gender. The theory points to multiple masculinities and power relations that are determined not only based on gender, but also based on class, sexual orientation, and age among other things (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity represents the pattern of practices that ensures the dominance of young, healthy-bodied, heterosexual men over all others, including older men and women. The concept stresses an active struggle for dominance among men, and at the same time acknowledges the diverse experiences of masculinity, while taking into account cultural and historical contexts (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

It is not gender alone, but gender in intersection with age (and many other attributes), which shape people's life and result in varied inequalities due to the possession of several different attributes (e.g., being an older woman vs. an older man or a younger man). The negative social construction of old age and aging is called ageism (Ayalon & Tesch-Römer, 2018). Older persons are seen as unattractive, incapable and a burden to society. These stereotypes are internalized by older persons and impact their own aging process (Ayalon & Tesch-Römer, 2017). Ageism, however, differentially impacts men and women, whereas men's visible signs of aging, such as white hair and wrinkles can be viewed as signs of wisdom and maturity, women become invisible as they reach old age, and their physical aging is seen as a sign of weakness, which should be hidden. Thus, the intersection of older age and female gender often places older women at a disadvantage (Krekula et al., 2018). This falls along the double jeopardy hypothesis, which suggests that holding several undervalued attributes results in greater marginalization and social exclusion (Mügge & Erzeel, 2016).

Others, on the other hand, have proposed the intersectional escape hypothesis, which suggests that women, in contrast with men, are spared from the expectations to cede resources to younger generations, whereas older men, are judged harshly when they fail to behave according to prescriptive ageist stereotypes, which expect them to give the right of the way to younger

generations (Martin, North, & Phillips, 2019). In support of this claim, experimental research has shown that indeed, older women in the political, academic, and economic domains are judged less harshly when they present with agenic behaviors (Martin, North, & Phillips, 2019). Nevertheless, research comparing the Clinton versus Trump elections, using an intersectional framework has argued that both ageism and sexism impair the ability of women to capture positions of power (Lytle, Macdonald, Dyar, & Levy, 2018). The intersection between ageism and sexism in political activism has received only minimal attention (Sawchuk, 2009). Hence, there are different ways, which have yet to be explored, in which age and gender may intersect in political activism.

The present study

Political activism is highly gendered (Dodson, 2015). Gendered framing occurs when social movements and protests rely on slogans, symbols, and ideology, of different patterns of mobilization, motivation and involvement based on gender, thus directly affecting their nature (Yulia, 2010). When considering the term framing, it is important to acknowledge its multiple meanings: framing can refer to both self-perceptions and self-representations of men versus women in the protests, but also how society targets men and women differently to affect their motivation to participate in the protests. This study is primarily focused on the former, but clearly it is possible to infer about societal framing via the reports of activists. The term framing goes in line with the concept of the “protesting body” (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003), which differs between men and women and can be used to convey political messages. In this paper, we elaborate the concepts of gendered framing and the “protesting body” to examine gender and age in intersection. This follows the rationale that gender in intersection with other attributes impacts activists’ motivation, mobilization, acts of protests, and ability to achieve desirable goals (Yulia, 2010).

As already noted, since its establishment, the 37th government of Israel has instigated extreme protests that have been unprecedented in their breadth and strength. Women’s issues have captured a prominent role during the protests because of the exclusion of Israeli women from power

and the religious fundamental attitudes of many MPs and ministers. Moreover, in the early months following the establishment of the 37th government, an unprecedented number of women experienced intimate partner violence which resulted in their murder, thus stressing the vulnerability of women in a society that excludes them from power and fails to protect them from violence and abuse (Silkoff, 2023).

A unique characteristic of the current protests concerns the relatively high number of older protestors. According to the Israel Democracy Institute, as of March 2023, 39.5% of all Jews over the age of 65 participated in the protests. Moreover, Jewish women (25%) over the age of 18 were more likely than men (21%) to participate. This is contrasted with the 2011 protests in Israel, which were dominated by young people, who bemoaned the high cost of living in the country and their limited ability to rent an apartment and leave their parents' home, let alone buy one (Rosenhek & Shalev, 2014).

The present study was originally geared to examine the experiences of age and aging in political protests. However, following the preliminary analysis of interview data as well as direct observations of the gendered nature of the protests, we shifted our focus to examine the intersection between age and gender in political protests. The study adds by a) comparing men and women. This is contrasted with past research which has largely focused on women as a means to understand the role of gender in political protests (Yulia, 2010); and b) examining gender in intersection with age, thus acknowledging the fact that neither age nor gender represent homogenous social categories. To better understand the heterogeneity in people's experiences, it is important to explore various intersections (Yulia, 2010) as is done in the present study.

Methods

The present sample. In total, 30 protestors were interviewed: 17 women and 13 men. The average age of the protestors was 73 (range 65-93). All had academic education. They represented different political groups, though the majority identified with the center/left wing. Most respondents were retired (n=18). Table 1 presents the characteristics of the sample. As can be seen, we aimed for maximum variations in terms of age (>65 years), past involvement in protests, geographic location, profession, and political views. Moreover, whereas some of the interviewees were amongst the leaders of the protests (e.g., #1, #23), others participated in the protests at varied levels of involvement but were not the ones leading them.

Procedure. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the PI's institute. All participants provided a verbal, recorded informed consent after receiving information about the study and its goals. The second author relied on her personal network as well as the social media to approach Hebrew-speakers over the age of 65, who participated in the protests. She also actively recruited several well-known leaders by directly approaching them via social media.

Interviews were conducted online via zoom and lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. Interviews followed a funnel approach, starting with broad questions, such as "tell me about your involvement in the protests" or "tell me about your involvement in past protests" to more specific questions which queried about their age perspective, "how do you perceive the involvement of older/younger persons in the protests." See Appendix 1 for the interview guide. All interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Analysis. Two independent reviewers read and reread each of the interviews and subsequently employed thematic analysis (Clarke et al., 2015). The initial purpose of the study was to explore the role of age and aging in respondents' experiences. However, following the preliminary analysis of the interviews, using open coding, the gendered aspects of the protests became evident.

Subsequently, each of the authors identified the main themes which captured the gendered nature of the protests. Following discussion, the themes were consolidated. In our analysis we transitioned from descriptive categories to more interpretative categories of meaning, moving back and forth within and across interviews, while considering the gendered nature of the interviews.

To increase the trustworthiness of the findings (Shenton, 2004), we also examined relevant social media, analyzing their verbal and visual messages, while emerging ourselves in interview data. As both authors actively participated in the protests, we relied on observational data as an additional source of information to confirm or dispute our thematic analysis. We maintained an audit trail (Rodgers & Cowles, 1993) and provide a thick description of the findings to ensure their interpretability (Denham & Onwuegbuzie, 2013). All excerpts are reported using serial numbers. For a detailed account of themes, please see Appendix 2. Appendix 3 provides a count of each theme across men and women.

Findings

Two main themes emerged from the interviews with older activists. The first concerned motivations behind the protest. This theme was divided into three subthemes. The first subtheme: *“Fighting for the past versus fighting for the future”* represents the main motivation or rationale for engagement in political activism. To the most part, men emphasized their participation in past battles and the heritage of their parents, grandparents, or dead comrade soldiers as the main motivation for current activism. #19, Lt. Col., (man, 72 years-old):

We fought together, some of us were wounded, and some of us were left with battle shock. Some recovered better and some recovered less well. The turmoil of the war [Yom Kippur, 1973] is still burnt within us. I keep inside my body a shrapnel shell that has been with me ever since, so we also have external and internal shrapnel shells. A combination of two things that you probably can't get rid of. That is why we are fighting for the image of the country.

Women, on the other hand, focused on the future generations, their children, and grandchildren. #2 (woman, 66 years old):

It scares me what will happen here, what will happen to me, what will happen to the children, what will happen to the grandchildren. Why did I bring them to such a country at all?

The second subtheme, *“fighting for principles versus fighting for unity”* represents an agenda or an overall perspective on the protests. In contrast with older men (11 out of 13 men interviewees), who emphasized the non-compromised nature of their grievances, older women emphasized unity and harmony as goals of the protests. #18 (man, 72 years old), for example, described his ideological protest:

I was born to parents who beat us up with Zionism and education and socialism. And that's the education I received and that's what I grew up for, and that's what I protest about. Against the violation of these values, I protest.

#14 (woman, 71 years old), in contrast, stressed the need for unity:

I think it's sad, it's just sad what's going on here. People really hate each other, and I don't see a solution to that. People may be able to gesture to each other in a small way but it's so much effort. Yesterday I saw at a bus stop, someone hung a handwritten sign, a message of unity. I even photographed it. Like it could be in a small way, trying to take small steps...

The last subtheme concerns views about whose voice is excluded and therefore, whose voice we should be fighting for: *“Ensuring that their political public voice is heard versus ensuring that their personal voice is heard.”* When men discussed the importance of having a voice, it was mainly regarding their own voice and the threat they sensed as if this voice, which was the dominant one when the country was established is now being threatened. #24's (man, 68 years old):

I think the involvement of the older adults in this protest comes to say out loud that we are being stolen from our country. We are a generation that lived and was educated in a certain country according to a certain worldview. Our generation believed in the country, worked, invested, educated, fought, did everything it did in a certain worldview, and now the feeling is that this country is disappearing.

Women, on the other hand, discussed their own personal lack of voice and exclusion from the public sphere due to their gender as a major concern. #10 (woman, 70 years old), for example, said:

I go to protests wearing a red shirt and a flag... Because I'm angry that the Rabbinate controls my personal life, it has already reached a point of real chutzpah.

The second theme concerned modes of protest. This theme represents the varied ways older men and women protested and presented their political grievances. This theme was divided into two subthemes. The first subtheme: "*Me in the past versus me in the present*" represents differences in the timeframe older men and women represent themselves in the protests. Whereas the main political movements which explicitly identifies with older men have gathered around "military" terms, (e.g. "The Fighters of 1973 For Democracy" or "Paratroopers For Democracy"), which characterized the past achievements of older men as young fighters, the main political movement which explicitly identifies with older women was called, "Grandmothers for democracy." Hence, men's protests were characterized by stressing their past achievements as young fighters, whereas women's protests were framed as domestic care at the present time. #29 (man, 74 years old) stated the following:

When you read the word democracy or see me wearing a shirt that says: 'the fighters of 1973, are fighting for the image of the state,' it does something to the masses. I got this beautiful shirt at the juncture when I went down to get the tank, if you remember (this

group stole a tank as part of the protests). Anyway, it's a shirt that made me shiver and I really wanted to get one. Then someone said to me: 'Listen, I'm huge. He came from the North of Israel, it's not close. And he said to me: 'Listen...' We found out that we have mutual friends, he tells me: 'I was also in Kippur, and I got a shirt like this.' He hasn't even told me where he came from. (The man said:) 'It's small on me, I dedicate it to you.' Listen, I put it on straight away.

In contrast, #8 (woman, 70 years old), one of the main activists of the "Grandmothers" movement:

... Let's put it this way, I'm 68 myself, and I'm very, very happy to be a grandmother and accept grandmotherhood and think it adds a lot of strength to me.

A related second subtheme, "*Marching with tanks versus sitting on folding chairs*" concerned the diverse ways older men and women presented themselves. Whereas older men (8 out of 13 men interviewees) tended to discuss the protests as military operations, older women recognized and gave visibility to physical impairments and disability. Hence, this theme stresses differences in the nature of the protests with older men emphasizing strengths and power, and older women emphasizing vulnerabilities. #24 (man, 68 years old) reported the following:

... even then we organized one of the big protests as a group, near the Montefiore Windmill (a symbolic heritage site of the Jewish settlement in Jerusalem) and we marched from there together to Balfour with Dan Halutz (the former commander in chief of the IDF) leading this whole group...

#3 (woman, 78 years old), in contrast, stressed the diversity in experiences and acknowledged disability and impairment as being clearly present and visible during the protests.

Although she (a woman protestor) is limping and in pain, she walks with crutches, and she walks, she goes to the bridge even though it is difficult for her, she goes to the bridge, puts

the chair, and sits and people come to photograph her because she is really the symbol of the protests.

Discussion

This study evaluated the framing of the intersection of age and gender by older men and women who take an active part in the current protests concerning the judicial overhaul in Israel. Much has been written about protests from a gender or age perspective (Dodson, 2015; Haugestad et al., 2021; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). However, the intersection between age and gender has received less attention. Moreover, in contrast to protests in many other countries, which tend to be dominated by younger people and by men (Dodson, 2015; Renström et al., 2021), the current protests in Israel are dominated by older persons and women are more likely than men to participate in the protests. Relying on interviews with 30 older protestors, we identify a gender division in the motivation and mode of the protests. The study confirms the gendered nature of political protests, by pointing to differential motives and modes of action of older men and women.

A gendered distinction in the time orientation employed by older men versus older women was evident. Whereas men employed a past time orientation to present themselves (e.g., mode of protest), but also when discussing the motives behind the protests, women employed a time orientation, which vacillated between the present and the future. The study stresses the role of time orientation as a method to battle old age stereotypes either by ignoring old age or by stressing it. Whereas men were more likely to hold a past oriented perspective, which emphasized their strength and power in the past and their fight for past generations, women tended to hold a time orientation which emphasized their visible signs of aging in the present, while considering the future of their children and grandchildren. Although past research has argued that women more often than men tend to be the subjects of ageism (Krekula et al., 2018) partially due to their physical appearance (Clarke & Griffin, 2008), our

study shows that despite ambivalence, it is older women, rather than older men, who are more likely to use the older woman's stereotype in their protest.

This raises the question of whether the differential presentation of the "protesting body" challenges existing social norms or succumbs to them. Whereas men reverted to their youthful selves as fighters, women struggled with an older age identity of the grandmother, which was valued, despite its association with old age, which is a devalued social category. Hence, we argue that in old age, it is men, who become disadvantaged in the public sphere even more so than women. This coincides with past research, which has argued that older women benefit from an intersectional escape (Martin et al., 2019). Compared with older men, older women possess two devalued characteristics: being women and being older. However, in old age, these characteristics intersect to serve as protectors (Martin et al., 2019).

Men viewed the protests as an act of war, with the understanding that bloodshed is inevitable given the importance of the values and principles they strive to protect. To be able to fight back, they presented their youthful and powerful selves. Israel is a militaristic society (Horowitz, 2021), which explains the emphasis on combat among men. As wars are fought by young able-bodied men, older men must rely on the past to fight their current war. This goes in line with the hegemonic masculinity perspective (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), which views younger men at the top of the hierarchy. To stay at the top, older men must refer to their past achievements as young men of physical power. This is consistent with past research which has claimed that older men are either ungendered or transparent. To remain relevant (Spector-Mersel, 2006), they must revert to their past.

Women's achievements on the other hand, to the most part, were not attributed to their participation in past wars. Instead, their accomplishments were attributed to their childbearing, which is highly valued in Israeli society (Shenhav-Goldberg et al., 2019). In fact, current demographic statistics show that the Israeli woman has the highest total fertility rate

compared with all other OECD countries (Kato, 2021). Hence, if older Israeli women cannot brag about their past achievements as fighters during the war, they at least can brag about their current achievements as mothers and grandmothers (of future soldiers).

Compared with men, women were more comfortable to toy with ageist stereotypes and use these stereotypes for their benefit by making them more, rather than less salient. This is unexpected given past research which has shown that women become invisible with age (Clarke & Griffin, 2008). As women often are judged by their looks, attempts to disguise aging might be possible in middle age, but are less effective in older age (Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Dumas et al., 2005). Hence, women's strength is derived from their provision for the younger generations rather than from their looks. A similar strategy was employed by the "Raging grannies," a movement of North American older women, which mimicked ageist stereotypes of older women to bring attention to and support for the fight of the younger generations for a healthy climate (Sawchuk, 2009).

Both men and women addressed issues of inequity and diversity in their protests. However, whereas women were more likely to view themselves as a minority group which is being personally threatened by the current government, men tended to view their public political views as being threatened by the current regime. As a hegemonic group, men's values were threatened. Women, on the other hand, represent a social group that is already lower in the hierarchy, as such, they reported concerns for their own safety and lack of voice. Given the fact that Israel is ranked last in gender equality among OECD countries (news, 2023) this is expected.

In contrast with men, women strove for unity while acknowledging differences and heterogeneity in experiences and abilities among people. As a minority group, women were more likely to acknowledge weaknesses and imperfections in themselves as well as in other protesters compared with men, who attempted to present a spotless image of fighters.

Women's willingness to make compromises not only in terms of their physical representations, but also regarding their values and objectives for the current protest is contrasted with men's adamant emphasis on non-compromising conflict and tension. This is consistent with past research which has shown that women are more likely than men to make decisions that result in a compromise (Nikolova & Lamberton, 2016).

Despite its strengths, the study has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, we do not have a comparison group of young protestors. Hence, we cannot claim that our findings are age specific, although clearly the age of the protestors was evident in their experiences and in their self-framing. Second, there is certainly the risk of selection bias, even though we attempted to ensure a highly diverse sample in terms of varied relevant characteristics such as age, gender, political affiliation, and level of activism. Third, interviews were conducted over zoom. This allowed the interviewer to access a large number of geographically dispersed interviewees in a short period of time. Although, clearly online interviews have their share of drawbacks, they have become a useful method following the pandemic and have shown to provide rich and reliable information (Gray et al., 2020). It is important to note that the protest movement is explicitly defined as a non-violent movement. Hence, even if differences in the level of violence employed during the protests varied (e.g., marching with tanks versus folding chairs), variations were relatively minor. We also did not focus our query on technological means of protests, although some respondents spontaneously mentioned this. Further inquiry into gender differences in modes of protest employing a refined perspective in terms of levels of violence and technology use is desired. A longitudinal follow-up is also desired, though the October 7 terrorist attack by Hamas and the war that followed have resulted in the transformation of the protest movement into an aide organization. Last, the authors of this paper identify with the protests. Hence, our views are biased by our own political ideology. Although there have been some protests supporting the judicial overhaul proposed by the government, we do not focus on them because of our own ideological bias. This can be

problematic especially because the protests are ongoing and our own emotional reaction to the current political situation can certainly affect the interviews, analysis, and interpretation of the findings.

Implications. The present study provides important insights about the framing of the intersection between age and gender in political protests. The study highlights patterns of gendered but also older age protesting bodies and behaviors. It points to distinctions between men and women in their motives for the protest as well as in the ways they present themselves and their protest. To ensure the appeal of political protests, it is important that heterogeneity in protesting styles and motives is acknowledged. It also is important to further explore how age and gender intersect in different social contexts. Our findings suggest that under some circumstances even stereotypical devalued attributes (grandmothers) can be used as powerful tools to attract supporters and fight for a cause.

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Data Availability

Data are not available openly. However, once we finish the analysis, data can become available to other researchers upon request. The study was not pre-registered.

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Table 1. Respondent demographic data (n=30; 17 women, 13 men)

Interviewee No.	Family Status	Age	Economic Status	Residential Area	No. of children / grand-children	Religious status	Affiliation with a specific movement	Political view	Profession	Employment Status	Past involvement in protests
Female Interviewees 1	Married	70	Very good	North	4 / 7	I don't define myself	Grandmothers for democracy Municipal-general protests (in her city)	I don't define myself	Fundraising	Retired	No
2	Married	66	Good	Center	4 / 5	National religious	The protest of the national religious sector Regional-general protest (near her city)	Center	Teacher	Retired	No
3	Married	79	Average	Center	4 / 8	Secular	The grandmothers' protest Municipal-general protest (near her city)	Center/left	Teacher	Retired	Started participating in political protests 3 years ago
4	Married	75	Good	South	3 / 1	Secular	The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Left	Biology teacher	Part-time employment	Participated in a few demonstrations in her youth
5	Married	66	Good	Center	5 / 4	National religious	The protest of the national religious sector Regional-general protest (near her city)	Center/right	Optics	Part-time employment	No
6	Married	65	Good	North	1 / 0	Secular	Municipal-general protest (in her city)	Center/left	Occupational Therapy	Retired	No
7	Married	71	Good	North	3 / 3	Secular	Municipal-general protest (in the north)	Center	Education	Volunteer	No
8	Relationship	70	Very good	Center	2 / 0	Secular	The grandmothers' protest The main protest	Left	Lawyer	Retired	Started participating in political protests 3 years ago

Interviewee No.	Family Status	Age	Economic Status	Residential Area	No. of children / grand-children	Religious status	Affiliation with a specific movement	Political view	Profession	Employment Status	Past involvement in protests
9	Divorced	76	Very good	South	3 / 8, 1 great-grandchildren	Secular	on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv) The grandmothers' protest The women's protest The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Left	Lawyer	Retired	She has already participated in political protests
10	Married	70	Good	North	2 / 6	Secular	The grandmothers' protest The women's protest Municipal-general protest (in the north)	Center	Nanny	Retired	No
11	Married	69	Good	North	4 / 31	National religious	Municipal-general protests (in the north)	Center	Academic advisor	Retired	She has already participated in political protests
12	Married	76	Average	South	3 / ?	National religious	Israeli-occupied territories Municipal-general protests (in the south) The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Left	Rabbi and educator	Part-time employment	Activist, with extensive experience in political protests
13	Divorced	66	Very good	Center	2 / 0	Secular	Israeli-occupied territories The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Left	English teacher	Part-time employment	Activist, with extensive experience in political protests
14	Married	71	Very good	Center	0	Secular	The grandmothers' protest The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Center/left	Academic secretary	Part-time employment	Participated in an economic protest in 2011
15	Widow	91	Good	Center	0	National religious	Municipal-general protests (in her city)	Left	Clinical psychology	Retired	Participated in demonstrations in her youth in the

Interviewee No.	Family Status	Age	Economic Status	Residential Area	No. of children / grand-children	Religious status	Affiliation with a specific movement	Political view	Profession	Employment Status	Past involvement in protests
16	Married	69	Very good	Center	3 / 13	National religious	Municipal-general protests (in her city)	Center	Researcher	Retired	USA No
17	Married	72	Good	Center	3 / 2	Secular	Municipal-general protests (near her city)	Left	Computing	Retired	Started participating in political protests 3 years ago
Male Interviewees											
18	Divorced	72	Very good	South	4 / 8	Secular	The Fighters of 1973 for Democracy Municipal-general protests (in the south)	Center	Jewish National Fund (JNF)	Part-time employment	No
19	Married	72	Very good	North	4 / 6	Secular	The Fighters of 1973 for Democracy Municipal-general protests (in the north)	Center	Architect Ministry of the Environment	Part-time employment	No
20	Married	84	Average	Center	Not reported	Secular	Municipal-general protests (near her city)	Center/left	Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)	Retired	Started participating in political protests 3 years ago
21	Married	65	Very good	Center	4 / 0	Secular	"Brothers in Arms" protest The protest of the reservists	Center	Hi-Tech	Full time employment	Activist, active Started participating in political protests 3 years ago
22	Married	78	Not reported	South	4 / 6	Secular	The "Paratroopers for Democracy" protest	Center	Agriculture	Retired	No
23	Married	70	Not reported	Center	Not reported	Secular	Protest "no way" The protest of the reservists Goes between protests	Left	A senior commander in the IDF	Retired	Activist, started participating in political protests in 2016
24	Married	68	Very good	Center	2 / 4	Secular	The pilots' protest The main protest on Kalpan Street	Left	Pilot	Part-time employment	Started participating in political protests 3 years ago

Interviewee No.	Family Status	Age	Economic Status	Residential Area	No. of children / grand-children	Religious status	Affiliation with a specific movement	Political view	Profession	Employment Status	Past involvement in protests
25	Married	73	Good	South	5 / 25	National religious	(Tel-Aviv) National religious protest for democracy	Right	Farmer	Retired-volunteer	No
26	Married	88	Very good	Center	2 / 9, 2 great-grandchildren	Secular	Israeli-occupied territories The main protest on Kalpan Street (Tel-Aviv)	Left	International Bank	Retired	Activist, active for many years in the protest
27	Married	85	Very good	South	4 / 10, 2 great-grandchildren	Secular	Israeli-occupied territories Municipal-general protests (near his city)	Left	Physicist	Retired	Activist, active for many years in the protest
28	Married	66	Very good	Center	3 / 13	Secular	Municipal-general protests (in his city) The protest of the reservists (IDF)	Center	Social Worker	Part-time employment	Few demonstrations in the past
29	Married	74	Average	North	2 / 1	Secular	Municipal-general protests (in his city) The fighters of 1973	Center/left	Farmer/ Driver	Retired	Few demonstrations in the past
30	Married	76	Very good	Center	5 / 17	National religious	National religious protest for democracy	Right/center	Academic director	Part-time employment	No

Note. IDF = Israel Defense Force. All interviewees have academic education.