CAUGHT UP BETWEEN A ROCK & A HARD PLACE: OCCUPATION, PATRIARCHY AND GENDER RELATIONS
A CASE STUDY OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN IN AREA C & H2

MARCH 2018
Research Team:
Arab World for Research and Development (AWRAD) Dr. Nader Said – Foqahaa (Author and Team Leader)

Research Core Team:
Muna Amasheh, Samer Said, Reem Chhattas, Kirsty Wright, Mohamad Shuai’bi, Nicolas Hyman (AWRAD)

Field Researchers:
Ikram Tamimi, Samar Barham, Fardous Khamis (AWRAD)

Disclaimer:
The views and opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily represent the views of the European Union, the UN Women, the United Nations or any of its affiliated organizations
CAUGHT UP BETWEEN A ROCK & A HARD PLACE: OCCUPATION, PATRIARCHY AND GENDER RELATIONS
A CASE STUDY OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN IN AREA C & H2

MARCH 2018
Three Js in my life: Jumping, juggling and jousting

“My life is about jumping, juggling and jousting. Jumping from one hurdle to the other; after I get the permit from my husband to leave the house, I must deal with the watching eyes of my neighbors, decided if I am in the mode to put on a fight with the settlers who are harassing me, and cross the Israeli roadblock that’s in my way every day. Juggling the requests of a demanding husband, the needs of my family with a very tight income, the care for my child with diabetes, work at home and in the factory from 4am to 10pm. Jousting and fighting back on my own with no help when I get exposed to violence at home or from the Israelis forces and settlers.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 45 years old)

Three women united: Dream of change and happiness

“Society has backward cultural norms; women have limited rights; this doesn’t work for me; I want something different; I want a future full of equality and opportunity; I want my divorced mother and grandmother to be happy; my source of light is these two women in my life, as well as my grandfather who fully understands me and appreciates my potential. I am getting my education and I will serve my community for the better.” (Young female, Bardala, 19 years old)
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ACRONYMS</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF BOXES</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ANNEXES</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND, APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives and Expectations of the Study</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Palestinian Context: Occupation and Patriarchy</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstances in Area C and H2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach and methodology</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2: ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BARRIERS FACING WOMEN IN AREA C AND H2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of rights</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beliefs and realities concerning the rights of women</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF GBV (OCCUPATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE), RIGHTS AND STATUS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS VICTIMS OF GBV</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation-related violence</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV as a socio-cultural phenomenon</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation-related violence and GBV as mutually-reinforcing</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF COPING AND SOURCES OF SUPPORT RELATING TO GBV AND OTHER RELEVANT SERVICES</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV-related services</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV and other related services</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall conclusions</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations/community proposed solutions</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHLC</td>
<td>Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARU</td>
<td>The Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDA</td>
<td>Association of International Development Agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWRAD</td>
<td>Arab World for Research and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community-Based Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFTA</td>
<td>The Culture and Free Thought Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPWG</td>
<td>Education Cluster and Child Protection Working Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-Based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUPW</td>
<td>General Union of Palestinian Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDIs</td>
<td>In-depth Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGOs</td>
<td>International Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHRL</td>
<td>International human rights law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHL</td>
<td>International humanitarian law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>Intimate Partner Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCL</td>
<td>Israeli District Coordination Liaison Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRS</td>
<td>National Referral System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCH</td>
<td>Old City of Hebron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oPt</td>
<td>Occupied Palestinian Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCBS</td>
<td>Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Palestinian Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLC</td>
<td>Palestinian Legislative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWDs</td>
<td>People with Disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFTA</td>
<td>The Culture and Free Thought Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWLRC</td>
<td>The Center for Women’s Legal Research and Consulting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Women Media and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIPH</td>
<td>Temporary International Presence in Hebron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDAF</td>
<td>United Nations Development Assistance Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSCR 1325</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAW</td>
<td>Violence Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASH</td>
<td>Water, Sanitation and Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBG</td>
<td>West Bank and Gaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCLAC</td>
<td>Women’s Center for Legal Aid and Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>Young Women’s Christian Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Percentage reporting no or limited knowledge of women-related rights

Figure 2: Percentage reporting no or limited knowledge of women-related rights by community

Figure 3: Percentage reporting no or limited knowledge of women-related rights by gender

Figure 4: Percentage agreement/disagreement that “a woman’s place is in the home” by community and gender

Figure 5: Percentage agreement/disagreement that “women are taking away jobs from men” by community and gender

Figure 6: Percentage agreement/disagreement that “a man should have the final say in decision-making” by community and gender

Figure 7: Percentage agreement that a woman must obtain the permission of a male family member by gender

Figure 8: Reported occupation violations against spouse

Figure 9: Reported personal exposure to occupation violations by community

Figure 10: Reported exposure of family to occupation violations

Figure 11: Personal exposure to occupation violations by gender

Figure 12: Level of agreement that GBV is a problem by community and gender

Figure 13: Percentage of participants who find it justifiable to kill a woman based on various circumstances by community and gender

Figure 14: Level of agreement that “a man can force his wife to have sex with him” by community and gender

Figure 15: Percentage of women reporting exposure to types of violence by community

Figure 16: Perceived role of occupation practices in limiting opportunities of women

Figure 17: Percentage who believe that occupation practices promote conservative values by community

Figure 18: Level of agreement that it is justifiable to deny women education/work for security concerns by gender

Figure 19: Combined and disaggregated exposure to violence by source

Figure 20: Knowledge of GBV related services provided by community

Figure 21: Percentage of women reporting no or limited knowledge of where to go if exposed to GBV by community

Figure 22: Perception of accessibility and timeframe of GBV services by community

Figure 23: Percentage of women reporting that they can’t afford the cost of GBV services by community

Figure 24: Percentage of women reporting social and familial constraints to access GBV-related services

Figure 25: Percentage of participants reporting receiving psychosocial counseling (ever)

Figure 26: Percentage of participants reporting receiving legal services (ever)

Figure 27: Percentage of participants reporting receiving health services by CBO’s/NGO’s (ever)

Figure 28: Percentage of participants reporting receiving humanitarian assistance (ever)

Figure 29: Percentage of participants reporting positive views of the various aspects of humanitarian assistance
LIST OF TABLES

Table (1): Summary profile of target communities
Table (2): Exposure of husband to occupation-related violence and reported GBV
Table (3): Exposure of family to house raids by the occupation and reporting on GBV
Table (4): Reporting physical violence by husband correlated with family exposure to various occupation-related violations

LIST OF BOXES

Box (1): Jiftlik and Bardala villages
Box (2): Community-specific violations
Box (3): Gender variance and the risk of personal exposure to occupation-related violence
Box (4): Gender variance in perception of humanitarian assistance

LIST OF ANNEXES

Annex 1: Bibliography
Annex 2: IDIs guidelines and list of experts interviewed
Annex 3: Members of Study Reference Group
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This report is an in-depth, gender-based study designed to identify - and help voice - the needs and priorities of women living in areas under occupation and facing prolonged humanitarian crisis. The findings, conclusions and recommendations of the report are addressed to humanitarian, as well as development and political, actors to enable them to develop an informed humanitarian response that addresses the gender-differentiated impact of the Israeli Occupation on community members in general and women in particular. The report supports the design and implementation of interventions under the project Advancing the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Palestine (2015-2017), implemented by UN Women in partnership with the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) and The Culture and Free Thought Association (CFTA) in Gaza.

Three diverse communities within the marginalized areas of the Jordan Valley, Tubas and H2 were targeted for the research, which adopted a mixed-method approach using both qualitative and quantitative tools. Data gathered through field visits and surveys with both men and women in the communities were supplemented by input gathered from other key stakeholders through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Stakeholders included those involved with the implementation of UNSCR 1325, members of the Safe Spaces (established by UNFPA), international organizations who are part of GBV Sub-Cluster, economic bodies, and GBV service providers.

The study was guided by a series of main questions focusing on the barriers to women’s participation and agency, the prevalence and response to GBV, coping mechanisms utilized by females, the role of UNSCR 1325 and other international documents including CEDAW, provision of services by humanitarian actors and community based organizations (CBOs) and the impact of these services on women’s lives. A multimedia info-graphic has also been developed to support awareness rising on the international level.

Findings

The study shows that several factors impede women’s public participation and agency. Women’s knowledge of their rights under local and international law and covenants in these marginalized communities is limited and inhibited by their everyday concerns and struggles to ensure the survival of their families, but also by the restricted scope of rights awareness campaigns which focus on limited numbers of urban women. Cultural and social attitudes and beliefs around women’s economic roles, decision making within the household, mobility and public participation create additional and very powerful barriers. These attitudes and beliefs reflect both traditional attitudes and contradictions with a reality that is complex and constantly shifting. While women do negotiate decision-making influence within the household, they have far less influence on community-related (public) outcomes as a result of much harsher negative attitudes towards women’s right to mobility, lack of authentic opportunities to participate within patriarchal tribal communal structures, and the limitations imposed by the occupation in terms of their ability to move safely within and across communities.

Findings show that although study participants disagree on the extent and severity of GBV, all recognize that GBV is a relevant issue for Palestine and deserves attention. Communal circumstances and cultural norms promote the perpetuation of GBV as a problem in their communities. The most prevalent justification provided by respondents for the use of violence against women and girls is concern over the control of the sexuality of women, with a majority of survey participants agreeing with killing a daughter who is pregnant out of wedlock. Rates of reported GBV across a range of types were higher for physical and lowest for economic violence, with rates in the...
urban area of H2, far exceeding those in the two rural communities studied. The findings also provided quantitative evidence that the prevalence of GBV at the household level in the three communities is directly correlated with the actions of the occupation. Women with husbands and/or families, who were exposed to various occupation violations, report higher levels of exposure across all types of GBV in the household setting than women whose husbands/families that were not exposed to occupation violations. Communities exposed to occupation-related violence are at a higher risk of GBV than others and the most important predictor of GBV is the exposure of the husband to this violence.

Survey findings also reveal that occupation-related violence and GBV are mutually reinforcing. The majority of respondents felt that occupation practices and settler violence lead to an increase in negative attitudes towards the participation of women in the public life of the community. The higher the level of threat in the community, the more negative these attitudes become with the urban area of H2 exhibiting twice as strong negative attitudes than the other two rural areas of Jiftlik and Bardala.

While responses to GBV are impacted by a set of beliefs and ideologies that promote GBV as an acceptable and legitimate option in managing gender relations, they are also impacted by the actual and perceived availability, accessibility, cost and quality of support services. Nearly two thirds of female survey participants have no knowledge of GBV-related services in or near their communities, an even bigger majority report that services are provided at inappropriate times and they have little or no knowledge of where to go if exposed to GBV at home. The survey also revealed that a very large majority of women agree that the most powerful factor in discouraging women’s access to GBV-related services is the social stigma and cultural disapproval of seeking outside help. Less than half this number of female participants felt that the legal system will not protect them if they were to attempt to access services.

Nearly half of the female study participants reported receiving health and reproductive services from NGOs and CBOs. All women survey participants reported receiving virtually no legal services, very limited psychosocial support services, and quite low levels of humanitarian assistance, despite living in communities that are highly targeted by international funding. The assistance provided is perceived positively among those who receive it with women finding the assistance more relevant to their needs than men do.

Conclusions and recommendations

Women in marginalized communities are cut off from the public life of their communities as a result of a combination of occupation-related conditions and limitations, which serve to entrench cultural norms that discriminate against women and exclude them from participation. GBV is a social issue that deserves attention. Occupation-related violence, patriarchally prescribed gender roles and GBV within the household are to a large extent mutually reinforcing, with a direct correlation between exposure to occupation-related violence and levels of GBV within the family. The prevailing economic, social and political circumstances in the Palestinian context exacerbate patriarchal arrangements and traditional gender norms leading to further marginalization and violence against women and girls within the household setting. Women attempt to cope in the absence of support services and the social shame associated with seeking external support.

Recommendations directed at the UN, other international organizations, the PA, local NGOs and CBOs include the continuing need to emphasize the relevance of and obligations following from UNSCR 1325, the integration of the needs rights of those women most impacted by the occupation into policy frameworks and associated budgets, support to improved documentation and data collection mechanisms, increased lobbying and coordination between humanitarian and development actors in Palestine in general and Area C and H2 in particular, and provision of increased resources to Palestinian women’s organizations working on economic and social empowerment in marginalized areas. In addition, programming must be based on a comprehensive understanding of institutional set ups, with services linked to national economic and social policies, capacities of civil society organizations, and international funding. Advocacy must be an integral
part of programming, which should engage women’s and feminist organizations in design and planning efforts to ensure relevance and ownership of interventions, penetration of remote areas, and women’s political and economic participation in the life of their communities.

Programming priorities for women living in vulnerable and marginalized communities include economic empowerment, legal support, psychological and social support, GBV and related services, and carefully framed advocacy, which emphasizes the real human impact of occupation and the heterogeneity of the women impacted.
CHAPTER 1.

BACKGROUND, APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY
Introduction

Palestinians, especially women, in Area C and H2 face a complex, multi-layered set of circumstances that produce and perpetuate marginalization, violence, deprivation of rights and opportunities for participation, and access to services and support mechanism. Hemmed in, harassed, attacked and dispossessed by Israeli soldiers and settlers, lacking basic infrastructure and crucial social services, all compounded by patriarchal norms and restrictions, Palestinian women have few opportunities for development and their welfare and well-being is in constant peril. Reacting to these challenges, UN Women has stepped in to help fill the vacuum as part of its ongoing EU-funded project: Advancing the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Palestine (2015-2017), implemented in partnership with the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) and The Culture and Free Thought Association (CFTA) in Gaza. A series of interventions are defined in the project focusing on the creation of an enabling environment for women’s leadership and political participation in conflict resolution, state-building and peace processes.

The project incorporates the UNSCR 1325 framework by calling for the social and political rights of women and children to advocate for their unique needs under the Occupation. UN Women also coordinates with the UNFPA, an agency that has provided support to develop the Palestinian National Strategic Framework on UNSCR 1325 which was adopted by the Palestinian Government in May 2015, and chairs the Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Sub-Cluster Group in Palestine, which comprises all UN organizations, INGOs and local NGOs providing GBV services in Palestine, including in humanitarian settings. In the course of their operations, both agencies, UN Women and UNFPA, have observed the challenges related to the implementation of Palestinian Laws, CEDAW, UNSCR 1325 and the protection of International humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL). In addition, the study will be informed by the broader set of rights as elaborated in CEDAW and other conventions and instruments. This recognition has prompted the call for an in-depth study to understand the determinants of gender relations within a context of occupation and patriarchy. The study will also identify the needs and priorities of women, girls and youth living in areas facing a humanitarian crisis, identify gaps, and help voice these needs and priorities to humanitarian actors. Through the study, humanitarian actors will be able to develop an informed humanitarian and development response that addresses the root causes of a gender-differentiated impact of the Occupation on members of the community with a focus on women.

Objectives and expectations of the study

The main objective of the study is to examine the gender-differentiated impact of the occupation in Areas C and in the Old City of Hebron (H2) on community members with a focus on the lives of women, girls and youth; identify existing gaps, and provide a set of recommendations within the framework of UNSCR 1325 to humanitarian and other actors, including the UN, international organizations, and civil society to enhance gender responsiveness of services, women's, girls’ and youth protection, wellbeing and livelihoods that maximize their roles within their communities.

To achieve this objective, the study adopted a mixed-method with qualitative and quantitative tools. This included field visits allowing the research team to engage directly with a diverse sample of communities spread across the marginalized areas, identified as the Jordan Valley, Tubas and H2. Data gathered through field visits were supplemented by input gathered from other key stakeholders through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. These stakeholders include members of the National Coalitions for Implementing UNSCR 1325, members of the Safe...
Spaces (established by UNFPA), international organizations (members of the GBV Sub-Cluster), economic bodies (unions, cooperatives), service providers (i.e., legal services, health services including reproductive health, and psychosocial services) and other relevant community-based institutions. In addition, the study team utilized a survey with residents (participants) of the targeted communities.

The study was guided by a series of main questions focusing on the barriers to women’s participation and agency, opportunities for women to participate, the prevalence and reactions to GBV, coping mechanisms utilized by females, the role of UNSCR 1325 and its components, provision of services by humanitarian actors and CBOs and the impact of these services on women’s lives. This current report was also informed by other recent studies and polls conducted by AWRAD.

A multimedia info-graphic has also been developed to support awareness rising on the international level.

Overall Palestinian context: Occupation and patriarchy

The gender structure of gender inequalities in the West Bank and Gaza (WBG) is uniquely complex. It is characterized by a long tradition of women’s engagement in political life and aspirations to gender equality, running alongside a traditionally male-dominated social structure and culture. At the same time, the restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation and political divisions between Palestinian factions are leading to significant changes in the established gender relations, and a reversal to conservative social norms and behaviors towards women.

The demographic dynamics of WBG present extremely difficult challenges for the short term and medium term. Economic development prospects are uncertain with declining economic growth while the labor force is growing at 4% a year, leading to increasing unemployment and poverty. In addition, gender gaps persist in the fields of labor participation, wages, laws and decision-making. Social services are lagging behind in quantity and quality. Despite some progress over the past 10 years, present institutional arrangements are still limited and many services are in the embryonic stage. Marginalized regions, such as refugee camps and rural areas, and groups such as women, still face additional challenges in accessing these services. These challenges, which are fairly common in countries with similar demographic profiles, are uniquely compounded by the restrictions imposed by Israel on land use, access to water and economic opportunity. Israel’s control over the Palestinian Authority’s fiscal revenues further challenges the Palestinian Authority’s ability to deliver services to Palestinian men and women.

The high fertility rate and unemployment rate among educated women, and low labor participation rates among the distinct features of the situation of women in Palestinian society. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) data reveals that 22.0% of women aged 20-24 years gave birth before the age of 18 and this percentage is higher in the Gaza Strip compared to the West Bank (25.1% and 19.6% respectively). The unemployment rate was 44.7% for women against 22.2% for men in 2016. It should be noted that women’s unemployment was the highest among women with 13 years of schooling and above, standing at 45.6%.

In addition, women occupy few central roles in key institutions. In 2014, only 15.6% of judges were females and 25.0% of journalists were females in Palestine. Moreover, Palestinian women ambassadors accounted for only 5.8%; 41.8% of employees in the public sector.

3 Impacts of the Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women (with a focus on Area C, Hebron (H2 Area), East Jerusalem and Gaza), conducted in cooperation with Action Aid, Alianza por la Solidaridad and Culture and Free Thought, 2018; AWRAD, Assessment of GBV in Palestine and Media Programming (Surveys of Women and Men), with Ma’an News Agency, 2017.
4 According to UNFPA over the next two decades, the change in the population age structure in Palestine opens a window of opportunity for economic growth and development. Refer to Palestine 2030 - Demographic Change: Opportunities for Development. http://palestine.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Palestine%202030%20Full%20Report%20English.pdf.
(civil servants) were women. Women comprised 3.4% of the police. Moreover, women occupy 3 ministerial level posts in the Palestinian cabinet out of a total of 21 posts. In contrast, the literacy rates reached 94.9% for females and 98.5% for males in 2015. Furthermore, females comprised more than 60% of all students enrolled in higher education. Females also comprised more than half of students enrolled in schools.

Prevailing social norms, traditions and expectations serve as incubators for GBV in Palestine. Household, and communal, structures are patriarchal, with males exercising dominant if not complete power in social settings and relationships. Gender relations remain a concern where the customs, norms and laws continue to provide men with the power to control women. Women are expected to be deferential and subservient, with men making all key decisions. In typical gender-relations, men are expected to participate in the public sphere, such as working and earning wages, while women are confined to the private sphere and expected to be responsible for child-rearing and domestic affairs.

A disabling legal environment

One of the central enablers of the perpetration of GBV is the Palestinian legal environment. The legal structure across Palestine is a mix of various penal codes, legal systems, local legislation and executive decrees. In the West Bank, the Jordanian Penal Code of 1960 is still in effect, while the Gaza Strip is governed by a combination of Egyptian and British laws and East Jerusalem by Israeli and Jordanian systems. The various laws subject women to institutionalized inequality, while simultaneously protecting individuals who commit acts of violence. Perpetrators of honor killings are defended under Article 340 and Article 98 of the Jordanian Penal Code. While these articles were amended in 2011 and deleted in 2014 from the law through Presidential Decrees, killing of women continues for lack of proper implementation.

The fundamental philosophical current present in these legal codes is that “women are owned by men.” Some of the most notorious examples in the West...
Bank legal system include exemption from prosecution if a rapist marries the survivor of the rape and the lack of recognition of marital rape. The prevailing penal code also fails to codify punishments for, or even rudimentary acknowledgement of, GBV outside of physical harm, such as psychological abuse or socially-based and economic deprivation. The courts continue to use antiquated legal codes from the Ottoman and Jordanian eras, and courts are dominated by male judges and staff.

The role of occupation

AWARAD’s previous research (2018) indicates that the deleterious impact of the Occupation on women’s rights and wellbeing is multi-faceted and not uniform. Rather, women face a compounding series of abuses, harassments, restrictions and violence in the course of their daily life. Participants indicate that women do not face singular or isolated abuses at the hands of the occupation, but rather a series of interlinked violations. This includes the double burden of isolation in the home and the immediate community as a result of limitations on mobility, as well as the inflicting of harassment and violence during the rare moments in which women travel across checkpoints. The isolation in the home is compounded by the sense of impotency that is imposed by the poverty and denial of services that define the Occupation. Despite the fact that the vast majority of their time is spent in the home, women find themselves powerless in the environment. A tightly restricted water regime denies them the opportunity to clean or promote hygiene, while the scant financial resources keep them from repairing or renovating houses, providing clothes or food for children with enough frequency to promote security or pursuing activities to relieve boredom or stress. As a result, women must contend with the crushing double burden of monotony and powerlessness, particularly its serious consequences for health and well-being.

The occupation also serves to reinforce patriarchal norms that encourage, in some cases, GBV. Critical factors include the state of financial crisis that families are reduced to on a regular basis, as a result of a choked labor market and inadequate social services. These circumstances force families into a condition of financial triage, in which finances are rationed according to utility. Female family members are the first to suffer under such a system, which commonly includes girls being taken out of school or wives denied income for themselves or maintenance of the household. This may happen simultaneous with boys being given money as disposable income, for expenses like gasoline or cigarettes, as patriarchal perspectives assert that boys need spending money to be social and maintain appearances, while women do not. The research also reveals that early marriage is another consequence of limited financial circumstances.

The Occupation also exacts a toll on Palestinian men, a cost that is regularly passed on to women and is regenerated at home. When the image of masculinity is challenged, either by direct abuse by Israeli soldiers and settlers or indirectly by the poverty and absence of opportunity imposed by the Occupation, men feel frustrated and inadequate. Such feelings may incite men to attempt to reassert their strength by exerting control and domination over weaker individuals, such as wives or children.

15 Article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code.
16 There have been some positive changes in relation to GBV in the legal system. Recently, the courts added family counseling units that provide advice to families facing adversity. In addition, the Office of the Attorney General has recently established a Gender Unit with a view to create a more gender-sensitive adjudication process. The Palestinian Police established a Family and Child Protection Unit, which is the main gateway for women and girls to start their complaints process within the formal legal system. The newness of these attempts makes them difficult to evaluate, but all evidence show that they lack competent human and material resources. Other positive developments in highlighting and combating GBV include efforts of women and human rights organizations that have placed the issue of GBV on the national agenda and as a real concern for decision-makers, donors and civil society organizations. They included the establishment of the Ministry of Women Affairs and Gender Units in all ministries. This culminated in a number of national strategies that focus on GBV. For example, the National Cross-Sectoral National Gender Strategy (2011-2013) which focuses on the reduction of all forms of GBV. In addition, the PA has adopted a number of conventions and agreements including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 2009, Palestinian Bill of Rights (2008), and the Decision by the Council of Ministers to create a National Committee on Combating Violence Against Women (2007). The introduction of the National Referral System (NRS) (2013) was also one step forward.
17 AWRAD, Assessment of GBV in Palestine and Media Programming (Surveys of Women and Men), with Ma’an News Agency, 2017.
Circumstances in Area C and H2

The following is a narrative of the political, legal, economic and social conditions in Area C and H2. In addition, this section provides an overall summary of the circumstances that influence gender relations and the situation of women in these areas.

Area C and the Jordan Valley

In the 1995 Oslo Interim Agreement on the WBG, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed to the temporary division of the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) into three areas: A, B and C. This division was intended to last until a final status agreement was reached within five years.\(^\text{18}\) When Israeli/Palestinian negotiations broke down in 2000, approximately 40 per cent of the West Bank had been categorized as Areas A and B which encompassed most of the built up areas, leaving the majority of the West Bank – over 60 per cent - with virtually all its future development potential - in Area C, under full Israeli control.

The borders of Area C were initially based on the outlines of the built-up Palestinian areas at the time and the location of existing Israeli settlements in the West Bank. In 1995, Israeli settlers in Area C numbered some 115,000.\(^\text{19}\) Today, some 411,000 settlers live in Area C,\(^\text{20}\) meaning that the settler population has more than tripled since the Oslo Accords, while the population of Israel in this period has less than doubled.\(^\text{21}\) The rate of settlement construction has doubled over the past 5 years.\(^\text{22}\) There has been no official change to the A, B, and C division since 2000. Of particular importance is the fact that responsibility over planning and zoning in Area C, including the issuance of building permits for construction, which was to be transferred to the PA by the end of 1998, has remained with Israel.

Israel has appropriated some 70 per cent of Area C for exclusive Israeli use in the form of settlements, military training zones, natural reserves, and declared 38 per cent of Area C as state land in violation of IHL. Public land has systematically been allocated only for the use of settlers and not for the use of Palestinians, despite their status as the protected population.

The Jordan Valley comprises almost 42% of Area C and approximately 30% of the West Bank area with nearly 60,000 Palestinian residents residing within Area C in the Jordan Valley in rural and Bedouin communities.\(^\text{23}\) Area C has extensive empty areas and the built up and populated areas are dispersed. As Area C is around 88% of the Jordan Valley,\(^\text{24}\) Israel's discriminatory policies in Area C are extensively implemented, with strong impacts observed in this area. Israel applies a discriminatory and restrictive planning and zoning regime in Palestinian communities and villages; moreover, Israel controls the rich natural resources of the Jordan Valley.\(^\text{25}\) For example per capita Palestinian water consumption in the Jordan Valley is less than 7% of the average Israeli settler consumption there, and

---

18 OCHA, Demolition Orders in Area C, 2015.
21 Since 1967, about 250 Israeli settlements and settlement outposts have been established across the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem. This violates Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the transfer by the occupying power of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. This has been confirmed numerous times, among others by the International Court of Justice (Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory of 9 July 2004); the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention (Declaration from 5 December 2001); and the United Nations Security Council (Resolutions 471 of 1980 and 2334 of 2016). OCHA, The humanitarian impact of de facto settlement expansion: the case of Elon Moreh, January, 2017.
23 B’Tselem. 2013. Acting the Landlord: Israel’s Policy in Area C, the West Bank.
24 OCHA. 2012. Humanitarian Fact Sheet on The Jordan Valley and Dead Sea Area.
26 Ibid.
only 20% of WHO recommended levels. 27 Palestinians living in the Jordan Valley are at a high risk of dispossession, due to Israel’s land confiscation and house demolition policies in the area. 28 Area C is unique in Palestine for the total absence of any administration; the Palestinian government is denied jurisdiction and the Israeli military administration refuses to provide any semblance of governance. Various Palestinian ministries, CBOs and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are permitted to provide a smattering of essential services, such as health and education, less a safety net and more life support.

The extreme state of marginalization in Area C means that even basic statistics are rarely available. In 2014, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimated that roughly 300,000 Palestinians live in 530 residential areas, 241 of which are entirely in area C; of these, approximately 241 communities are entirely within Area C. Though Area C constitutes more than 60% of the territory of the West Bank, barely any of this land, and its associated resources, is available to Palestinians. Large strips of land in Area C was designated by Israel as state land and allocated to settlement expansion, 14% of Area C were declared nature preserves and 30% as firing zones. Accounting for the various restrictions and discriminatory planning regime, it is estimated that approximately 70% of Area C is prohibited to Palestinians.

Out of 291 communities that have some part of their structures within Area C, only 5 communities have approved master plans, owing to a policy of perpetual denial by the Israeli planning administration, leading to any building or construction is declared illegal by the Israeli occupation. In essence, the occupation authority refuses to grant permits approving Palestinian construction; in the first half of 2016, out of a total of 428 permit requests, 391 were rejected. Israel uses the absence of master plans and planning permits as pretext for the destruction of homes, infrastructure and, in certain cases, entire communities. In 2016 alone, 1,093 structures in Area C and East Jerusalem were confiscated or demolished, displacing over 1,600 Palestinians and affecting the lives of over 7,000 others.

Women’s lives in Area C

Circumstances in Area C are dire for Palestinian women. Absence of basic infrastructure and services, an anemic labor market that provides little beyond subsistence, geographic isolation, poverty, conservative norms and traditions are compounded by a military occupation, defined by a discriminatory planning regime, destructive army and violent settlers.

The burdens of the Occupation in Area C fall hardest on women, manifesting as threats to health and well-being, in addition to theft of economic, educational

27 OCHA. 2012. Humanitarian Fact Sheet on the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea Area.
30 ibid.
and political opportunity. Families and communities live under the omnipresent threat of home demolitions and forced displacement. Home demolitions fall especially hard on women. Most communities in Area C adhere to traditional gender roles, reflective of conservative perspectives and economic limitations, in which women are understood to occupy the domestic sphere, responsible for affairs around the home. The destruction of the central pillar in life and lifestyle can have devastating emotional consequences, including the development of psychosocial disorders like anxiety and depression, which can be compounded by a sense of failure to protect one’s children from violence. Women are also at risk of deliberate violence, inflicted by Israeli soldiers and settlers and several instances have been recorded in the last year of women being attacked while tending to farmland, collecting water or being in their homes.39

Beyond the risk of physical harm and violence, women in Area C must endure the burden of stolen opportunity. This theft of potential starts young. Palestinian girls have limited access to education, as a result of absent infrastructure and restricted mobility.40 It is not uncommon for girls to drop out of school, which can lead to early marriage, early pregnancy and sexual assault. Adult women face additional challenges. Few economic opportunities exist beyond working as an agricultural laborer or animal herders frequently unpaid, on family farms or with family herds, in addition to working in nearby settlements under extreme conditions. Women have little capital, collateral or access to finance in such remote areas, stunting opportunities for entrepreneurship and its economic and psychosocial benefits. Further, due to the restrictive permit regime, poor infrastructure and threats by soldiers and settlers few women leave their communities to market goods, seek services, visit family members or travel for pleasure. This is particularly perilous for pregnant women who require prenatal, neonatal and other maternal care from hospitals. Finally, women are often at risk of GBV and intimate partner violence (IPV), as a result of the stresses and frustrations of male family members. Few communities in Area C have access to services to prevent GBV or IPV, such as police, health centers or shelters. Bedouin communities are especially at risk.

40 50,000 Palestinian children enrolled in 183 schools in area C did not have access to education due to absence of schools or perceived threats in attending. According to Save the Children, UNICEF and the Ministry of Education data, more than 1,700 children in 37 localities in area C walked about 5 kilometers or more to school. Approximately 2,500 children are forced to cross military checkpoints to access their schools and, for some children, the journey can take three to four times as long due to circuitous routes taken to avoid settlers. Palestine Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). 2015. Press Release on the Child International Day.
BOX 1.
Jiftlik and Bardala villages

The following provides a brief description of the main circumstances in two of the targeted communities (Jiftlik and Bardala), both with their lands and resources are located fully or partially in Area C.

Jiftlik Village

Jiftlik is a Palestinian village located in the Jordan Valley with a population of 4,701 in 2016. All land area of the village falls in Area C, where Palestinians have no control over resources nor can they build or construct without Israel’s permit. Israel confiscated thousands of dunums in Jiftlik for settlement expansion, military purposes and opening of bypass roads to connect the settlements. There are seven settlements built over the village’s land. Jiftlik does not have a master plan and Israel rarely grants permits for Palestinians to build and expand. This results in demolitions of any built structures and the dispossession of Palestinians living there. The main economic sector is agriculture in Jiftlik (90%), followed by trade (5%), Israeli labor market (3%) and governmental and private sectors (2%). Agricultural workers are the group most impacted by the Israeli practices. The main issues are lack of water resources, high cost of inputs, marketing and exporting issues due to border crossing difficulties. According to UN OCHA’s vulnerability profile of Jiftlik village, agriculture is highly vulnerable due to the irregular supply of water and closed military areas. Jiftlik village is highly vulnerable to weak Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) due to the irregular supply of water and concerns over the quality of water. Water consumption rate per capita in Al-Jiftlik is around 53 liters/day, half of the amount recommended by WHO. Palestinian farmers are forbidden to construct new wells or restore old ones, as the Israeli company Mekorot has a monopoly over the supply of water, and it provides the settlements with abundant water supplies while Palestinians are left with minimum water supply. Moreover, the village lacks a sewage network and also lacks a solid waste management system. Residents in Jiftlik village suffer from several obstacles in relation to healthcare services. Healthcare centers are located outside of communities, they lack skilled staff, there is a lack of specialized healthcare centers, and the cost of health services is considered high. The nearest hospital is either in Jericho (45 km away) or in Nablus (35 km away). Students in parts of the village travel to secondary schools that are outside of their communities, which make the village medium and highly vulnerability in relation to education. Moreover, the village suffers high dropout rates as children go to work in settlements.

The village is highly vulnerable to protection issues as a result of factors including restrictions on movement, military operations and arrests, restrictions on access to land, confiscation of land, demolitions and risks of demolitions of houses and structures (75 demolition orders are currently issued against residents in Jiftlik)

43 ibid.
47 ibid.
48 ibid.
and the irregular connection to electricity and water. Between the years 2000-2011, 100 families have left the village. Jiftlik has a number of governmental and local associations and organizations that serve the society including youth, women and children.

Bardala Village

Bardala is a Palestinian village located in the Jordan Valley in Tubas governate, with a population of 2,177. It is considered to have high vulnerability in relation to access to land primarily due to the impact of the Barrier, the military areas, the closure system, bypass roads and Israeli settlements. Between the years 2000 and 2006 alone, Israel confiscated 4000 dunums of the village’s land. The village is also has a high vulnerability in relation to Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH). This is mainly a result of the irregular supply of water to the village, as well as concerns related to the quality of water supplied. In April 2017, Israeli bulldozers destroyed all the water pipelines providing services to Bardala, cutting off 3,500 residents from any water. This has huge implications for the agricultural sector in the village, which is highly vulnerable to the shortage and irregularity of water supply. As for shelter and housing, the village is at a medium level of vulnerability due to the risk of demolition by Israeli authorities (25 demolition orders are currently issued against residents in Bardala), demolished houses and structures, weather-inappropriate shelters as well as irregular supply of electricity and water. Moreover, people in this village suffer from settlers’ attacks on their land, which destroy their trees and crops, intimidate, harass and block access to Palestinian land. Bardala is not highly vulnerable in terms of health care services, as it has a local primary healthcare center in the village. But it does suffer from lack of skilled staff and lack of specialized health centers. Moreover, residents of Bardala cannot easily access healthcare services outside their village due to Israeli closures and barriers. The village also has both a primary and secondary schools inside the residential area, but both schools require renovation and there is a lack of transportation to the secondary school.

All the above renders Bardala at a high level of vulnerability in relation to Protection, especially due to military operations, arrests of residents, access to land restrictions and land confiscations as well as the demolition of shelters.


Caught up between a Rock & a Hard Place: Occupation, Patriarchy and Gender Relations
H2 Area

As a result of the Oslo accords of 1995, Hebron city, as part of the West Bank, was divided into Areas A, B and C. Subsequently in 1997, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel signed the Hebron Protocol, which further divided the city into H1 and H2 areas. H1 (80% of the city) is under Palestinian civil and security control, while H2 is under full Israeli control (20% of the city). Over 40,000 Palestinians live in H2 area, with almost 30% of them living next to Israeli settlements, home to a few hundred of Israeli settlers.67

Israeli control over H2 is translated into various policies that violate the human rights of Palestinian residents and could lead to forcible transfer of the Palestinian population. These policies and practices include imposing a severe system of movement restrictions on Palestinian residents, discriminatory policies that impact the social and economic aspects of Palestinians’ lives, and allowing settlers and soldiers to constantly harass and intimidate Palestinians with complete impunity, all leading to the creation of a coercive environment that makes it impossible for people to live normal lives and enjoy basic human rights.68

H2 area is surrounded by over 100 physical obstacles69 erected by the Israeli army including checkpoints and roadblocks that restrict Palestinian residents’ movement to H1 area as well as to other areas within H2.70 Roads are segregated and several streets have been closed to Palestinians while Israeli settlers are allowed to move freely.71 In addition to the spatial segregation in H2 area, Israeli imposes a legal system of segregation, where Israeli settlers are governed by Israeli civil law, while Palestinians are subjected to the military laws of Occupation.72

Moreover, Israel’s policies in H2 reach the family unit and social life, where it enacts various restrictions on Palestinians’ residency and family unification in the area, leading to lower numbers of Palestinians living in H2 in comparison to the Israeli population.73 Due to the coercive environment created by the above restrictions almost a third of Palestinian homes in the restricted areas are abandoned.74

However, various additional impacts result from these policies and practices.

The situation created in H2, and Israel’s full control of the area, means that the PA has neither access nor jurisdiction in H2. In absence of formal governmental authority to safeguard their rights, women and men living in H2 have very little possibility for legal redress.75 According to a chief of police in Hebron in 2006, the Palestinian police have a problem capturing criminals and perpetrators, as they would flee into the areas that are off-limits to them.76

However, one should not view the circumstances in Area C and H2 as identical despite clear commonalities. While both territories endure poor services, endemic poverty and a stunted labor market and the threat of Israeli violence and dispossession, the character of these challenges is unique. The most acute threat to life and livelihood in H2 is Israeli security forces and settler violence. The settlement presence is an omnipresent, active and encroaching danger. To assert their authority over the city of Hebron and intimidate the indigenous, settlers regularly harass, attack and dispossess Palestinians. Children are attacked on their way or inside school, adults going about the course of their daily life are physically attacked and, in the worst instances, gangs of settlers invade houses and refuse

72 Badil. 2016.
73 Ibid.
to leave until their seizure of the property is legitimized by the Israeli government. Checkpoints, school invasions and night raids are a regular occurrence for Palestinians. H2 is notable for the existence of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) a civilian observer mission present in the city of Hebron responsible for monitoring the situation and documenting violence committed against Palestinians. However, TIPH is not a police force and, by mandate, is prohibited from intervening in outbreaks of violence, leading to accusations of impotence and irrelevance among Palestinian residents.

Women’s lives in H2

Women are often disproportionately impacted by the adverse circumstances in H2. In common with Area C, the social and economic circumstances combine to promote a patriarchal culture that stresses the importance of domesticity among women. The ability to maintain a home is a persistent challenge, reflective of refused building permits, limited capital and repeated destruction by Israeli forces. Women must also bear the consequences of an environment acclimatized to violence. From his/her earliest days a Palestinian child is surrounded by systematic violence, with few safe spaces. Exposure to violence has been linked to psychosocial disorders, such as anxiety and depression, but also includes aggression and predisposition to violence. Mothers thus find themselves facing the double burden of connecting with children who are withdrawn and also protecting them from other children who are aggressive or abusive.

The paucity of psychosocial services in the H2 area and the inability to travel outside the area, reflective of mobility restrictions and fear of losing a home, prevent mothers from receiving the assistance they need. Finally, women have little opportunity for economic advancement or even employment. By 2007, it was estimated that 1,829 Palestinian businesses in Hebron had been closed, 77.0% of those in H2. The impacts on socioeconomic circumstances are stark. Chastened financial circumstances fall particularly hard on girls and women, the former being the first to be taken out of school or other activities deemed too costly and the latter denied the resources to care for their children, maintain their home and develop themselves. Services are poor or infrequently provided and the local economy, once one of Palestine’s most thriving, has been throttled into non-existence by the Occupation.

Approach and methodology

Gender-based analytical frame

AWRAD utilized a gender-based and participatory approach capable of meeting the objectives of the study and capture the realities of the diverse locations targeted. AWRAD based its data collection and analysis on the need to contextualize the issues based on an understanding of the impact of occupation and humanitarian settings. As such, a comprehensive analysis required an understanding of four interlocking foci (analyses of gender-differentiated impact, rights and status of women and girls with a focus on GBV victims and survivors, threats and coping mechanisms and organizational settings and responses (as demonstrated in the following diagram).

77 A 2014 study by the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC) determined that 1,105 abandoned residential units (33.0% of the total) were in need of restoration, a process impossible without Israeli permission.

78 In 2015, there were 53 documented attacks against schools in H2, affecting 5,939 children. UNSCO. 2016. Joint UN Strategy for Hebron.
Gender-based research approach

The study approach and methodology are based on broad local and international experience in conducting research and projects that focus on gender analysis. Gender-based research is distinguished by a focus on women’s experiences, where the aim is to ‘make women visible, raise their consciousness and empower them’ 79. The researcher takes into consideration a gendered analysis of the roles, needs, perspectives, opportunities and rights of women within the overall familial and social context. Gender-based research Feminist methodology is also guided by five basic principles: women and gender are the focus of analysis; importance of consciousness raising; dealing with the participant as an expert in terms of the knowledge being provided; a high focus on ethics in the full spectrum of the research process; and a focus on empowering women and changing power relations. 80

The present study integrated these principles in all phases of our approach and methodology. The study also utilized the resources of UNW and other relevant organizations (e.g. WFP, Protection Cluster and other data sources such as PCBS, OCHA and others).

Phases and methods of the research

AWRAD utilized a mixed-method methodology of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. The quantitative data (questionnaire and secondary sources) provided information about the impacts of occupation and other prevailing conditions on women in general. Qualitative data (Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and stay-overs) explained how these impacts make women feel, how their lives are affected and what kind of coping mechanisms they employ.

Each tool has been informed by UN Women’s ToR allowing for triangulation during data analysis. Different components of field research were conducted in parallel with one another, so as to allow for comprehensive data collection and in-depth analysis. A participatory approach helped to ensure that, to the extent possible, all views, feelings, intimate life details of the context were captured.

80 Cook and Fonow, 1986.
Phase I: Inception

Preliminary consultations

AWRAD team held an introductory meeting with representatives from UN Women to validate AWRAD’s understanding of key aspects of the assignment. AWRAD also organized a consultative workshop with relevant agencies from the UN, government and non-government institutions (refer to annex 3) working in the field of the study. The meeting helped in shaping the research questions, methods and analytical framework.

Literature review

AWRAD team has already conducted a literature review of various key documents relevant to the scope of this project.

In order to develop a profile of Area C (Jordan Valley and Tubas) and its residents as well as of the Old City of Hebron (H2); AWRAD team referred to databases, documents, reports and other materials produced by leading national and international actors. These materials will inform the research team on matters related to: populations, service coverage, economic and social statistics (income, marital status, etc.) and other relevant data. AWRAD reviewed documents created by OCHA, UNFPA, the PCBS, ARIJ, CSOs and CBOs active in the region, relevant Ministries and other local and international agencies.

Phase II: Fieldwork

Community-based case studies

This was based on extensive investigations of three target communities which served as the case studies. They, in conjunction with all the available data through secondary data sources, shed light on the overall context of Area C and H2. The three target communities are presented in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-region</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population size (PCBS, 2016)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jordan Valley</td>
<td>Jiftlik</td>
<td>4,701 (Overall population in the Jericho/Jordan Valley region of 54,562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubas</td>
<td>Bardala</td>
<td>2,177 (Overall population in the Tubas region is 66,854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron – H2 area</td>
<td>Old city</td>
<td>6,500 (Overall population in the H2 region is more than 40,000 Palestinians and 500-800 Israeli settlers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

81 A Study Reference Group was established to oversee the study and provide input to enrich its various phases.


Each of the above targeted communities has its own specific context. Our community-based case studies utilized the following complementary tools as needed:

**Field visits**

The research team carried out an initial and rapid scoping of the three communities which was followed by field visits and stay-overs, during this period, the research team also conducted the survey, interviews, participant observations and focus groups. The research team conducted at least one stay-over in each community, totalling between 3-4 days/night each. Additional visits and call-backs were carried out to complete any missing data as the analysis requires.

**The Survey**

The research team distributed a series of quantitative survey questionnaires among 300 residents of the three communities - 100 per community. The questionnaires were distributed equally between women and men and taking into consideration the representation of all age groups including youth. These questionnaires were specifically derived to measure the gender – differentiated humanitarians needs, responses to adversity, access to different services, exposure to GBV and availability of relevant services. The survey helped to confirm or elaborate on quantitative data elicited from the review of official documents. The questionnaires were designed to answer the primary research questions. The data collection was followed by data entry in an SPSS file which allowed for a full range of analysis and cross-tabulations.

**In-depth Interviews (IDIs)**

The research team conducted two types of IDIs:

With women residing the target communities: AWRAD interviewed a sample of “marginalized” women directly affected by various forms of violence. A total of 9 interviews were carried out (3 in each community). The sample was selected to represent different cohorts of women (house care taker, young women and professionals). Our sample selection took into account the dynamics of power relations between different stakeholders within the communities, and was based on an unfolding process in the field during the period that our researchers spent in the communities. Many other women were involved through the informal talks that our researchers carried out during their stays in the community.

With relevant stakeholders in the life of women in Area C and old city of Hebron: These interviews were designed to elicit specific and nuanced data that can contextualize existing quantitative data and provide details on matters not easily captured by surveys or database/document review. IDIs focused on issues such as challenges faced by certain stakeholder groups (women, youth, PWDs and women and girls victims of violence), the relationships between citizens and the existing service institutions, services provided and challenges to provide humanitarian and development services and support. In total, the team carried out 12 IDIs with informants from relevant institutions including women organizations, village councils, international organizations working in the field, government institutions, GBV sub-clusters, CBO coalitions, representatives of youth. Many of the IDIs were also conducted with women activists who were also exposed to violence and other forms of discrimination. Other formal and informal interviews took place as needs arose.

**Focus group discussions (FGDs)**

---

84 A stay-over is effectively an extended field visit, in which one or multiple researchers embed themselves in the participating community. Researchers stay for a reasonable period, interacted with the community, engaging in certain social events and with certain people.
In each of the target communities, the team organized three focus groups with women, youth and expert informants (working with relevant institutions including GBV networks, child and youth networks, CBOs, international organizations, social workers, and counsellors).

**Phase III: Data analysis and reporting**

Data analysis included the following activities:

- Statistical data analysis of the quantitative survey using SPSS; which yielded descriptive tabulation and cross-tabulation.
- Transcript analysis for FGDs and IDIs.
- Thematic analysis for quantitative and qualitative data with a focus and link to UN Women’s project’s objectives and intended outcomes.
- The data analysis was further enriched and validated through meetings and reviews form UN Women, UNFPA, the Study Reference Group and GBV sub-cluster and other relevant partners.
CHAPTER 2.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BARRIERS FACING WOMEN IN AREA C AND H2
This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the impact of the occupation, cultural, social and economic circumstances on the status and rights of women based on the findings of the research conducted. It also provides an analysis of gender – differentiated impacts, as well as an explanation of the socio-cultural, economic and political barriers facing women in Area C and H2.

**Knowledge of rights**

Women as well as men, in marginalized areas such as Area C and H2, find the question on knowledge of rights as somewhat irrelevant and to some extent patronizing. Young men and women participating in the FGDs also expressed a low level of interest and highly limited knowledge of rights (whether as stipulated in international conventions of national laws). Survey participants (females and males) have limited knowledge of women rights. The least knowledge is in women rights as stipulated in international law (with 95% with no or limited knowledge) and the Palestinian Basic Law – Constitution (94% with no or limited knowledge). The majority of participants also express no or limited knowledge of political rights (92%), legal rights (89%) and social rights (81%).

Knowledge is less in H2 compared to the other two communities (Jiftlik and Bardala). For example, 73% of the participants in H2 say they have no knowledge whatsoever in international legal rights of women, compared to 69% in Jiftlik and 64% in Bardala. In addition, 62% of the participants in H2 say they have no knowledge whatsoever of the Palestinian Basic Law, compared to 60% in Jiftlik and 50% in Bardala. The only field of knowledge where participants express higher levels of knowledge in H2 is in the social rights field, compared to the other two communities. The overall (composite) level of lack of knowledge of all rights listed above (international, legal, political and social) is, however, somewhat higher in Jiftlik and H2 is (52%) compared to Bardala (45%).

![Percentage reporting no or limited knowledge of women-related rights](image-url)
Women say that they have more limited knowledge of rights than men. For example, as much as 76% of women say they have no knowledge whatsoever in international legal rights of women, compared to 62% of men. In addition, 66% of women say they have no knowledge whatsoever of the Palestinian Basic Law, compared to 49% of men. Furthermore, 66% of women say they have no knowledge whatsoever of political rights, compared to 44% of men and 53% of women say they have no knowledge whatsoever of legal rights, compared to 37% of men. The smallest gap is in the field of social rights, where 32% of women say they have no knowledge whatsoever of social right, compared to 25% of men. The overall (composite) level of lack of knowledge of all rights listed above among women is 56% compared to 42% among men.

FIGURE 3
Percentage reporting no or limited knowledge of women-related rights by gender
To most women and men participants in the study, the issue of knowledge is limited, as well as inhibited, by their everyday real-life concerns and struggles. To all the women residing and working in the three target communities representing Area C and H2, their main concern is to meet everyday demands around the survival of their families, hence, have no interest or time for what they consider irrelevant or theoretical knowledge.

“I know that my rights are in what I do every day. I must struggle for every aspect of my life, to do housework without proper electricity and water, to go to the farm and find a way to get over the hurdles imposed by the occupation and settlers in our way; to deal with house raids and arrests of my sons and husband; to take care of my ill daughter and to earn enough money to send my daughter to college.” (Woman, Bardala, 50 years old)

To others the issue of knowledge of rights is a luxury that they cannot afford.

“I have no interest in all this knowledge about rights. I have my rights in my family and with my husband and sons, rights are for other women - maybe for educated city folks. Here, we can’t be thinking about these rights as we have no use for them.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

While the lack of opportunities for learning about rights is mostly due to the complex nature of demands from everyday women in the private and public spheres, it also due to the focus of most awareness programs in urban centers and targeting limited cohorts of women. An expert in the Hebron region (representative of a woman center, 39 years old) articulated this factor:

“Most of what we do in awareness raising campaigns focuses on women who are accessible in urban centers and in regions that are willing to receive our work; out campaigns are also limited in scope and mostly take the form of workshops and as such reach a limited number of women. When we use public media including TV and billboards, we use language and slogans that are not understood by everyday women - it is like we are talking to ourselves.” (Expert, Hebron, 47 years old)

Even when some organizations attempt to work in regions that are challenged by lack of PA control, characterized by occupation violations and economic hardship, the members of the community might refuse any awareness activities offered by outside organizations. In all three target communities, there was citation of examples of resistance to “outside interference” in the local culture and private affairs of families.

“Once we started going from one home to another; but quickly the leaders of the community who were approached by some men asked to stop as we are bothering the families and interfering in their affairs. They told us that we are giving women ideas that don’t fit the local culture. When we continued, women started resisting as they had to conform to the general sentiments of not accepting our ideas.” (Activist, Jericho and Tubas regions, 35 years old).”
Beliefs and realities concerning the rights of women

Survey participants (women and men) were asked about their beliefs in relation to a number of issues relating to gender relations and women rights. Beliefs in relation to mobility and violence are described in the following sections. In this section, however, we highlight the issues of economic rights (with a focus on work), decision making, and mobility and public participation as proxy indicators of beliefs and practices in general.

Economic rights (work)

When asked if “a woman’s place is in the home,” the participants were divided: 54% disagreed and 46% agreed. The highest level of agreement is in Bardala (52%), followed by Jiftlik (45%) and H2 (40%). Women agree at a lower level (30%) than men (61%). In contrast, 70% of the women disagree, compared to only 39% of men.

![Figure 4: Percentage agreement/disagreement that “a woman’s place is in the home” by community and gender](image)

Participants are also divided on the issue of the impact of women’s work. As much as 40% believe that “when women work, they are taking jobs away from men.” In contrast, 60% disagree. The highest level of agreement with this statement is in H2 (48%), followed by Bardala (44%) and Jiftlik (28%). Women and men have very different views on this issue, where 70% of the women disagree that women take away jobs from men, while 50% of the men disagree.
Qualitative data shows that these beliefs are part of a broader context that must be taken into consideration. The IDIs and the FGDs reveal the following interesting caveats about the issue of women and work:

**Reinterpretation of reality:** When asking women who do not work in the formal sector (paid on a daily or monthly basis) if they work, they most probably will say that “they do not work.” According to many women: “I don’t work; I am only at home.” These beliefs are shared by spouses and other family members. This is due to the universal lack of recognition of work in the (informal sector), where women are highly present. Most women who work in this sector are unpaid especially in small family businesses and farms. This is also connected to the restrictive definition of work where the vast majority of community members and experts do not define what women do as work that is to be compensated and formally recognized. This goes against the actual reality of work for women especially in marginalized/occupation-controlled areas. In describing their daily routines, women interviewed cite significant allocation of time for income-generating activities as well as income-saving activities.

For income-generation, women cite activities that are not formally registered for lack of proper institutionalization and implementation of Palestinian legal frames in Area C and H2. The contributions of women to economic productive activities are varied according to the nature of the economic base of the community (agricultural and pastoral in Jiftlik and Bardala, and urban in old city of Hebron) and essential for the livelihood and survival of the family. This is especially applicable to rural, isolated regions such as Jiftlik and Bardala. The following are the main trends in relation to the contributions of women to work and livelihood:

- Most women provide home and child care for as much as 16 hours a day, while
- At the same time many women work in agriculture, herding, production of dairy and other food products.

---

“My husband and sons work in the farm; I used to work with them, but now I am home. I take the sheep to graze; I milk them and make yogurt and cheese. I sell the remaining that we don’t consume.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

“For us to survive, with my husband in Israeli prison, I make different types of pastries and sell to families in my community.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 54 years old)

Other women are forced by their economic need or/and by their male family member (husband) to work in the nearby settlements. Women and youth working in settlements face a multitude of challenges including low pay, long hours, exploitation from the employer, sexual harassment, stigma from the community and additional burdens with the family. The following are testimonies from women of all ages (including younger women as young as 23 years old) from the Jiftlik and Bardala communities:

“We work for long hours and they pay us 70-80 NIS daily.” (Woman, Bardala 23 years old)

“The young girls in the factory that I work in face harassment from the young Palestinian boys who with them and from the Israeli supervisors. Some girls are asked to stay after work to be sexually exploited by the owner. If she refused, she would be fired.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 45 years old)

In Hebron, most interviewed women are stay-home mothers and care takers. In all communities, the majority of women who work are either at home, in the informal sector or in the settlements with no protection or benefits, with high levels of exploitation, some more highly educated women work in more formal settings as teachers, civil servants, and with local NGOs that provide services to women (income generating projects, awareness raising, education)

• Lack of services and institutions: The role of women in the household serves to compensate for the lack of services provided by government and non-government institutions in other communities. This role becomes even more essential as marginalized families suffer from economic difficulties and insecurities where available income must be spent on the most essential needs of the family. This ‘income-saving role’ that women play is exemplified in the following activities listed by women from the three target communities:

“My 6-year old son has down-syndrome. Every day I must walk him to and back from school. He goes to a specialized school.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 43 years old)

“I do all the management of the income generated by my husband. I allocate our limited income and do all the shopping and take care of my three children in full.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

“I have two children with diabetes, I must take care of all of their needs. It is very difficult to find reliable health services for them. Sometimes I can’t take them to the clinic. It is too far and I in many cases, I don’t have the needed money for transportation.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 54 years old)
“I was trained in first aid; I use that to help kids participating in demonstration and to help neighbors exposed to tear gas or in case of need for emergency assistance.” (Young female, old city of Hebron, 20 years old)

“I am a health worker volunteering with many organizations. I help people in my village and in the neighboring villages.” (Woman, Bardala, 41 years old)

- **High unemployment rates**: The Palestinian population of Area C and H2 is especially prone to higher employment rates compared to other regions that are under PA control as a result of lack of access to resources such as land and water, prevention of the establishment of the needed sustainable infrastructure, and lack of security that allow for any meaningful engagement in agricultural or herding activities. The inability of the PA and the private sector to implement large scale projects lead to further economic stagnation. Furthermore, the lower level of employment in PA institutions in these areas is another factor.

**Decision-making within the household**

When it comes to decision making, the most pronounced expression of authority, a vast majority of participants (72%) believe that “a man should have the final say in all family matters.” Only 28% disagree. The highest level of belief in “a male-dominated family” is in Bardala (78%), followed by the old city (74%) and Jiftlik (65%). While majorities of women and men agree, they have varying degrees of support, for the belief, where 58% of women and 86% of men believe that the authority should be in the hands of male family members (a gender gap of 28 points).

**FIGURE 6**

Percentage agreement/disagreement that “a man should have the final say in decision-making” by community and gender

![Graph showing percentage agreement/disagreement](image-url)
The beliefs that “a woman’s place is at home” and “a man should have the final say in all family matters” reflect traditional/conservative attitudes, but also a contradiction with a reality that is more complex. First of all, not all Palestinians in the target communities share this belief as explained above, where a majority of residents (54%) disagreed with the first notion and 28% disagreed with the second.

Palestinian society is in a state of transition and flux and rhetoric about masculinity hides a reality where women have much more say in matters relevant to the family than admitted by both women and men as the current study reveals. This is consistent with a culture that provided men with a perception of masculine leadership role, at least in the public eye, while shielding a real level of influence that is exuded by women, but must stay (unrecognized). According to a number of focus group participants: Let him be a man in public, and make all the decisions behind closed doors.87

Other women, especially women who are outside of the formal work force, cited many examples of decision-making roles that they play at the level of the household and the community:

“My husband is working all the time; I must make decisions on home and children affairs all the time.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 43 years old)

“My husband hands me all the money that he earns. I am responsible for managing all the money issues. While this is good for me, it is also a burden that I must carry.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

Women working in the formal sector show a higher level of involvement in decision-making in the household citing a level of egalitarian relations:

“We both work as teachers. We both decide together in household matters.” (Woman, Bardala, 45 years old)

“I know my rights and I married a man who understands my rights. He finds useful for us to consult and make decisions together.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

In some cases, women have a full decision-making power as a result of some atypical circumstances like in the absence of a husband or family separation:

“My husband is in Jordan. I must work here in the settlement with some of my kids. I am the earner of income for the whole family. He doesn’t make any decision without my approval.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 54 years old)

“My husband has a disability. He has no interest in making decisions. I must do all of them.” (Woman, Bardala, 53 years old)

“When our house was demolished, we were separated. My husband took two of the kids and I took two. We hardly meet and we have separate lives.” (Woman, Bardala, 61 years old)

While many women have an unrecognized role in decision making within the household, others accumulate a negotiated ability to influence decisions. This is derived from their presence at home and in the community in the absence of the husband, but also through utilizing their relations with their older sons and educated daughters:

“I work with my older sons to make decisions. They help me assert my opinion as they see my point of view and use their influence as males and educated to negotiate decision on important issues such as buying a land, building a home or getting our siblings into college.” (Woman, Bardala, 61 years old)

“Women in our community have more power than what outsiders think. At the level of the family most men are absent and women must be there and make decision on all aspects of family life. Men are always tired from hard work and they show no interest.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

While this reflects the complexity in the situation of gender roles, this should not conceal the fact that society is still highly patriarchal. The experiences and views of women and men who participated in the qualitative research reflect the complex reality of control over women:

“I do all the work at home and in farm, but my husband has the final say in all decisions.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 41 years old)

“He allows me to make decisions on small matters. All the big issues that matter to me and my family including education, health, spending money and mobility are in his hand.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 47 years old)

“My husband has full control over me and my children. Do you expect me to make real decisions?!” (Woman, Bardala, 47 years old)
“Society gives men the full power to decide. They use it when it is convenient to them.” (Young male, Jiftlik, 19 years old)

These beliefs are only a reflection of harsher attitudes when it comes to women’s mobility and control over their own bodies. Notwithstanding, while women might have hidden, negotiated or delegated decision making influence over household and family matters, they have much less influence on community-related decisions as the following section explains.

Mobility and public participation

Findings show that the beliefs and the lower levels of public participation by women described above are reinforced by how participants view the rights of women for free mobility and movement. The vast majority of participants (92%) believe that women should not leave the house without the permission of a family male authority. They are most skeptical of her free participation in local social and political events and gatherings with 96% saying that a woman should get the permission of a male authority before participating. Another 91% believe the same when it comes to the decision for a woman to visit a local women center. A lower percentage (76%), but still a majority, believes that a woman should get the permission of a male figure to be able to visit a health clinic. These beliefs are widespread in all three communities. In terms of gender of participants, women and women generally agree with the above statements with minor quantitative differences. For example, while 3% of the men disagree with the statement that a woman should not leave the house without permission, 14% of women disagree. The gender gap is more apparent when they are asked about the intensity of their agreement/disagreement with the need for permission. For example, while 1 in 3 men ‘strongly agree’ that a woman should get permission, only 1 in 10 of the women feel the same way. At the same time, 23% of the men ‘strongly agree’ that a woman needs a permission to visit a health clinic, and only 7% of the women feel the same way.

FIGURE 7
Percentage agreement that a woman must obtain the permission of a male family member by gender
These beliefs are rooted in a complex set of factors including cultural, economic, institutional, and occupation-related.

“A woman’ natural place is at home. She takes care of the children and the house. She shouldn’t bother with public affairs.” (Young male, old city of Hebron, 17 years old)

“I am young and will get my university degree. But I will end up married and I will hang my university degree in the kitchen where I will end up.” (Young female, Jiftlik, 18 years old)

For many marginalized women, it is a matter of managing time limitations and the need for balancing their domestic and income-generating work roles. Most ordinary women are fully pre-occupied with home care, caring for children, persons with illness or disability and working with the rest of family members to generate sufficient income to subsidize basic needs and paying for loans. Many women do not see any utility in participation in political activities and decision – making positions.

“My back is broken with burdens of having to do everything. Life is very hard, between poverty, trying to make ends meet, taking care of the children, having to stay home embracing for attacks by settlers or soldiers, working in the farm and taking care of my disabled kids. Why would I want to do more?” (Woman, Jiftlik, 51 years old)

“Why would anyone want to participate in political activities? Everyone is in it for him/herself. What do I get out of it? How does my life in this area change when we are surrounded by settlements, land expropriation and checkpoints?” (Woman, Bardala, 61 years old)

Others cite the lack of opportunities for participation. The weak governmental institutional structures and civil society organizations do not allow for ready participation opportunities. While some women lack any knowledge of such opportunities, others cite seasonal targeting of these marginalized communities. Political participation is also limited as a result of the weak political parties in these communities where emphasis is on tribal/clannish relations and allegiances. These clans serve as the main source of economic support, security and conflict resolution in the weak presence of rule of law enforcers and sufficient government services. Local councils provide an opportunity for participation, yet women in these areas report that they are faced with multiple obstacles to effectively participate in decision – making processes that are relevant to the work of these councils. The elections for these councils in these communities are predominantly based on tribal arrangements and decisions which have little to do with democratic process.

“There are no real opportunities for participation. They remember to organize some activity to educate women every once in a while. The seasonal nature of the activities and the fact that they are funded and connected to a temporary project make women doubt the motives of the organizers.” (Female expert, Jiftlik, 47 years old)
“Women don’t see the utility of participation in changing their lives. In our village, only a few women are involved and when other women are invited, they feel that they are only numbers to get the registration forms filled out.” (Female expert, Bardala, 45 years old)

“The political parties are very weak now. One party controls the village and a few men and some of their wives benefit and rise to power.” (Female expert, old city, 43 years old)

Occupation-related conditions and limitations consolidate cultural norms and assertions that discriminate against women and ostracize their potential participation in public affairs.

“It is so hard to move from my home as I live very near the settlement. It is very hard to feel safe in going and coming, so I just don’t.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 45 years old)

“Many of the political meetings take place in the evening. My husband worries for my safety because of the soldiers and their abrupt trainings near us. He doesn’t allow me to go to the meetings.” (Local council member, Area C, 41 years old)

While all the above-listed evidence and qualitative data provide credence to the argument that the participation of women is limited, the majority of participants express their satisfaction with the present level of participation among women. For example, 81% of the survey participants say that women in their communities are “able to participate in community events and gathering.” In addition, as much as 86% believe that women in their communities are able to participate in decision-making within their families.

Expression of satisfaction about the level of women’s participation reflects a subjective as well as an objective reality. Subjectively, most community members have low expectations for women participation; the bar is very low and any sign of participation or limited number of women participating is exaggerated and considered as a significant achievement by some.

“We are very proud. Women participate in community affairs. They attend lectures and awareness sessions. We had two women in the planning session with an NGO working in agriculture. We have two members in the local council. That is major.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 45 years old)

Others consider women’s participation unnecessary; as such they are intolerant of any level of women participation:

“Why do they want to participate. Men are the ones who should be doing the work outside of the home. What do these women want to do with politics and the village council. They should just stay home and raise their kids.” (Woman, Bardala, 47 years old)
Objectively, some active women in Area C and H2 are making great effort to overcome barriers facing women’s participation in their communities. Many of these women come from organizations or unions that promote the rights of women. Some are members of political parties and are working based on a political partisan agenda.

“Women from the old city of Hebron are the largest group participating in the marches that demand the rights of women. In the 8th of March and in many other occasions, you see them in the front lines of every activity.” (Female political activist, old city of Hebron, 50 years old)

“Through the agricultural cooperative, we meet to coordinate and make demands of the local council and some funders for the benefit of women.” (Woman, Bardala, 46 years old)

“I am active member in the local council. I face huge challenges, but I am steadfast and will continue to work on behalf of women.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

“I am a decision maker at the highest level in the Governorat. I help shape policies and programs in many fields but mostly in social issues and on women’s needs.” (Female expert, old city of Hebron, 52 years old)
CHAPTER 3.

ANALYSIS OF GBV (OCCUPATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE), RIGHTS AND STATUS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS VICTIMS OF GBV
The above-listed attitudes and beliefs are reinforced and legitimized through a complex system of hegemony. This chapter provides an analysis of occupation and family related violence, and the intersection of both, with a focus on GBV, its magnitude and severity, the rights and status of women and girls victims of GBV.

**Occupation-related violence**

Various studies have provided evidence of the role of occupation and its systematic imperatives in the perpetration of violence, the preservation of violent systematic arrangements and the reinforcement of violent structures and cultural norms. The study supplied additional evidence of this. The following section is a description of direct occupation-related violation as reported by the survey participants and they ask about violation at any time during their life (ever) while gauging the frequency of exposure.

**Violations against family members**

Each spouse reported about violation carried out by occupation forces and/or settlers against their own spouse:

- The most frequently reported violation against a spouse is attacks by soldiers or settlers by insulting or cursing, where 53% reported such an occurrence. Among them 47% were exposed to that “few” or “many” times.
- 49% report that their spouse was arrested or detained for a period of time by occupation forces.
- As much as 40% reported their spouse was beaten, shot or wounded by Israeli soldiers or settlers.

---

**FIGURE 8**

Reported occupation violations against spouse

---

88 See bibliography at end of report.
Violation against individuals

Participants were asked if they were exposed to a number of violations:

- More than 46% reported being insulted or cursed by soldiers or settlers. More than one third of them were exposed (few) or (many) times.
- 24% reported that they were detained or arrested by occupation forces.
- As much as 22% reported that they were beaten, shot or wounded by Israeli soldiers or settlers.
- More than 20% reported witnessing the killing of a first-degree relative; with 12% more than once.

**FIGURE 9**
Reported personal exposure to occupation violations by community

**BOX 2**
Community – specific violations

**Old city of Hebron: Widespread and daily violations**

The data show that H2 area is the sense of daily and frequent violations against the population. While the other two target locations suffer, H2 might be viewed as an extreme danger for its indigenous population:

- The vast majority of families (89%) in the old city of Hebron have suffered from home raids; with 73% of them suffering from that “few” or “many” times.
- 72% reported exposure to insults or cursing from occupation forces or settlers; with 60% of them suffering from that “few” or “many” times.
- 44% of old city Palestinians reported exposure to beating, hitting or injury on the hands of occupation forces or settlers. More than one third reported exposure “few” or “many” times.
- 39% were detained or arrested. Almost one third were exposed to detention/arrest “few” or “many” times.
• 32% reported witnessing the killing of a first-degree relative; with than 16% more than once.

Land confiscation is a primary concern in Bardala

• Half of the families in Bardala reported that their land (in full or in part) was confiscated. 43% of them were exposed to land confiscation more than once.

• In addition, 47% of the families in Bardala continue to be denied access to their remaining land. This is a frequent occurrence among 40% of them.

• In addition, 70% of families in Bardala have suffered from home raids; with 57% of them suffering from that “few” or “many” times.

Attacks on Jiftlik

• 44% of families in Jiftlik have suffered from home raids; with half of them suffering from that “few” or “many” times.

• 32% of the participants reported that their spouse was arrested or detained by occupation forces.

Violations against families

• Breaking into the homes of Palestinians in the three target communities (H2, Jiftlik and Bardala) is widespread and frequent, where 68% reported such an occurrence. More alarming is the frequency of such a violation where more than 50% reported that they were exposed to house raids “few” or “many” times.

• 26% reported that their land (full or partial) was confiscated. Another 22% were denied access to their land. In addition, 13% reported that their crops were damaged or destroyed by Israeli forces or settlers.

• 13% reported that the Israeli forces or settlers closed their home.

• 8% reported that the Israeli forces or settlers closed their business/commercial store.

• Another 8% reported that their home was demolished (in full or in part), with more than 4% more than once.
BOX 3
Gender variance in the risk of personal exposure to occupation-related violence

There is a wide gender gap in relation to personal exposure to occupation-related violence, where men report much higher rates than women. This is mostly due to the fact that men are highly present in the public sphere and exposed to various occupation-related practices (e.g., checkpoints, roads, workplace, entry to Israeli proper, agricultural land, and participation in public and collective events such as demonstrations and clashed with army soldiers and settlers).

FIGURE 11
Personal exposure to occupation violations by gender

- For example, while 62% of Palestinian men in the target communities reported insults and cursing from soldiers and settlers, around 30% of the women reported the same.
- 42% of Palestinian men reported that they were arrested or detained by Israeli forces, compared to 7% of women.
- 38% of Palestinian men in the target communities reported that they beaten, hit or injured by occupation forces or settlers, compared to 6% of women.
- An equal percentage of men and women reported exposure to the trauma of witnessing the killing of a first-degree relative.

GBV as a socio-cultural phenomenon

The present study explored to what extent communal circumstances and cultural norms serve as platforms that lead to the preservation and perpetuation of GBV. In this section, the report addresses GBV violence at the household level with a focus on VAW by the husband.
Assessment and rationalization of GBV

Nearly 3 in 5 survey participants (59%) consider GBV as a problem in their communities. This still means that just over 2 in 5 of them (41%) do not consider GBV as a problem. H2 exhibits greater concern for the problem where 83% consider GBV as a problem, compared to 51% in Jiftlik and 43% in Bardala. Women consider GBV as a problem at higher rate (69%) than men (49%). This might be an actual realization of the magnitude of the problem or/and a real concern for its impact on the community.

FIGURE 12
Level of agreement that GBV is a problem by community and gender

The large numbers of participants who do not view GBV as problematic, and even some who do, provide various justifications for the use of violence against women and girls.

Disobedience: 23% of the survey participants agree that it is justifiable for a man to beat/hit his wife/daughter if she disobeys him. A majority, however, finds that disagreeable. A larger majority (87%) finds it disagreeable for a man to cut financial resources from his wife/daughter if she disobeys him. It is interesting to find that female participants find hitting as more acceptable to deal with disobedience than deprivation of financial allowances.

“Men come home exhausted and some women are always nagging and demanding. They should be stopped.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 42 years old)

“Some women are just ignorant; they don’t know how to deal with their husbands. They should be punished till they behave.” (Woman, Bardala, 39 years old)
Inheritance: The vast majority of participants (96%) find deprivation of a woman from her inheritance as disagreeable. Only 4% find it agreeable. The level of agreement is higher in the old city and Bardala (6%) than Jiftlik (1%). The level of agreement is also higher among men (7%) than women (1%). These attitudes do not reflect the objective reality. Most survey participants cite what is supposed to be as Islamic Sharia stipulates that women should get inheritance (half of what a man should get). In reality, this is not always practiced:

“Most women in our village are stripped out of their inheritance in our community.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 46 years old)

“Why should women inherit when we as men are asked to cover all the expenses of family life?” (Young male, old city of Hebron, 20 years old)

Control over the sexuality of women: Findings show that this is possibly the most prevalent justification of GBV in the communities. Concern over the control of the sexuality of women continues to be a main driver and a widely acceptable rationalization of GBV. A majority of survey participants (55%) finds it justifiable for a man to kill a girl in the family if she got pregnant before marriage. 45% disagree. Even in the case where woman got married without the consent of her family, some (34%) find it justifiable to kill her with 66% disagreeing. More alarming is in the case of a raped girl/woman, where 22% find it justifiable to kill her if she was raped and 78% disagree.

The rate of justification of killing a girl in the case of rape is higher in the old city of Hebron (29%) than in Bardala (25%) and Jiftlik (12%). Men find justification in the killing of women at higher rates than women. For example, 66% of men find it justifiable to kill a woman who got pregnant outside of marriage compared to 43% among women. In addition, 31% of men find it justifiable to kill a raped woman, while only 13% of women agree. Furthermore, while 45% of men find it justifiable to kill a woman if she got married without family consent, the rate is less than half of that (21%) among women.

FIGURE 13
Percentage of participants who find it justifiable to kill a woman based on various circumstances by community and gender
Views on killing of women based on what is considered honor are harsh and informed by long tradition and cultural justifications that are widespread:

“A woman who breaks the rules of sanctity should be killed.” (Woman, old city of Hebron, 46 years old)

“If a woman breaks the rules, she is bringing shame and chaos to her full clan; the family should clean its reputation and kill her.” (Young male, Bardala, 18 years old)

Belief in the need for control over the body of a woman is further exemplified through the agreement with the notion that a man can force his wife to have sex with him. While this is not the opinion of the majority of survey participants and was abhorred by the vast majority of the participants of the FGDs, still one fifth of the survey participants believe that a husband has the right to do that. This is especially alarming in the old city of Hebron where over one third (36%) of the participants agreed with this notion, compared to only just over one eighth (12%) in the other two target communities. As much as 27% of men agreed with the notion that a husband can force his wife to have sex, while 14% of women shared the same view.

Exposure to GBV

Questions on exposure to GBV were asked for “ever-married” women. The survey included questions on physical, emotional, sexual and financial violence. Here, we must remind the readers to be careful in viewing these figures. While indicative, they are not absolute. The rates represent the willingness of women to take risks and to report on violence perpetrated against them. Women in general and women in rural areas and with less education and limited access to services tend to underreport. This is confirmed in
the international literature and well-documented in the qualitative research for this study. This, in part, explains the much-lower rates reported in Jiftlik and Bardala (rural and isolated) compared to the old city of Hebron (urban area, close to government and non-government institutions).

Physical violence: This was defined as beating, slapping, shoving, pushing, dragging, kicking or burning. One quarter of the women reported exposure to physical violence during their lives. Among them 19% describe the frequency of violence directed at them as “often” or “always.” The reported rates in the old city of Hebron are staggering (reaching 50%) when compared to the other two target communities (Jiftlik at 14% and Bardala at 12%).

Emotional violence: This type of violence (which includes insults, humiliation, threats, intimidation, and belittling) is most frequently reported. 36% of ever-married women reported emotional violence at least once in their lives. The largest segment of them (28%) is exposed to this type of violence “often” or always.” Again, women in the old city of Hebron report the highest rate of emotional violence (53%) compared to women in Jiftlik (10%) and Bardala (19%).

Sexual violence: As much as 13% of ever-married women in the three communities report exposure to one or more forms of sexual violence (harassment, rape also by husband, forced to engage in inappropriate sexual acts). The reported rate in the old city of Hebron is once more highly alarming reaching to 30%, and compared to 5% in Bardala and Jiftlik.

Economic violence: This type of violence as defined as deprivation of a woman from her own income, or denial of inheritance and allowance. One quarter of the surveyed women reported economic violence. 45% of the women in the old city reported exposure to at least one form on economic violence, while the reported rate was around 6% in the other two target communities. Some consider the spending on family members as an alienable right to all family members from the man. This has religious and cultural credence in Palestinian society. Many cite the saying: It is more merciful to cut necks than to cut financial allowances.

FIGURE 15
Percentage of women reporting exposure to types of violence by community


According to stakeholders interviewed, the higher reported rates in the old city compared to the other two targeted communities reflect the issue of reporting exposure to GBV itself as illustrated in other sections of the report but also an objective reality that reflects the conditions in each community:

“In the old city, we have some of the most conservative sub-cultures in the region. The confrontation with the settlers and occupation forces create an environment of violence at all levels.” (Female expert, old city of Hebron, 54 years old)

“In the old city, we don’t have a real Palestinian authority. It is fully controlled by Israel. The state of lawlessness attracts violent people with criminal records. Men feel that they can get away with any violation and women are even more vulnerable in this case.” (Male expert, old city of Hebron, 57 years old)

“We have some undercover security person who work with the PA. They do their best to protect the community, but their real impact is very limited as they can’t be seen doing security work.” (Female expert, old city of Hebron, 47 years old)

“For few families, the current situation is convenient; they are able to engage in criminal activity and not be held accountable.” (Female expert, old city of Hebron)

As for Jiftlik and Bardala, the lower rates of reporting reflect a number of factors including subjective and objective ones:

“People here are so private; what happens at home stays at home; women will not talk to others about violence. The tribal nature of the communities will only allow women to voice violence if at all within the tribe.” (Female expert, Jiftlik, 35 years old)

“Many women don’t see the acts of their husbands as violence. So they will be surprised if you assume and consider these acts as violent.” (Female expert, old city of Hebron, 47 years old)

“There is no violence in our community. We don’t know of any such incidents and we are like one family, all issues are resolved internally.” (Woman, Bardala, 47 years old)
“Women here are not keen on letting us know about their exposure to violence. They have no time for their own well-being. They consider their matters as marginal compared with the need to report their families and take care of the household.” (Female expert, Jiftlik, 35 years old)

“Why would women want to talk about violence when they know that they can’t get any real help?” (Female expert, Bardala, 47 years old)

“Women are strong here. They don’t accept violence. Some will hit back.” (Female expert, Jiftlik, 35 years old)

“In Bardala and Jiftlik, the PA has some presence and that helps in creating an environment of rule of law. Yet many who live in the outskirts of the villages in Area C feel exempted from Palestinian law.” (Female expert, Bardala, 47 years old)

Occupation-related violence and GBV as mutually-reinforcing

In general, the study found that Israeli practices fuel and feed into the set of beliefs elaborated in the previous section that are already existent.

Occupation-related violence and its role in reinforcing insecurity, protectionism and conservative values

The survey shows a majority agreement (61%) with the statement that occupation practices and settler violence lead to increased conservative attitudes towards the participation of women in the community. Another majority (62%) believe that military violence, as well as settlers’ violence, is a direct factor in limiting the participation of women.

For some segments of society, a (collaborative) relation between occupation and patriarchy serves as a mechanism to harden already-existing norms that reinforce inequality. For example, 71% disagree that it is justifiable for parents to take their daughters out of school due to security concerns, but the same time, as much as 29% agree with that notion. In addition, 34% agree that it is justifiable for men to deny women of opportunities to work outside of the home due to security concerns while 64% disagree.

90 While this study did not test the validity of the claim that since 4 men were killed on the hands of their wives in the region during the past few years (for reasons of use of violence, marrying another woman, etc.), men are careful not to provoke violence from women. This is assumed to have resulted in lower GBV rates in the Jericho and Jordan Valley region. Refer to, A Survey Study of Violence and Services for Women in Jericho and the Jordan Valley, WCLAC, 2017. http://www.wclac.org/userfiles/jerecho.pdf.
These attitudes are closely correlated with level of threat in the community. The old city of Hebron, which is the most exposed to direct, daily and widespread hazards, exhibits the most conservative attitudes. This is spite of the fact that the other (less threatened) communities are rural and geographically marginalized. In the old city of Hebron, as much as 87% agree that occupation and settler practices are leading to increased conservative attitudes and norms. This is compared to 42% in Bardala (medium on the scale of direct and daily threat) and 23% in Jiftlik (least direct and daily threat).
While majorities of women and men agree that occupation practices are leading to increased conservatism and limiting women participation, they tend to do that at varying rates. To some extent, women tend to read occupation practices differently especially in their implications on the rights of women. For example, 27% of the women agree that it is justifiable for parents to take their daughters out of school due to security concerns. The level of agreement among men is higher reaching 37%. The gap between how men and women see the impact of occupation expands when it comes to the right of women to work. As much as 29% of women agree that it is justifiable for women to be denied work outside of the home due to security concerns. This view is shared by 46% of men (a gender gap of 17 points).

**FIGURE 18**
Level of agreement that it is justifiable to deny women education/work for security concerns by gender

In most aspects of GBV, occupation as a structural, overarching and hegemonic factor influences social, economic, cultural and institutional arrangements coupled with a regressive tendency to retreat to the conventional and mundane. Both are cited below to show the intimate and complex causes of GBV:

“My husband and sons must go irrigate the land at night when the soldiers and settlers don’t see them. When they are caught, they are beaten by the soldiers or attacked by the settlers. They come home tired, demoralized and cranky. They take it on me and the children.” (Woman, Bardala, 61 years old)

“I feel unable to protect my family from attacks by settlers. What kind of man can’t protect his family; I get no respect in my own home and I get so angry sometimes and beat my wife and kids.” (Man, Bardala, 64 years old)
“Ever since our house was demolished, we are under pressure. We don’t have a normal life, separated, no privacy, extra burdens, my husband must work twice as much to pay for loans and expenses. Of course, we are all nervous and deprived from leisure time, spending time together and emotional intimacy.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 51 years old)

Exposure to occupation-related violence and perpetration of violence against women

The data show that communities exposed to occupation-related violence (whether by soldiers or settlers or both) are at a higher risk of GBV than others. First and as shown above, the level of exposure to occupation-related violence is higher and more intense in the old city of Hebron than the other target communities. At the same time reported GBV is also higher in the old city than the other two communities (which exhibit similar levels of exposure as in the rest of the West Bank). Previous research carried out by AWRAD (2017) has shown that 14% of West Bank women reported physical violence at some point during their lives. This is compared to 25% in the three target communities. A closer look, however, shows that the rates for the old city of Hebron reach 50%, while Jiftlik and Bardala have the same rates as the rest of the West Bank. The same pattern applies for emotional violence, where Jiftlik and Bardala share similar rates of exposure as the rest of the West Bank (35%); the old city exhibits a much higher level of 53%. These results show the correlation between the intensity of exposure to occupation-related violence and the levels of reported GBV.

The correlation between occupation-related violence and reported GBV is further illustrated in the results of the current survey. The most important predictor of GBV is the exposure of the husband to occupation-related violence. As shown the following table, women with husbands who were exposed to various forms of traumatic experiences with the occupation report higher levels of exposure to various forms of GBV. For example, while 25% of women with husbands who were insulted or cursed by the occupation report physical violence, less than half of women with husbands who were not insulted or cursed, report the same. The highest relative gap is for women with husbands insulted by the occupation reporting sexual violence (the absolute gap is 16% while the relative gap is 80%)91. Reported insults of husband by the occupation are connected with the highest gap in reporting on sexual violence. At the same time, the reported arrest of husband by the occupation is connected with the highest gap in physical violence and the reported beating of husband by the occupation is connected with the highest gap in emotional violence.

### TABLE (2)
Exposure of husband to occupation-related violence and reported GBV

| Exposure of husband to insults/cursing from occupation soldiers/settlers | Women reporting various forms of violence by husband |
|---|---|---|
| | Physical violence | Emotional violence | Sexual violence |
| Husband insulted by occupation | 25% | 44% | 20% |
| Husband NOT insulted by occupation | 12% | 26% | 4% |

91 The absolute gap is the one between reported GBV with husband exposed to occupation-related violence and without husband exposed to occupation-related violence. The relative gap is the absolute gap divided by the higher value of exposure (with husband exposed to occupation-related violence).
Caught up between a Rock & a Hard Place: Occupation, Patriarchy and Gender Relations

Reported gap | 13% | 18% | 16%
---|---|---|---
**Exposure of husband to arrest/detention from occupation forces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women reporting various forms of violence by husband</th>
<th>Physical violence</th>
<th>Emotional violence</th>
<th>Sexual violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband arrested by occupation</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband NOT arrested by occupation</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported gap</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exposure of husband to beating/injury from occupation soldiers/settlers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women reporting various forms of violence by husband</th>
<th>Physical violence</th>
<th>Emotional violence</th>
<th>Sexual violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband beaten/ injured by occupation</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband NOT beaten/ injured by occupation</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported gap</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only does the exposure of the husband to occupation-related violence explain the gap in reported GBV, but the exposure of families to trauma through collective punishment by the occupation was also found to be relevant. For example, one of the most traumatic experiences is the exposure of families to attacks (raids) in their own homes either by soldiers or settlers. As the next table shows, women from families that were exposed to house raids report much higher levels of exposure to various types of violence by the husband.

**TABLE (3)**

Exposure of family to house raids by the occupation and reporting on GBV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women reporting various forms of violence by husband</th>
<th>Physical violence</th>
<th>Emotional violence</th>
<th>Sexual violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family exposed to home raids</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family NOT exposed to home raids</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported gap</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same pattern applies to all other collective violations by the occupation. For example, 53% of women with homes closed by the occupation report physical violence by husband, 21% of women with homes that were not closed report the same. In addition, 40% of women from families exposed to land confiscation by the occupation report physical violence by husband, 22% of women from families that were not exposed to land confiscation report the same.
Qualitative data revealed that the list of violations against women related to the occupation is a long one. Participants in FGDs and in-depth interviews listed the killing of women on checkpoints in the West Bank, beating of women in protest marches against the occupation, imprisonment of women and young girls, and sexual violence and harassment faced by women who work in Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Occupation-related violence and IPV are, in many cases, mutually-reinforcing.

The denial of mobility by the occupying forces also created conditions which increased women’s experiences of daily violence. The most extreme case discussed by participants was of a woman losing her life and that of her baby because of road blocks. Women working in settlements were reported as being especially vulnerable to harassment and control as they lack any real legal protection. They are also negatively viewed in the Palestinian community as most of them work as domestic labor. Many of the male participants of the in-depth interviews carried out with family members, expressed feelings and views that highlighted the numerous impacts that the occupation has on their feelings as men and how this may be tied to increased levels of GBV perpetration. This includes the aftermath of imprisonment, the inability to protect the family while under attack, and the inability to work in Israeli markets or to move freely to other regions. Another form of violence against men and women was seen as the roadblocks distributed across all West Bank regions. Here people must wait for hours to get to work or/and are exposed to physical and emotional violence by the soldiers. In general, the daily harassment by soldiers that men experienced, and coping with that as survival mechanism, resulted in the normalization of violence, humiliation and abuse which was reproduced in their behaviors at home.

One of the hidden costs of the persistence of the violent practices of the occupation and the expected patriotic role of women is paid when women must suffer in silence when their loved ones are killed or imprisoned by the Israeli occupation. Women are expected not to cry or express any public feeling of sadness. Instead, they are expected to show signs of celebration that their loved men are joining the ranks of martyrs.

### Double victimization of women

The most marginalized women in the most marginalized communities might be exposed to both types of violence – from the occupation and within the household. When aggregating the levels of violence perpetrated against women from occupation–related violations and from household members, the levels are staggering. For example, 57% of women living in the old city of Hebron, Jiftlik and Bardala report exposure to emotional violence either from the occupation (21%) or at home (36%), with 18% reporting exposure to emotional violence from both sources. In terms of physical violence, as much as 33% of the women living in these communities report exposure to physical violence either from the occupation (8%) or at home (25%). 5% report exposure to physical violence from both sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Exposed to occupation violation</th>
<th>Not exposed</th>
<th>Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land confiscation</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closure of home</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House demolition</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closure of business/store</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing the killing of a close relative</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (4)

Reporting physical violence by husband correlated with family exposure to various occupation–relate violations

Double victimization of women
FIGURE 19
Combined and disaggregated exposure to violence by source

- Emotional violence
- Physical violence

Violence from occupation, violence within household, violence from both sources, violence from either.
CHAPTER 4.

ANALYSIS OF COPING AND SOURCES OF SUPPORT RELATING TO GBV AND OTHER RELEVANT SERVICES
This chapter provides an analysis of threats and coping mechanisms. Findings detailed in the previous two sections show that responses to GBV are impacted by a set of beliefs and ideologies that promote GBV as an acceptable and legitimate option in managing gender relations. The study explored to what extent responses are also impacted by the actual and perceived availability, accessibility and quality of support services, other relevant services (e.g., health, psychosocial counseling, legal options), and the overall social and family support system. This chapter looks at the factors influencing the ability of women to access services if they are available, including familial, economic and cultural factors and also details the status of various services and organizational responses (local, national and international), as well as community coping and resilience mechanisms (the role of women, girls and youth).

**GBV-related services**

Awareness of GBV-related services: About two third of female survey participants have no knowledge of GBV related services provided in or near their community. Less than 2% were quite sure and could cite an institution that they could go to receive support services. Many more however cited relatives or the Police. The lowest level of awareness of GBV-related services is in Jiftlik (78%), followed by Bardala (63%) and the old city of Hebron (56%).

**FIGURE 20**  
Knowledge of GBV related services provided by community

More than 70% of women have no or limited knowledge of where to go if exposed to GBV at home. No or limited knowledge reaches a level of more than 81% of respondents in the old city of Hebron, compared to 67% in Bardala and 40% in Jiftlik.
This pattern was confirmed in the IDIs and FGDs. Out of the 25 youth participants in the FGDs, only 2 could cite any organization that provides such services. But even then, they could not ascertain how to reach these organizations and what they need to do to access their services. The study also revealed a significant gap in knowledge between women activists and every-day women (working at home or in informal jobs). The vast majority of the latter group could not cite any organization, or state any relevant information on, any of the known centers and institutions that provide GBV-related services. There were a few exceptions. A small number mentioned the Palestinian Police, as well as some local CBOs that are generic in their services and some individual women who are considered as important references for women exposed to GBV.

Accessibility and cost: About 90% of the women believe that the available services are too far from their community. This is especially true in Jiftlik (96%), followed by the old city (92%) and Bardala (80%). Accessibility is also related to the time of operation of services, where 73% of the women believe that the services are provided during times that are inappropriate for them. Jiftlik is remote and only accessible with extreme difficulties, while Bardala is relatively closer to the city center of Tubas and is close to Ministry offices such as those of the Ministries of Social Development and Education. It is interesting that the vast majority of old city women feel that services are too far, when the old city is physically connected to the rest of the city of Hebron, where some services exist. This confirms the notion that accessibility is not only about physical proximity but also about other factors including affordability, ability to make decisions and time constraints (as listed below).
FIGURE 22
Perception of accessibility and timeframe of GBV services by community

Accessibility in Area C and H2 is more limited in comparison to areas that are controlled by the PA. This is in part due to the marginalization and isolation of these areas. In addition, the PA controls urban areas, where services are more relatively available. Women exposed to GBV also cited the lack of transportation, the expense of receiving the services, the cultural and physical impediments to mobility, fear of the repercussions of reaching out for services, and the insecurity that is generated by the actions of the occupation.

“As a social worker, I see that women in these communities can’t reach us and we can’t reach them to provide help, when we do, we only provide temporary help.” (Female social worker, old city of Hebron, 25 years old)

“I find it too inconvenient to leave my village and go to the nearby city to seek help.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 51 years old)

“I can’t get stuck at a checkpoint. I must be here to provide for my children and take care of the house.” (Woman, Bardala, 46 years old)

Accessibility is also related to affordability. 70% of the women believe that they cannot afford the cost of GBV services. This belief is higher in Jiftlik (94%) than the old city (60%) and Bardala (55%).
“Poor women like me can’t afford the expenses of going too far to seek any services. Transport is highly limited even if I want to seek help.” (Woman, Bardala, 61 years old)

Social, cultural and familial constraints: One of the most powerful factors discouraging women from accessing available GBV-related services is the social stigma and cultural disapproval of seeking outside assistance. GBV is still considered by many as a private matter. As much as 79% of the women believe that women feel ashamed to seek services due to social and cultural disapproval. In addition, 60% believe that women are just not allowed to access GBV-related services. Cultural influences are felt the most in the old city of Hebron where 90% believe that women are ashamed to access services and 78% believe that women are not allowed to access services.
The following statement summarizes the cultural view of the access of women to GBV services:

“A woman shouldn’t leave her home under any circumstances.” (Woman, Jiftlik, 47 years old)

The legal system: A large percentage of women (41%) believe that the legal system does not protect women if they attempt to access GBV-related services. This is especially true in the old city (70%) where the PA and its security agencies are unable to implement and enforce Palestinian laws as the area is fully under Israeli occupation sovereignty. The following statements illustrate:

“One of the women I worked with filed a complaint with the Palestinian police through going to the nearby city; but when she came back she was exposed to more violence and many of her relatives shunned her.” (Female expert, Jiftlik, 35 years old)

“In the old city of Hebron, women have no real access to legal and police institutions. They have no one to really provide protection and therefore, they stay away from seeking institutional help.” (Female expert, Hebron, 25 years old)

“Local customs and tribal dynamics prevent institutions from working with women victims of GBV; when we try to establish an institution or mechanism to help women, we get resistance from local leaders.” (Female expert, Bardala, 45 years old)

**GBV and other related services**

The level of GBV, its severity and impact on women, is partly influenced by availability and effectiveness of services provided. Previous data showed that women have limited accessibility to GBV-related services. GBV prevention and healing are related to a number of services such as psychosocial counseling, legal services, and health and humanitarian assistance.

**Psychosocial support services**

Only 15% of the surveyed women reported that they have received psychosocial counseling. The rest (85%) never received this service. The lowest reported prevalence of psychosocial counseling was among women in Jiftlik (7%), followed by Bardala (16%) and old city of Hebron (23%).
Legal services

One of the most vital services needed by women exposed to GBV is legal services but only 2% of women reported receiving such services. This implies that almost all women, including women exposed to various types of GBV and occupation-related violations, never received any legal services. In the IDIs and FGDs, there was no mention of legal services relating to occupation violations, but some mention of legal services relating to GBV.
Health and reproductive services

The questions around health services focused on the role of NGOs and CBOs only. The role of Palestinian civil society had always been conspicuous in the health sector, especially in the provision of primary health care. As much as 47% of the surveyed women noted that they have received health services including reproductive health services, from NGOs/CBOs. The rest (53%) did not receive such services. While these services were important for the majority of recipients in advancing their physical and emotional health situation, as well as family relations and status of women within the family, they were not connected to a comprehensive set of empowering capacities for women. The majority of women recipients of health services by CBOs reported that the services did not advance their political and economic participation.

FIGURE 27
Percentage of participants reporting receiving health services by CBO’s/NGO’s (ever)

Humanitarian assistance

The vast majority of survey participants reside in communities that are highly targeted by international funding. As much as 72% - men and women - did not report the receipt of any services or humanitarian assistance (cash, food, legal assistance in times of crisis, or psychosocial counseling) through a program/project funded by international donors. In contrast, 28% reported that they did. These low numbers might be due to factual reporting or/and lack of knowledge on sources of support, or limited program/project funding. In all cases, the numbers are indicative of a gap in actual services in these communities that are in crisis, have with a high level of need for such services, but also possibly of a knowledge gap due to lack of visibility of the program itself.
Internationally-funded humanitarian assistance projects in these areas which are exposed to conflict, violence and closure are essential. The assistance seems to be perceived positively in general among those who receive it. Yet, there are a number of dimensions that must be addressed according to the recipients of such services:

- **Sufficiency**: As much as 50% of recipients of international support believe that the level of assistance was insufficient, while another 50% believe that it is sufficient.
- **Sustainability**: 44% of assistance recipients believe that the results of the assistance were not sustainable beyond the duration of the implementation period, while 56% believe that it was. In addition, 43% of assistance recipients believe that the assistance did not empower them to find long term solutions, while 57% believe that it did.
- **Recovery**: One third of assistance recipients report that the assistance did not help them recuperate, while 67% report that it did.
- **Resilience**: One quarter of the assistance recipients believe that the assistance did not reinforce their resilience, while 75% believe that it did.
In general, a majority of the residents of the three target communities tend to be “satisfied” with 67% satisfied with the services/assistance provided by local NGOs/CBOs, and one third dissatisfied.

**BOX 4**

**Gender variance in perception of humanitarian assistance**

While an equal percentage of women and men reported receipt of internationally-funded assistance (28%), men tend to be more critical than women. This pattern is similar to AWRAD’s previous polling research results on almost all services provided by government, NGOs and international organizations, where women tend to be more “positive” in evaluation. In this case, this might be due to a better fit between the needs of women and the type of assistance provided, but also because women in the FGDs have lower expectations with a resulting higher appreciation of the types of assistance provided. In addition, women participating in the survey in these communities tend to be more educated (knowledgeable of services) than men (less knowledgeable). According to the expert informants and FGDs: Women are the key connectors when it comes to much of the services needed and provided by international and local organizations, as they mostly relate to basic needs, in health and education, as well as cash and in-kind assistance, and agricultural aid. Others explain that women are more available to manage assistance and service-related issues whereas the majority of men are away from home working in the land, in Israeli settlements and/or with the PA.

The results of the survey conducted for the purposes of this study show that a majority of men are critical of the sufficiency (64%) and sustainability (55%) of the said interventions, compared to 36% and 33% among women (respectively). Men are also more critical than women on all other issues:

- While 71% of men believe that the received assistance is relevant to their needs, as much as 86% of women believe so.
- 55% of men report that the assistance helped them recuperate, while 60% of women report the same.
- 72% of men say that the assistance improved their resilience, while 79% of women say the same.
CHAPTER 5.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
Overall conclusions

The problem of GBV

There is no doubt in the minds of all participants that GBV is a social issue that deserves attention. Despite disagreeing on the extent and severity of GBV, all realized that it is a relevant issue for Palestine. This realization is not, however, translating into a full-fledged advocacy and awareness raising campaigns that will be able to construct the issue of GBV and transform it into a major problem that deserves to be on the top of the national agenda. Campaigns are there, but to a large extent they are reactive, inconsistent and ineffective. This reflects itself in the lack of a transformative power of the claims made by the number of organizations and other actors (governmental and non-governmental); hence the cultural norms are relatively static while the economic and political realities are changing.

Gender – differentiated impacts

Occupation-related violence and gender roles due to patriarchy are, to a large extent, mutually-reinforcing. The overall occupation-related and communal circumstances and cultural norms serve as platforms that lead to the preservation and perpetuation of GBV. The relationship between occupation-related violence and GBV is complex and multi-layered, where the limitations created by occupation feeds into a more conservative Palestinian environment based on insecurity and protectionism. Attitudes and beliefs detailed in the findings are reinforced and legitimized through a complex system of hegemony. The weak service infrastructure, dominant cultural assertions, and denial of mobility by the occupation creates conditions which intensify the vulnerability of women and young girls and reduce their opportunities, compared to men and young boys. Dominant cultural assertions become more relevant when opportunities are limited, as they do not provide a real opportunity for meaningful change and development in the livelihoods of citizens. Men and women use traditional cultural assertions to justify their refusal of women’s participation in decision making. Exposure of men to various types of occupation-related violence increases the level of traumatic reactions which can then be expressed in the form of further violence against women and girls.

Threats and coping mechanisms

The influence of the Israeli occupation and weak targeting of the areas most impacted by GBV (Area C: Jordan Valley, Tubas Region and H2) is two-fold. On the one hand, the prevailing social, political and economic conditions exacerbate patriarchal arrangements and traditional gender norms. They limit control over, and access to, resources and services. On the other hand, the occupation and its continued manifestations expose women and men to higher levels and extreme forms of violence, leading to further marginalization and violence against women and girls within the household setting. In facing the occupation some women find internal strength and mobilize untapped resources of empowerment and support within their families, communities and other women. Under extreme conditions such as the case in Area C and H2, women show resilience in the face of violations by occupation forces and limited availability of interventions by the PA. They also attempt to find coping methods that will help them persevere and overcome. It must be noted, however, that resources for women are not uniformly available or widely known across the diversity of individual circumstances, family and community conditions. In addition, Area C/H2 is not a homogenous territory and women and communities face varied vulnerabilities and violations.

92 In the course of several of AWRAD’s research projects in Area C (2017, 2018) we met with young girls who were denied education as their parents felt concerned about their security when moving across Israeli military roadblocks or because of harassment by settlers. This is also highlighted in the 2017 Humanitarian Needs Overview (https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/humanitarian_needs_overview.pdf) where girls are considered at a higher risk of dropping out of school and early marriage due to security concerns.
Rights and status of women and girls victims of GBV

The results confirm that GBV is both a cause and a result of prevailing conditions. It is a cause of the slow and fragmented development circumstances and available services on the one hand, and a result of patriarchy exacerbated by the occupation on the other. The evidence points to the direct correlation between the actions of the occupation and the levels of GBV especially at the family level. Violence against women and girls must be viewed as a cross-cutting theme in all aspects of this study as it does not only relate to physical and emotional violence inflicted on women and girls, but also to all discriminatory practices against women in policies, planning, development and humanitarian work and media outreach.

Women are mostly on their own

In dealing with violence, most women and girls are encouraged to find ways to cope and maybe try to change the situation on their own. They are mostly on their own, suffering in silence. Women who seek help resort to their primary families which in many cases encourage them to find ways to cope and continue in their marriages. In many cases they believe that they have no choice as they have no economic independence or any family support. Many stay in the marriage for the sake of the children. Existing services are sporadic and limited. Many women do not trust external actors as they consider violence a private matter; some are ashamed and do not want to share their experiences with others. Those who reach institutional services provided by government or non-government institutions receive varying levels and quality of services. Although some reported great improvement in their level of empowerment, others felt that their involvement with the institutions was insufficient and led to further violence. Services for young girls are very limited.

Women are cut off from the public sphere

While the study shows an improvement in access to services for women facing violence, most women are not using these services due to a vicious cycle of denial. Occupation-related conditions and limitations also serve to consolidate cultural norms and assertions that discriminate against women and ostracize their potential participation in public affairs. Many women are convinced that they must face their fate. While signs of political participation are evidence of positive change for some women, the reality of participation continues to be challenged by a mix of internal and occupation-related factors as stipulated in the various parts of the report. Women’s political participation continues to be mostly elitist and limited to a few women who are either employed by organizations or working on behalf of political parties. It is yet not clear if the majority of women see any benefit of participation especially in Area C and H2 where the reality is framed and consolidated by occupation imperatives and actions. Many feel either fatalistic or ambivalent. Others find salvation in focusing on everyday life needs given the poverty and the other daily challenges imposed by the occupation.

Organizational responses

To many women, occupation-violations add additional burdens that compound their disempowerment, especially in the absence of an enabling legal and institutional environment. Despite some progress over the past 10-15 years, present institutional arrangements for service provision are still limited and many are in the embryonic stage. While many organizational arrangements and institutions (non-government and government, local and international), most women continue to feel cut off from their services and support.

95 Other groups of suffers face the same fate. Concern and support for young boys facing sexual molestation for example and men who suffer from violent relations is almost non-existent.
mechanisms. The relevance of services will better align with women needs if a more in-depth understanding of the complex relation between patriarchy and occupation was reached and integrated in programming.

Recommendations/community proposed solutions

Two sets of recommendations are provided below. One set is based on the conclusions above drawn from findings of the analysis of current research findings of the voices of women, men, and youth and other stakeholders. The second set (ideas for consideration) is based on AWRAD’s previous work on gender needs assessment in the West Bank and Area C.

This first set of key recommendations is divided according to three core areas – policy programming and advocacy. While these recommendations must be considered as overarching and as unifying for the vision of UN and other international organizations, they might also be tailored to fit the specific circumstances of each member organization. The recommendations are also directed at Palestinian government, non-government national and community-based organizations.

Policy level

- Continue to emphasize the relevance and obligations of internationally-accepted conventions and documents pertaining to the rights of women under occupation and conflict areas, such as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 pertaining to women and peace and security.
- Continue to promote internationally-accepted standards and rights including the right to self-determination and the right to development, both relevant in the context of the Occupation’s policies of denial of identity and de-development.
- Ensure that the needs and rights of those women most impacted by the Occupation are integrated in international organizations’ policy frameworks, such as the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), the EU Policy Framework and the European Joint Strategy in Support of Palestine. In addition, international consortiums of NGOs, such as the Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA), must promote the integration of women’s rights and needs in the work of their own members and that of other donor governments and international organizations. These must also be reflected in reporting to international agencies, such as the annual report to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) of the UN.
- Budgetary allocation must also be aligned, specifically ensuring that adequate financing and technical support is available for development activities that benefit Palestinian women most affected by occupation, with an emphasis on the need to end the root cause of women’s adversity – the Israeli Occupation.
- Ensure their advocacy products reach their governments, in order to create bilateral pressure on Israel.
- Increase the international presence in marginalized areas and incorporate a programmatic and thematic focus aiming to raise awareness of the daily lives of Palestinian women living under the Occupation and support their resilience.
- Increase financial and technical support to Palestinian women’s organizations working to empower Palestinian women, especially in remote and marginalized areas.
- Establish clear standards and principles for gender equality and apply risk-mitigation to avoid any potential reinforcement of gender discrimination in all development and humanitarian program planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, especially in Area C and H2.
- Support women’s organizations in their efforts to further focus on women who suffer from occupation violations and especially in Area C and H2.
- Support improved documentation and data collection mechanisms to enhance knowledge and ensure

that all violations (occupation-related or violence within the household) against women are reported and documented. In addition, support the collection, disaggregation, and analysis of data by gender, as it relates to occupation-related violations.

Programming

- The focus of programming must be the fundamental need to end the Occupation - “the root cause of suffering” - and enable the two-state solution as per international laws and resolutions, and hold Israel accountable for its actions. Even when advocacy pertains to a specific topic or area of the Occupation’s impact, per the above, a call to hold Israel accountable for the occupation and human rights violations is necessary.
- The focus of programming must be fundamental to tackle the effects of the Occupation on the Palestinian population, and mainly women and families, and to untangle the complex relation between the Occupation, patriarchy and access to empowering services and programmes.
- Alongside advocacy to respect and fulfill human rights obligations, humanitarian and development programs should be enacted to engage different local, national and international stakeholders in efforts to transform the patriarchal system, to end violence against women and girls and to promote Palestinian women’s rights.
- A comprehensive understanding of the institutional setups and available services must be tied into the overall context of Palestinian economic and social policies, the functioning of Palestinian and international civil society and community organizations and international support to Palestinians. Together, they are expected to continue to emphasize internationally-accepted conventions and documents based on International Humanitarian Law in general, and the rights of women under occupation and conflict areas such as the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 n women and peace and security (2000).
- Increase lobbying and coordination between the different actors working for women’s rights in Palestine in general and Area C and H2 in particular, and towards gender equality and support for sustainable and accessible services.
- Any organizational mapping must take into consideration the organizations that work on GBV, family planning, reproductive health, family and health counseling, and any networks such as the Protection Cluster and GBV sub-cluster, child protection networks and disability community-based rehabilitation programs.
- Programming should engage women’s organizations and human rights organizations in the design and planning of the programs to ensure ownership and relevance of interventions related to Palestinian women’s agenda and needs.
- Work on a community-wide programming approach with inclusion of various groups taking into consideration power relations and gender analyses/needs.
- Programming should take into account the remote areas where women cannot access certain services or empowerment projects, transportation for these women should be provided or programs and service providers should go to them utilizing local organizations and committees.
- Program design, implementation and monitoring and evaluations should involve women in order to ensure that programs are meeting women’s actual needs.
- Focus on women’s political and economic participation is essential in order to achieve better representation of women in key positions and decision making processes. This would ensure better inclusion of women’s issues in policy making and programming.
- Programming should focus on the following priorities for women living in vulnerable and marginalized areas under the occupation such as Area C and H2.
Economic empowerment

- Provide economic support in terms of provision of work opportunities for women. These can be small grants to establish micro-businesses. If women are economically empowered, then they become less dependent on others for financial needs and accordingly more able to make choices and act on their rights.

- Support local organizations that work in women's economic empowerment, employment and training for women in order to strengthen their work and sustainability in vulnerable areas.

Legal support

- Provide legal support in special cases where legal procedures are needed (GBV, family unification, land confiscation, imprisonment or retribution).

- Provide legal support through CBOs.

Psychological and social support

- Provide psychological and social support, especially after traumatic experiences resulting from human rights violations, whether they are caused by the Israeli Occupation or the unequal gender relations rooted in the patriarchal system. Examples include: gender based violence, human loss, demolition, imprisonment and attacks by settlers and soldiers. Such support is most effective when it originates from people within local communities, rather than strangers.

GBV and related services

- Support local women’s and human rights organizations to monitor violations of women’s human rights and submit periodic updates to UN bodies and other human rights international organizations.

- Ensure GBV services (e.g., legal, psychological, protection, etc.) are provided in remote areas where women can’t reach such services. Coordination with local women’s organizations or committees is essential to contribute to this. The introduction of sustainable services is a key element to successful interventions.

- Raise awareness of both women and men about women’s rights, violations of their rights, problem solving, the impact of violence on women and families, and other necessary topics, in order to contribute to changing stereotypes and society level discrimination against women.

Advocacy

- Women should speak for themselves. Any advocacy done with, or on behalf of, Palestinian women should be based on women’s realities, views, and perceptions and should adopt their narrative in a manner that challenges the invisibility of their experiences.

- Caution should be exercised when applying human rights and international law in the context of advocacy. An overly legalistic emphasis on the illegality of the Occupation risks should be emphasized, but should not overshadow the real human impact of its practices and abuses.

- Palestinian women are not a homogenous group and should not be portrayed as such. Accordingly, advocacy efforts should be inclusive of the different types of women in Area C and H2 (including women working in settlements and Bedouin women), so as not to contribute to stereotyping and the exclusionary mainstream narrative. Efforts should be made to reach vulnerable women especially in remote and marginalized areas to convey their stories.
ANNEX 1: BIBLIOGRAPHY


Arab World for Research and Development (AWRAD). 2017. Assessment of GBV in Palestine and Media Programming (Surveys of Women and Men, with Ma’an News Agency).


Arab World for Research and Development (AWRAD). 2018. Impacts of the Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women (with a focus on Area C, Hebron (H2 Area), East Jerusalem and Gaza), conducted in cooperation with Action Aid, Alianza por la Solidaridad and Culture and Free Thought.

B’Tselem. 2013. Acting the Landlord: Israel’s Policy in Area C, the West Bank.


CAWTAR, Arab Women and Decision-Making, 2007 (Main author and editors: Nader Said-Foqahaa).


Caught up between a Rock & a Hard Place: Occupation, Patriarchy and Gender Relations


Jordanian Penal Code. Article 308.


Myre, G. and Kaplow L. 2016. “7 Things to know about Israeli settlements”, NPR.


Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. 2002. Femicide and the Palestinian Criminal Justice System: Seeds of Change in the Context of State Building?


Women’s Empowerment Center (Tawasol). 2015. Gender-Based Violence in Palestine Fact Sheet.

### ANNEX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWED EXPERTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of expert</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amal Jum’a</td>
<td>Palestinian Center for Legal Aid and Counseling (Hebron)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumana Duweik</td>
<td>Hebron Municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafeeq El Ja’bari</td>
<td>Hebron Governorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana’ Siyouri</td>
<td>Women’s Studies Center (Hebron)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itibar Sawafta</td>
<td>Activist Against the Wall (Bardala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahab El Nayef</td>
<td>Bardala Charitable Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firyal Sawafta</td>
<td>Women’s Center (Bardala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabih Wahdan</td>
<td>Medical Relief Committees (Jiftlic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawal Knouri</td>
<td>Local Council member (Jiftlic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reema Masaeed</td>
<td>Jiftlic kinder garden, Board Member in Jiftlic local societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haleemeh Abu Rabee</td>
<td>Jiftlic Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ANNEX 3: MEMBERS OF STUDY REFERENCE GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of expert</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reema Nazzal</td>
<td>General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riham Al-Faqih</td>
<td>The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammad Alqaisy</td>
<td>Qader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maha Abo Samra</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmicicik adn Aibhlin</td>
<td>UNDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wafa Al-Araj</td>
<td>Ministry of Women Affairs (MoWA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawal Tamimi</td>
<td>Ministry of Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanan Abo Ghosh</td>
<td>Working Health Committee (WHC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abed Ghazzal</td>
<td>Working Health Committee (WHC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanan Kaoud</td>
<td>UN Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamileh Sahlieh</td>
<td>UN Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Chiarenza</td>
<td>UN Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mira Salameh</td>
<td>UN Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana’ Asi</td>
<td>UNFPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawsan Kanaan</td>
<td>UNFPA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This publication was developed under the UN Women project “Advancing the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the occupied Palestinian territory”, funded by the European Union (EU) through its “Peace Building Initiative Project”, and the report was designed and printed with the support of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Iceland.
UN Women Palestine Office

Jerusalem Office
Alami Building
Rosary Sisters School Street, Jerusalem
Tel: +972 (0)2 628 76 02
Fax: +972 (0)2 628 06 61

Gaza Office
UNDP Building
Ahmad Bin Abdel Aziz Street, Gaza
Tel: +972 (0)8 288 08 30

http://palestine.unwomen.org