



"**W**omen, **P**eace and **S**ecurity"

Women associative movement in the occupied palestinian territories

Women, peace and security

Women associative movement in the
occupied Palestinian territories

Dedicated to all women who dream of peace

MZC Report

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Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto (MZC) has worked in Palestine since 1997 in projects of development, humanitarian action and advocacy, specifically with the women's movement. MZC understands the support for Palestine as a human rights issue, because we have to consider that an armed conflict involving a deep imbalance in the application of force is developing in the Palestinian territories. A confrontation between the powerful Israeli military apparatus, bombarding with the F-16 aircraft against the stone and the assault rifle of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians were sentenced to a slow death in 1948. In spite of the good intentions to complete the peace process, after the Oslo accords, the facts speak for themselves: only a fifth of the territory stipulated in the agreements have been returned to the Palestinians and Israel keeps allowing the settlers to build new illegal settlements in those territories. In the meantime, 63,4 (%) of the population are refugees, Palestinians rank as the largest refugee population. In addition to this, a high intensity internal conflict is taking place between Hamas and Fatah in the oPt.

In this complicated scenario, MZC have done this report, taking into account the different ways in which armed conflicts affect men and women, and what should be their role in the field of peace and security.

This work is part of the MZC strategy to promote a gender sensitive peace agenda, in which women, Israeli and Palestinian, have a voice to build an effective and lasting peace. This approach has provided MZC with first-hand knowledge of the actions undertaken by women, their limitations, and the strengths they need to be players of first order in the construction of peace. In this sense, MZC have tried to make visible the opinion that women have on the UN Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820; on women, peace and security and sexual violence in conflicts respectively, and its applicability in the Palestinian context.

With this report, MZC wants to contribute to the cohesion of the Palestinian and Israeli women's movement, because we believe they have the potential to dictate the tempo of the peace process.

Mila Ramos Jurado, MZC president

index

1. introduction	
1.1. Presentation	8
1.2. Motivation	11
1.3. Project Objectives	12
1.4. Project Activities	12
2. work methodology	14
3. context	18
3.1. Policies of aggression and coercion	24
3.1.1. Restriction on the movement of people and goods	24
3.1.2. Damages and confiscation of lands, natural resources and properties.	27
3.1.3. Arrests and attacks on the population	28
3.2. Geographical area and population data	29
4. women associative movement	37
4.1. Brief notes on the historical trajectory	37
4.2. Legal Framework	42
4.2.1. Personal status law and/or Law of the family rights	45
4.2.2. Criminal Law	49
4.2.3. Protection against family violence Act	51
4.2.4. Strategies to reduce gender inequality in legal matters	54
4.3. Characterization	56

4.3.1. Introductory notes	56
4.3.1.1. Trajectory	56
4.3.1.2. Organizational structure	58
4.3.1.3. Networking	61
4.3.2. Objective of the associative work	62
4.3.3. Who do women associations work with	74
4.3.4. Funding the associations	77
4.4. Practical needs and strategic interests	79
4.5. Perceptions, views and relationships with key players	85
4.5.1. Palestinian authority –PA	86
4.5.2. Conflict Fatah – Hamas	87
4.5.3. Peace building and gender: the case of the Israeli women's associations.	91
4.5.4. International community	94
4.5.4.1. United Nations – UN	96
4.5.4.2. International Cooperation	97
5. peace-building and gender	100
5.1. What is the Resolution 1325?	100
5.2. Current situation, advances and difficulties	106
5.3. Women as peace builders, work areas around the R1325	117
6. conclusions	127
7. annexs	135

introduction

1.1. Presentation

Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto - MZC (Women in Conflict Zones) is a NGO, made up of men and women with a common interest in combating poverty, promote respect for human rights and gender equality policies, while supporting a sustainable human development to ensure that women and men possess a dignified life, and access to adequate social rights and, at the same time, increase citizen participation and decision-making under conditions of gender equity, both in the public and the private spheres.

The endeavour for the promotion of sustainable human development implies, inevitably, to work from a gender perspective. MZC believes strongly, as a transversal component sine qua non for any action, in the implementation of concrete actions to eliminate the inequality between men and women.

MZC actions are planned from this perspective and from that analysis focuses its work on women, because they are the most vulnerable group in their communities and that, in a specific way, they need to see met their immediate needs and its strategic interests. Eloquent data highlight the plight of women: today 70% of the world's population that lives below the poverty line are women; 2/3 of the world's illiterate population are women; 84% of the refugee population of the world are women; and in the face of this, only 13% of them deals with government jobs and only a 6% are heads of government. Women suffer from the highest rates of abuse, rape, torture, human trafficking. In addition they are discriminated as members of a particular society and discriminated on the basis of the social construction of gender.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that women perform the triple role: reproductive, productive, and communitarian, bearing the brunt of the depleted household economies. The projects whose leaders are women, or in which they are actively involved, are, according to the latest publications of United Nations (UN) and World Bank, between 6% and 22% more profitable

than those developed by men only. This materializes in the home improvement, the schooling of the children, and the family nutritional status.

MZC provides a coordinated response to the general needs of the population, as its actions not only benefit women, but suppose an integral commitment to the continuous improvement of the community living conditions of the communities from a gender perspective, that is to say, keeping in mind the different impact on women and men.

In this regard, it is necessary to underline that the manner in which the relationships between men and women are set up in the various orders of the public and private life is given by the custom and tradition in many cases, not responding to items that have to do with the development of their capacities; or what is the same: relations between women and men respond to symbolic social constructs nested in the collective imaginary, and not so much to quantifiable criteria of effectiveness and efficiency.

MZC works in countries in conflict, whether that should be military, economic or social. Provided that the life, safety or the dignity of the women are being put at severe risk by the continuing violations of their most basic rights. Such as social, political, economic, legal, public and reproductive by the mere fact of being women.

Given the seriousness of the situation, it is necessary to take a stand and ensure social justice, security, dignity and the integral development of the individuals and their societies.

Since its constitution, MZC works in four basic plans of action: Humanitarian Action, International Development Cooperation, Developmental Education and Social Action, and the fight against gender-based violence, through the citizen awareness, the formation of all the agents involved in the process of care for those who suffer from gender-based violence in any of its forms, with special attention to human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation and gender-based violence in armed conflicts.

The working areas of MZC are: Balkans, Occupied Palestinian Territories, Morocco, Colombia, Mali and Spain.

MZC has been working in the **Occupied Palestinian Territories (oPt)** since 1998 with the launch of a coherent and integrated strategy of empowerment and support for local capacities, combining short-term actions with actions of development, and trying to meet and respond to the needs of both practices as to the strategic interests of development of the population in general and of Palestinian women in particular, given the particular impact of the occupation on the same.

This intervention strategy includes several lines of action:

Humanitarian action: Matching interventions with an upsurge in Israeli occupation. These interventions consist of the distribution of food packages, psychosocial support and delivery of medical supplies to health services.

Strengthening, training and empowerment of women:

- Through training, support and strengthening of local capacities and social fabric, as well as the promotion of the social and organizational participation of women, by empowering the women in leadership positions through the "Program Leader@".
- Creating employment opportunities in agricultural development and supporting women descendants of African slaves.

Conflict resolution and gender-sensitive peacebuilding crystallized in the celebration of the I International Seminar in Córdoba "Peace from a gender perspective in the Middle East. The role of women's organizations and civil society in the peace process". Its purpose was to promote gender-sensitive programs and strategies, promoting women's participation in the formal processes of negotiation and peace-building, an area generally forbidden to women, and to ensure that the needs and interests of women and girls are taken into account in the political agenda in the Middle East. Another objective was to support and disseminate the Resolution 1325 of the United Nations¹.

¹ For more information see in <http://mzc.org.es/seminario/index.aspa>

Opening of a political debate and awareness to the Spanish society

on the continuing violation of human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, through the dissemination of information on, and demand for compliance with UN Resolution 1325 and active participation in as many citizens' initiatives have been made for Human Rights (hereinafter HUMAN RIGHTS) of the Palestinian population. We can mention, among others, "Building Bridges for Palestine"², "Poetry against the barbarism"³ and "there are no walls to the conscience"⁴, etc.

1.2 Motivation

Once briefly outlined MZC ideas and trajectory in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, we had to point out that the present report aims to show women associative movement practical needs and strategic interests, networking, and specifically the legal framework in which they operate their actions. It also outlines the actions that the women's movement in the oPt develops in the field of women, peace and security, their perceptions, difficulties and achievement. The document also reflects the progress in the implementation of Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council in the overview of the country.

Finally, the aim of this report is; on the one hand, give a voice to Palestinian women, so that they are heard in the Spanish civil society; showing how they live, their reality, proposals, uncertainties and hopes. And, on the other hand, contribute through this resource to the development and design of strategies for work that enable to minimize the causes and consequences of the inequitable situation of vulnerability that women live in this conflict, contributing to lay the foundations for peace and the construction of a increasingly democratic Palestinian society, where women play a growing role in the area of decision making.

² For more information see <http://mzc.org.es/seminario/index.asp>

³ For more information see in <http://puentesparapalestina.blogspot.com>

⁴ For more information see in <http://poesiacontralabarbarie.blogspot.com>

1.3 Project Objectives

Overall objective: contribute to the construction of the peace and move toward a horizon of reconciliation in the oPt from a gender perspective.

Specific objective: Prepare a report and an Action Plan for strengthening women's associations and female leadership in Bethlehem, Qalandia checkpoint, Ramallah and Hebron (oPt).

1.4 Project Activities

1. Perform a mapping of women's associations and/or of those associations which, being mixed, work from a gender perspective gender on peace-building in the provinces of Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem and Qalandia checkpoint. A database completed through a questionnaire will be carried out for this.
2. Perform a diagnostic report on women, peace and security, with a view to:
 - Display the women associative movement in the identified areas, the mapping and their characterization; their current situation, existing networks and coalitions.
 - Expound the activities of the women social movement in the field of women, peace and security.
 - Express the practical needs and strategic interests of the associations; as well as the beneficiary population they serve. In the case of mixed associations special attention will be lent at the work carried out with women and to the strategic interests, if they include them, to reduce the gender inequality gap. In turn, it will differentiate between the impact of the occupation and the situation at the domestic level of Palestinian society.
 - Reflect the contributions of these entities to peace building and to the fulfillment of the R1325 of the United Nations

Security Council. Socio-economic analysis of gender, SEAGA⁵.

This work will be done through research, in-depth interviews, focus group and socio-economic analysis of gender.

All of this will help to:

- Raise awareness and open spaces for the discussion that will enable progress toward a resolution of the conflict, or at least reduce the negative impact on the daily life of women and children.
- Collaboration between the associative movement of women, their contributions to society and reflect the progress in the fulfillment of the R1325.
- Develop an Action Plan for MZC.

⁵ For more information see: <http://www.fao.org/gender/seaga/seaga-home/es/>

work methodology

For the elaboration of the present study so much a qualitative as quantitative methodology has been utilized, though we consider that is the qualitative part that of greater importance for the following reasons:

"The studies of qualitative methodology, based on the analysis of content of group discussions and in the use of in-depth interviews, have commonly been used in various fields of sociological research. They are generally recognized a double value: in the first place its usefulness to bring forth ideas and concepts alive much more difficultly accessible to quantitative research. Secondly, its high cost economy, since they represent costs much lower than those required by other techniques of work" ⁶.

Also:

"The refocusing innovative, that has been crucial to the current developments of the same techniques, is due to the fact they could be free of the theoretical framework of individual psychology, reintroduce the conceptions of social psychology, psycholinguistics and the sociology of culture.

This has gone from studying the information appeared in qualitative studies, as an expression of loose views of individuals, to study it as a reflection of the social discourse; in other words: focus on the subjectivity of the views expressed, to discover the objectivity of the structures of opinion" ⁷.

In relation to the design broke in a first moment of a selection and review of secondary sources⁸ such as directories, web pages, monographs, serials, books, pamphlets, films, stories, surveys, statistics, etc. In short, everything that might be of interest and relevance. This task began at the start of the project and has been maintained until their completion, because their aim has

⁶ HERMOSILLA, F.G.; Manual qualitative methodology.

⁷ HERMOSILLA, F.G.; Manual qualitative methodology.

⁸ There is extensive documentation on the Palestinian question, as a result, we have opted to take greater account of those elaborated by women's associations.

been to provide support, contrast and expansion of information on the subject to treat.

On the other hand, this information allowed us, at first, to create a database with women associations present in geographical areas of responsibility of the project. This database then served as a reference for developing a questionnaire, initiate a first contact, expand the cluster of key informants and select partnerships to interview.

For the development of the qualitative phase, although there is a wide range of techniques, we opted for the following:

1. The ethnological/ethnographic method: participant observation and interview in situation⁹.
2. The group of exchange: the exchange of views in the focus group.
3. The qualitative interview: by way of case study for singling out the manifestations of a phenomenon.

There have been multiple interviews in situation during the stay and visits to the region: 3 Groups of exchange of women and 21 qualitative interviews with women leaders, political representatives of women's organizations or mixed but with a focus on gender and peace building.

We indicate also that, though the majority of the organizations have english speaking staff, most of the interviews have been conducted in English, has also counted with local personnel so that could arrive at a greater number of associations, above all those of medium and small significance.

The resulting material of this field work has been transcribed, translated and reproduced in the present report by way of verbatim, regarded as an effective means to give voice to Palestinian women.

For the quantitative part of the study we developed of a questionnaire which consists of two parts: the first, by way of technical sheet, collected the basic information of the association (contact information, purpose, scope of territorial, sectors of intervention, beneficiaries and date of the Constitution);

⁹ MZC's staff was present in the oPt for several months implementing the ethnographical method.

and a second, that delves into this information as well as in the work on Women, Peace and Security.

This questionnaire has been sent to all the non-governmental organizations of women consigned previously in the database.

In regard to the geographical location of the study, the covered areas have been Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, as well as the Qalandia refugee camp. However, it has been covered in part also Jerusalem and there have been three interviews with coalitions and associations of women in Israel who work on the construction of peace from a gender perspective.

In regard to the selection of the sample, it has been determined by: geographic location, be women's associations, political leaders or local. Within the women's associations has been taken into account the trajectory, the scope of work, the ideological spectrum and the size of the same, with the objective that the resultant speech is representative of the movement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories¹⁰.

A total of 52 records in the database, from organizations located in Bethlehem, Qalandia checkpoint, Ramallah and Hebron. All relevant organizations (a total of forty-eight) have received the questionnaire. Seventeen interviews have been conducted in the report's geographical scope, and four outside it. On the other hand, three groups of exchange have been created in Bethlehem, Ramala and Hebron.

Finally, it should be noted that there is no official database of women's associations. Therefore, the interviews directory has been taken from the reference made by PASSIA¹¹ at the same time that the women's associations have sent us -in the absence of an official directory- to the database mentioned above.

¹⁰ Although we have always referred to it, we are referring to the four areas of intervention.

¹¹ This directory can be found in the PWRDC <http://www.passia.org/> also has an open project which envisages the development of a directory of women's associations.

Board 1: Field work summary

Location	N°BDD Associations	Associations received the questionnaire	N° Associations interviewed
Bethlehem	10	10	3
Qalandia C.	2	2	2
Ramallah	31	27	11
Hebron	5	5	1
Jerusalem	4	4	1
TOTAL	52	48	18
Israel	20	0	1
"Networks"	9	0	2
Exchange Groups	Location	N° W. Part.	Select.
Group1: Al-Khalil (Hebron)	Arub, Dura, Sair, Iyatta, Beit Ula, Tarqumia, Kuziba, the refugee camp of Al-Arroub	15 women	The participants are active members in the programs of <i>Palestinian's Women Union</i> and <i>Women Studies Center</i> .
Group 2: Yabrud (Ramallah)	Yabrud	13 Women	The participants are members of the female Club, which has been established with the help of the <i>Rural Women Development</i> organization.
Group 3: Refugee Camp (Bethlehem)	Al-Dijeshe	12 Women	The participants are beneficiaries and/or collaborators of <i>Psycho-Social Counseling Center for Women</i> .

context

"In a context where the Palestinian State is denied and where the inequality is structural, since it is an essential part of the conflict –political, social, legal and even religious inequality – is impossible to build even serious outlines of social State and is, therefore, impossible to speak of human security for the Palestinian people¹²".

"This is the confluence of the two systems of subordination -occupation and patriarchy- in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: when women are faced with the first, they submit to the second".

The UN Special Reporter on violence against women

In 1948 and after the great humanitarian disaster that was World War II, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed, a text that defines the need to protect the life and the dignity of men and women of the world. Nevertheless since it was approved and proclaimed this Statement, the Palestinian population suffers a daily violation of their rights.

Subsequently, and with adequate purpose to frame the speech of the Palestinian women, the history of Palestine and its current context is briefly summarized.

In November 1947 United Nations (resolution 181) gives formal validity to the partition of the territory that, after the World War I, had been under British Mandate. Shortly after, in May of 1948, the Jewish community, unilaterally, declared the creation of the State of Israel, an act which triggered the military intervention of the neighbouring Arab States in support of the Palestinian population. As a result of the first Arab-Israeli war, the Israeli State not only led to the departure of a large part of the Palestinian population that remained in their newly created territory, but also expanded its surface beyond what is provided in the partition plan. The city of Jerusalem was divided and the

¹² ESCUDERO ALDAY, R.; Segregated and imprisoned. The Palestinians and the threats to their security. Catarata y Fundación Iepalá, 2008, Pág. 117.

Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza remained under the control of Jordan and Egypt respectively.

The Palestinian opposition was organized abroad with the creation of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine (PLO) in 1964. The PLO used various strategies for freeing up the territory including the re-composition of the Palestinian national fabric, especially of the refugee population, diplomatic means and the armed struggle. However, after several defeats in the war front, geopolitical and economic, the Palestinian opposition began to accept the reality of territorial partition progressively, but demanding at the same time the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people: self-determination, right to a State and return of refugees¹³.

In June of 1967, Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt, the Golan in Syria and the Palestinian territories of West Bank and Gaza for "security" reasons. This way Israel seized the totality of the territory, remaining since then under Israeli control. Obviously, Israel did not annex West Bank and Gaza because the banishment of the entire Palestinian population would increase the number of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship.

In 1994 was created the Palestinian National Authority (PA) within the framework of what has become known as the Oslo accords. According to the agreements, a phase of transition was established to help the creation of the Palestinian State. Since then, the Palestinian Authority, non-governmental organizations, and society in general have been building what they believed that would be the future Palestinian State. However, for the Israeli occupation, the reality was different and, after several failures in the peace talks, the Israeli occupation (2002) attacked, again, the territories that are considered under the authority and jurisdiction Palestine destroying what had been forged as the future State¹⁴: health infrastructure, educational of transport which was accompanied with the murder and arrest of hundreds of Palestinians and a regime of curfew that lasted for months.

Palestinian society together with the PA rebuild what was destroyed, which allowed in 2006 the call for elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council.

¹³ BARREÑADA I.; Palestine: Introduction and roots conflict. Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset. Available at: <http://www.nodo50.org/palestina/intropal.htm>

¹⁴ GONZÁLEZ, J.C.; The European Union accuses Israel of causing a loss of \$18 million invested in Palestine. News appeared in the newspaper El Mundo with date 02/02/2002. Available at: <http://www.webislam.com/>

Hamas party won by a large margin a transparent election endorsed by the international observers¹⁵. U.S. and the European Union, nevertheless, cut all kinds of relations and economic support to the new Palestinian government upon considering it a terrorist group. However, they continued supporting Fatah and the PA¹⁶. This led to the creation of two different governments: Hamas in Gaza and Fatah in the West Bank and an internal conflict in the Palestinian society of great magnitude. These facts had a direct impact on the Palestinian society, that saw how they were urged to call elections and, once celebrated, they were being punished because of the result, by the Israelis and the international community.

This rarefied political environment, supplied by the international community and the Israeli occupation, adds a greater complexity to the concept of peace and security for the Palestinian society.

Mention that, according to the report on relations in the military, defense and security¹⁷, Israel is the key actor in an armed conflict (occupation) that lasts more than sixty (60) years, remain in the center of global geopolitics and with important implications for the regional and global stability. Consequence of this fact, Israel has become one of the most militarized states of the world and producer of the most avant-garde systems in the military and security. The violence that experiences the region has become a source of gain that feeds at the same time the armed conflict.

This means that at an economic system as it is this one, to kill is a way to generate money and wealth that slowly destroys societies as the Palestine.

Finally, note that the Israeli regime of occupation and segregation has led to a permanent state of emergency (authorities and military law), the persecution of the Palestinian population, the appropriation of their natural resources (land and water), the gradual expropriation of land for the installation of settlers and military bases, progressive judaize the eastern part of Jerusalem and the total subordination of the Palestinian economy to the Israeli economy.

¹⁵ FERRÉ, J.M.; Consequences of the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections, Area: Mediterranean and Arab world - ARI No. 18/2006, the date 20/02/2006. Available at: <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/>

¹⁶ Interview to Khaled Hroub, expert in Next East of Cambridge. Diario El País, 29/04/2006. Available at: http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/retirada/ayuda/occidental/radicalizara/Hamás/elpepiint/20060429elpepiint_14/

¹⁷ This rarefied political environment, supplied by the international community and the Israeli occupation, adds a greater complexity to the concept of peace and security for the Palestinian society.

And to execute these actions have gone devising a framework of discriminatory and arbitrary laws that, under an apparent legality, they violate the international law, the resolutions of United Nations and the human rights. These are policies that have a direct impact on all areas of the life of the Palestinian, in their individual and collective development, as persons and citizens.

chronology

1897-1906. The first Zionist congress takes place in Basilea and the World Zionist Organization is created. In 1906 decides that the safe "national home" for the Jewish people must be Palestine.

1916. Secret Sykes-Picot Agreement between Great Britain and France that the two powers are divided Middle East.

1917. Balfour Declaration: the British Government promises to Lord Rothschild the creation of a Jewish "national home" in Palestine.

1922. The League of Nations attributes to Great Britain the mandate on Palestine.

1936. The conference of the Palestinian National Committees calls the taxes payment cessation (any taxation without representation). Begins a revolt which will last three years.

1947. The General Assembly of the United Nations through the **Resolution 181** approves the Palestine Division Plan that foresees a 56.5% of Palestine for a Jewish State and a 43% for one Palestinian and the internationality of Jerusalem.

1948. The British renounce the mandate. The same day Israel proclaimed its independence and begins the Nakba (Catastrophe) for the Palestinian people: Close to 400 Palestinian villages were razed. The UN adopts **Resolution 194** which calls upon Israel to allow the return of refugees. Israel ignores the resolution (to date).

1964. It is founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

1967. In **the six day war** between Israel and the Arab countries, Israel occupies West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, the Egyptian Sinai and the Syrian Golan. The **Resolution 242** calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories.

1973. October War. War of the Yom Kippur.

1982. Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Sabra and Shatila massacre.

1987. In the Occupied Territories explodes the **first Intifada**.

1988. The Palestinian National Council, proclaimed the Independent State of Palestine. Its president, Yaser Arafat asks before the General Assembly of United Nations that recognize it.

1991. It is celebrated in **Madrid** a **Middle East Peace Conference** where the bases for the future negotiations are established.

1993-95. Oslo Accords, which are interpreted as the first step toward the creation of a Palestinian State and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Occupied Territories. The Palestinian Authority is created (ANP), organ of provisional government and germ of the Palestinian State future.

2001. Ariel Sharon visit the Esplanade of the Mosques in Jerusalem escorted by the army giving rise to the outbreak of the **Second Intifada**. Failure of the negotiations at Camp David.

2002. Arab League peace initiative which offers Israel recognition and peace in exchange for a withdrawal from the occupied territories in 1967 and a solution to the problem of Palestinian refugees. Begins the construction of the **Wall of separation** of more than 400 kilometres and runs through occupied territory in the West Bank.

2004. On 9 June, the International Court of Justice in The Hague declares illegal the wall.

2005. Israel evacuates 8,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip and other 30,000 seats in the West Bank.

2006. Democratic general **elections** are held in the Occupied Territories with the victory of Hamas.

2007. Hamas and Fatah sealed the **Agreements of Mecca** with a government of national unity that breaks up in June. Israel responds with the blockade and total isolation of Gaza. A **Peace Conference**, takes place in Annapolis, under the auspice of United States, with the end declared to create a Palestinian State before 2009.

2008. Israel imposes the political, economic, and social isolation of Gaza by blocking the entry of basic food, sanitary equipment, fuel and electricity. In the West Bank and East Jerusalem the Israeli government approves the construction of new buildings.

2009. The largest attack against the people of Gaza after the lock gives rise to more than 5,000 wounded and 1,300 were killed, mostly civilians. Israel maintains the blockade and plans to double the settlements in the West Bank with more than 73,000 new homes. The new US president, Barak Obama, requires its closure. Israel does not yield.

3.1 Policies of aggression and coercion

This section identifies the policies that cause restrictions on the movement of goods and people, confiscation of property, destruction and appropriation of natural resources, as well as arrests and assaults to the population.

3.1.1 Restriction on the movement of people and goods

3.1.1.1. Restriction on the movement of People

- In the West Bank there are approximately 500 checkpoints and roadblocks that hinder and impede the movement of goods and people, to which must be added close to 400 posts of random checks per month¹⁸.

- In the West Bank the final layout of the Wall of the Separation will be of approximately 730 Km of length. In the residential areas its height is from among 9 and 12 meters of concrete, in the rural areas is a labyrinth of fences, barbed wire and cameras that will have amplitude of more than 100 meters, devouring enormous stripes of Palestinian agricultural lands. Without forgetting that, a wall built in the ninety already imprisoned to the population of Gaza of 1.3 million people¹⁹. Indeed, there is a safety distance to each side, called "buffer zone" or "security perimeter". The wall is built within the Palestinian territories²⁰. The State of Israel begins the construction of this wall in the year 2002, what has led to the annexation by Israel of Palestinian agricultural land and the division of people and families, subjecting the Palestinian population to marginalization, poverty and terror. For all these reasons, the General Assembly of the United Nations condemned in 2003 the construction of the wall and a year later it was declared illegal by the International Court of Justice.

Checkpoints, apartheid wall, system of permits, administrative detention, discrimination in the recruitment of Palestinian labour inside Israel and denial of work permits, curfews, closures, roadblocks, etc.

¹⁸ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UNOCHA. Available at: <http://www.unocha.org/where-we-work/occupied-palestinian-territory>.

¹⁹ Education under occupation. Stop The Wall. Campaign of Palestinian Networks Anti Wall of the Apartheid. September 2007. Available at: <http://stopthewall.org/FAQs/33>.

²⁰ Stop the Wall Campaign. Available at: <http://stopthewall.org/FAQs/33.shtml>

The checkpoints imposed by the Israeli occupation, are a system that has been thoroughly studied and planned to result in a society that fears the public movement. That fragments society to leave divided cities, towns and refugee camps, isolating some of the other, even preventing freedom of worship²¹. It is required a permit to be able to travel between West Bank and Jerusalem, as well as for Gaza. It is difficult to obtain such permits, rules and regulations on the granting of permissions change constantly, in particular with regard to the age of the people whom applications are denied. And the procedures are very bureaucratic and arbitrary. This affects women and limits their movement, which prevents their access to education and health. These measures imposed by the occupation, reinforce the culture dictated by a system of least movement to women:

"I can't have a normal life. I can't travel anywhere, or even go to Jordan, and even if I could travel, I can't bring my kids with me... I can't lead a normal life as any woman with her husband and their children..."

Woman living in Jerusalem.

"I could not attend the meeting on time because I was caught up in Jerusalem by the closure of the checkpoint during several days".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"For example, one thing as dumb and stupid as getting a driving license, is something that I can't do. There is no way I can lead a normal life in this country..."

Woman living in Jerusalem.

"She has to renew the permit every 3 months. She is allowed to live there, because her husband is an Israeli citizen. However, she cannot travel to West Bank".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"(...) if I get marry a foreigner, I lose my residence. If I get married a guy from the West Bank I lose my residence, if I leave the country and can't prove that I have lived here for, at least, 7 years, they can confiscate my id card. Imagine... they are the ones who want us out. It's been said that

²¹ Israel applies a very restrictive policy of permits, denying authorisation to males under the age of 50 years, go to prayer, both to Muslims and to Christians.

the Palestinians want to push the Israel into the sea, but it is just the opposite".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"(...) for example, if I want to go to Ramallah²² that 'll take me the whole day, queue in the checkpoint, a poor road conditions and traffic... what I mean is that the living conditions here are not easy".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

3.1.1.2. Restrictions on the movement of goods

Restrictions on the movement of goods: imports, exports and domestic movement of goods, which have a direct effect on the Palestinian economy, strangulating it, and causing an increase in the poverty rates.

"(...) We had to close the factory. We had 50 people employed. There are only 15 left".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"We have manpower, we have sewing machines, industrial sewing machines, but they are not in operation because all markets are closed for us. We did a market research in 2000 and we thought that we could sell our products in the Middle East (embroidered traditional Palestinians and elaboration of bedspreads), but the political situation in which we live makes it impossible".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

²² It is only 30 km, approximately, but it takes more than two hours to get there. It is a one way road, bordering a ravine, and exclusively for Palestinians. Within these segregationist policies there are exclusive highways for the Israelis, even within the OPT, for access to the settlements.

3.1.2 Damages and confiscation of lands, natural resources and properties

. Israel, in 2010, demolished 459 infrastructures: 191 in Jerusalem and 368 in the Area C²³.

. There are about 224 Israeli settlements in the West Bank, half have the official recognition of the Israeli Government and the other half, although they have been built under the welcome and assistance from the government, still do not have that status²⁴. Despite the illegality of the settlements and the unanimous condemnation of these by the international community, the Israeli Government continues allowing them. An example of it, is the recent expansion of the settlements of Givat Ze'ev, Kfar Sava, Maskiyot and Beitar Ilit.

. An estimated 500,000 settlers in the oPt: 300,000 In the West Bank and 200,000 in East Jerusalem.

. Acts of violence by settlers toward the Palestinian people continue to be a serious problem: in 2010 there were a total of 79 Palestinian casualties and 219 properties damaged at the hands of Israeli settlers²⁵.

. Israel consumes 80% of the water resources of the West Bank; the Palestinians only the 20%. The average consumption of water in Palestine is 70 liters per person per day (in some communities did not reach the 20 liters), on the contrary in Israel is 300 liters (as recommended by the WHO is a minimum of 100 liters). Between 180,000 and 200,000 Palestinians have no access to running water, while some 450,000 settlers have as much or more water than the 2.3 million Palestinians in the West Bank²⁶.

²³ OCHA, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, January 2011. Available at: http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_the_monthly_humanitarian_monitor_2011_02_11_english.pdf

²⁴ B'Tselem. The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. Available at: <http://www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics>

²⁵ OCHA, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, January 2011. Available at: http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_the_monthly_humanitarian_monitor_2011_02_11_english.pdf

²⁶ Data provided by Amnesty International. Available at: <http://www.es.amnesty.org/paises/israel-y-territorios-ocupados/israel-racional-agua-a-la-poblacion-palestina/>

The damages are multiple and diverse in what refers to: confiscation of lands, natural resources and houses; demolition and construction of settlements; destruction of the infrastructure, both farms as irrigation systems, crops, homes...

"(...) when the Israelis occupied our territory the whole cooperative was destroyed, we had to re-organize and rebuild all over again".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

In relation to the colonies or settlements, it is necessary to emphasize that on many occasions the settlers carried out acts of violence against the Palestinian population under the protection of the army: burned crops, shoot with firearms the Palestinians houses, and in many occasions, kill their livestock. In these circumstances, women living in the villages near a settlement are virtually doomed to be prisoners in their own homes, fearing these attacks and, on the other hand, they are the ones who take care of the belongings when men go out to work.

"The settlers are the worst religious extremists that have seen ever. And yet we are terrorists. They are the ones who want a Jewish State".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

3.1.3 Arrests and attacks on the population

Currently, there are approximately 6,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails. Of these, 200 are under 18, and 37 are women²⁷.

In 2010 87 Palestinians were killed and 1,539 were wounded, most of them civilians. Monthly occurred:

- 275 Arrests and 397 sorties of search (people) in the West Bank.
- The Israeli military forces arrested 289 minors²⁸.
- 218 Administrative arrests and 940 arrests of people, pending cause²⁹.

²⁷ Statement of the Coordinator of Humane Aid of United Nations, Mr Maxwell Gaylard, on the day of Palestinian prisoners, 17 April 2011. Available at http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_18_04_2011_press_release_english.pdf

²⁸ OCHA, The Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, January 2011. Available at: http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_the_monthly_humanitarian_monitor_2011_02_11_english.pdf
http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_the_monthly_humanitarian_monitor_2011_02_11_english.pdf

Many international reports prove that the arrests and detentions occur in an arbitrary manner and with a inhuman treatment and performed military attacks against civilians: bombing in residential areas, schools, hospitals, ambulances, the murder of civilians, extrajudicial killings of political figures, etc., all existing outside of the international legality.

The arrests are often accompanied by destruction and deterioration of goods, beatings, attacks by dogs within civilian homes, humiliating body searches and raids during the early hours of the day and/or in the middle of the night. The interrogations are carrying out with a combination of physical and psychological violence.

Women in prison suffer from gender-based violence when they are under investigation or detained and, on the other hand, the poor conditions in the prison substantially affect your state of health.

The situation of the children is of particular concern, since they are often obliged to share cells with prisoners/adults, do not receive teaching and cannot get in touch with their families.

It is clear that Israel does not seek to win the hearts and minds with the administration of justice, but that acts with iron hand in the arrests, and in the treatment of detained persons and prisoners.

"I've been three times on the brink of death. I have been arrested several times (jail). I was tortured, burned with cigarettes, still got the marks in my arms".

Palestinian activist.

It must be stressed that a large part of the data provided came from government agencies, this information came from other persons or organizations of civil society that have knowledge of the assault. However, given the frequency of violations and assaults, the fear of retaliation by the Israeli authorities and/or the absence of a response or by ignorance of the complaint procedures are not always notified, so that the number of assaults and damage could be much greater than indicated.

²⁹ Ibid

3.2. Geographic Scope and population data

. The Palestinian population is 4.4 million, which includes 1.7 million refugees within the territories, thus constituting 43% of the population³⁰. There are 19 refugee camps within the territories³¹.

. 3,005.552 Million Palestinian refugees living in camps outside the territories (Jordan, Lebanon and Syria³²).

. It is estimated that there are some 3.5 million Palestinians living in the Diaspora³³.

. It is estimated that 80% of the population of the Gaza Strip receive humanitarian aid³⁴.

. Only have of the economic aid, provided by the CAP to the Occupied Palestinian Territories, was received in 2010³⁵.

. Israel controls more than 85% of the Palestinian territory.

. West bank and Gaza are divided into:

Area A - under the civil and military control of the PA.

Area B - under civilian control of the PA and Israeli military control.

Area C - under Israeli military and civil control.

³⁰ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UNOCHA. Available at: <http://www.unocha.org/where-we-work/occupied-palestinian-territory>

³¹ <http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabID=4151&lang=en>

³² The United Nation Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, UNRWA. Available at: <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=253>

³³ Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, BADIL. Available at: <http://www.badil.org/es/recursos-para-visitantes-periodistas-y-activistas->

³⁴ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UNOCHA. Available at: <http://www.unocha.org/where-we-work/occupied-palestinian-territory>

³⁵ Ibid.

population data

Region	Population		
	Men	Women	Both
Occupied Palestinian Territories	1.997.625	1.937.624	3.935.249
West Bank	1.243.064	1.205.369	2.448.433
Gaza Strip	754.561	732.255	1.486.816

Source: PCBS. 2010. Palestine in Figures, 2009.

Some Key Data (Women)

Life Expectancy	73,2 años ³⁶
Literacy Rate	90,90% ³⁷
Fertility Rate	4,6 hijos/as ³⁸
Average Age of Marriage	19,4 años ³⁹
Women Head of Household	8,80% ⁴⁰
Rate of Women in higher Education	7,60% ⁴¹
Female Labour Force Participation	15,40% ⁴²
Unemployment Rate	29,80% ⁴³
Employed in the Services Sector and other Areas	62,50% ⁴⁴
Employed in Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry	18,90% ⁴⁵
Employed in Manufacturing	9,20% ⁴⁶
Employed in Trade and Hospitality	7,60% ⁴⁷

³⁶ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics - PCBS.2008. *Palestine in Figures*, 2007 Ramallah.

³⁷ PCBS.2009. Press Release: *On the Eve of International Population Day*, 11/07/2009. Ramallah.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ PCBS.2008. Press Release: *Youth in Palestinian Territory Statistical Indicators: On the Occasion of the International youth Day 12 August 2008*. Ramallah.

⁴⁰ PCBS.2009. Press Release: *On the Eve of International Population Day*, 11/07/2009. Ramallah.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ PCBS.2009. *Labor force Survey (July - September, 2009) Round (Q3/2009)*, Press Conference on the Labour Force Survey Results. 2/12/2009. Ramallah.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ PCBS.2009. *Labor Force Survey (July-September, 2009) Round (Q3/2009)*, Press Conference on the Labour Force Survey Results. 2/12/2009. Ramallah

⁴⁷ Ibid.

PALESTINIAN LOSS OF LAND 1946-2010



Usually when analyzing the situation of the Palestinian population we tend to differentiate the West Bank and Gaza by presenting two different realities.

"The occupation here develops in a different way. We have no bombs or fighting in Gaza as ... , but we have another kind of oppression".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Likewise, the advance of the occupation on the Palestinian territories and the recent historic events has disconnected both territories remain among themselves, not only geographically, but even at a political level, because of different "governmental" institutions. Gaza has been converted into a concentration camp and the West Bank in centers of population isolated from one another⁴⁸.

"You have seen the wall, look at the wall. The wall has been built to divide the Palestinians. It was built to isolate us. Jerusalem is, in fact, already cut off from West Bank".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

⁴⁸ For more information, it is recommended to watch, *Gueto 2009 (Documentary)*; Available at: <http://www.gueto2009.com/sp/index.html>

"While we are on the West Bank, shopping, pampering, living well, in Gaza are starving. We have ceased to see the Strip as our brethren, as our people. There are very contradictory feelings with regard to Gaza. It is crazy".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

And while the reality is the same for all:

"When we talk about the situation of women in Bethlehem or in other areas, we are talking about people who live under occupation, do not have an independent government, nor an independent State".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The situation here in this sense is the same as in the rest of Palestine".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Occasionally, the experiences and situations may vary. In response to these circumstances, within the areas that concern us in this study, and to provide a few brushstrokes:

Bethlehem is characterized for the economic strangulation and the loss of agricultural lands with the advance of the construction of the wall.

"Part of the difficulties that have the women of Bethlehem is in the access to the employment, are victims of the poverty, what maintains them in a situation of dependence".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Hebron, historically the economic engine, has also seen its progress diminished, and it's now a city punished by both sides: on the one hand, by the Palestinian Authority for being a bastion of Hamas in West Bank; and on the other by the settlers. Also, the city is divided into two areas H1 and H2, which greatly hinders the lives and the social fabric of palestinians.

"There are attacks, repression, damage to centers and institutes that have any minimum link with Hamas, and even the sites that are of Hamas are occupied, spoiling the people".

"More than 50 staff members in the Hebron district have been fired from their jobs by the PA".

Palestinian politician.

"The Hebron protocol was part of a series of diplomatic accords related to the Oslo accords. Following this agreement the city was divided into two sectors H1 and H2. H1 or Area C is under Israeli jurisdiction, and the H2 or Area A is controlled by the PA. The H1 has a population of 45,000 inhabitants, 500 of whom are 2000 settlers and soldiers. In this area there are 5 settlements and 3 more outside the city. There you can see the synergy, support and complicity between the settlers and soldiers, right there, in plain sight".

Palestinian activist.

Qalandia, in addition to being a refugee camp, because of its proximity to the Qalandia checkpoint⁴⁹.

"The Qalandia checkpoint is very close to the refugee camp, so they have to live with the raids on the rooftops, the shots, the tear gas etc. ".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"UNRWA distributes food every two months. The camp depends on UNRWA, there is also a committee that manages the camp".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"Two women are part of the committee, however they are not invited to the meetings. When they attend, they are coerced and ignored, etc. ".

Woman of a refugee camp.

Jerusalem stands out for the demolitions, occupation of houses by settlers, juvenile detention, systems of permits, residence, family reunion and rates. Absence of a government authority or a reference to protect them. Also by an increase of the levels of poverty⁵⁰.

"Jerusalem is already isolated from the West Bank".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Ramallah has become the de facto capital, with a very important economic and infrastructure development in recent years. It is a bubble of bonanza in comparison with the rest of the territories which has also given rise to the gap

⁴⁹ Qalandia checkpoint is the main route of entry from the West Bank to the city of Jerusalem.

⁵⁰ Even though, Jerusalem is not within the area of influence of this report. Due to its relevance, several in-depth interviews have been conducted.

of social classes, especially in the rural⁵¹ areas. In addition to these singularities must also be taken into account the differences between the rural, urban areas and the refugee camps.

"The situation varies depending on whether we talk about cities, towns or the refugee camps".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

In line with the above, this situation generates, at the same time, a common feeling of isolation, loneliness, and lack of support. And, in turn, a feeling of powerlessness and frustration at not being able to improve the situation of their fellow human beings. It is clear that this is, one more of the strategies used by Israel to prevent the strengthening of the social fabric and, ultimately, the construction of a Palestinian State.

"The situation here (Jerusalem) is terrible and it is not known. Even the Palestinians who live in other areas have no idea of the type of life that we are leading..."

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"(...) you can imagine, during the war, in Gaza, I saw it just like you, on tv, we could not do anything, as Palestinians, just watching the television while they were being killed".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Ultimately, the Palestinian society has lived conditioned by political violence resulting from the Israeli occupation. An occupation that has acted as a decisive factor in the daily life of the Palestinian families, as well as their interrelationships, their own structural values as a people and their future projects, limiting their right to self-development and self-determination.

"The occupation affects in a very deep way to all aspects of our lives, even in how people communicate with each other".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁵¹ González, E.; *Ramala brilla en el escaparate*, en Diario El País el 11/04/2010. Available at: http://www.elpais.com/articulo/reportajes/Ramala/brilla/escaparate/elpepusocdmg/20100411elpdmngrep_7/Tes

"The israeli occupation has managed to change our society in a way that no one can understand."

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"[The Occupation] affects our family structure, for me, this makes the situation even worse for women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

However, this situation that we have been describing does not fit with the idea that we have of conflict, due to the unbalance of forces. This is not a war with two sides balanced, or the confrontation between the armed forces of two States. It is a State (Israel) that illegally occupies the territory of a people (Occupied Palestinian Territories)⁵², with disastrous consequences for the civilian population, and in particular for women.

⁵² To date, Palestine is not recognized by many countries, as a State, including the State of Israel, of course, in spite of the R242 (1948) calling for the establishment of a State of Israel and a Palestinian State, has not yet been created, despite the fact that both Hamas in Gaza as the PA in the West Bank perform functions similar to the powers of a State.

women associative movement

"There are many women doing wonderful work, strong and courageous women, given the circumstances in which we live".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

4.1. Brief notes on the history of the movement of women

The women's movement⁵³ in the occupied Palestinian territories has a long history due to the 62 years of occupation. From its beginnings it has developed in parallel to the national movement against the occupation. As a result, this movement has been changing depending on the political, social and economic circumstances that were developing in the national context, thereby affecting the discourse and work of women.

The effort, dynamism, and organizational capacity of women has been astounding. Because, not only it has been part of the active struggle against the occupation, but it has had to earn the recognition of their own society. The role they are playing, made his own hollow for being part of the decision-making processes that affect society in a two-pronged approach: in the resistance against the occupation and the peace negotiation processes and in the construction of a State of their own, independent, democratic and based on human rights.

History lived and told by the women

"Palestinian women have always been present in the struggle and resistance by participating at different levels. In 1921 was created the first organization of Palestinian women, the Union of Palestinian women. In 1929 she attended the

⁵³ For more information see: D. Randa Nasser. Palestinian Women Discourse. Palestinian Women Forum 2008.

first conference in Jerusalem organized by the Union in which 200 women participated".

"To understand the path of our organization is necessary to refer to the era of the Nakba (1948). After a year living in the camp, came the UNRWA to give us support, for which there was food but not another type of infrastructures that were likewise necessary; we began to organize schools and to organize the association. We had the council of the Jordanian Government and we decided to establish a cooperative, so that we should be self-sustainable and in addition we could give employment to the women".

Women's Association. Refugee camp.

"The General Union of Palestinian women was established in 1965 as a component of the PLO and is regarded as the official representative body for Palestinian women throughout the world. It is also the coordinator of organizations of all women in Palestine and in exile".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The women associative movement, like the rest of social movements had focused its work in the resistance against the occupation. The mode of struggle employed by women was the same as the men, an imitation. This also made it very difficult to set up coalitions among women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"(...) before that date we weren't part of a grass-roots organization called Women Committee for Social Work, a large organization that worked in all West Bank and Gaza. This was established in 1982 and until the Oslo Accords its main objective was to strengthen, organize and empower women to facilitate their participation in the national cause fighting back the occupation. Most of the work was focused on political activities, how to strengthen and involve women to be part of the policy in the struggle against the occupation".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"(...) we began this task with awareness activities and workshops, facilitating a change in mentality, with the goal of having our own institutions, encouraging them to participate in demonstrations and opening a large number of nurseries, etc. This happened before the first Intifada, because during the same were closed many places such as the university, colleges... This led us to create an

alternative system to be able to continue with education, a role that also played women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"During the first Intifada many women have played active roles in society, and that the mindset was changing, the society was accepting this right and the women made a hollow in the policy and their participation; this was a real achievement".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"As a result of the first Intifada, the Palestinian question began to have a international visibility, which broke off the international isolation to which we were subjected. This fact gave us hope. Until that time there was no political space for women; there were some changes in laws and little by little, we went into those fields which by our traditional gender role we had been playing, such as: education and health (though, not as doctors). The strategy was to go, little by little, from the social to the political, participating in the decision-making in other areas, obtaining recognition for the role that we've played in the society so far, and starting to intervene in the political arena. So we started to exploit those fields where we were brighter than the men. This gave us self-confidence".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"In 1989 they patronized us, and blamed us for the fragmentation of the Palestinian society. On the one hand, we were told that we lived in a conservative Islamic society and, on the other hand, they would not accept internal disputes. Then we wondered what democratic society they were talking about".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"In 1991, we got 5 women to participate in the Conference of Madrid. We are, along with many other women, part of Jerusalem's progress. However, the reflection we made on these "achievements" is that we were still secondary actors. Our contributions were not taken into account, and we did receive no recognition for our work".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Also, in these years many of the male leaders were in prison, that's why women took over their positions".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"After the Oslo accords and the arrival of the Palestinian Authority, whatever that may mean here "Authority", we began to think about our social needs, edit and/or create new laws, to create mechanisms for the protection of women's rights, empowerment of women, social change to address the gender question, etc. We didn't want it to ended up as other experiences in the Arab world, in which, once independence was achieved, women returned to be relegated to perform their traditional gender role. In Palestine, that had changed and we wanted it to keep changing, many efforts have been made on social issues and it was necessary to continue forward. We fight for our democracy, we believe in human rights women rights. Therefore, when we formed this entity in 1997, our aim was to organize and empower women by focusing on social issues".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The women realized that, regardless of our political affiliation and our political militancy, we were in the same situation. At that point, we began to organize ourselves, form coalitions and establish a common goal: women as political and legal subjects".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The mindset of those who hold power is very short, because they don't understand that we do not need to be in the administration or in a political party to make policy; it can be done from an NGO, we are doing politics from our feminist perspective".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"When it is clear that a Palestinian State won't happen under the occupation, the women's movement continues to work in both directions, i.e. within the society and against the occupation".

"(...) we have been doing it for 25 years and it is a belief, not a job".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Palestinian women, represent almost half of society. Women have been victims and survivors of the indiscriminate violence of the State of Israel, but as in most societies, they have also been the unknown soldiers.

"Women in the history of Palestine have played a very active role, most of them came from small towns, and we have a wonderful example in our own history".

Palestinian activist.

Between their contributions we emphasize the takeover of work that was done by men who are no longer there, support for the political and economic recovery of the country, the maintenance and promotion of social cohesion, thus ensuring the survival of the family in the midst of chaos and destruction. To all this we must add, moreover, their participation in the peace movement, at all levels.

"The role of women in the Palestinian cause has been changing. For example, when my mother was young, she was involved with political parties, sewed clothes, handed out food, gave lessons to people who needed it. The women went to demonstrations, painted slogans on the walls, went out in the middle of the night when necessary... but now we do not see this. Part of this transformation occurred in the aftermath of the Oslo Accords, because a large portion of these women policies, created women's organizations, NGOS. And the political participation and the social volunteerism stopped".

Palestinian activist.

Within this general picture, with a changing, unstable reality, the women's movement has gone through several phases, having to update, rethink and create new strategies for addressing:

- The resolution of the conflict
- The construction of a democratic State based on human rights and gender equality, what requires a transformation of the patriarchal society.
- The immediate needs and strategic interests of women.

But for Palestinian women to participate actively and adequately in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in the construction of peace, we need their participation at all levels.

"(...) we are working on various strategies to change the situation of women, one of them, which we consider very important because it is a national reference and cross-sectional in all their proceedings, is the creation of the document "Women's human rights in Palestine". It is a declaration of principles that reflects women's rights, in an attempt to create a society based on gender equality and the full recognition of women's rights as human rights. This is a very important step".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

4.2. Legal Framework

"In 1991 we achieve to include in the constitution that men and women are citizens on equal terms".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Palestinian society is governed by different legal systems, because it is a compendium of laws from various regimes and eras. In Palestine, laws promulgated by the Ottoman Empire 400 years ago cohabit at present with those by the British Mandate and, consecutively, by each foreign government that occupied the Palestinian land at some point. In such a way that, in the West Bank, the previous laws are compounded with the Jordanian law enacted during the mandate of Jordan on this territory (1948-1967). The same is true for Gaza and the Egyptian laws⁵⁴.

"The laws that govern us are the Egyptian and Jordanian, which are very old and obsolete, they don't take into account the situation of women, nor the protect against various situations".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

After 1967, Israel established a military administration to govern the Palestinians resident in the West Bank and Gaza. This system was made up of more than 2,500 military orders that govern and restricted all aspects of daily

⁵⁴ The Jordanian Law of Personal Status (Law of Personal Status) was adopted in the West Bank in 1976 and Egyptian law of family rights (Law of Family Rights) in Gaza in 1954.

life. Also, the signing of the Declaration of Principles, or mostly known as the Oslo Accords (1993), allowed for the first time a legislative body at the time of the establishment of the PA⁵⁵. However, actually it meant another fragmentation when it divided the territories in Area A (17% of the West Bank), B and C (60% of the West Bank). This led also to Palestinian residents of the Area C, and the settlers in the oPt to be out of this legal framework, and remain under the Israeli laws.

"In the political negotiations, it is not taken into account that the legislation changes depending on whether this is the area A, B or C. This has a very negative impact on women and, for example, in case of divorce".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The second Intifada⁵⁶ was a setback in the legislative development since the territories became engulfed in war and in internal chaos⁵⁷.

"(In 1997-98) We, at that time (the time immediately after the signing of the Oslo Accords), thought that we were going to have a state of our own, that we would be govern by the laws that we were going to promulgate, that the things we were working on would have an impact on the future, that is to say, that we were seriously building our future State. When you go through that moment of our history: You realize that we were not the only idealistic, but the whole society was dreaming of the same thing. The atmosphere was very different. A lot of work was done in 10 years, in 1996 we, as the Palestinian society, constituted the first legislative council; it was done in a serious manner and with love. When Israel decided to invade the oPt again (Second Intifada). All the work we have done in those ten years faded away in ten days. They destroyed everything, infrastructures, buildings, and also smashed our hopes".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁵⁵ The signing of the Oslo Accords, meant among other issues, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and West Bank, as well as the right of the Palestinians to self-government in these areas through the Palestinian Authority⁵⁵. For this reason, was created an interim government that would take five years to build a state of their own. Questions about Jerusalem, refugees, Israeli settlements, the security and the exact borders were excluded from the agreement and would be addressed in successive negotiations during the period of transition.

⁵⁶ Second Intifada: 2000 – 2005.

⁵⁷ During the second Intifada, the oPt were immersed in the chaos. The security forces were undermined by the occupying force. In fact, the police force was destroyed (offices, police stations, cars, communications equipment...) and was not in service for at least 3 years. Before the loss of force caused, not only by the occupation, but also by a lack of transparency, unworkable system, etc. The clans and armed groups took control of the territories, administering justice themselves.

In 2005 with the signing of the ceasefire, the normality was gradually restored. However, in 2006, the Hamas victory in the second democratic elections held in the territories, led to a new Israeli punishment, the end of the international aid and finally, an internal struggle in society between Fatah and Hamas. As a result of this, nowadays, Palestinian Legislative Parliament still does not work normally and has to apply alternative strategies to continue progressing.

"(...) the document that was approved unanimously was sent to the President of the PA. This is the usual procedure due to the absence of Legislative Council".

Palestinian politician.

With regard to the Palestinians living in the lands occupied in 1948 - currently the state of Israel - are governed by Israeli laws, as well as for the Palestinians living in East Jerusalem.

"This Law oppresses us, they say: "this is the law" but the people don't realize that it is the law of the oppressors to the oppressed, therefore, it is not a law for the protection of the oppressed, but the oppressor's law, the occupation's law. How this law, since I'm oppressed, can guarantee my protection."

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

In the light of this information, it becomes evident that this fracture in the legal jurisdiction is, among other things, one of the major impediments to the proper administration of justice in the oPt.

"Any legislative change takes a tremendous effort, both by the system we have, the areas in which it applies or the dominant mentality".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The Palestinian law gives complete equality of rights to women, although it is legislated, it'll be difficult to implement, due to several reasons, among which is that there is "more than one" Palestinian law".

Palestinian politician.

Also, this legal system perpetuates the discrimination, vulnerability and insecurity of women. Mainly in relation to the law of personal status and/or the family law as well as criminal law. The movement for Palestinian women demanded of a reform of these areas; since they are these laws should protect their basic rights:

"(...) we came to realized that what we were doing was first aid. (...) Which is fine, but if we really wanted to provoke a change, first we needed to change the laws in order to solve these social problems".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We have started to review the legal system reform. We believe this will put an end to the legal discrimination against women. This is one of the most important steps, but it is not the only one, because we understand that there is a lot of work to be done at various levels to make a change and put an end to discrimination against women. The law alone is not enough. But also how it´s perceived by the society. We also understand that if we want to achieve these goals, it is necessary to seek alliances with other civil society organizations, not only women's associations".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Also note that the Palestinian judicial system has regular courts (civil and criminal) and religious courts that are the ones that apply to the personal status (*Sharia*⁵⁸ law for Muslims and Religious Courts for the recognized non-Muslim communities⁵⁹)

⁵⁸ *Sharia al Islamiya* ("track or path of Islam"), is the body of Islamic law. It constitutes a detailed code of conduct, which also include the rules relating to the modes of worship, the criteria for morality and life, the things allowed or prohibited the separator rules between good and evil. In the western media it is identified like Moslem law or Islamic law, although its identification with the religion needs to be clarified: although is in the Islam, is not a dogma or somewhat indisputable (as could be it the text of the Koran), but object of interpretation. Denotes an Islamic way of life that is More than a system of civil or criminal justice, it is an Islamic way of life As a matter of personal conscience and moral guidance of conduct, the Sharia is adopted by a majority of the Muslim believers and practitioners, in varying degrees; but, unlike the moral guidelines of the Bible for Christians, is not only a religious code of guidance vital, but encodes the conduct and specifically governs all aspects of life. It has been formally established as law by certain States, which are defined as Islamic states. In such cases, the courts of justice are instituted as Islamic court, and they ensure their compliance. Many countries of the Islamic world, even if they have not been defined in a comprehensive manner as an Islamic state, have taken part in its legislation elements of *Sharia* law (in areas such as the estates and wills, the regulation of banking activities and contracts, etc.). Source [wikipedia](http://www.wikipedia.org). Human Right Watch. 2006 .

⁵⁹ A Question of Security: violence against Palestinian Women and Girls. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2006/11/06/question-security>.

4.2.1. Law of Personal Status

The law⁶⁰ that governs and organizes personal relations between the members of the family is called the "Law of Personal Status", (*Qanun al-Ajwal al-Shakhshyieh*). The articles covered by this law are: the age of marriage, the dowry, the *wali* or representative of the marriage, the marriage contract, polygamy, divorce, maintenance and custody.

This law discriminates against women. Subsequently some examples are exposed briefly:

In the event of divorce, the man has the right to unilateral divorce, applying a verbal formula and registering in the Parliament is enough, i.e. does not require the woman's consent. According to this law, women may request a divorce under the following circumstances: (1) that the husband has a mental illness; (2) that the husband does not live with the family for more than a year; (3) that the husband cannot meet its economic responsibilities with the family; (4) that the husband has been sentenced to imprisonment for more than three years; (5) that the husband break any of the conditions of the contract of marriage.

The family model that promotes the present law is a model where the woman has no financial responsibilities in marriage; the man is the sole responsible to maintain the family. In this model, the man also has the legal right to practice polygamy.

The same is true for the figure of the *wali* or guardian. According to the law, women cannot marry if is not with the presence of a male guardian of their family, it can be the father, brother, or any male member of the family. This condition is applied to all women, regardless of their age or social status.

Another example of this legal discrimination is the capacity to testify in the contracts of marriage. According to the law, two male witnesses are precise at the moment of the signing of the accord of marriage. Women are not allowed to do it.

⁶⁰To delve into the issue we recommend: WELCHAMN, L. *Islamic Family Law. Text and practice in Palestine*. 1999. Women's Center For Legal Aid and Counseling.

It is also important to note that while this law is not based on religion, it is used by organizations and religious personalities as such.

"We try to generate debate, to explain that even the Islamic religion handles the topic of women in a progressive way: women are equal to men. We can participate in politics. We have the right to receive an education, etc. In fact the fundamentalist movement within Palestine goes against the Islamic religion".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

In 1998, there was a debate fruit of a public campaign organized nationally by the Women's Center for Social and Legal Advice (known as WCLAC). It requested legal reforms to the Family Law and/or Personal Status. This national campaign was also known publicly as "The Model Parliament".

"For two years we had training workshops with civil society and other social actors throughout the West Bank and Gaza, culminating this process in what we call the "Model Parliament". (...) We followed this strategy: we went through every article and we changed the ones that discriminated against women. It was a very important event. The religious court defended what they believe..., The newspapers wrote nonstop on the subject, it formed a huge social turmoil, there were people who were against and who claimed that how did we dare to do something like this. If we could, at least every 10 years, we'd do it to cause social upheaval and remove consciences. It took two crazy women to do it. That particular time, it was us".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The reforms proposed during the campaign demanded more rights for women, for example, that the divorce would be held before a court and with the presence of a judge which applied the same rules for men and women at the time of divorce, or that all women over 18 years would have legal authority to marry without the need of a guardian.

Though this campaign failed to reach the objectives proposed, it favoured a social reflection on the legislation in force, as well as the role that were performing or should perform the different actors implied.

"What happened was that the PA realized that they had not taken into account the law of the family at all, and that they had not done what was necessary. Also, the religious realized that they were not the only ones with the right to speak, to comment and change things. The result was that many more people realized that there was something wrong with those laws".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"President Arafat formed a committee composed of lawyers, counselors, to begin to change the Law of the family and/or Personal Status. The Supreme Court also formed another committee to draw up a proposal for reform so that we were not the only ones that we were presenting a legal reform".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The organizational movement of women has continued to maintain the legal battle to change a particular piece considered the key to overcome the situation of discrimination against women. It has employed various strategies ranging from better understand their own society:

"While we were working on this, we also realized that we needed to do more research to understand society. We did a study on family law and what women thought of every single article. Another study, which is written, and waiting to be translated, dwells on the concept of women protection".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Another strategy was carried out to maintain the political impact and awareness, even to bring to halt proposals from the more conservative groups.

"In the movement of Palestinian women we have developed a proposal for a law and we are working on its political impact, with the legislative council, the prime minister and even with the president, to adopt this new law".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"Two years ago a proposal was submitted by the Supreme Judge to the PA, we took part in a demonstration and the proposal was brought to a standstill. Finally, the President announced that the decision should be

reached jointly by the different groups. So there we are, trying to reach a consensus".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Finally, a consensus has been reached with great difficulties.

"Then, for me the thing is that we had a utopian vision, and a reality. The reality now is that if we succeed in changing these 5 articles, the lives of women are going to change. The proposal of the Supreme Judge is not what we wanted, but if we support him and succeed in changing it, albeit in two articles, it'll be an achievement. We are going to start the negotiations soon. It is difficult, but we have to put everything on the table. Salam Fayad also said that he is waiting for the proposals to think about them seriously and introduce changes in the Family Law, it looks like he's going to be supportive".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Another issue is that the work we are doing will be questioned as long as there is no national unity".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

4.2.2. Criminal Law

As noted at the beginning, the amendment of the Criminal Law is another of the legislative objectives present in the women associative movement as it is discriminatory against women, leaving them helpless in situations of violence⁶¹.

"If we have a good legislation no woman will be killed in the so-called 'honour killings', women shall have the right to choose their husbands, and to protect their children".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"It is important the work done by the Ministry of Women Affairs in relation to the 'crimes of honour'".

⁶¹ Human Right Watch. 2006. A Question of Security: violence against Palestinian Women and Girls. Disponible en: <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2006/11/06/question-security>

In this regard two paragraphs have been brought to a halt, one included in the Egyptian laws that governs in Gaza and another in the Jordanian law that governs in the West Bank; both gave mild sentences to the perpetrators of such crimes".

Palestinian politician.

The work carried out for its reform, so far, presents the same difficulties that the Family Law and/or Personal Status Law: polarized positions that block or hinder any type of change, lack of firmness in the institutional support and internal difficulties arising from the occupation.

"(...) we are working to change the criminal law, which lately is paying much attention to it. The Ministry of Justice asked the NGOS to submit a proposal for legislative reform. It was not at all easy because within these NGOS there are men who did not want those changes. In any case, we have made substantial advances, and next week a reading of the legislative proposal will take place before it is sent to the Ministry of Justice. Then, it 'll be returned to us. The question now is who is going to read it and how. At least, many of the articles aim for the maximum, so we have room to negotiate".

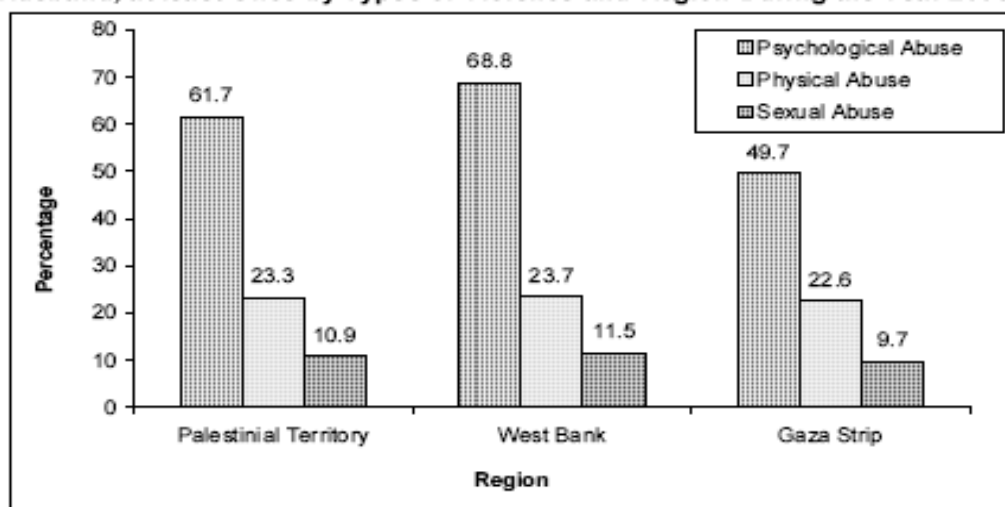
Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Does Death penalty exists? Yes, it does, but it is not constitutional. It is not in the Constitution. However the Parliament have imposed death sentences, although it is the president who ultimately gives his approval. There are currently tens of these orders unsigned, but we are working to ensure that, by law, this orders can´t be issued and to nullify the already sentenced".

Women association. Ramallah.

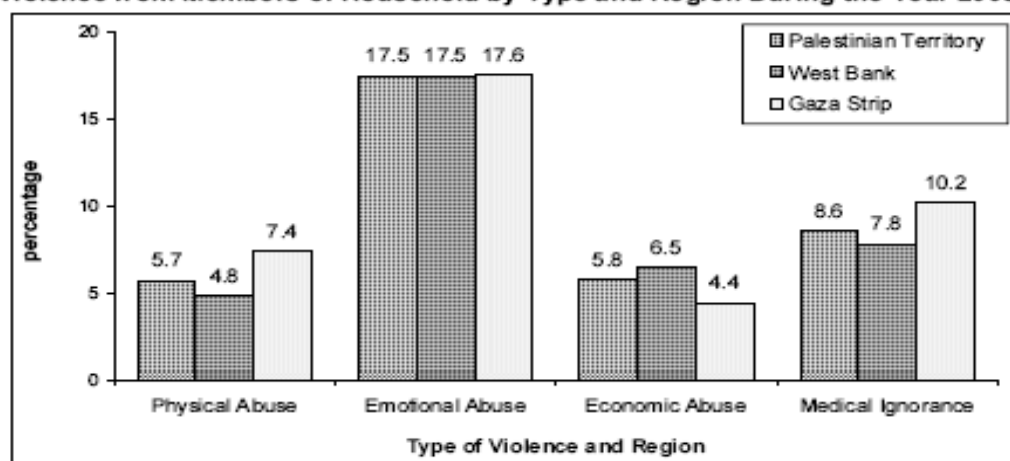
4.2.3. Protection against family violence Act

Figure 1: Percentage of Ever Married Women Exposed to any Violence by Husband, at least Once by Types of Violence and Region During the Year 2005



Fuente: Palestinian National Authority. Palestinian Central Bureau Of Statistics. Domestic Violence Survey (December, 2005 – January, 2006). Main Findings. June, 2006

Figure 6: Percentage of Elderly (65 years and over) Exposed to Certain Types of Violence from Members of Household by Type and Region During the Year 2005



Source: Palestinian National Authority. Palestinian Central Bureau Of Statistics. Domestic Violence Survey (December, 2005 – January, 2006). Main Findings. June, 2006

At the same time that the modification of the previous laws is prompted, women movements are working on the creation of a new law against the domestic violence that gives answer to the magnitude of this phenomenon.

"Another law that we are trying to promote is the Protection against Family Violence Act. To make a substantial advance, a law is needed to support our fight against violence".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Gender-based violence in the oPt responds to patriarchal structures. However, in this particular case, factors derived from the occupation complicate its resolution.

"(...) also raises the issue of domestic violence from the private to the public. The patriarchal structures and the historical events are the reasons for its concealment. Since 1948 the institution of the family is considered the primary identity element and the only safe space".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

It is also a phenomenon that far from disappearing tends to be standardized and justified as an evil mechanism of defense compared to the frustration and helplessness that generates the occupation in males.

"All the men that are daily humiliated in that checkpoint, some vent out the frustration and anger beating any female relative. This is the way they "recover" their dignity! And of course, the women are always the weakest link in the family... statistics show that domestic violence has increased significantly in the last ten years. There are several causes... most of the men are unemployed, there are women who are being beaten every day, who are being oppressed by their husbands every day, and they accept it because they don't know how to change it! They've come to think that as he is being severely, it is OK to beat her up and vent it out! You can find cases like this, excuses, explanations, and acceptances such as: "He feels frustrated, depressed, he has to do something about it, and I would prefer to vent it out at home with me if that makes him feel a little better".

"It is very sad, very sad. And actually I think this is how they want to see, they wanted us to be in this situation (occupying forces) ".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Also, there is no adequate social awareness on the subject, that's why it remains a taboo.

"There are many issues that women still do not talk about, as sexual assault. And that happens in our society, as "holy" as it is. And these are issues on which the society, and the politicians do not want to talk, but they are right there".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Also, in the case women have to resort to the mechanisms of protection, the answer might not be the adequate, maintaining the victim in the same situation of insecurity.

"Even the lack of training and awareness of the State security and police forces on the situation of women has resulted in many women who have come to the police to report an assault or abuse committed against them have been answered as follows: "you've done something wrong, it's your fault, otherwise your father or husband would not do that".

Women Association. Bethlehem.

And in the same way that there is no law against domestic violence, the mechanisms of protection are very scarce and fragmented: there are no health and police protocols, while there is a shortage of social resources such as social care, financial aid or foster homes.

"(...) the social worker has 35 cases of women who were asked for help and that are still on the waiting list. All of them, women victims of gender-based violence waiting to receive support. He called because they do not have sufficient resources to help the population and asked us if we could do something together or help them".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"... a safe house in Jericho⁶², ..., there is another in Bethlehem⁶³. Also, there was another safe house in Nablus..., but that house was like a prison and treated the women as if they were criminals and not victims. The house ended up closed and is currently empty".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The foster home (governmental) has been operating for two years. It is a very important that the government offer this type of resources and deals directly with the problem of domestic violence".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

In the same way that the women's movement has tried to promote the creation of this law, It is women themselves who try to respond and to put in place mechanisms to protect and care for the women who find themselves in this situation.

⁶² Center managed by a NGO and the Ministry of Women Affairs.

⁶³ Managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and an international NGO.

"Also, our entity began to support the victims of gender-based violence psychosocially and in 1992 we opened a 24h phone line to deal with these cases".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"One of the issues that we face is how to work in the safe houses, to carry out an assessment, establish new plans and strategies. It is something very necessary".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Our work focuses on the care, protection and counseling for traumatized women, such as those who suffer from domestic violence, social violence, sexual abuse and/or psychosocial difficulties, so that they can deal with their family, children, and with their community".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"(...) we tried to respond through the implementation of a project to raise awareness of the police on domestic violence in Bethlehem and Hebron".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

4.2.4. Strategies to reduce gender inequality in legal matters

Within these strategies to reduce gender inequality the women organizational movement has networked, primarily, to make political impact, awareness and exchange of good practices in legal matters.

"We are part of various platforms and committees that are working on legislative reforms. Such as: Family Law, criminal, gender-based violence and protection of the family, death penalty, HUMAN RIGHTS council that monitors the human rights violations both of the Palestinian government and the occupation on civil society, the rights of children and, finally, the right to abortion".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We started working on it when the regional coalition, formed by 5 Arab countries, was created, so we jointed them. In addition, this accumulation of experience helps to build this new law".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

This work has been carried out, in spite of the difficulties, without losing sight of the national unity.

"Before we worked in these coalitions together with Gaza, but we are now working more in the West Bank. Nevertheless, we try to continue with it through videoconferences. We try to work as if it were one country"

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We count with family and criminal law coordinators in the Gaza strip. Although, we have not been able to deal with the Criminal Law, because Hamas government wants to reform the law and, currently, is working on it".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

And their own resources and achievements, as for example, the creation of the Ministry of Women Affairs.

"We work of form very I tighten with the Woman Matters Department, above all in training, besides introducing a perspective of kind to governmental level and its politics".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Two years ago the UN signed the CEDAW agreement , agreement that was ratified by the president, which makes it essential to be taken into account whenever we legislated on any subject".

Palestinian politician.

"The work to achieve real equality has to be done both from the civil society, which has to exert pressure to legislate, and from the ministries, who have to implement monitoring and control mechanisms in... "

Palestinian politician.

Finally indicate that, despite the extensive debates, the creation of proposals and rough drafts of law, consultations and knowledge exchanges, the laws against the discrimination against women have not been approved.

4.3. Characterization

This section takes a look at the women associative movement describing their path, structure, network, work environments, funding sources. In such a way as to have an overview on the structure of women's associations.

4.3.1. Introduction

The associative movement of women reflects the entire Palestinian intellectual and social spectrum. There are many associations, and groups working with women. One of the peculiarities of the women's movement is that some of these represent extensions of the political parties, giving priority to the national policy agenda in their programs, activities and speeches, while other parties give priority to the social affairs of the women and, at the political level, follow the guidelines of the national program of the majority. Consequently, the Palestinian women speech and programs have a dual, national and social, dimension.

The women's movement believes that the progress that occurs in the political changes the society and vice versa. Its everyday priority, moves between national and social topics depending on the circumstances.

Women's movement, apart from not being homogeneous, also presents a diversity of strategies and speeches.

"This situation exists because in the women's movement, there is not necessarily a gender agenda, but that part of the movement of women is affiliated to political parties and the agenda to develop is that of the political party".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

4.3.1.1 Trajectory

As shown in the survey presented in this report, the highest percentage of registration of organizations was carried out in the year 1994, from the creation of the ANP -although as has been seen previously, the creation of these

movements can be traced back to the beginnings of the last century-. Many of these organizations were established by women who are or were in the committees and in the political parties. Thus, beginning to play a different role to which the PA had assigned them.

It is observed how those historic women established an ideological elite, present in different organizations guidelines meetings that, although since different positions, they have gone marking the general rhythm of the movement.

"(...) were the founders and they have been in the board of directors for 15 years. In fact, great part of the members of the board of directors are now ministers, vice ministers, NGOs presidents, many of the prominent women inside the movement of women were the founders of this center. And some of them still are in the board of directors or in the general assembly".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

On the other hand, exist different factors like the new generations, the networks, and the inclusion of some men in the organizations that are producing and requiring changes in the organizational structures. For example, the new generations mark a new positioning and reality, demanding a greater opening and support on the part of the veterans.

"The relationship between young people and those who have been leading the movement against the occupation should be different. There should be a closer relationship. We must find our own way; we have the strength to do so. And they must know our criticism. We can also learn from them, from their long experience. And between both give support and encouragement to each other. Certainly, there are leaders that work in this sense, but few. Some do not want, in part, because they know that the youths are going to be critical and they pretend to sit on their chair for decades. This is a big problem. They don't give us the space or the possibility to renew the movement".

Palestinian activist.

At the same time, that indicates a problem of generation changeover:

"Another problem is that many young people are leaving Palestine. (...) because if all the young people leave, then what? do we give up our land? No. That 's exactly what they want".

Palestinian activist.

Some of the veterans keep this in mind when valuing the potential of the youths.

"I 've already been in many executive boards and one of the objectives are to get young people involve, this is very important".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Regarding the work performed from 1991 to the present time, the organizations have focused on lending different services to the community, as are campaigns of education and sensitizing, political and social advice, the solidarity group's formation among women with similar problems (widows, martyrs and prisoners wives...), education and training, creation and strengthening of the employment for women, etc. Likewise, these activities, mostly work for the rights of the women from a gender perspective (with development degree variable and implementation); for them they have used international documents such as CEDAW and the local laws –especially to change them–. Nevertheless, these activities will be seen in greater depth further on in the document.

4.3.1.2 Structure

In relation to organizational structures, given the track record and experience, are generally good. It is observed that even in villages or small towns there are groups of women, generally smaller associations created independently or women groups that work locally. Due to the shortage of economic resources they depend on the offering that the large they provide them:

"When we organize a training course or any study we contact women's organizations. Now, there is no support for those small organizations activities, they depend on what we can offer them. They want to set in

motion any activity. Always they are very happy with what we can offer them, but they do not have the support to develop and to execute their own activities. What they actually need is local support. Those centers present their activities to the PA and a grant is approved, but, apparently, those funds never arrive. That is the idea..., the knowledge that I have. Perhaps the situation has changed".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Medium and large associations have their main headquarters located especially in Ramallah⁶⁴ and including delegations and headquarters in other cities, towns and refugee camps.

"We have three offices: one in Jerusalem, another in Ramallah and a third one in Hebron. But also we develop projects in Tulkarem and in Nablus".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

In some cases as delegations in other as means to carry the action to the groups of women already created (headquarters of the GUPW or of UPW). Even, part of the new strategies is to train to those smaller organizations so they'll become independent and autonomous, above all, given the obstacles to the movement⁶⁵.

"(..) Due to the checkpoints and to the construction of the wall we cannot move freely in Palestinian territory and that's why we have constituted a new program (...). Every three years we elect an association of women that already be constituted, (..) located far away from our centre, so some associations and towns don't have travel long distances to be attended by us. We have been working three years with an association located in Vidia (Nablus), which covers 18 towns. They are a independent association, still we can reinforce them as association. They are supported technically and economically. (...) Also, according to the program, we began last year to reinforce another association in Tulkarem. We train them, we invite them to participate in the activities that we develop, networks knowledge...".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁶⁴ Ramallah is the de facto capital where this associations established themselves, because it's just more practical. Although they have an address in Jerusalem for political reasons.

⁶⁵ This it is observed with greater tendency in Gaza where, although some delegations remain, many other have had to abandon the intervention. Those of more recent creation did not even start to work.

The structurally larger organizations have permanent staff, mainly women, although, some of these organizations have considered strategically pertinent to start including men.

"We work around 30 people in the organization of which more than the 90% are women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"And it have been women only until a few years ago when we started to open the association to men, so we can work together. We were 42 and now 28 or so".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Also another thing that we do with the training. Always we invite men, but lately we try even harder, we are trying to get the men involved, since women know more than men about violence. We must start talking with the men, train them, give them counsel".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Women demand to change the situation.

"I have attended many workshops about gender, political participation, violence against the woman, but nothing changed, and will continue like this if the organizations do not work with the men and they train them also".

Women group. Diheshe (Bethlehem).

As for the number of associated women varies, although most of them indicate a high number:

"We have no more than 100 associates and 5 people working here. We work for the security of women".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Likewise, a great part of the organizations were born through the voluntary work to become consolidated and finally professionalized. They train qualified new professionals, and aspire to have a more extensive jurisdiction.

"That's how it started (volunteerism). Currently we have 12 people working in the organization".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"Also we started working with volunteers, about 120, they are in Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, Tulkarem, although even we need more in other places as Ramala, etc. The volunteers are in training for a year, they participate in the execution of workshops. Most are graduates in law and social work. It is about professionals in those fields having a different vision and training, more practical".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"There are 15 people working full time and approximately 20 volunteers. Part of these are voluntary and part are doing a job experience for the university".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

4.3.1.3 Networking

Similarly, women's organizations have a long experience in collaborative work, the formation of coalitions and networks.

"We have a long experience in networking and collaboration and relationship with other organizations. We believe that working together and at various levels is necessary. In order to respond to the multiple needs of women. It is not only about psychosocial attention, because there are other needs. It is necessary to cooperate and work together, both governmental and non-governmental, locally and nationally, in order to address and respond to the demands of women".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

We work closely with the Ministry of Women Affairs, Health, and Education. We are constantly working with the Ministry of Education. Also we collaborate with some companies that work with microcomputer projects. For example, we attend a woman that receives psychosocial attention and to resolve or to improve her situation we learnt that she needs funds to initiate a project.

"Our intervention also requires a good and strong coordination with women's associations, with the media. Our work philosophy also focuses on the coordination and cooperation with other organizations".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

Even though this collaboration is positively perceived, there is room for improvement.

"We work together, all the women's associations, we opt to calls together, we share the work, activities, meetings, coalitions for specific topics. We do things jointly, but that does not mean that always we work together, in a team or support each other as we should".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"(...) We coordinate training programmes with other entities, but we are not counterparts in associations of women locally".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We ask them if they know of other women associations in the QC, they say there is only one, apart from them, and they barely interact. If they are part of the local network which focuses on women refugees, due to movement restrictions, usually they act locally. In this case Ramallah. Nevertheless this association has begun to develop a closer contribution with an association that belongs to the committee of refugee women of Jericho "Aqbat Jadber".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

4.3.2 Objectives of the associative work

Generally, the associations of women seek the social, economic, and political empowerment of women, with the objective to improve their quality of life, by means of the strengthening of the civil society and of the development of their abilities; seeking equality, the participation at all levels, and the elimination of any type of fundamentalist violence . Also, they commit to resist against the Israeli occupation, and to end the patriarchal hegemony.

"The associative movement aims to build a democratic society, and -being opposed to any form of militarization- works for the empowerment women and the marginalized groups".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"It promotes ethical values and basic rights. Values and rights that will achieve a transformation and balance in the relations between men and women, for instance: the autonomy, freedom of election, the access and control of the resources, etc".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Few of the associations interviewed recognize to work from a gender perspective, but all agree in the need to introduce it to continue advancing toward the equality.

"(...) We as organization of women have realized we are not paying enough attention to gender issues. And that is one of the aspects that we should work at all levels of the organization (...)The work team, which is going to carry out training courses, sensitizing the donors, working with the beneficiaries of the projects,publishing reports, ... at all levels.Since work with women does not mean to work for the gender equality, we should change that".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Some organizations develop diverse tools and work areas to reach the mentioned objectives, as it ´ll be shown subsequently.

"No other microfinance institution invests so much in development as we do: We give advice, formation and training. We sensitize society, and promote women businesses Clubs, and their participation in the REEWP⁶⁶. Workshops about business, economics and, of course, the needs of women, are carried out in the business clubs".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Political incidence is one of the tools that the women ´s movement uses to participate in the decision making process. This way the Palestinian society and, in this case the women movement, make progress and try to impact democratically public policies, reinforcing the citizens' participation and acting as political individuals.

⁶⁶ Regional Economic Empowerment for Women Project.

"(...) I don't need to be in the administration or in a political party to do politics; it can be done from a NGO as well, we are doing politics from our feminist perspective, as a woman I do politics..."

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The concept of women as political subjects is an integral part of the human rights".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We network to have a greater incidence, besides it is a space for the exchange of good practices, experiences, and learning".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The associative movement of women and their coalitions are promoting important changes but they face an enormous challenge: the occupation. Even thus, in recent years and after repeated intents, they have reached certain achievements political, and socially: system of quotas, change or bring laws to a halt, creation of the Women Affairs Department, among others.

"We don't have a real government, the government itself is under occupation".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"It participates in local and regional democratic movements locally, and also in international movements of resistance against the Israeli occupation and against any another form of oppression or discrimination based on race, sex or believes. It has to be done through the laws".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

47.62% of the organizations surveyed said that they work in policy advocacy. This incident is directed to the structures of their "government" demanding, among others: legislative changes, creation of employment, the promotion of equality, and action against the occupation (boycotts, demonstrations, testimonies, among others), etc.

"Another aspect we have encountered during our work is the absolute invisibility of women and their contribution to the nation's economy. Therefore, we consider necessary to help them to form cooperatives, register their business, and become a "visible" part of the economy. This would benefit not only the women, but the whole society. On the other

hand, its hard work, since currently the women do not obtain any type of help or benefit by "legalizing" their business. This is necessary to show that they exist".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Our priorities are to organize the women, to sensitize and to carry out political incidence in gender policies, and to include women in the process of economic development".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We carry out initiatives of political incidence to fight the gender base violence".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

[in the case of the illegal detentions]"We inform the diplomats and we arrange appointments with the consulate, we go to court and listen the charges, the sentence and we continue with the pressure".

Palestinian activist.

More than the 80% of the associations interviewed consider fundamental to support and empower women through training in order to increase the participation in the public life and to have representation in the decision making process . These training also have a positive impact in society, therefore for many women it's the first step to gain self-confidence and to improve their self-esteem.

"Women have few opportunities to get a qualification and to be prepared so they can be present in the processes decision making. Therefore, it is considered essential to train and empower women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We work for the development and the education of women, considering necessary the strengthening and empowerment of women social, economic, and politically".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The topics of these formations are diverse covering from technical knowledge to more strategic aspects.

"(...) We carry out training to find new employment opportunities for the recently graduated women, to create micro projects, mainly for women located in rural areas and refugee camps".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Also we have a very intense program of technical formation training for women in market research, and administracion and finances. It is not about vocational qualifications but to give support and develop those abilities they already have, in order to be able to implement its economic projects successfully."

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Currently we work with women in rural areas and marginalized towns. We have available training courses in hairdressing, dressmaking and traditional embroidery. When the course is finished, we give them a sewing machine. So they can work from home and take care of the family. We have nursery school, this way women can leave the house to receive their training".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"We were worried about the women image display in the mass media, we wondered who was working in the media, we wondered about role assigned to women, how the media dealt with the gender question; people when presented with any gender based topic, immediately they related to women affairs, when, actually, it could take an entirely different dimension. So we try to give formation and training at two levels: on the one hand to technical level and on the other hand, in gender equality and mass media. How work and include the gender perspective inside the media. Also we do practical formation with the people that have just finished studies related to the gender question"

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"We carry out a formation in the Ministry of Women Affairs of 10 months of duration, on gender and investigation, besides carrying out other training to introduce the gender perspective in its politics and actions".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We have years of experience in conflicts resolution. Experience that we apply in training courses in universities such as Al Quds, Ramallah, Hebron..."

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"Within the women area we carry out conferences and workshops. Thursday, takes places the session "women's club" for housewives; we do have another type of workshops and activities available for young people. In these workshops, they deal with subjects and topics such as the human rights, the gender question, dialogue, and conflict resolution".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"We are currently implementing a comprehensive program in the West Bank, in 20 community-based organizations, which need training, education, infrastructures, the creation of a board of directors, and an assembly. Basically, they need to learn how to work in a democratic manner".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

Many of these trainings offer psychosocial support for women providing them with tools to cope with the occupation and the situation in which they live in the territories. During these training courses testimonies are collected to continue denouncing this situation.

"Another program that we have and that is connected with the former is called "video training partner", we do training in video recording, and the aim is to promote the empowerment of women and is kind of a therapy. For example, a social worker who works with a woman victim of gender-based violence..."

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"We have many cases that have proved successful. We also collaborate with the Ministry of Women's Affairs as it has a training center in Beit -Jala that fulfils the function of helping those women who have not been able to complete their school studies. We work with them psychosocially, since many of them come from poor families; besides we collaborate with the UNRWA through a center in this refugee camp with activities, advice, training and empowerment".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

On the other hand, the 71.43 % of the organizations surveyed support the productive development, as they see it as essential for the empowerment. We cannot speak of empowerment, without independence and the economy is a key factor to achieve it. If women access the labor market and have the possibility to obtain resources to gain economic control, their lives and those of their families will change substantially.

"To achieve economic independence will change the men's mentality, I believe this really this can change our society".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"The objective is the empowerment of Palestinian women through economic independence. Likewise, our work is not essentially focused in the economic aspects, but also in the formation and training. There are many poor women in Palestine who have the skills and abilities needed to produce, but they lack the training to be able to set up a profitable business, and to become organized and achieve recognition. Only in Palestine a 14% of women are officially in the market economy".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We have a group of women who produce craft. We buy their products, regardless of the quantity they bring and the quantity we sale. That's how those women pay for the education of their children, they are 20 students. I believe they can be freed in many ways, one of them; of course, it's to achieve economic independence".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

Women associative movement support this productive development in many ways.

"(...) It collaborates specifically through the micro-credits projects for women heads of family, so that they obtain economic sustainability for them and their families".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"At this time, near 15,000 loans have been granted to women in Gaza and in the West Bank. (...) is an organization for the development, where the micro-finance are a tool and the objective is the empowerment of women through a economic independence. In 2007 we conducted a market study

that showed us the social impact that has economic stability. The women had a strong and more participatory role at home, there was an increase in the taking of decisions... and this is our objective".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"(...) the women have their own business, but they are not recognized, they are not included in any survey, because they are out of the legal sector of the economy. We are also encouraging women who may have small business even if they are home based such as for example, the arrangement of clothes to register their business in the economy, making their contribution and needs visible. We also encourage the creation of cooperatives, especially in rural areas".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"(...) In those economic sectors where the women are found completely marginalized, although they are the greater part of the labor force, we fight for the formation and creation of new unions that oversees their interests and needs".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We have a restaurant promoted and managed by the partners. Also, we have a store of craft as a market for elaborated products by different associated cooperatives". [creation of employment and finding new own resources].

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Here, women's movement has to negotiate the difficulties they find in this sector, and they are quite a few. Since the occupation closes the possibility of exporting to the international market with the restriction on movements of goods, but also the arrival of imported goods such as, the Chinese and Israeli which are imposed in the oPt.

"Currently, we have a class of embroidery, using sewing machines, embroidery, and a shop to sell and show part of the products. Also, we have nursery school for two age ranges, hairdressing and sewing courses. We have a lot of women from small villages and marginalized areas who come here to pick up the materials and take them home, and then when they have finished with them, they bring them back. Before we were selling the products in the domestic market (national), but after the

opening to the Chinese market⁶⁷, our internal trade was totally destroyed, the local economy is destroyed".

Women association. Refugee camp

The women's movement also seeks to generate critical awareness and promote social mobilization, carrying out among others courses, seminars, conferences, congresses, informational publications, websites, etc.

"(...) We work with the parents to change their attitude, and to raise awareness of the harmful thing that is to use the violence with children, sensitizing against the use of the violence and training in new parental abilities, etc"..

Women association. Bethlehem.

"With this program (TV) we try to show to society that women must have their vital and personal space, so they can take their own decisions. Also we work in this program the identity aspect; as for example the divorce".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"For example, in the video we made to raise awareness about gender-based violence. I've used in the work of theater the figure of the imam⁶⁸-shaykh⁶⁹ explaining verses⁷⁰ and ahaadeeth⁷¹ which strictly forbid the gender-based violence. There are many women that have this knowledge".

Women association. Ramallah.

"Also, we produce documentaries. To date we have conducted a series of 25 documentaries-stories. We have a program called "Woman oral history" (The women in the oral tradition-history), where we show the

⁶⁷ After the signing of the Oslo Accords the OPT opened the market to Chinese imports.

⁶⁸ It is often thought that imams are the muslim equivalent of priests or rabbis. However, it is not so: Islam has no clergy, and a imam, in principle, can be any person who is familiar with the ritual of the recitation. The Imam places himself in front of the others faithful in the mosques and serves as a guide to carry out the ritual of prayer, although it is not obligatory to follow him. Often, it has been said that every Moslem can be its own Imam, provided that know how to pray correctly, the imam exists only during prayer. Although technically that is correct, in practice exist certain professionalization, there are people that take specific studies to perform this task permanently. The election of an imam falls in principle in the community that will follow him, although frequently governments try to intervene in the appointment of imam to maintain the mosques under control, above all since this new heyday of the Islamism. In spite of all, the system possesses a great decentralization compared with that of the churches or that of the judaism, since, from a strictly religious point of view (the politics already is another question), not any upper instance exists that should ratify the formation of a community. Islam is an exception to the rule, since it is structured formally. It is called Shiite clergy. Source wikipedia.

⁶⁹ Spiritual leader of a community.

⁷⁰ Quran verses

⁷¹ Literally means a saying or a conversation, but in Islam represents the sayings and the actions of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by his peers and compiled by those wise men who succeeded them. Source wikipedia.

women in very diverse facets, real models of women, from a politician to a farmer, or a businesswoman. We also have a program funded by the Catalan government, composed of 60 chapters, it's a weekly radio program broadcast on state television in which issues such as women, youth, family, ecology and the environment are discussed from a gender perspective. The audience is formed by professional and non professional women. We also have another program called "Woman send you a letter" that shows how women change society ,and problems they encounter daily, such as raising awareness about the women's right to choose your partner freely, focusing for example, in the religious aspect. Christian marries Moslem, Moslem marries Christian, Moslem marries Jew. Here, although interreligious marriage is allowed, the reality is that socially is not accepted. The Christians don´t accept it, neither do the Moslems, nor the Jews, even less acceptable for the woman´s relatives. A Moslem, for example, will accept a Christian woman, but a Christian will not accept to marry a Moslem. And the truth is that even though the religion is different, the culture is the same. Christian and Moslems share the same culture. Nevertheless, in both communities forbid their women to marry a person of another religion. With this program we try to show to society that women need their personal and vital space to take their own decisions. Also we work in this program the identity aspect, the divorce".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"(...) We have programs on the divorce, in fact I believe that is a good letter of introduction toward the and toward the charges of responsibility so that they see as much as affects to the life of the people and that is necessary that change these laws".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"Another example I can give you of our work is a project that we have developed with 10 young girls through an-Nadra Blog. Digital journalists teach them to write and publish their own blogs, having already 10 blog in the West Bank area. They write in it, they count their experiences, anxieties. One of the objectives is to show the situation of the Palestinian society from a gender perspective. Most of this blogs are written in Arab although there are some articles translated into the English".

Women association. Bethlehem.

Since its origins the women associative movement has provided aid and assistance programs that should have been undertaken by the State, but due to the absence of government, many of their actions have come to meet the basic needs that women in particular and the Palestinian population in general in this context. What intends the movement with this type of social action is to transform the current situation to achieve another state with greater quality of life.

"Our entity started to carry out also a work of psychosocial support for the gender violence victims".

Women association. Ramallah.

"We function as a sociocultural center for women, where they have a place to meet and to develop educational activities, in order to support women and to improve their living conditions they endured due to the occupation".

Women association. Refugee camp.

"(...) A program on healthy diet is produced for the local television, a workshop on family violence where 9 women are present..."

Women association. Refugee camp

"Another line of work is to facilitate helps legal and social for women".

Women association. Ramallah.

"We have childcare for two age brackets".

Women´s association. Refugee camp.

"Our work focuses on the care, protection and counseling for traumatized women, such as those who suffer from domestic violence, social violence, sexual abuse and/or psychosocial difficulties, so that women can deal with their family, children, and their community. In the organization we have a group of social workers very well qualified that carry out advice, group and individual therapy, also we have a psychologist, especially prepared, that takes charge of the most complicated cases that require of special attention".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"When we carry out a mediation we do an initial diagnosis, and besides the mediation, we apply a program depending on the diagnosis, and the

needs that presents/demand the person diagnosed, deriving the person to other services, offering resources we could arrange from other areas, etc."

Women association. Bethlehem.

"For example, today a friend that works in Qalandia called me. She says that the Social Worker has 35 cases of women that went there to ask for help and they are still in the waiting list. Victims of gender-based violence waiting to receive support. This is very difficult. She called because they do not have enough resources to attend to the population and they requested us if we could do something together, or help them at all. She says that in Qalandia there is way too much violence, the situation over there is very ugly, and they don't know what to do anymore. They are in deep need".

Women association. Ramallah.

"We are part of groups of dialogue in different organizations because we think that peace supposes a transformation. We must work with the children, with the teenagers, with the women... transversely the culture, dialogue, religion... we live in a multicultural society, that's why we have to pay attention to all this".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"We have three working parties: one of "Boycott and fight against the normalization", another that is "The wall and the colonists" and a third dedicated to activities of social volunteerism. With the latter working group we have been going to a town depressed economically and besieged by the settlers. We have helped to clean the zone, to collect the crops We have had some problems with the settlers, but in the end everything went well But in any case, all the activities and working parties are related among themselves. We are trying that these groups are available in every district, because due to the mobility and economical restrictions that we have as for mobility, it's not easy and this system would permit a greater level of activity. The idea to create these groups in the districts is to go since the central headquarters to a town in a district to help them to start the activities and the organization of the groups. The preferential towns are those where the settlers are trying to confiscate land".

Palestinian activist.

Generally, the specialization in a concrete subject such as: gender-based violence, media, care, and legal advice, psychosocial care, economic development, etc., comes from associations that have a longer trajectory, with greater economic funding and with more weight at the structural level.

4.3.3. Who works with the women's associations.

The population attended by organizations, consist of mainly women, having also women in its executive boards and assemblies of associates. Some entities incorporate services –nursery school, sociocultural activities or workshops– to attend the children of these women. Other associations that expand their actions to the youth and those organizations that are directed or they combine their actions to the civil society in general, and even to administrations and public institutions. Nevertheless, the beneficiaries of their work will depend on the specific projects they, the organization, are developing.

"We work with the rank, but... one must work with the ranks if we intend to change something, but also with other groups. Depending on the projects, we work with several different population groups, such as, young people, rural women, civil society..., because in one way or another we have the same problems though we expressed them differently".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"We work at all levels, with grass-roots communities and with governmental institutions, which is why we are working from the ranks to the decision-making positions".

Women association. Ramallah.

"The women of our association are from the Qalandia camp. There are 62 women partners, 35 of whom are employed through the development and sale of handicrafts (embroidery). 7 Women comprise the board of directors of the association".

Women association. Refugee camp.

The organizations evaluate their actions and the impact in the beneficiary population. Reflecting it in both, the publications and the reports carried out.

"Since the organization we carry out periodic evaluations to know the impact of our actions in the women and its social milieu. And in particular in this project (also through evaluation questionnaires) 80% of women have pointed out that the formations have had a positive impact on their business: increase in customers and revenues; improve management and administrative capacity of the project".

Women association. Ramallah.

Taking a positive response from the women themselves, not only in regard to their demand can be resolved but also convert them into new spaces of socialization and personal development.

"Women tell us that they did not know about their rights until they participated in the workshops of the organization".

Women group. Bethlehem.

"There are women who have come to the center because they are involved with other women and talking about their social and personal problems, not only learn something new, but also socialize with other women".

Women group. Bethlehem.

Considering that a large part of this success is due to the methodology of action, which responds to the needs of society, the use of a language and a common culture.

"(...) we do this work from the women for the women, we have our own culture. For example, the materials and methodology are simple and adapted to the public; we do not expect the women to come to the city to receive training. In fact, we rather go to their places of origin, a woman attends to another woman..., sharing the same culture and the common communication tools make their work easier. We could say that we have a strong and close relationship with the society".

Women association. Ramallah.

"Before implementing a program in a village, we have a meeting with the parents, brothers and husbands, we explained to them, we try to involve them and take part encouraging the women to participate. Sometimes, you achieve the goal with small steps. For example, in one of the villages

they did not want the women attend the workshops, so we picked them up at their houses and drove them back to their houses when the workshop was over".

Women association. Ramallah.

"In a way, we consider that the society has answered positively, (...). In any case, a very important aspect of this good reception is the way in which we present the work, the methodology and the language. These are very important factors".

Women association. Bethlehem.

At the same time the work they do is not exempt of difficulties, among others circumstances, how the society perceives and receives that work:

"Yes, we confront many difficulties. Psychosocial work itself is seen as something new by our community, is considered a stigma".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"The women of Qalandia checkpoint have to put up with more violence, both from the occupation, as the increase of gender-based violence in their own environment, when they are trying to do any activity on the street (that is not taking care of their children and/or take care of their homes".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

Sometimes it is difficult to know which strategy to take to reduce the difficulties. And, on the other hand, the lack of economic resources for smaller organizations, which limits their performances. Sometimes, they undertake actions or strategies that respond more to the policies of the donors or other actors (political parties, national strategy), causing sometimes, that the services provided by women's organizations, are somewhat isolated from the needs of the population in general and women in particular.

In addition, some say it is because of the industrialization of the sector (the "beneficiaries" of the programs) and other due to the absence of the work which historically was done by the committees of ranks, i.e. the national, political and revolutionary organized action. This has created a gap between the women organizations and the ranks. At the same time, the needs instead of diminishing seem to enlarge.

"At times I feel that if there was more coordination..., if a few organizations we came to an agreement and work in a same geographical area, offering each of us our specialty, we would end up covering and facing the problem from diverse fronts, and if we did it during 2 or 3 years, all the population would be positively affected. And, then to go to another area and so on..., since many organizations are working well, many efforts have been made, however there is not apparent impact to be seen. Somebody needs to roll the idea".

Women association. Ramallah.

"The challenges are many, because between the PA and the occupation, it won't be easy to appreciate the effects of our work."

Women association. Ramallah.

At the same time, although they may have difficulties in the reception of their proposals and activities or the result of the same, also they make an overall positive assessment.

"Every work presents its difficulties, but in general it went well. And, the Palestinian society, specifically the West Bank, because I can't speak for the people of Gaza, they still have an open mind, it is an educated society, and support all this type of work".

Women association. Bethlehem.

"I would like to add that Palestinian women have achieved many things and have done, generally, a good job. If compared to other countries, where they are supposed to have an independent State, have their own government. I think they're even worse than us. Don't know, maybe I am wrong, but according to my point of view the Palestinian women have achieved a lot. And at the same time, there is a lot of work to be done".

Women association. Bethlehem.

4.3.4. Funding the associations

The ways of financing associations are via calls for grant with the international cooperation, donations and generating their own income.

In terms of women's associations are funded mainly through international cooperation, usually as local partners, although there are opt directly to calls for grant. The associations funded in this way are those that have a level of structure and minimal infrastructure, qualified technical personnel knowledge of languages; in short they know and are managed by the standards of international cooperation.

"(...) we work as follows: we opted to calls for project grant. We are trying to change this and to opt to programs: this would permit more stability, some results and a stronger impact, a better evaluation..."

Women association. Bethlehem.

The smallest associations generally have very little or no economic fund, but they benefit from international cooperation when they become the population beneficiary. That's why the medium-large association acts as the intermediary between the external organization and the small one. Subsequently we indicate an example of the contrast in the access to the economic sources between a small association and a large one:

"A French international association provided us sewing machines –three– to prompt the productive project we were developing. That collaboration ended. Since then we haven't received any aid at all".

Women association. Refugee camp

"We have income of 1millón dollars pa. We do not want any more, we couldn't manage it. Because a couple of years ago we had a lot more money and we could not handle it, in order to operative with that money, we´d had to hire personnel, to train them and then, once the project was over, they´d have to leave the association. We are trying to reduce the association, to make it more sustainable and to concentrate our efforts".

Women association. Ramallah.

Another way of funding is through the creation of business, which serves several purposes: to be a source of income on their own; generate employment either by jobs to cover, or by the sale of crafts and/or other products made by women.

"There is a restaurant in the second floor, which was promoted and managed by the partners. There is also a craft shop. This shop sales

merchandise produced by the various cooperatives associated with the entity".

Women association. Ramallah.

However, some entities obtained collaboration for the development of their projects, for example through the cession of spaces. Also, this is how some political parties obtain collaboration.

"(...) the organization is located in a building of Al Fatah, which was attacked last week. It has not suffered damages, although yes we have had to clean it all".

Women association. Refugee camp

Finally it should be noted the difficulty that these organizations are having to adjust the projects to the lines of a grant or to the agendas of donor countries and not necessarily to the needs of the population.

"We try to carry out a project in this sense, but we do not obtain the financing, because subsidies are given to work in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but not for the conflict among Palestinians".

Women association. Bethlehem.

Due to that fact, a minority of sectors have opted for other strategies of organization and action.

"It is a Palestinian campaign and we want the money to be Palestinian. Don't want to be looking for funders; opting to calls... nevertheless we have good relationship with international organizations".

Palestinian activist.

4.4. Practical needs and strategic interests

In this section we reflect on the practical needs, understood as those needs that women, feel, and identified them from its current gender role socially assigned. In the case of women, women are given the responsibility for certain workloads and social obligations and preset basically aimed to the immediate family and to the local community. They are therefore needs that arise from the specific conditions in which women live by their gender status within the traditional sexual division of labor. Usually try to correct deficiencies or

institutional infrastructure, as well as to solve the problems of daily life or work that affects women. These requirements intend, therefore, to improve the quality of life and respond to the basic needs of individuals and their achievement would not, usually, require changes in gender roles.

A reflection

"Somehow the NGOS have become an industry, a business, regardless of whether or not we need such proceedings. It is very easy to create a NGO, to raise funds; in fact it's a good business. In fact, we, who work in NGOs, are a wealthy part of this society, and we are in a privileged position, we were only people that continued earning when the economic blockade was imposed on us, because Hamas won the election, not even the officials got paid at the time. Somehow, we, indirectly, profit by the occupation. If the occupation disappear suddenly, then what, we will be left with nothing, the international funds... we have hundreds and hundreds of NGOs within Palestine and ¿where did all that development go?, ¿where is it?"

Women association. Jerusalem.

"There are things that are done not because we need to do so, but because the donors wanted them done, because those things were/are in their program. They ask us to work on democracy, we do, they want us to work for gender equality. And if we respond to the agenda of donors and not ours, to the demands of society, then we cannot wait for any kind of influence on society".

Women association. Jerusalem.

On the other hand, will discuss the strategic interests, which are those that are derived from analysis of the subordination of women to men, and whose achievement substantially alters the gender roles, correcting asymmetries, i.e. decreasing the situations of dependency and social subordination linked to the sex that tend to be related to aspects related to legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages for the same job, aspects relating to the sex and the freedom of design, etc., these needs have a longer-term projection and with a claim in favor of the equitable redistribution of roles, responsibilities and power between women and men etc. These needs have a longer-term projection. Claiming for the equitable redistribution of roles, responsibilities, and power, between women and men.

Pointed out that there are also other practical needs that, depending on the approach from which they are constructed, can give rise to strategic interests such as occurs with the psychological care, as the society lives immersed in a spiral of violence. After these 60 years, even the staff in charge of the psychological care, needs support to continue with its work.

"There is great need for social and psychological counseling for women, but also with the family. The whole family must go into a therapeutic process. We need to think more about women's family and the women within the family".

Women association. Ramallah.

As shown above, the women associative movement reflects the ideological spectrum of society, for that reason, not all the organizations goals and actions respond to a concrete gender agenda. In part, it is due to the fact that many of these organizations don't have a gender approach, and they don't see clearly the difference between practical needs and strategic interests, at the same time this approach is not reflected in the design of their strategies and goals.

"Before you mentioned "gender", and we, as an organization of women, have realized we are not paying attention to the issue of gender and that is one of the aspects that we need to work at all levels in the organization. From our own work team, that is going to develop some training courses, awareness with donors, with the projects beneficiaries, publish reports, ... at all levels. Since work with women does not mean to work for the gender equality, we should change that".

Women association. Ramallah.

They also have an added difficulty: so far, the occupation and the patriarchy have prevented to prioritize this gender agenda, panning and postponing it, even work of organizations with a strong gender perspective. There are many cases of organizations that, having strategies with a focus on gender, don't use them in their work with women. This is due to the fact that these strategies have been developed by women with a long history in the feminist movement and dealing with great responsibilities in these organizations, however, do not have incorporated the technical staff responsible for implementing them.

On the other hand, the long duration of the conflict and the different strategies developed over these years by the women associative movement of women has given rise to a crisis that has come to question every single procedure, when there are other basic needs to be filled, and the results have been poor. In short, there is a loss of confidence in the strategies for the future.

"Although many organizations work well and have done a great effort, there are no visible results. Also it is true that the challenges are many and it'll take a while to see any results".

Women association. Ramallah.

"Does it make any sense to change the legislation when there is no State?"

Women association. Bethlehem.

"In regard to the future strategies to change the situation in which we live... It'll take, at least, 100 years".

Women association. Refugee camp.

Below is a list of practical needs, strategic interests and the most common demands that the interviewed organizations have pointed out in this process.

Organizations practical needs

- ~ Economic support to the developing processes.
- ~ Information campaign on SCR1325.
- ~ Gender oriented training
- ~ Strategies of self-sustainability of the associations themselves.
- ~ Participation in all the spheres of society on equal terms.
- ~ Increasing the stability of projects and programs.

Women ´s practical needs

~ Psychosocial Care, family and legal advice with respect to gender-based violence in the Palestinian society.

~ Creation of centers for women as meeting points for the realization of activities and opportunities for socialization outside the family, including safe houses and centers of psychosocial care.

~ Increase of the day-care services

~ Increase the access to the labor market and search for sources of income for the women, through the development of productive projects, training and support in the marketing of products to national and international level.

~ Training and access to new technologies.

~ To raise awareness and educate women about their rights.

~ Economic support for the continuation of university studies, due to the lack of economic resources that prioritize men training to women.

Organizations and women ´s practical needs

~ Psychosocial Care and legal advice against the violence perpetrated by the occupying force.

~ The end of the occupation and the continued violation of human rights.

Organizations strategic interests

- ~ Greater political impact and support for the processes of legislative changes.
- ~ Increase awareness among the population about gender-based violence in all its forms, with special emphasis on the domestic violence.
- ~ Resolution of Conflicts with the educational community and peace building.
- ~ Work with the media to integrate the gender perspective.

Women´s strategic interests

- ~ Empowerment training.
- ~ Support the right of education, in formal and informal (training in business management, leadership, public speaking skills, etc.).
- ~ Increase women's self-confidence. Strengthen the support among them.

Organizations and women´s strategic interests

- ~ Need for change in gender roles.
- ~ Debates on masculinity.

Women and organizations´ demands

~ Request more support in the political impact from the international community, in our case with the Spanish government and the U. E., to remove the preferential treatment that these states offer to the State of Israel, including the commercial relations between them (arms trade), because, we understand these policies support the current position of the State of Israel, continuing with the violation of international humanitarian law (IHL) and HR, occupation, bombing, etc. ...

~ Support the boycott, nationally and internationally,(BDS - Boycott divestment and sanctions).

~ Sensitization and awareness of the population, in our case spanish, of the situation in the oPt, creating awareness of the developed and supported policies.

~ Advocacy at the international level: opening of the international market for Palestinian products.

~ Support both technically and economically (with the emphasis on the economic) for the development and implementation of new projects.

4.5. Perceptions, views and relationship with key players.

This section describes how the women associations interviewed perceive various key players that affect their reality and the relationship derived from it. Of these key players we can distinguish on the one hand: PA and Fatah-Hamas⁷² conflict; on the other hand, the Israeli associative movement and finally, the community and international agencies.

⁷² For more information see: Characterization

4.5.1. Palestinian authority – PA

The interviewed women, looking back, agree that they should have resisted during the first Intifada and refuse to sign agreements that were against their interests. As a result of these agreements the PA was created, it was not legitimized by the Palestinian society since they did not participate in the designation of its members, and therefore, it was seen as an external imposition

"The PA, I don't think they have any authority over the West Bank, they are like a puppet Government, no more than that." We didn't want these people. Who put this corrupt people in power in Ramallah during the first Intifada? We are still wondering if the first Intifada was or was not a good choice. If we had continued the first Intifada I really do think that we'd had now our own State. We did the first Intifada, but, afterwards, others benefited from it. Then... the Madrid accords, and the other agreements... they imposed the PA on us and everything came to a halt".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"(...) The Israeli government put them there. When the PLO signed the agreement at the Madrid Conference, the PA members in the conference, had been chosen by the Israeli government. Now the Palestinians are oppressed by both, the Israeli and the PA. We were not represented in that conference, neither our problems".

Women association. Refugee camp

With regard to the Second Intifada, we believe the role played by the PA was also negative, since they permitted the use of firearms. Consequently, there was not only violence by the occupying forces, afterwards there was chaos and violence within the Palestinian society.

"The first Intifada was a really good experience for the Palestinians and it was a good example for the international community: we used stones. (...) But in the second Intifada weapons were used, this should've never been allowed, even if we had a legitimate right. It is true that Israel had many more and more sophisticated and with the support of USA, but we should've been smarter and not allow the use of firearms".

Palestinian activist.

In general, they perceive a corrupt regime which only look for their own interests, and conduct peace negotiations that go nowhere, worse still, to make more concessions on behalf of the Palestinian society.

"I have no confidence in no Arab country or in the PA. I do not believe they are working for us, as Palestinians, but for their own interests".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"The government is corrupt. I think that both Hamas and Fatah and the PA are used by an exogenous force".

Women association. Ramallah.

"We have no relationship whatsoever with the PA. The PA is very busy negotiating. Truly it is something that I don't understand, that goes beyond reason, how can they sit down again to negotiate when blood is spilled daily".

Palestinian activist.

While recently indicated a slight change in these views.

4.5.2. Fatah-Hamás conflict

For the Palestinian society the start of the conflict Fatah – Hamas was produced by external interferences.

"(...) Hamas won the elections and we agree with these elections, the society chose freely to govern the country for 4 years, that's democracy. And if you don't want them, or you don't like how they are doing things, we have to wait for the next election. This is what we think and we are not happy with the result".

Women association. Bethlehem.

However, there were a few unexpected effects of the election, but these consequences have become a taboo subject: the political division that led to a situation of civil war and that, nowadays, continues to have an impact on the daily life of the Palestinian population.

"(...) Now we have problems with the occupation and among us. And this is not good for us, as Palestinian women. As women we are against

violence, either between Fatah and Hamas, or between the Palestinians and the Jews".

Women association. Refugee. camp.

"The 15/06/07, date in which Hamas took the Gaza Strip; since that day 30,000 people have been called to testify. (...) after 2006, 90% of the members of Hamas democratically elected to the Parliament were arrested by the Israel forces".

Palestinian politician.

"Hamas people, here in the West Bank, are either silent or scare of ending up in prison".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The PA is dismissing employees unjustifiably. Supporters of Hamas, the Jihad, even of Fatah, if you are somehow related to Hamas, you are fired. Currently, there are 500 Hamas political prisoners in the West Bank. There are attacks, repression, damage to centers and institutes that have any minimum link to Hamas⁷³, and even the sites that are of Hamas are occupied, sending the people away".

Palestinian politician.

This conflict have a bearing on the already divided territory, society, legislation...

"We want to see that Palestine is am unified territory, one State, we disagree with both sides. if you are in the West Bank you have to register with the PA, and if you are in Gaza, you have to do it with the Hamas government ...

What should we do ..., and if a different government is elected in Jericho, what should we do, go there and check in, also? No. We disagree with both of them".

Women association. Bethlehem.

Civil peace in the Palestinian society continues to suffer from the trauma of the misrule followed by the trauma of the internal struggle. In addition they have contributed to weaken the already weak stability of the society, having a

⁷³ Other sources such as ADAMER say that there are 900 political prisoners.

direct impact on the social and family relationships, transferring the conflict in a social and political context to a social and tribal context.

This has had a direct impact on women, not only in their participation in political groups, but also within the family, since different factions exist.

"For Women has meant an increase in the concern, the tension, and the family stress. As if we don't have enough on our plate already. It is a movie in which has been used the image of a woman who is stabbed in the back by two of her children, one a supporter of Hamas, the other a Fatah supporter. It's the starting point of the movie. It's the woman's nightmare. From this first scene, the movie analyzes the division we live society, where is this situation taking us, and how it affects women. We need to work on this issue, it is very important".

Women association. Ramallah.

"Personally, I think it is more important to work this aspect than the other (conflict between Palestinians vs Israeli-Palestinian conflict). Affects our daily life, affects everything, even within the family. When for example within a family there is a brother of a political party and one of the contrary, is terrible. And this conflict is much of the work that we have to deal with. When encounters between women are carried out and some support Fatah and other Hamas is not easy, is an aspect that one must be prepared to confront in the activities that we carry out, because the bad blood comes out, and it can be very troublesome. It affects every aspect of life".

Women association. Bethlehem.

In relation to this conflict, the general perception is that regardless of the origin of the same it is inconceivable that the reaction on the part of the own Palestinian society was such that it would end in fratricide. This still remains a taboo subject, almost, in the process of assimilation and learning within the society, but still with a daily impact on the occupied territories.

"(...) has been totally unexpected. Losing our national unity has been devastating at all levels. It's a taboo subject. (...) Divide and Conquer. Israel never will conquer us, never. However, we are capable to destroy ourselves. We are not saints".

Women associations. Ramallah.

"How can we fight among ourselves, arresting our own people when we should be struggling to free Palestinians imprisoned in Israel? It is sheer madness".

Palestinian activist.

"(...) as Paul Freire says... years and years of swallowing violence begins to be part of the culture, of ourselves and our environment. Because they treat us violently, we've begun to use violence between Palestinians. The lack of resources, when this happens people becomes more violent. And in that process they break the principles of a good family. I believe that the Israeli current politics is to destroy the nucleus of the Palestinian family. Before when someone came to a house, the little we had, it was offered, was dispersed, great hospitality with each other, it's our nature. Simone de Beauvoir said that the assailant did not only change the situation of the victim, but also the victim's conscience. And that is what they are doing. I think it would be very important not just to talk about domestic violence, but also the process of change in our consciousness, in our society and to emphasize; it's an effect of the occupation. I do not want to waste my time talking about the occupation, but explaining, in explaining ourselves the mechanisms of the violence and the effect that it has on us. We cannot divide ourselves".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Regarding to resolution strategies, initially we need to understand what happened and secondly to find mechanisms for mediation and agreement between the real parties that lead to a change in the situation, since they believe that there is no other way: either we solve this conflict or we are doomed to failure as a people.

"A National Committee of Dialogue exists to resolve the internal conflict in which Egypt acts as the mediator. We were about to reach an agreement, but at the last moment Hamas realized that they had changed the document without consulting them, and that's why it was not signed. (...) so far there has been no result and continues the repression and harassment. Examples, more than 50 officials in the Hebron district have been fired from their jobs by the PA".

Palestinian politician.

"(...) if we don't sort out the situation, we are finished. (...) They have to sit down and talk, negotiate and to call again the election".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

4.5.3. Peace building and gender: the case of the Israeli women's associations

The relations between the civil society and the Israeli Palestine have gone through several phases, and encounters, along these years of occupation. Within the women's associations and in the line of work on peace building and gender has been lived through the same process.

"At the end of the 80 were developing negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis and the women were forming part of this process of negotiation. Those first women who were in Brussels and when the Agreements of Oslo became a reality and we believed in the process of peace, in those circumstances, it was legitimate to speak and to work with the Israelis".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"Our relationship as Palestinian organization, or myself as a Palestinian, with an Israeli organization (...), has not been a romantic relationship. Has been a difficult relationship with ups and downs, we did not always agree, but what I can say is that we have never acquired any kind of commitment that would be against our principles as Palestinians..."

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"With the second Intifada it was very difficult to work in the same direction. The relationship was never "wonderful", but we worked jointly in certain areas. By that time, the relations were "frozen".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, currently there are two facts that are marking, unequivocally, this relationship. The first fact is the Cast Lead operation carried out in Gaza, between late 2008 and early 2009, where more than 1,300 people were murdered and where more than 5,000 people were wounded. This has not only make this relationships harder, but also the response given by the associations of Human Rights in Israel have been very negative.

"We cannot say we have had a counterpart during the operation carried out in Gaza. (...) the announcement they made, for me, as a Palestinian, was unacceptable, because they established the conflict as one between two parties in balance of power or position, and condemned the two parties, the Palestinian side and the Israeli side. And for me that is not acceptable, because we can't compare both situations".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"The 91% of the Israeli population supported the attack on Gaza. How much does represent the organizations working for peace in the Israeli society? A 1%. We don't need them".

Women's Association. Jerusalem

The second fact is the own strategic line that follows the Palestinian society: the boycott movement, divestment and sanctions or BDS. It supposes a handicap and a criticism to those associations that maintain some type of relation with organizations and Israeli population. Several organizations with the support of the PA have carried out a domestic call not to sit on the workbenches that are not strictly oriented to the topic of negotiating peace - fact existent currently-, to support the BDS Campaign, peaceful demonstrations and complaint of human rights violations.

"We don't have any type of relation with organizations Israelis neither we want to have them. I mean... although they want to help us..., they are in my land, occupying it. In my case, perhaps I could, but I live in my hometown..., what about my friends, who are living in a refugee camp because his town has been taken, confiscated."

Palestinian activist.

In addition, associations of women denounced the media manipulation, the lack of commitment in the most difficult times of conflict, the weakening of the human rights organizations, especially in the movement for peace-building and gender and, consequently, the low impact of the actions. At the time, in these circumstances, its considered as the most effective strategic line that the Israeli associations work with their own civil society..On the other hand, they are in line with the overall strategy of the Palestinian society in the resolution of the conflict.

"I firmly believe that the Israeli NGOs who wish to speak of peace have an obligation not to work with us, but to work with their own society. They have a lot of work to do and we cannot do it for them. They should be doing campaigns to raise awareness of the situation of the Palestinians, not only demonstrating, and stating the meetings with Palestinians. Some of them will feel a little bit less guilty having relationship with Palestinian citizens, but the question is that we do not need friends. When I have the same rights than you, we can be friends".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"Why work together if they do not have any capacity of influence on the government or in their society, or if not that working together is helping us, or at the time of greatest need are not there? Why should we meet, if this does not help, even when we can agree".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"Having meetings only at the political level will not solve anything, from our point of view they had to work, and a lot, with civil society, raising awareness and educating".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Before I was heavily involved in conferences and movements - non-violent demonstrations, but now with what is happening in Jerusalem, settlements, demolitions and evictions ... now you are very careful with this type of work, who is invited and what is said. Besides, the peace building movement in Israel has become weaker, they are not having any impact on the society, and both, the government and the population, are going towards most right-wing positions, entering the extreme right".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The interviews were an approach to women's associations with a gender and peace building perspective in Israel. The movement is really much weakened and the HR associations are going through tough times of persecution by the State itself. Also, the interviews match the perceptions and analysis of the associations of Palestinian women: considering you have to be reinventing yourself, work more intensively within society and win back the lost confidence.

Finally, note that the perceptions about the resolution of the conflict are not very promising, but that there is no animosity toward the population per se but for what they are experiencing.

"The Israelis are going to give us nothing, things are clear in the resolutions, etc. Netanyahu says no, and there is no way around this...".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The viability of the resolution of the conflict would be practical and realistic, and it is a solution that is terrorizing the Israelis, I do not know if we will achieve it someday because on the one hand, we don't want two States, so the other solution would be to have a single State, but then we would be the majority and it would make them feel insecure, whatever security actually means, and this option really terrifies them..."

Women association. Jerusalem.

"Many times when I wonder if we are ready for reconciliation, I always say that reconciliation is achieved after the conflict, never during the conflict. First, the conflict has to come to an end and then, when many years have passed, perhaps we can talk about reconciliation. It makes no sense to be in conflict and share conferences. I do not know if I believe in peace any more. I do not see any viable solution to the conflict".

Women association. Jerusalem.

4.5.4. International community

Within this section we can point out the general perceptions of the international community in relation to the conflict, as well as to international bodies for the protection and/or mediation, such as the UN international cooperation.

In general terms it is considered that the continuation of the conflict and the lack of solutions stem from the lack of commitment and strength of the international community in condemning Israel, not only in the implementation of the sanctions imposed by UN to this country, but a strategic alliance of the world powers with the occupying country.

"It is devastating, if we look at it historically, the Israeli Palestinian conflict is the longest in history, the only place on earth that continues to be occupied in the 21st century. It is not that they don't see us, but it's as if they were blindfolded".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"The international community is not supporting us, US supports and defends Israel. It is very complicated and I do not know which is the exit nor where the end is".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Because at the end of the day, they are the powerful (Israel), those who have power and are being empowered by the powerful of the world: USA, UK... by the international community...".

Women association. Jerusalem.

Likewise, they consider that the presence of Palestine and its people in the mass media is a mistake.

"The tragedy of all this is not the occupation is the silence of all the good people in the world. This conflict raises questions from a ethical perspective, because how can I consider myself a "good" person if I do not condemn the occupation. It is really incredible how some try improve the situation by making excuses. During the 1st Intifada the media echoed our actions, and we were not isolated at the international level, but now, we are no longer visible, we are invisible, we are a number. We are not well represented in the media, or we go out as suicide bombers or as numbers, we haven't got left a loophole so they can people connect with the suffering of the Palestinians. On the contrary, if a single Israeli soldier dies, they would draw his mother talking, his daughter, who had a family and dog, and it will make everyone feel for them. We do not have neither not even that opportunity. It will be released on the evening news, hidden somewhere, 10 Palestinians have been killed, 2, 5... we are no longer news, only numbers".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"This is not a religious conflict; however they are very concerned by the Islamic movement within the Palestinian society. However, the settlers are the most radical religious people that i have ever seen, and yet we are the

terrorists. They are they the ones who want a State, not Israeli, but Jewish. We are not asking an Islamic State, but a Palestinian State. For us it is not a religious problem, what we want is our land, our freedom, our life. We have always lived, Christians and Muslims, together, and we haven't had any kind of problem here... when there has been anything, what is behind are not religious reasons...".

Women association. Jerusalem.

4.5.4.1. Relationship with the UN

In relation to the situation in the oPt has made it clear that this is not a humanitarian crisis, but an illegal occupation, which has a political solution⁷⁴. And, this is precisely what the Palestinian population claim. A political solution that falls not only in their hands, but also in the international agencies that are supposed to operate in these cases. However, the reality is otherwise, since, in spite of the several tens of existing resolutions the State of Israel continues to fail systematically. Israel refuses to recognize International Law, to abide by the UN resolutions, including those of the Human Rights Commission of the UN, breaching the many precepts of the IV Geneva Convention and the judgments of the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague.

The high number of existing resolutions and the repetition of their content highlights two aspects: one, that Israel ignores them; two, in spite of the resolutions we have not appreciated a step forward in the fulfillment of the purposes of the UN Charter, which is to say, a respect for the human rights of a people, as is the Palestinian, who suffers from a systematic violation of human rights as we have seen through some of the testimonies presented in this report. We can say that the situation of the Palestinian population instead of improving during these past 60 years, has worsened, reaching inhuman extremes, while the occupation intensifies its presence.

On the other hand, UN has sought to help the hundreds of thousands of people who have been displaced, uprooted or homeless by this occupation, providing basic services, such as food, shelter, health care education and training, as well as assistance for the development of the community. And

⁷⁴ Due to the long duration of the occupation, the population will need of a psychosocial and economic rehabilitation.

many other United Nations agencies providing assistance to the Palestinian population, including the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Organization of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)⁷⁵.

In spite of this, the attempts of joint work promoted by international agencies do not cease, as is the case of the *International Women's Commission* (hereafter "IWC") that we will see later in the paragraph of the Resolution 1325.

4.5.4.2. International Cooperation

Likewise, within this international community we can emphasize also the international cooperation by its significance.

The associations and the international cooperation have a relationship at two levels. At a first level, it would found the co-operation which allows a minimum associative operation and hence support to civil society in need. And, at a second level, the cooperation that provides support and resistance against the occupation.

In both cases, protrudes a polarized perception of this cooperation, since, if it is to be the sole source of funding for the organizations⁷⁶ assumed a relationship of dependency or need that occasionally the acceptance of aid feels like an imposition of a foreign agenda, a methodology and practice that is unaware of the real situation. Even it is sometimes perceived as a paternalistic attitude.

"It was very complicated and there was a great discussion during the negotiation. Since the funds came from Italy, the experts had to be from Italy... we did not want to do that, but, in the end, it was the first time that the international community provided support for this issue. So we decided that the important thing was that the women could count on

⁷⁵ Available at: <http://www.un.org/spanish/peace/palestine/booklet.htm>

⁷⁶ We refer to medium-large sized organizations with a strong organizational structure to meet the standards and requirements of international cooperation.

these resources. It was a decision that cost us, because the foreign experts did not know more than we do on that particular subject, and above all they had no idea of the context in which we lived".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

On the other hand, the most critical women see it as the perversion of the aid, which generates negative dynamic within the society and the associations. However, and leaving aside the sources of funding and what this entails, the associations perceive positively the presence of the international cooperation because they are able to work with its own population, it gives rise to an exchange of knowledge and experiences, to mutual enrichment, but especially it allows them a vehicle of work against the occupation. And it is at this point where the new youth claim for a cooperation framework more focused on an equal relationship, effective and sustainable in the long term, responsive to the own needs and to the way in which you want to project this aid.

"What we need are unconditional funds, if you give me the money let me decide what work i want to do and how, you can't tell me what I must do".

Women association. Jerusalem.

However, it also described the difficulties that international NGOS are going through.

"This new ordinance⁷⁷ what really intendeds is to send away the foreigners, they do not want the international cooperators here, they do not want to have witnesses".

Women association. Jerusalem.

"Even, you as an organization, if they know you're coming to support the Palestinians, at any time they can take you and you back to your country".

Women´s association. Refugee camp.

"(...) we have noticed that European NGOs are weakened. And that now they obey more to a particular policy than unconditional aid".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁷⁷ The new ordinance which entered into force in April of 2010 that allows you to imprison or deport any person resident in the West Bank that do not have a permit issued by the Israeli authorities. This ordinance has a wording so general that allows the Israeli Army the deportation of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank or the indictment on charges that carry penalties of up to 7 years in prison. This new military order carries the original definition of infiltrated, dating from 1969, taking it to the extreme. For more information see: <http://www.palestina.int.ar/wp/?p=199>

Finally, note that women's associations unanimously demand from international NGOs to impact politically in their own countries of origin.

"Since you are Spanish, I´d like to tell you that the Conference of Madrid was the beginning, we went to Madrid to obtain ours right, but we did not achieve them. We need the support of your government. We need to have a follow-up and continuity. If you want to support Palestinian women you have to do it through exposing and stopping the Madrid Conference".

Women´s association. Refugee camp.

peace-building and gender

"It is not enough to talk of peace, we must believe in it and work to achieve it"

Eleanor Roosevelt.

5.1. What is the Resolution 1325?

October 31, 2000 the Resolution is approved 1325 (R1325) of the Security Council of United Nations (NNUU) being the first resolution adopted by the Security Council directed specifically to the uneven, disproportionate impact and oppressor of the war on the women⁷⁸, to the contribution that carry out the women in the resolution of conflicts and to their fundamental role in the construction of Peace.

In this resolution, the Security Council recognizes that the peace is intrinsically linked to equality between men and women, and that the full access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in the efforts for conflict prevention and resolution are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

The Resolution 1325 suggests

- To increase the representation of women in all levels of decision making for the prevention, management and conflict resolution.
- To Protect and respect the human rights of women and girls, taking into account the special needs of protection of women in the conflict, including the refugee.
- To Increase the support for women builders of peace.

⁷⁸ Gender-based violence as a weapon of war: rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and trafficking in persons, especially women and girls, economic deprivation, etc...

- To put an end to impunity and prosecute war crimes, especially those committed against women and girls during armed conflict.
- To incorporate a gender perspective in particular:
 - In all the processes carried out after the conflict
 - In peacekeeping operations
 - In the Security Council missions

"If women are half of the entire community, etc., do not have to be also the half of every solution?", Theo-Ben Gurirab, Namibian Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Security Council⁷⁹.

This resolution is the result of the incessant struggle, resistance and the will of the women's movement, witness of how the work of women organized to achieve disarmament and peace in their countries and for years to come, it is relegated and excluded from the negotiating table.

Thus, the R1325 is the culmination and the recognition of a process developed during the last decades, in which the civil society, through women's organizations, has played a decisive role. In particular, it is worth mentioning the World Conferences on Women in Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995), sponsored by the United Nations, and the agreements adopted in them; among others.

The Conference of Beijing collects in its Statement and in its Platform of Action the importance to keep in mind the violations of the human rights of the women in situations of armed conflict, especially by genocide, ethnic purification and the systematic violation of women of how arms of war and in conditions of greater vulnerability as the refugees and displaced persons. In Nairobi we were urged to incorporate in the organs of the United Nations mechanisms that defend the women's rights, particularly those of the victims of violation and gender discrimination⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building, Development Fund of the United Nations for Women (UNIFEM), New York, 2002, p.76. For more information: <http://www.palestina.int.ar/wp/?p=199> Elizabeth REHN y Ellen J. SIRLEAF, Women War and Peace .

⁸⁰ Plan of Action of the Government of Spain for the application of the Resolution 1325 of the Security Council of the United Nations (2000), on Women, Peace and Security.

"(...) we (Palestinian women) in fact before the decision was made (R1325) we were already working on it, with the women in conflict situations, making demands".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"Even the R1325, does not provide the right tools for the Palestinian women case".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, specifically the Palestinian National Authority endorsed the resolution 1325. To 10 years of its approval not yet a Plan of Action with firm commitments exists neither economic budget to carry out its implementation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories or in the State of Israel.

"(...) presently no Plan of Action for its implementation exists".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

On the other hand, that's how Palestinian women interviewed for this report have expressed their opinions when they spoke on Women, Peace and Security.

women

"Women are involved in all areas of society and carry the same load or more than men, we find women who have been and are fighting against the occupation, martyrs, women politicians, professors, researchers, soldier, head of the household, mothers... however are not in a position of equality".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The men work from dawn to dusk, the work of the women never ends".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"The Palestinian women have reached many achievements and they have done a good work".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"The policies, both Israeli and Palestinian, have a very high impact on women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"If one recognizes the work women do, they are going to receive a greater empowerment".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Highlight the capacity of the Palestinian women's organizations have had to make visible the differential effects of occupation and conflict on the basis of gender, also to establish shared analysis and ties of solidarity with other women.

peace

"Of course we believe in peace and in the need for negotiations, but not in the way in which these are taking place".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The term peace or peace-building is a term very controversial for our society. We have lost the reference; we do not know what is that, what it means has lost its meaning. Because while we've been negotiating, making concessions, sitting at the table, what the Israelis or the international community have understood by Peace is not the same thing, since the settlements, the bombings, the arrests... have continued. Internationally, we are the evils, the terrorists simply; we do not understand the same thing when we hear the word Peace".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The continuous peace negotiations do not advance, on the contrary the situation is worse than ever, which implies a lack of confidence in the peace process".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

"Peace building is not only about meetings, it is about education, how we educate our children, how we listen, accept, understand... on both sides (Palestinian-Israeli)"

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"The concept of peace has been linked in one way or another to the peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel".

Palestinian activist.

"Because if you ever are going to have peace, whatever that means, I think that there is a lot of pain, loss, and I think that we are going to need a lot of time, a lot of work, much of a change, and still I do not know if the Israelis want this, if they really are going to make any promise or agreement and comply with it".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

"In order to build peace is also necessary to work this internal conflict (between members and sympathizers of Hamas - Fatah), because if we do not accept ourselves, we will be unable to accept the "enemy". It is very important to achieve an internal reconciliation of Palestinian society. Work on the construction of peace in the Palestinian society".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"Peace is desired but cannot be built at the expense of losing rights and dignity of women".

Palestinian politician.

Peace is much desired by the Palestinian society. The women do not desire to continue bringing children to this world so they become martyrs of the practices of the occupation and of its consequences, but to try to continue with the re-population of their society that every day is "undermined" by the practices and strategies of the Israelis.

On the other hand, consider the peace as the absence of war makes the peace accords ignored the real causes of armed conflicts; and in this particular case, what it does is to follow not only playing, but also strengthen the occupation, this also means taking account of the different forms of violence, social and structural living women and men throughout its life in the occupied Palestinian territories going on for more than 60 years. Peace is not possible if the relationships between people, groups and societies are based on inequality, as this is a cause and a consequence of the conflict.

For this, part of the women's movement proposes a peace that promotes active and positive equal relationships in search of the integral development of peoples.

It is important cherished historic importance of women in the construction of the peace and to publicize the need to incorporate a gender perspective in the processes of prevention and conflict negotiation and in the contexts of reconstruction, as calls this resolution.

Also the movement of Palestinian women, compared to the traditional and dominant notions of peace as the absence of war, and security in exclusive reference to the State, propose and contribute to its redefinition working for peace based on the absence of violence and a security focused on the people.

security

"In regard to the issue of security, simply does not exist. We live in a spiral of violence. As an example, the men live the violence of the occupation, which discharge their frustration on the women, these with the children and so on. It's a vicious cycle".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Children do not trust that their parents can provide protection and security".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

" (...) because the current security is actually a military term, people with guns, bodyguards, we don't need that, but stability, security and protection focused on the people".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

There is no security and even less focused on the people. And it does not exist for many reasons, some mentioned above. As for example, how many women of Jerusalem sleep with the suitcase next to the bed where they rest, in case there have to run out or vacate the house by demolition order; nor how many is showering dressed by fear of Israeli soldiers entering. The humiliation would be even greater.

5.2. Current situation, advances and difficulties

"We try to do the best we can in the situation in which we find ourselves (occupation and patriarchy)".

Women's Association. Ramallah

In the survey made by several women's organizations in the framework of this report; we can observe how the 90.48 (%) of these associations say they know the Resolution 1325, at the same time that the 80.95 % recognizes to work with it in the area of your association. When we deepen through the interviews, these shows us that the levels of knowledge are different both at the organizational level as staff; and in regard to the influence, the impacts and uses of this resolution it is possible to detect various levels of understanding.

Within the women's movement, only a few organizations, are the contents of the resolution as an instrument of international law that provides a space for the exercise and the demand for their rights, by providing the women of a legislation that allows access to decision-making at the time that it makes visible the effects and specific impacts of the occupation and the violence in the life and in the body of women.

The majority of these organizations show the enormous distrust that arouse the resolutions of the UN among the Palestinian population, by the systematic failure of the same from 1948 until now and that causes the Resolution 1325 lose legitimacy and rejection becomes political positioning. However many of the activities and processes that are carried out: support, claim and demand, directly or indirectly, its implementation.

"In Palestine society gives little credibility to the resolutions of the UN, because due to our long experience in the occupation, the EU, the UN and the US have shown little support for our situation. But in particular with this resolution i think we can get support to improve the living conditions of women. And it is therefore necessary for women know, that means, as we can use it".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"For example, the R1325, why is it more important that resolution than any other, as for example the return of refugees? On the UN resolutions, in the end we are made hypocrites, or perhaps we become hypocrites. (...)

But women look at you in the eye and say, "Yes, that is all very well, but because the resolution is better than the other". Policy, the donors agenda, what do you say, why one is more important than the other".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Also when you apply the contents of the resolution in practice will show various degrees of use and knowledge.

"Something is happening, is that some parties are changing the meaning of the resolution, to be applied only to resolve conflict within the family when, actually, its greater importance is in relation to the protection of women, children and society in general against the occupation".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"(...) the primary meaning of this resolution is not combating domestic violence, but to establish a recognized tool to international level of protection for women in conflict situations and the participation of women in the resolution of the same".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"We know the R1325 and is important to work with it. Three months ago a Spanish delegation organized an encounter on the same one, participated many people and was very well".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

These degrees of use or levels of understanding of the resolution found an echo in the political positions that keeps each association; mark the divisions of the own women's movement and reveal deep needs of the associative movement in terms of dissemination and implementation.

"(...) currently we work with it. It is very important to carry out an awareness campaign on this resolution through the various delegations. Bringing to light, explain what's for, how can help the Palestinian women to alleviate the oppression and violence that exercises the occupation on the women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"In the near future is going to come a part of the international team (IWC) to help us implement the R1325, to make sure that all parties involved to assume (civil society – government). It is a matter of continuing

advancing in the design of a National Plan, of continuing with the sensitizing and political incidence so that the government approve the Plan and implement it".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Most overlap in both, the need for deployment, and in that of requirement, only that some organizations comparing this resolution with the several dozen that the State of Israel crossed; the time that prioritize meet the practical needs of women in particular and the general population; they are many. Others question it.

"(...) Occasionally we redefine ourselves, we ask us if one must change laws when the population is hungry, to dream of a secular Palestinian State when the people is being grasped to the religion because they do not have another option... Are very serious questions relating to the strategies of future".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"(In Gaza) through Oxfam we carry out a humanitarian assistance project focused on the economic support to women who had a business and had been destroyed by the war".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Resolution 1325 has a broad geographical scope and calls on all States to its application. This universality of the resolution provides the global possibility to establish alliances and networks of women to apply the Resolution in all the countries.

Hence, throughout this time there have been several encounters made with the associative movement of Israeli women.

In March of 2004, Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto - MZC, organized in Cordoba the first Encounter on peace from a gender perspective in the Middle East addressed to representatives of civil society, NGOS, women's organizations in the region, Research and Study Centers and media of Palestine and Israel at the international level, and national interested in the work on the Middle East and the Culture of Peace from a gender perspective.

With the purpose of promoting programs and gender-sensitive strategies in the processes of peace-building and reconciliation in the Middle East, thus ensuring that the needs and interests of women and girls are taken into account in the political agenda in the Middle East.

Finally, the participants discussed relevant issues and proposed strategies and keys to achieve a just peace in the region.

More information: <http://mzc.org.es/seminario/index.asp>

These encounters have almost always been held in a third country, whether that Palestinian women are being denied the necessary permissions to move, even within their own territories, through restrictions on movement imposed by Israel as practice of the oppressive occupation. In turn, both sides agree that in order to express more freely their views when carried out in a third country.

There have been several collaborations between Palestinian and Israeli women, but these approaches have suffered various outcomes that in any case have created greater mistrust by the lack of results.

"We have been working together on a project that ended with a conference that was going to invite organizations, society... with a battery of proposals and a joint manifesto... the project was supposed to end in January 2009, but before concluding "Gaza" happened. Three years of work, efforts were like the wind, evaporated. The conference was never held as scheduled, but it was also a on the Israeli side, another in the Palestinian and the international audience divided itself between both sides".

Women's Association. Jerusalem.

Operation Cast Lead⁸¹ has marked a before and after in these relationships that were already deteriorating by the various events over these 60 years of occupation.

"We cannot say that we have had few peers in the other party when it happened in the Gaza Strip. They did not make a statement or any statement by themselves, but together with other Israeli NGOS. And this

⁸¹ It was a military offensive from the air, land and sea by the Israeli forces, preceded by a campaign of aerial bombardment of the Gaza Strip (OPT), which began on 27 December 2008, and ended on January 18 2009. ANALYSIS/IAF strike on Gaza is Israel's version of 'shock and awe '.

statement for me, as a Palestinian, was unacceptable, because they established the conflict as one between two equally powerful parties ".

Other women recognize that this movement has never been stronger, nor promoted by the society, but by the donors agenda.

There is now an International Commission of Women for a just and lasting peace, sponsored by UNIFEM, which brings together Palestinian, Israeli and international women working to end the Israeli occupation and to promote a just peace based on international law, as well as the relevant resolutions of the UN, human rights and equality.

Participation in the IWC is based on mutual respect for diversity, the rights and dignity of all participants involved. This coalition performs policy advocacy at the highest level.

"We're known more abroad than within our societies. We have stronger externally than internally".

IWC Activist.

"The IWC, is not a partnership but a coalition with three parts, one Palestinian, one Israeli and one international. It arises of the path and prior experience through the Jerusalem. In the second Intifada, due to the situation that relationship was over. In the 2005 and under the auspice of the UNIFEM we take up again the project, but in that experience we realized that we needed a third element that is the international part. One of the characteristics is that we speak with one voice, we consensus all, and that is not so easy; it involves much negotiation, since a single word has many implications⁸². Our work focuses on the political impact at the highest level. We produce reports and analysis of the situation, proposals, impacts, etc... that we sent to the highest levels. We have little to do with the database; we understand that to be present activists, representatives of women's associations, members of government, etc. this job moves to these spaces".

IWC Activist.

"In accordance with this resolution, should be corrected the absence of Palestinian and Israeli women in decision-making processes and in the

⁸² Charter of Principles of the IWC adopted on 27 July 2005 in Istanbul.

negotiations. Women of all ethnic and national communities must be an integral part of the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, not only as a matter of principles are reaffirmed by resolution 1325, but also by all the significant contributions made by the Palestinian and Israeli women throughout all these years in the development of alternative models of political dialog and in the effort to achieve peace⁸³".

IWC Activist.

"The conflict has already been going on for too long, it has lost confidence in any negotiating process, perspective. On the other hand, here (in West Jerusalem – area occupied by Israel) society barely notices the conflict, they don't they live it daily".

IWC Activist.

The 1st of June 2010, the Government of Spain organized and supported a symposium in the Senate of Spain in Madrid during its presidency of the EU co-sponsored by UNIFEM and the International Women Commission by a Palestinian-Israeli Peace fair and lasting, that carried the title: The Promotion of Women's Leadership for a lasting peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and throughout the world.

"In the first place should be held here (oPt) to see what is happening, why do we have to move? Secondly, we are not going to go 20 women as they claimed, but a delegation of 4. This is not an excursion, why spend so much money on that."

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The perception that the Palestinian organizations have on this coalition is that it is a group of elitist women with a low impact on the society. Working at a high level, but not yet translated into a particular reality.

"UNIFEM is wasting money, organize meetings between Israeli and Palestinian associations, they use great slogans, but they are empty words. We have been in the open Commission (IWC), but, currently, we have taken different road".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁸³ Charter of Principles of the IWC adopted on 27 July 2005 in Istanbul.

On the other hand, they indicate that these encounters have been used repeatedly by the State of Israel as facelift, using to the mass media to bring to light the different approaches between civil society in both sides, even achieving the normalization of the situation (Occupation). But the facts speak for themselves, the agreements taken as a result of the several negotiations attempts at a high political level have never been respected and have rarely taken into account the contributions made by women's organizations.

agreements signed and other key dates

- 1993.- Declaration of Principles (DOP).
- 1994.- Protocol of Paris and Agreement on the Gaza Strip and area of Jericho
- 1995.- Palestinian-Israeli Temporary Agreement on the Western Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 1997.- Protocol concerning the withdrawal from Hebron.
- 1998.- Memorandum of Sharm El Sheikh.
- 2000.- Negotiations of Camp David and the Clinton Parameters.
- 2001.- Taba negotiations. Mitchell Commission. Plan Tenet.
- 2002.- Arab Peace Initiative, known Saudi initiative (Beirut Declaration).
- 2003.- Road Map developed by the Quartet (the US, UN, EU and Russia).
- 2005.- Agreement on Movement and Access, conducted after the "exit" of Israel from the Gaza Strip.
- 2007.- Statement of Riyadh and Anapolis Conference.

However, the State of Israel makes it difficult for those activist and associations that try to approach the Palestinian society.

"Israel (also) has endorsed the resolution 1325, but has not implemented (...). There is currently a plan of action for its implementation. Within the Ministry of Women´s Affairs there was supposed to be an area (individual) responsible for this work, but is practically impossible, it does not have funds neither support".

IWC Activist.

"The situation is getting worse. At the political level there's been a heyday of the extreme right, the society is increasingly radicalized and each time there are more human rights violations at the domestic level. We are frightened. Our offices have been assaulted, threatened..."

IWC Activist.

"The peace building movement in Israel has grown weak, and it's not having any impact on the society. The government and the population have radicalized their views. (...) We participated through the Palestinian Peace Coalition (Palestine for Peace) in the Genoa Conference and we had many meetings with the Israelis, but even so it was like... what work are you doing? (...) have meetings only at the political level will not solve anything".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Ilan Papper has written a book telling the truth. It cost him to be banished from his own country. If they actually work to put an end to the occupation, their organization is closed down or they get arrested. As an example, they have recently drawn a law in Israel by which two associations have been declared illegal a Palestinian Israeli and another Israeli (Palestinians of 48). Unfortunately, that means they are doing a great job. But this is the situation".

Palestinian activist.

And not all the associative movement of Palestinian women approves this option. There is a domestic call not to carry out actions that promote the standardization of the occupation and not to take a further step in the negotiations because they are not producing results, they claim other strategies that put an end to the occupation and, therefore, to the constant violation of their rights.

"In the past, we worked together with Israeli associations (...). After 2000, after the harsh conditions of life in both the West Bank and Gaza by the continuous bombing, we believe that the Israeli women's associations were not doing sufficient work to change the attitudes of the Israeli society and therefore losing influence in the policies of their government. (...) During the second Intifada, we saw an attitude ignoring what we were suffering, and, in our opinion, if you do not have helped in the most

difficult times, why do it afterwards. (...) it's a complicated subject. (...) On the other hand,

They've never taken the first step, especially in Jerusalem. (...) We believe that when you perform activities together, we show to the international community that we are collaborating and working hand in hand, when this is not true".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"The meetings between Palestinians and Israeli groups are a waste of money and time (...). If we want to build Peace we have to work together, both societies, accepting the rights of the other, accepting the life of the other, and then we can look for each other and meet as many times as we need".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"I would like to point out that we, as women, believe in peace, we are focusing our efforts on having a stable situation, we believe in two States and East Jerusalem as its capital. (...) But when we talk about a "relationship" with Israeli associations, it simply does not make sense, in my view".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

There are also other initiatives/projects that are being developed in the framework of the R1325 and that support different international actors, including UN agencies, governments, Spanish decentralized cooperation, etc.

In the case of Spain⁸⁴, the Plan 2009-2012 Director of the Spanish Cooperation, includes peace building as one of its fundamental points, reiterating this commitment with the Plan of Action Women and Peace Building (2009) whose goal is to "promote women as agents necessary and important in the construction of the peace, as the protagonists with its own voice"; whose lines of work are integration, training, and increase protection of women's participation in the institutions, based on our own United Nations Resolution 1325⁸⁵

⁸⁴Spain signed the resolution 1325, and it's one of the 20 countries with a plan of action for its implementation. Plan of action to apply the SCR1325 on Women, Peace and Security published in November 2007.

⁸⁵ http://www.aecid.es/es/noticias/2009/05_Mayo/2009_05_13_Plan_Accion.html

According to the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development (AECID) in the years following the Plan of Action of the Government of Spain for the implementation of the R1325 published in November 2007, we find that in 2008 only 5 actions, a 1.92 %, supporting actions for peace-building; in 2009 only were 3 representing a 0.97 % of the total budget; in 2010 the 2.7 % and 2.5 %⁸⁶ in 2011.

In regard to other agencies of the Spanish State, we didn't find initiatives - cooperation with other countries - to promote the gender perspective in the construction of peace and very few in the decentralized cooperation in the municipal and private Spanish cooperation.

Even the Technical Cooperation Office (CTO) of the AECI, does not include in its Plan of Cooperation for oPt support for local and national organizations, that promote actions for compliance and the requirement of the resolution.

However, in support of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) two windows have been opened: culture, and gender. The gender window with an approximate endowment of 9 million euro, that are negotiated through the UNIFEM, being entrusted the AECID only of the monitoring of these actions. Indicate which part of these bearings, come to lay the groundwork to be able to demand and implement the R1325.

projects undertaken by UNIFEM with financial support from the Gender Window of the AECI (9 million euros).

The UNIFEM strategic partner is the Ministry of Women's Affairs in the PA. Also working with the members of the National Committee to Combat Violence against Women, represented by 11 ministries and representatives of the Muntada Forum to combat violence against women.

UNIFEM is in the process of completing the National Strategy to combat violence against women - the first of its kind in the Arab world--..The National Strategy to combat violence against women will be incorporated into the Palestinian Development Plan from 2011 until 2013. The strategy has been developed in the framework of the Result 1 - "to reduce gender-based violence

⁸⁶ Peace building from the women perspective. Gender, justice and reparation in contexts of conflict and post-armed conflict. Article by Mila Ramos.

and all forms of violence against women and girls". The process has been led by women's affairs and the Deputy Minister has already added the discussion and adoption of the strategy in the agenda of the Palestinian cabinet. The consultant (UNIFEM staff) for assistance to the Ministry of Women's Affairs in this task is now working on a plan of action to implement the strategy.

Associates of the NGO (non-governmental organizations in the Agreements of Cooperation signed):

1. Bisan Research and Development Center. The investigation-action on violence against women is supported.
2. Sawa - All Women Together, today and tomorrow (helpline and formation for the security forces - in narrow coordination with the Palestinian Ministry of home affairs).
3. The Technical Committee of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (host organization of the Coalition to combat gender-based violence Amal, in Gaza) - works building gender advocates abilities.
4. Palestinian Society of Working Women in Development (host organization of the Muntada Forum to combat violence against women in the western margin) - works building the gender advocates abilities.

The NGOS partners (in the process of finalizing all the documents that will lead to the Agreement of co-operation with NGOS):

1. Center of Legal Investigations of the Woman and Consultancy (Gaza) - dwelling in Gaza.
2. WATC - women's political participation.
3. Palestine Department center (Western Bank) - in contribution with the authors of violence against the women.
4. Gaza Community Mental Health Program - Empowerment Program of Women (Gaza) - in contribution with the authors of violence against the women.

They are also in the process of completion of the revision of the Expression of Interest (EOI) for the economic participation of women (and the West Bank and Gaza). It is also finalizing a new activity to raise awareness about violence against women in 18 rural areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

"It is not only of the IWC, but of UNIFEM, UNRWA, UNESCO... they are spending a lot of money in working the objectives of the Millennium, in awareness campaigns... nothing has changed, because they are not working on the problems women are going through, nor in their needs. I believe that the right thing to do is to interview and ask the women what they want, listen to them, before making any statement or report".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The gender dimensions of the occupation and the possible solutions have been largely unrecognized. Women's voices and perspectives of people and organizations committed to the human rights of women and gender equality are absent or very poorly represented in the formal mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution, despite the guarantees of R1325, as well as the decrees and laws that recognize that resolution by the Palestinian and Israeli representatives.

Ultimately recognize the importance of this resolution, but make it clear that long before the Security Council decided to do something about it.

These women maintain the enthusiasm for the visibility of the gender issues in armed conflict and in the participation of the resolution of these, without forgetting the frustration and helplessness that assumes, since they are the direct witnesses of how this Resolution, along with other international instruments, does not cease to be statements of good intentions pretending to relieve a guilt complex and justifying the existence of institutions that, while necessary, has more than proved its inefficiency.

5.3. Women as peace builders, work areas around the R1325

The movement of Palestinian women who have participated in this report perform, in relation to peace building, a work on several fronts. These range from direct attention to the more immediate practical needs of women, up to the use of the R1325 as an instrument of international law to serve as a base to continue demanding and conquering their rights, both against the occupation, as in the construction of their State and their own society, deconstructing gender stereotypes.

"We are working on two levels. Political: by means of the increase of the representation of the women in it decisions taking, transferring the agenda of the women to national politics, promoting the establishment of a legal system based on gender equality principles; and social: covering the needs of the women and supporting the strengthening of their capacities".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

The women associations promoted through the requirement of compliance with the R1325 increase women's participation in new decision-making positions in government institutions.

Thus the 80% of the polled associations recognize that they work in the increase of the representation of the women in all the levels of decision in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, just as coaxes the Resolution.

In this sense, it must be remembered that women are not consulted or involved in negotiating tables, nor in the design of the development plans of their country, nor in the measures for the construction of peace, nor in the strategies of cooperation, among others.

One of the most important achievements of the movement of the struggle of Palestinian women has been the system of quotas in the advice of local authorities, which positively impacted the participation rate of women , as voters and candidates in the elections of local authorities. Nevertheless, the leadership of the institutions continues being limited, symbolic and not extensive to other areas. The increased presence of women is restricted to administrative positions and low-skill-position.

"At the political level: more women are present in Parliament, ministries and Municipal Councils than ever. The establishment of a quota (2 women in each town council) has helped, but, nevertheless, continues being a ridiculous proportion and that does not always comply. My opinion is that there should be parity".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"There is a quota of the 20% (2 women) in the local governments. On the one hand we are trying that the women cover, and if possible, enlarge that quota, at the same time, that the women participate as the citizens of full right in the elections".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

women local authorities in last elections

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"After four rounds of elections, 512 women succeeded in occupying positions within local authorities, only 33% of them won through the quota system and the rest won normally as candidates.

However, it is of great importance to mention that the number of women candidates in the local elections has increased significantly after the adoption of the gender quota. This means that the quota system encouraged women to participate.

Women who were chosen have demonstrated his talents as actors within the community in spite of the fact that the experience is new and needs time. These achievements were obtained in spite of the opposition that women face within the various social sectors and conservative political institutions. In fact, these women chose to address the challenges and demonstrate their talents and skills to create a new reality on the ground.

So the PA was pushed to adopt policies that enhance the participation of women and laying down the foundations for equality and the protection of the rights of women, as for example, the quota system.

Nevertheless, several investigations, carried out by local and international organizations, have indicated that the performance of these women in the local counsels is very limited. The reasons range from a lack of awareness among women themselves to the absence of tools to increase their capacities.

The lack of conscience among the chosen women on the importance of its effective participation in the decisions making process, along with the imposed loads (taking care of the family and the children), play a role in the decrease of its participation and a worse performance inside the positions of making

process. The results of this meeting also show that the women lack the knowledge and the necessary abilities to participate and to make good use of their positions.

In addition, the lack of social support to these women in their positions plays a crucial factor in a weaker performance within these positions⁸⁷".

women do not cover the quota system.

REASONS

1) Gender inequality and patriarchy. The policy and affairs of the community continue to be not suitable for them, sometimes they are considered incapable for management, and administrations jobs.

2) Lack of capacity and leadership skills. They themselves are not created with opportunities to exercise the post, why are not presented (self-esteem/empowerment/greater training and education).

3) No Social Support. The other women and society do not trust their capabilities (is still relegated to occupy the private domain of the home).

4) Discrimination. The styles and ways of working that are accepted in politics, are those adopted by the men, without taking into account inter alia, the timetables that prevent them from reconciling his activism with the roles imposed by their society (meetings in the wee hours and in places where women have vetoed the entry, etc.).

5) Many women continue playing the hegemonic patriarchy imposed in society, playing the same roles as men, ignoring the practical needs and strategic interests of the women when holding any public office.

"(...) when there are elections and presents a man and a woman, if you ask a woman, will vote to the man, because it gives you more security, when she could represent you, in principle, much better".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

⁸⁷ PWWSD roundtable in Toulkarem 2008.

"Since its inception, GUPW has contributed to the promotion of the status of women and their role in the struggle of the Palestinian people for liberation. In turn, a higher level of awareness of the roles of women contributed to a greater representation in the decision-making bodies of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Other progress has been encouraging the creation of the Ministry of Women Affairs in oPt. During the interview with the Minister, Rabija Diab, highlighted the growing presence of women in government agencies and institutions and they now had listed with:

"Five (5) ministers, one (1) civil governor, several mayors, twenty (20) judges (2 of them of religious affairs), one (1) director of police, with the president of the foreign exchange market, the Chairperson of the National Center for Statistics; in addition to lawyers, doctors, etc. "

Palestinian politician.

according to data from the Palestinian Women Research and Documentary Centre (PWRDC)

Of the total number of judges the 10% are women, but so are the 8.9 per cent of the prosecutors, the 16.9 % of the lawyers, the 12.8 % of the doctors, the 55.7 % of the nurses and the 12.9 % of the members of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

But with these data we cannot speak of equal participation. Currently, in spite of the advances in the international rules, remains very much a minority the presence of women neither at the negotiating tables of peace, as well as in decision-making processes, so that their interests, demands, needs and complaints are not represented or peace agreements nor in the societies. Also, aid policies have tended to ignore the incorporation of the needs and strategic interests of women, as well as the diversity of ways in which these have been affected by the conflict and occupation.

"From 1982 until the Oslo Accords our main objective - both nationally and internationally - was to strengthen, organize and empower women to facilitate their participation in the national cause, in the overall strategy for fighting the occupation.(...). At that time only men had the right to participate in the struggle against the occupation while women continued to play their traditional role".

Women's Association. Bethlehem.

"As a Palestinian woman I try to make my companions aware of the need to enlarge the participation of the women, therefore the Palestinian cause is not a question of men".

Palestinian activist.

"The people when learn that I work in the campaign is surprised and they ask me: Is it not dangerous? But you're a girl, how you can participate as well? Is also a different way to change mentalities".

Palestinian activist.

"We have been commenting that have had some problems with the committee in a meeting that had recently she was critical and that has consequences, by what he has had to backtrack. Don't want to talk about politics because he is afraid".

Women's Association. Refugee Camp.

It is considered necessary a greater progress in its democratic rights, including its right to participate in the social, economic land and in other forms of takes of decisions.

On the other hand, of the organizations surveyed the 61.90 % meet the special needs of protection of women in conflict, seeing their plight but fleeing from the stereotypes of victims and vulnerable.

In this context the sexual division of the work, fundamental element of the patriarchal system, tends to be accentuated. In most cases, the changes in gender roles that entails the armed conflict and occupation imply for women an overload of work because, in their role as caretakers, is added the struggle for survival, maintenance of the family unit and the assumption of certain tasks and responsibilities traditionally assigned to men, in addition to his involvement in political activities and support to the community.

Palestinian women play different roles in the occupation, not only as victims and builders of peace, but also as combatants.

Among the many impacts of this occupation, it is important to highlight the destruction of communities and the forced displacement of the population, mostly in women as well as girls and boys. Though the situation of displacement behaves for the women a greater exposition to the risk to suffer violence, is also important to emphasize its capacity to assume leaderships and to develop strategies of resistance, community organization and support of the life in some conditions so extremes as for insecurity and lack of the most elementary resources.

The movement of Palestinian women interviewed makes a special call to listen the voices of the women instead of reducing them mere victims; are daily survivors to the occupation and to the patriarchy that is imposed them.

This movement deals openly and recognizes the key role of women and their agendas, looking for their effective participation in processes of peaceful settlement of conflicts and construction of criminal and social justice.

As we have been saying, some Palestinian women's organizations interviewed invest their efforts in the fight against the occupation, enforcing and adding to the guidelines established by the Palestinian Authority, while other organizations are doing their job from a gender perspective, promoting actions that will reduce the inequality that exists between men and women, even within their own community/society. In surveys, a 52.38 % said to support women builders of peace.

Among the activities by women in the construction of peace is also necessary to stress its work, individually and collectively, in the defense of human rights, the pursuit of justice, the recovery of historical memory (fight against impunity), the sustainability of the process itself of peace building contributing to put an end to the structured causes of armed conflicts and seeing the experience of women themselves in the war.

Due to the lack of measures that are feasible and possible, only a 42.86 per cent of the surveyed organizations working for which there is no impunity for war crimes committed against women, including gender-based violence and that criminals do not enjoy amnesties.

They have been millions the women Palestinian victims of this occupation, but is not question to quantify the horror, a single woman would have that to have sufficed to consider war crime to any kind violence form in this context of occupation.

Many of the organizations interviewed denounce by means of the publication of testimonies, the committed crimes with their families, in their homes and in their bodies.

Even today, most of the women, still waiting for justice repair the crimes committed in their bodies and their loved ones.

Also the 28.57 % tries to establish that the peace keeping operations of UN adopt a gender perspective, through the political impact and making reports on the situation in which they survive daily from some 60 years ago.

A 19.05 % of the associations surveyed facilitate reports to the various UN agencies, in some cases newspapers and other timely, on the situation of women in the intervention areas. Well UN can adopt a gender perspective in their reports. In this context of occupation, women's organizations that take into account the gender perspectives bring to light and denounce the violence committed against women, demanding justice for them and require compensation policies. The recovery of the memory and the collection of testimonies is also part of the work of building peace starring women, aimed at finding the truth and to the necessary dignity to the victims.

"Palestinian women's efforts to achieve equality and social justice continue to be affected by the Israeli occupation and the oppressive practices against the general population. The determination of the Palestinian population and the establishment of an independent and democratic State are necessary prerequisites for full emancipation, the development and advancement of Palestinian women".

Women's Association. Ramallah.

Finally highlight the proposals that have been put forward by certain organizations of women interviewed and surveyed in relation to the R1325.

"I think it would be a good idea to create working groups with women and prepare a report on what they think of the resolution and its deployment mode performed later an awareness campaign to collect such testimony

and pressure politically. You could display it at the international level and support us at this level, as well as with experts in the field. That is very important. Also it is to collect and display in that situation live women, the effect it has on them the occupation, the strategies that they have, the violation of human rights, etc."

Women's Association. Ramallah.

"Another important aspect, and it also involves the resolution, is to work with female prisoners and protect them, they are victims of violence and endure very harsh conditions, are under military laws... is in violation of the Geneva Convention, Resolutions of UN..."

Women's Association. Ramallah.

conclusions

The ongoing military occupation and the recent historical events have fragmented the political, economic, and social fabric of the oPt. An example of this is the complete disconnect between the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian who remained in Israel after 1948, the Palestinian living in East Jerusalem, the refugee population in neighbouring countries, and the Palestinian diaspora.

The Government of Israel has developed a network of arbitrary and discriminatory laws that violate international law, UN resolutions, the human rights and all the peace agreements hitherto.

This situation does not fit with our basic concept of an armed conflict, due to a severe imbalance of forces. In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the structural, political, social, legal and even religious inequalities are an essential part of the conflict. It is a State (Israel) that illegally occupies the Palestinian territories, with disastrous consequences for the civilian population, and in particular for women.

This rarefied political environment, with the consent of the community, adds greater complexity to the concept of peace and security for the Palestinian society. These policies have a direct impact on all areas of the life of the Palestinian, in their personal and collective development as individuals and citizens.

The aim of this report is, on the one hand, give a voice to Palestinian women, so that Spanish civil society is aware of the situation; on the other hand, contribute to the design and development of work strategies to reduce the causes and consequences of the inequitable situation of vulnerability that women suffer in the framework of the conflict from a gender approach.

For this reason, we believe the essential use of the **Security Council Resolution 1325 of the UN** (SCR1325) as an instrument of international law. This resolution recognizes that peace links to equality between men and women and that the full access and active participation of women in power structures,

and their full involvement in the efforts for conflict prevention and resolution are essential for the preservation and promotion of peace and security.

This resolution was ratified by the Palestinian National Authority (PA) in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, but there is still no **Plan of Action** to carry out its implementation, nor in the State of Israel. Historically, women on both sides demanded the above claim.

First of all, we want to highlight and recognize the ability of Palestinian women's organizations to make clear the differential effects of occupation and conflict on the basis of gender, and to share analysis and ties of solidarity with other women.

The movement of Palestinian women, faced with the traditional and dominant notions of peace, such as the absence of war and security, with exclusive reference to the State, proposes its redefinition working for peace based on the absence of violence and a people-oriented security.

Within this movement, the level of knowledge about the R1325 varies at the organizational level as staff and with different levels of understanding and use. In general, this resolution is considered as an instrument of international law, but with the mistrust arouse by the continued failure of the UN resolutions. Many of the activities and processes carried out by women organizations, support, demand and claim, directly or indirectly, the implementation of the Resolution 1325. In fact, the women claim that before this resolution was drafted. They were already working on it as women in conflict situations.

women's movement

The women's movement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories has a long history. From its beginnings, it has developed in parallel with the national movement against the occupation, varying according to the political, social and economic circumstances that were developing in the national context, thereby affecting the own women's discourse and to work with the same.

The women's movement has gone through several phases. In the process, the movement has required to update, rethink and create new strategies for addressing:

- The resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- The construction of a democratic State based on human rights and gender equality.
- The immediate needs and the strategic interests of the general population and particularly of women.

In the absence of government, the organizations themselves have to meet the needs of the population, carrying out functions incumbent upon a State that does not exist. Sometimes it is difficult to choose a strategy to reduce the difficulties, so the impact of the work is not rendered invisible due to the continued occupation, the social disruption at the domestic level, the lack of economic resources, and to the social backwardness during and after the interventions. The long duration of the conflict has led to a crisis, and the different strategies have come into question.

The occupation and the patriarchy have impeded to prioritize a gender agenda, panning and postponing it, even in organizations with this work approach. However, all agree on the need to introduce it to continue moving towards equality.

So that the Palestinian women can participate in an active and adequate way in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the construction of the peace, it is necessary they participate in equal terms, on either a political or a social level. In order to achieve this equality, women have worked in various aspects as outlined below:

Historically, Palestinian women movement has proposed a reform of the **legal system**. Since it is essential to overcome the situation of discrimination in which women find themselves, many of these claims have not been able to achieve the proposed objectives, because among other things, to the polarized positions that block or hinder any change, lack of firmness in the institutional support and internal difficulties arising from the occupation itself. However, these claims have favoured a social reflection on the legislation in force.

With regard to the increase in **gender-based violence**, the women's movement has been working in the creation of a new law against domestic violence in response to the magnitude of this phenomenon. The women associations have come to give an answer and to set in motion mechanisms of protection and attention to the women that are found in this situation. They consider that it is necessary a suitable social conscience on this taboo subject. Complain about the shortage of resources: there are no health or security protocols, economic aid, little social care or foster homes. They lack also mechanisms of protection, and the response is not adequate, keeping the victim not only in the same situation of insecurity but blaming her in many cases.

description of the women's movement

The associative movement of women reflects all the Palestinian intellectual and social spectrum, is not homogeneous, presents a diversity of strategies and speeches. One of its peculiarities is that some organizations are extensions of the political parties, giving priority to the national policy agenda in their programs, activities and speeches, while others give priority to the social affairs of women and, on a political level, follow the guidelines of the national program of the majority, thus obtaining a double dimension, social and national. Consider that political advancement causes social change and vice versa. The order of priority depends on the day by day and the situation at that current time.

Its path is long, but the greater organizations registrations percentage was carried out from the year 1994 with the creation of the PA (Palestinian Authority). Organizations established by women began to play a different role according to the one that had been assigned to them. Many of those women have established a ideological elite, what allowed them to be present in different organizations leadership and, generally, dictate the tempo.

We note that there are different factors such as the access to the new generations/generational change, the networking, the inclusion of men in organizations, demanding and producing changes in its structures. The new generations demand a greater openness within the associative movement in general and of women in particular, including its new positioning and reality.

The movement of women indicates difficulties for the **generation changeover**. The new generations identify the following issues: the lack of support and space in the existing associative movement itself, the high migration of their group by lack of opportunities and the extreme violence, the standardization of the conflict and helplessness that generates, demanding a new framework of cooperation. The veterans, in turn, they begin to value the potential in the younger generations and, above all, the ability to generate new strategies, to the point that some consider that the youth should be widely represented in the organizations.

There are various **objectives**: the empowerment on a political, economic and social level, with the intention of improving the quality of life of women through the strengthening of civil society and the increase of their capabilities; seeking equality, participation in all its forms, and the struggle against the Israeli occupation. Also, fighting for the elimination of the patriarchal hegemony, violence or fundamentalism of any kind.

Women's **practical needs**, from its current socially assigned gender role, respond to the social obligations aimed to the immediate family and to the local community. Their **strategic interests** derived from analysis of the subordination of women to men, whose achievement substantially alters the gender roles and have a longer-term projection. At the same time, the practical needs can lead to strategic interests, such as occurs with psychological care.

To date, the **achievements** have been many in both the political and social sphere: in 1991 was included in the constitution the equality between men and women, the quota system, and freezing and change of laws. Another of the achievements has been the creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, result of the work of the women's movement and the commitment with the ratification of the agreement of the CEDAW to the UN.

The greatest **demands** are requested by more local organizational structures, women's groups and community bases. However, as a result of the establishment of the new structure of aid in international cooperation, these demands can be attended only through an organization with a more consolidated structure, due to the indispensable requirements and to the minimum bureaucracy required. Also, larger organizations can not meet all these demands, in part because they respond to the agenda of donors and not

of the population, which in turn gives rise to an estrangement between the organizations and the foundations of women, by increasing the needs instead of decrease. The strategy with regard to this topic is to train and strengthen smaller organizations to achieve its independence and autonomy pushing their own agenda.

The most critical organizations see it as a perversion of the aid that generates negative and unpleasant dynamics at the very heart of the Palestinian society: they reflect on what would happen to the population, institutions and organizations if the occupation ended, and with it, the funds that keep them in operation today. Also, reflect on the scarce impact of the actions. Aside from the sources of funding, the women's movements positively perceive the presence of international cooperation. Nevertheless, women associations call for another framework of cooperation more focused in an equal relationship that responds to their own needs. That is why the widespread and unanimous demand of women's associations to international NGO is the **political influence** in their countries of origin.

In the recent years, we cannot ignore the conflict that exists, within the Palestinian society between **Fatah-Hamas**, an domestic political conflict on the verge of civil war with a strong impact on the daily life of the population and, in particular on women. Peace is subject to the trauma of the misrule followed by the trauma of the internal struggle, in a context of survival of the occupation and its various implications. This remains a taboo subject in the process of assimilation. They are aware that, either they solve this conflict or are doomed to failure as a people.

On the other hand, the **Israelis women associations**, with regard to the **construction of peace and gender**, they indicate that the relations between the Israeli and Palestinian civil society have passed through several phases. In addition, Palestinian women denounced the political media manipulation of these encounters, the lack of commitment in the most difficult times of conflict, the weakening of the human rights organizations by the Israeli state, especially in the movement for peace-building and gender; and consider as the most effective strategic line that Israeli associations work with their own civil society: the Israeli and Palestinian movement on construction of gender and peace.

Also, indicate that since 2005 the Palestinian civil society issued a request (nationally and internationally) for a **campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions** (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and the rights of the Palestinians, avoiding actions that promote the standardization of the occupation.

In short, **the movement of Palestinian women makes a significant call to listen to the voices of women** instead of reducing them to mere victims; they are survivors of the occupation and the patriarchal system imposed upon them. Not forgetting its work in the construction of peace: individually and collectively, the defence of human rights, the pursuit of justice, the recovery of historical memory (fight against impunity), the sustainability of the peace building process, helping to put an end to the structured causes of armed conflicts and to make visible the experience of women in the war.

list of associations interviewed

Palestinian Associations

1. Women's Programs Center Qalandia Camp
2. Palestinian Working Women Society for Development – PWWSD
3. Association of Women's Committees for Social Work – AWCSW
4. Palestinian Business Women's Association - ASALA
5. Handicraft Cooperative Qalandia Camp
6. Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling – WCLAC
7. Women, Media and Development - TAM
8. Women's Affairs Technical Committee – WATC
9. The Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center - WIAM
10. Psycho-social Counseling Center for Women Psycho-social Counseling Center for Women – PCCW
11. Jerusalem Center for Women – JCW
12. Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Center – PWRDC
13. General Union of Palestinian Women - GUPW
14. Ministry of Women's Affairs
15. Stop the Wall
16. Miftah
17. Women Studies Center – WSC
18. Palestinians

Israeli Associations

1. Isha L Isha

Networks

1. International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Israeli-Palestinian Peace – IWC. Brazo Israeli
2. Coalition of Women for Peace – CW4P

socio-economic survey of palestinian associations

The quantitative part of the study has consisted of the elaboration and dissemination of a questionnaire to women's non-governmental organizations reported previously in the database and related to the study.

The survey consists of two parts, a first by way of technical data sheet that comes to collect basic data of the association (contact information, purpose, territorial scope, sectors of intervention, collective beneficiaries and date of the Constitution); and a second that delves into this information as well as in the work on *Women, Peace and Security*.

The selection of the sample has been determined by the geographic location (Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem and Qalandia refugee camp), and by the women's associations or public/private partnerships (PPP) that are working in the construction of peace.

There was a total of 52 records in the database, passing the survey to all the relevant organizations (48 organizations), and responding to the same a total of 21 associations. Set out below a board summary is shown.

Finally, to indicate that, in this document, the results of the study are shown, represented in pie charts.

Board 1: Survey Summary

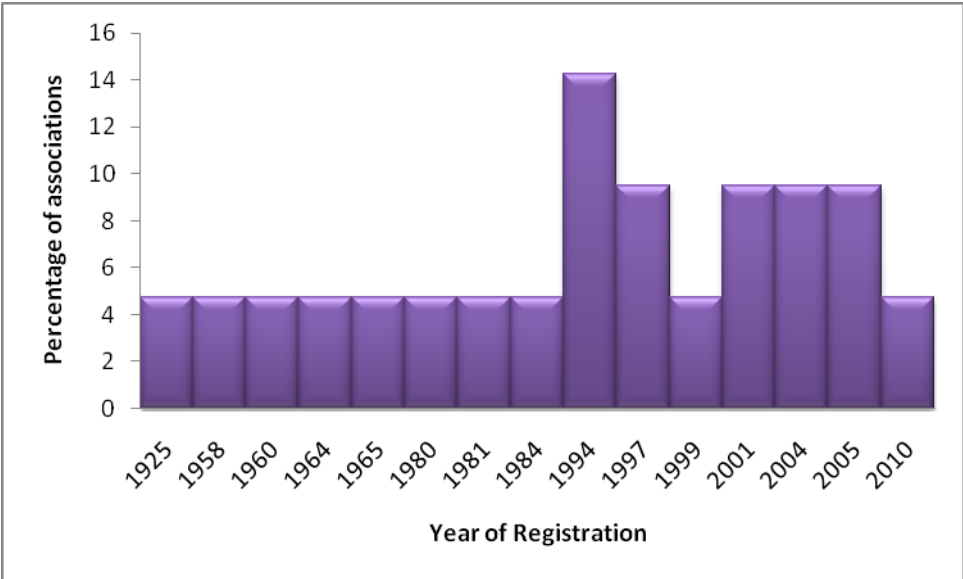
Location	No. associations	Associations received the questionnaire	Associations that responded to the questionnaire
Bethlehem	10	10	6
Qalandia	2	2	2
Ramallah	31	27	9
Hebron	5	5	4
TOTAL	52	48	21

List of associations:

Completion of the questionnaire

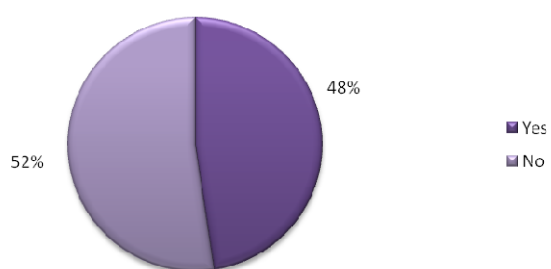
1. The palestinian iniciative for the promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy Miftah, Ramala
2. An-Nahda Women´s Society, Ramala
3. Filastiniyat, Ramala
4. Institute of Women´s Studies, Ramala (Birzeit)
5. 'Give Palestine' Organization, Ramala
6. The Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development – PWWSD, Ramala
7. Women´s Affairs Technical Committe – WATC; Ramala
8. Rural Women Development Society – RWDS, Ramala
9. Psychosocial Counseling Center for Women – PSCCW, Belén
10. Al Khader Women Society, Belén
11. Arab Women´s Union Society, Belén (Beit Sahur)
12. Women, Media and Development – TAM, Belén
13. The Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center –WIAM, Belén
14. Guidance and Training Center for the Child and Family, Belén
15. Association of Women's Action for Training and Rehabilitation – AOWA, Hebrón
16. Halhoul Women´s Association, Hebrón (Halhoul)
17. Women Program Center for the Al Arroub Camp, Hebrón (Al Arroub Camp)
18. Hebron Young Women Center, Hebrón
19. National Counseling for Development, Hebrón
20. Women´s Program Center Qalandia Camp – WPCQC, Qalandia
21. Kalandia Camp Women`s Handicraft Cooperative, Qalandia

1. Date of the legal entity registration

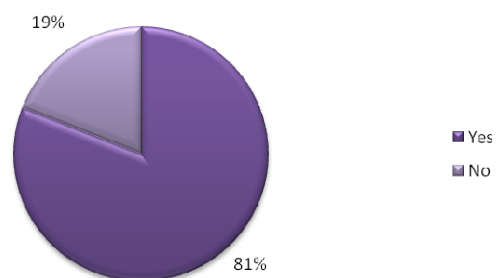


2. Sectors of intervention to the entity

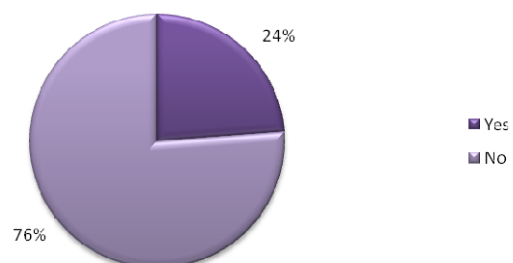
2.1. Associations working in political incidence



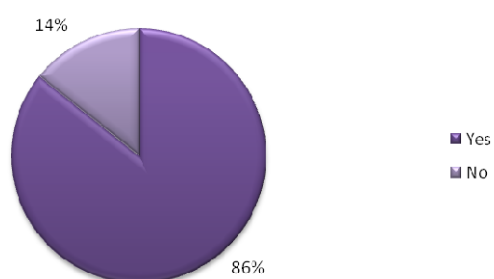
2.2. Associations working in training and development



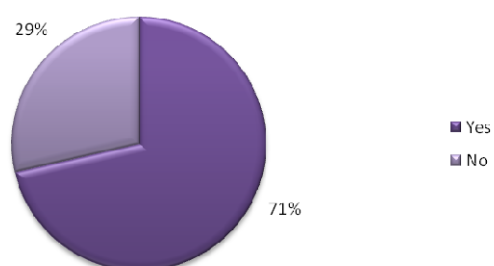
2.3. Associations working in formal education



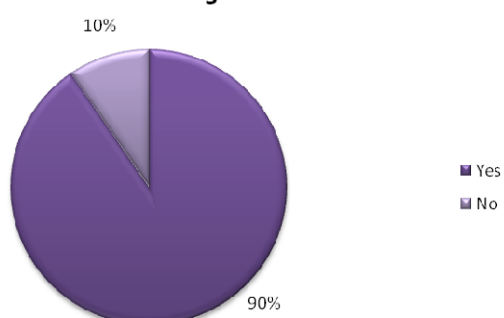
2.4. Associations working to strengthen the civil society



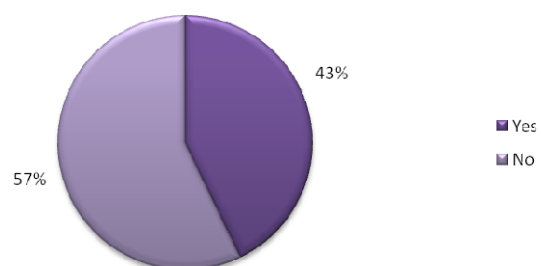
2.5. Associations working in productive development



2.6. Associations working to raise awareness

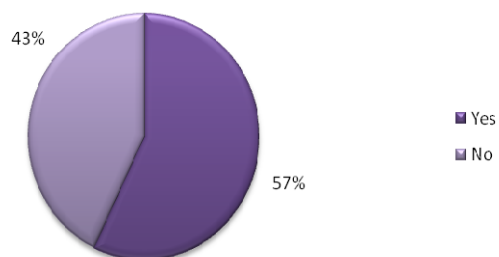


2.7. Associations working in social welfare action

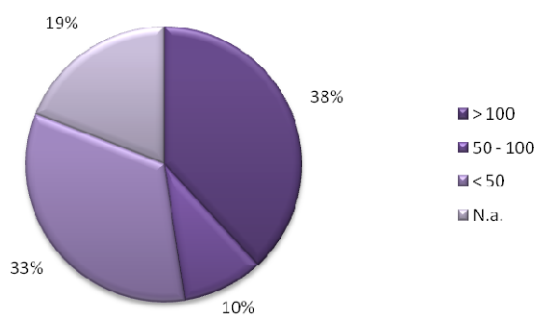


3. Composition of the associations

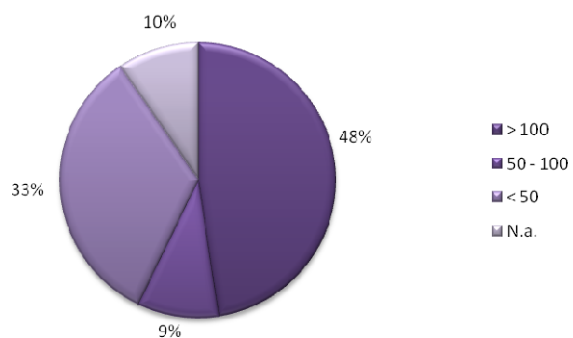
3.1. Associations exclusively composed of women



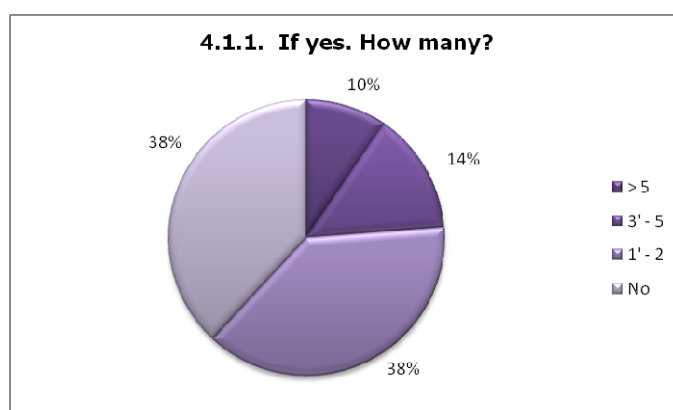
3.1.1. Number of members of the association



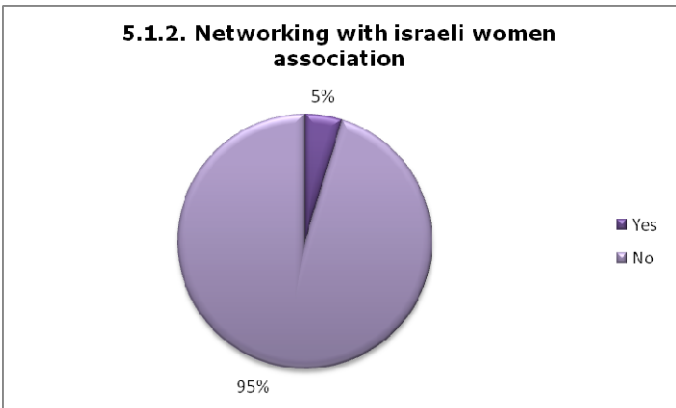
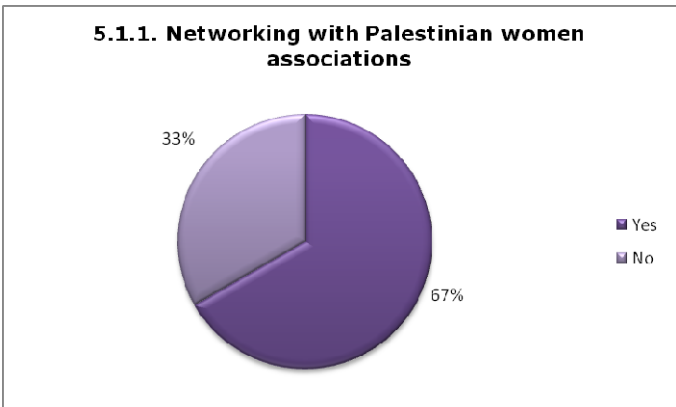
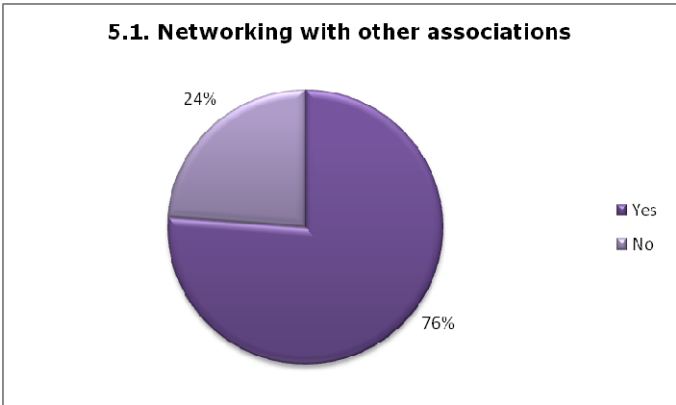
3.1.2. Number of female members



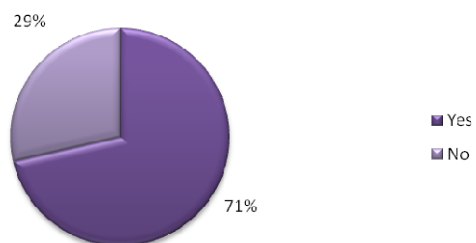
4. Territorial presence of the associations



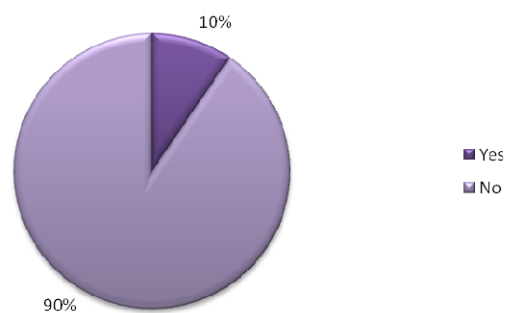
5. Associations network



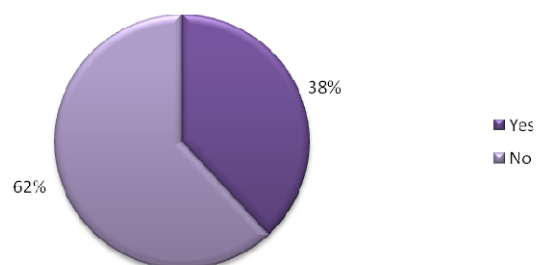
5.1.3. Networking with palestinian associations



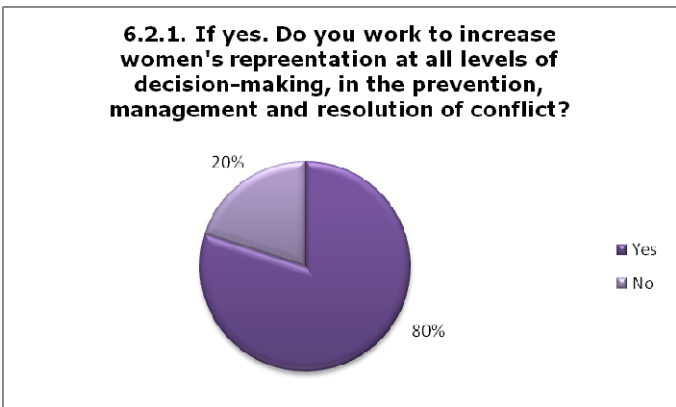
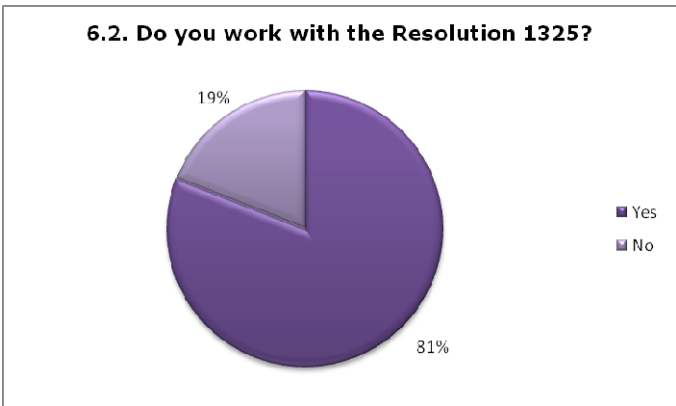
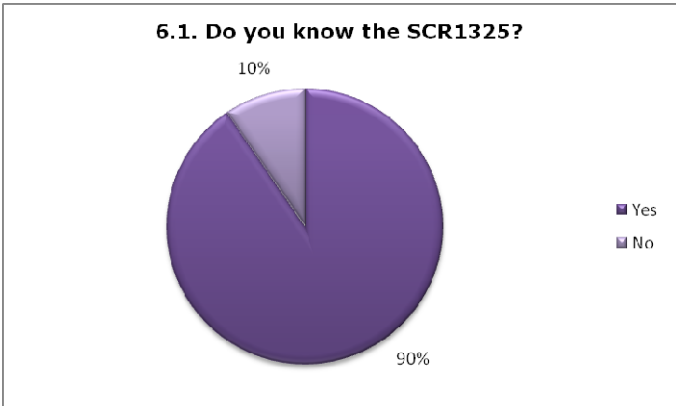
5.1.4. Networking with Israeli associations



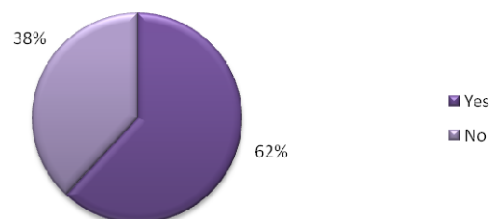
5.1.5. Networking with international organization



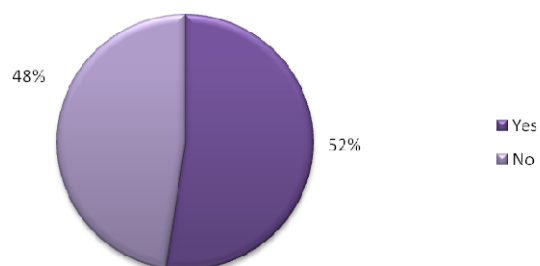
6. Women, Peace and Security: SCR1325



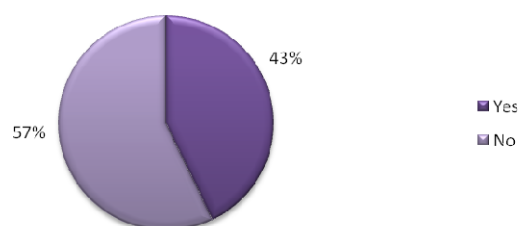
6.2.2. If yes. Do you work to address the special needs of women in conflict, making visible their plight but fleeing from the stereotypes of victims and vulnerability?



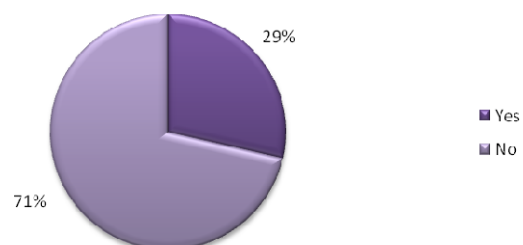
6.2.3. If yes. Do you work to increase the support to women peace-builders?



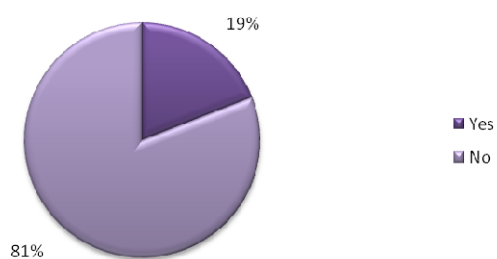
6.2.4. If yes. Do you work so that there is no impunity for war crimes committed against women, including gender based violence and that criminals do not benefit from amnesties?



6.2.5. If yes. Do you work to adopt a gender perspective in the United Nations peacekeeping operations, and in post-conflict processes?

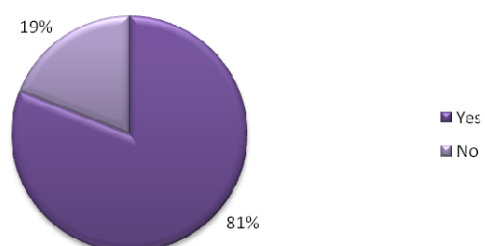


6.2.6. If yes. Do you work to adopt a gender perspective in United Nations reports, and in security council missions?

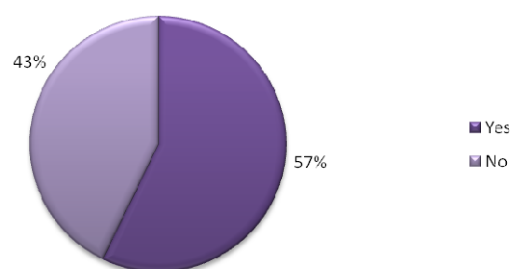


7. Associations sustainability: Sources of funding

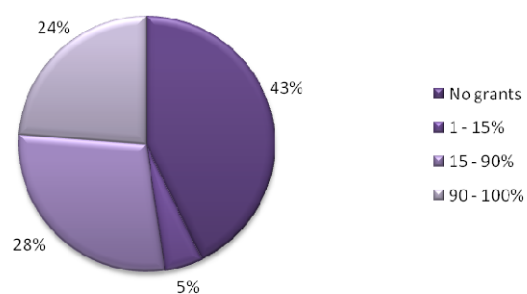
7.1. Do you have the financial means for the support of the association and the activities you carry out?



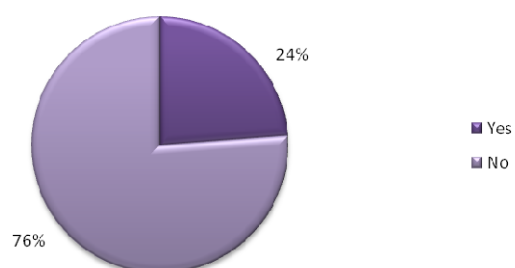
7.1.1. If yes. Are there call for grant application available?



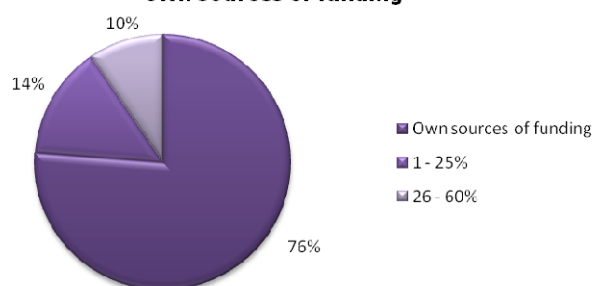
7.1.1. Percentage of associations funded with grants



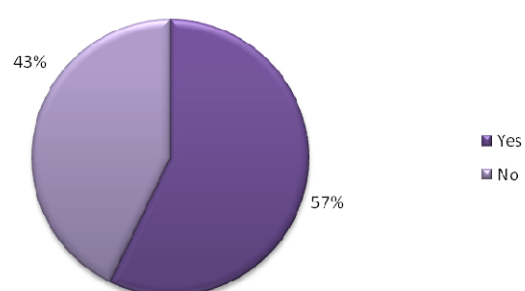
7.2.1. If yes. Do you have your own sources of funding?

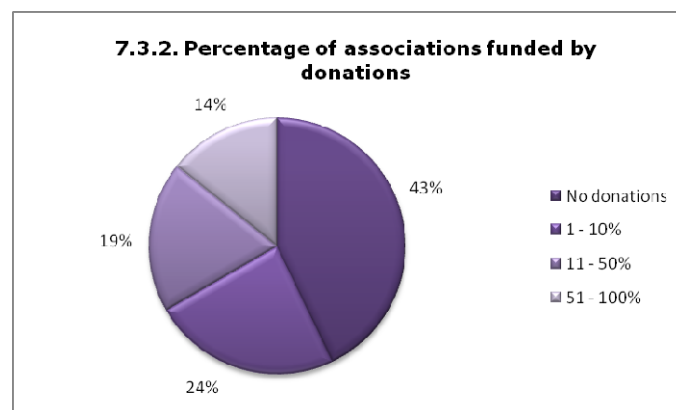


7.2.2. Percentage of associations with their own sources of funding

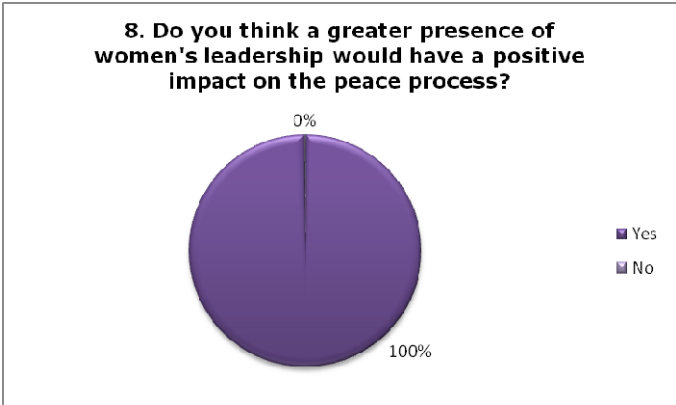


7.3. If yes. Do you have a donation fund?



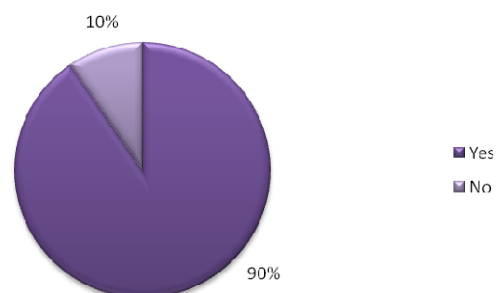


8. Women leadership and peace process

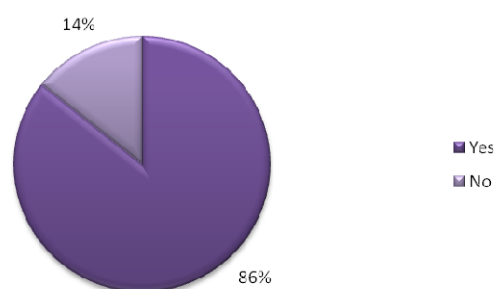


9. Gender perspective in the associations work

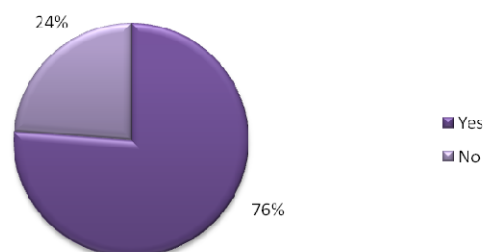
9. Are you organization's actions carried out from a gender perspective?



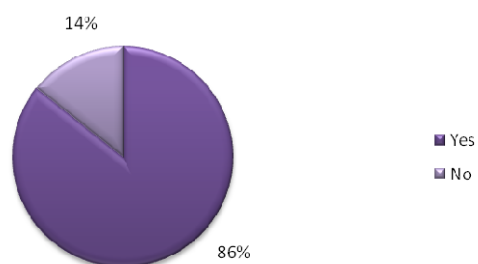
9.1. If yes. Do women participate in the activities?



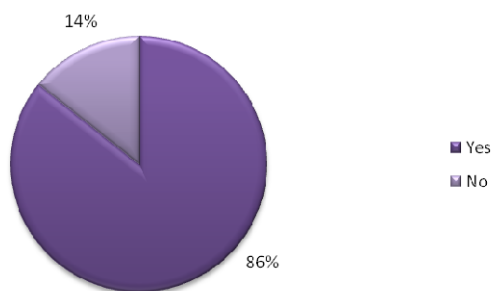
9.2. If yes. Are you promoting change in the existing relations of inequality between men and women?



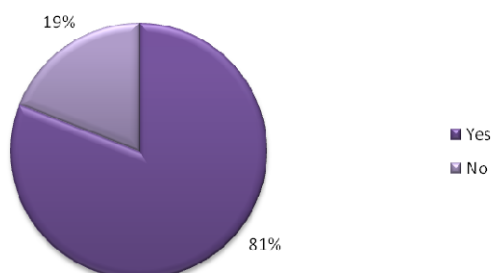
9.3. If yes. Are women included in the development of the association's actions?



9.4. If yes. What actions are you taking to improve women's situation?



9.5. If yes. Do these actions have an impact on women's basic needs?



9.6. If yes. Are you working towards the women's empowerment?

