

PN.ACA-532
93850

**SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN
IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA**

Prepared by:

Suha Sabbagh

**West Bank and Gaza
Technical Support Project
Management Systems International (MSI)
600 Water Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024**



September 9, 1994

600 Water Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
USA

202/484-7170
Fax: 202/488-0754

A

PREFACE

This synthesis report and bibliography were prepared especially for An Assessment of Gender Issues in West Bank and Gaza to be conducted for USAID by Management Systems International (MSI). Its purpose is to provide the Gender Assessment team with a background paper that identifies documents and other sources of information on women and gender in the West Bank and Gaza and to summarize research findings on key gender issues addressed in the literature. When the research started, the consultant identified approximately 700 items written about women in West Bank and Gaza. We decided to limit the selection to the 50-60 most useful ones.

We hope that the Bibliography and synthesis report will be a useful reference on gender issues in the West Bank and Gaza, to be used by the assessment team and other person dealing with development assistance in West Bank and Gaza, as well as the general public.

The literature review and bibliography cover books and articles written between 1970 and 1994, as well as USAID and other donor documents relevant to gender issues. It includes mostly material written in English.

Nagat El-Sanabary
Gender/WID Advisor, Near East
Asia/Near East Bureau

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
I. WOMEN AND EDUCATION	1
A. Historical Overview	1
B. The West Bank and Gaza	1
C. Literacy	2
D. Impact of Education on Leisure and Autonomy	4
E. Education's Impact on the Status of Women	6
F. Education and Freedom of Choice	6
G. Education and Employment	7
H. Some Problems Facing The Education of Women	8
II. WOMEN AND WORK	10
A. Attitudes Towards Women's Appropriate Work Roles	10
B. Wage labor and Labor Forces Participation	12
C. Female (Income Generating) Employment	14
D. The Socio-Economic Conditions of Female Wage Labor	14
E. Women's Production Cooperatives: The experiment that worked	16
F. Restructuring and Gender: Garment Production in Nablus	16
III. THE HEALTH STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA	18
A. Access to Health Care Maternal and Child Care Services	18
B. Nutritional Status of Women	20
C. Psychological Well-Being	20
IV. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT	21
A. Welfare Organizations	21
B. Women's Work Committees	21
C. Popular Committees	22
D. Women's Research Centers	22
V. GENDER ISSUES	25
A. Political Representation of Palestinian Women	25
B. Regressions For Women in the Current Phas	26
VI. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS	28
VIII. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS	32
A. Women in the Labor Force	32
B. Education	33
C. Attitudes to Women	34
D. Democratization	34

C

ENDNOTES 35

ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

ATTACHMENT B CHARTS AND FIGURES

ATTACHMENT C ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For Palestinian women resisting occupation has meant a greater awareness of their own oppression in a male dominated culture. Their fight was conducted on two fronts: nationalist and feminist. Currently, women are at a historical juncture which could either lead to greater control, autonomy, and access to resources--the job market and the educational system-- or they could loose under the new administration what gains they achieved so far. Women fear that in the competition for new employment opportunities they will be elbowed out of the labor market by men using the age old "breadwinner" argument. This argument was effectively used to justify higher wages for men on the basis that men have to support the family while women work to increase their personal income.

Labor Market

Much depends on the role that international agencies and donor countries perform. Assistance to institutions could be given on condition that a certain percentage of women (i.e. 30 %) are employed. Although women's participation in the labor force is currently relatively small, yet women are well represented in a wide spectrum of areas. Women are relatively well represented in the professional fields, especially in the caring professions such as nursing and teaching.

Women's employment does not always benefit the status of women in society. According to a study of the garment industry in Nablus which employs a high percentage of women, low wages and poor work conditions serve to reinforce the subservient status of women in society. The shortsightedness of projects such as this, could eventually increase the discrimination against women in society. Donor countries could impose the notion of "equal pay for equal work" and guarantee good work conditions for women in any industrial enterprise. This will diminish the subservient status of women.

During the uprising, women's organizations developed food preservation co-operatives, run by women, as a response to the food shortages caused by army curfews and product boycotts. These cooperatives produced simple foodstuffs, such as fruit juices, pickled vegetables, canned goods. The experiment increased women's self esteem. These co-operatives could be developed and women could be trained in food production methods. The co-operatives could become the cornerstone for income generating activities for women.

Traditional embroidery has been employed by women to increase their household income for many years. The advantage of this occupation is that it requires no overhead and women can perform this activity within the home. With a good marketing strategy, embroidered items may be sold in major department stores in the United States. This embroidery may be placed on items of western wear and new forms of color combinations may be required to meet the demands of western taste. This is a project with income generating potential for many women who are currently unemployed (proposals for marketing strategy is available).

Education and Training

The levels of education among Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza have risen markedly in the last few years. However, because few women attain middle class employment, education has not altered the status of women. It is generally assumed that education brings greater control and autonomy to the individual. However, in the West Bank and Gaza it is gender and age that continue to determine the freedom of movement. The level of women's education may make an impact on women's freedom of mobility if donor countries provide training and create employment opportunities for women in middle and upper level administrative jobs in the new governing structures. Palestinian society will support such a move since professional employment is considered as an appropriate kind of employment for women.

Democratization

Women's organizations constitute the best structure to implement the methods of democratization during the coming phase. These institutions can carry out workshops to educate women in the process of election and running for office. Their agenda, based on women's secular rights, is summed up in Women's Declaration of Principles, analyzed in this document.

Studies have shown it is men, rather than women, who must be targeted in order to implement change in the status of women. Women's organizations must direct their efforts in the coming phase at men. Women are sufficiently motivated toward greater empowerment through employment and education.



I. WOMEN AND EDUCATION

A. Historical Overview

Social customs in the Arab world began to change as contact with the West increased and as Western residents in the Middle East opened mission schools in different cities. These schools provided training in western culture and an introduction to western norms. The local elites soon took to emulating these schools and western impact left an imprint on the norms of the same strata of society especially in the area of educating women (Haddad p.147)

Under Ottoman rule very few schools existed, although in principle Palestinians had compulsory education. In 1914 there were only 1,480 girls in primary schools and in private Muslim schools there were a total of 131 females in the whole of Palestine (Haddad). A few more schools opened under the British Mandate but not enough to meet the demands of the population: 41% of those who applied for schools were rejected (Haddad). In 1931 70.5 percent of the population opted to send their children to private as opposed to public schools and a number of French, German, Italian and American and Swedish schools sought to meet this demand.

The majority of the girls at this time attended elementary schools only. The numbers of girls enrolled increased from 3,591 in 1925; to 15,303 in 1944. Still, by 1946 only 34 per cent of the urban and 20 percent of the rural school-age children were able to attend schools, this means that the majority of the children did not receive schooling (Haddad p.153).

Education took on a totally different meaning for Palestinians after 1948. Dispersed through out the world Palestinians began to place a very high premium on education as a means for earning a living. The stress on attaining education was to have an impact on the female population. Education of girls increased substantially among the middle and upper classes because it was perceived as a commodity that could provide support without loss of dignity for women. There is a direct correlation between the loss of property, the loss of land in Palestine and the premium that families began to place on education as an alternative means to sustain the family and the individual and as a form of gaining greater economic independence. As a result, more families sought to educate their daughters and the previous restrictions that stated that "too much education is not good for a young women" began to dissipate.

B. The West Bank and Gaza

In 1948 the Gaza Strip was entrusted to Egypt and Gaza's educational system was placed under the Egyptian system of education while with the incorporation of the West Bank into Jordan the Jordanian curriculum was enforced in schools on the West Bank. With the establishment of the Israeli occupation in 1967, the school system was placed under Israeli control although the Jordanian and the Egyptian curriculums were maintained. UNRWA provides schooling for many camp and rural children and it is generally perceived to be a superior form of schooling than that currently provided for by the Israeli government. The FAFO survey indicates that UNRWA refugees stay in school longer than non-refugees.

The school system is based on four cycles: kindergarten for children 4 to 5 years old, 6 years of elementary school, and 3 years of secondary school. Since the Beginning of the *intifada*, however, the five main universities of the West Bank and Gaza and most of the preparatory and secondary schools and primary schools have been subjected to frequent and prolonged closures. The effect of these closures has not been assessed, however a potential decline in educational attainment might be expected.

C. Literacy

Literacy rate among Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza has grown some 8-folds in over the past 30 to 40 years, while men's literacy rate have doubled (FAFO.p.135). Figure I.2 shows adult literacy rates by gender. As can be anticipated illiteracy is highest among older women. When broken down by region figures indicate that literacy rates are lower among women. By region, literacy rates among Palestinians surpass figures for Syria Iraq and Egypt. (figure I.1).

Figure I.1 Adult (15 years or more) literacy rates in percentage

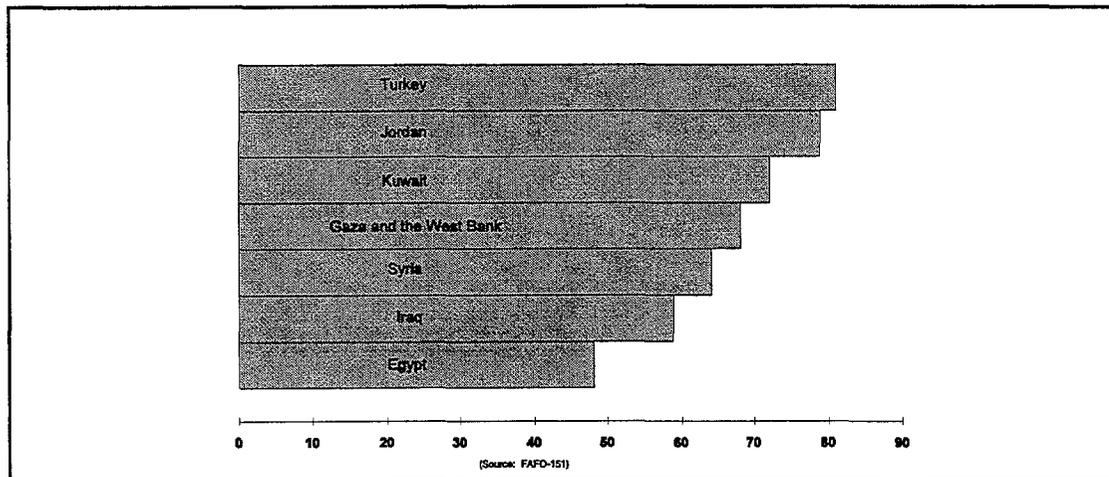


Figure I.2 Adult literacy rates by gender

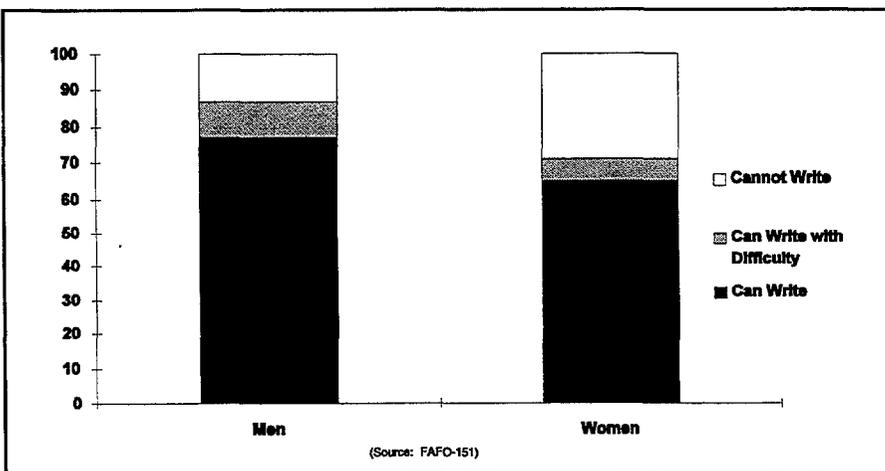


Figure I.3 Adult (15 years or more) literacy rates by gender and age

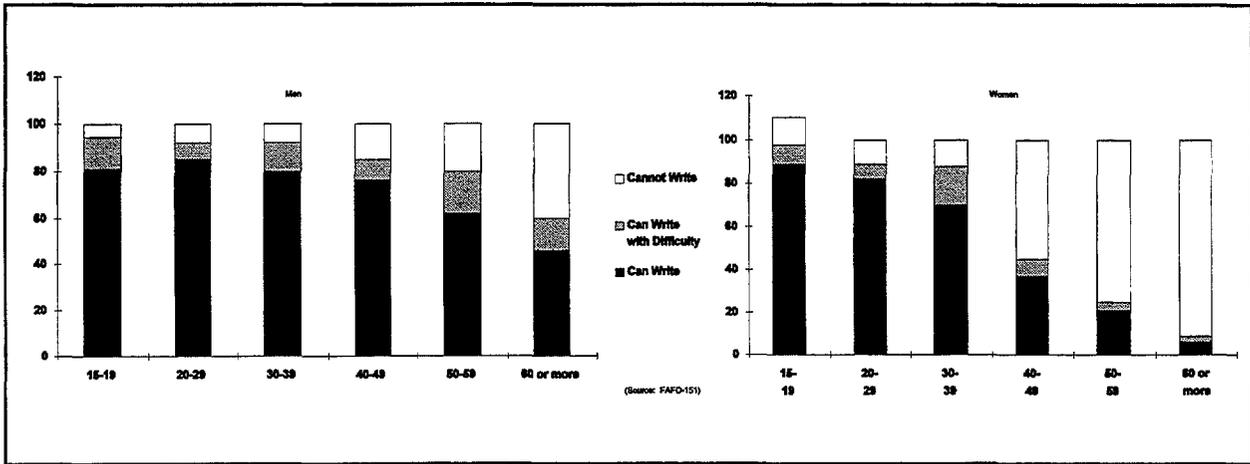
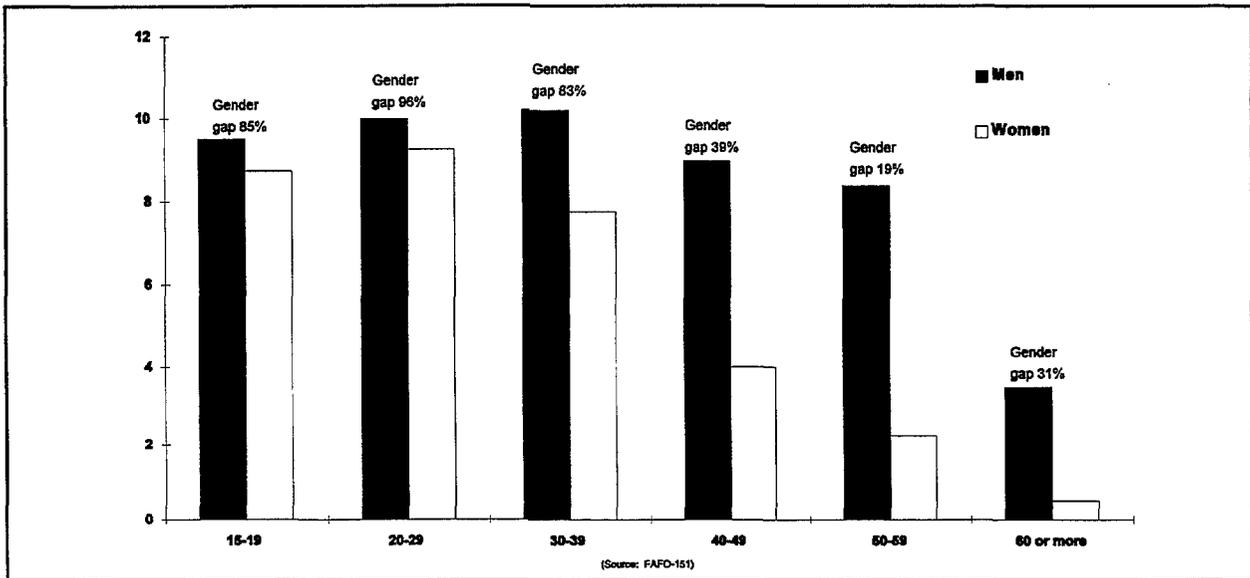


Figure I.4 shows Palestinian educational attainment over the past 40 years, and indicates a sharp jump in educational attainment for women in the last twenty years when the gender gap in educational attainment begins to narrow in the last 20 years. This may mean that attitudes to female education began to change at this point and/or that families felt they had the financial means to send their daughters to school. Still, the data collected by FAFO (see figure I.3) indicates that women are the most frequent early school leavers. The reasons for leaving school (figure I.4) are usually marriage, work, helping family, not clever enough, family has no money, *intifada* related difficulties, transport problems and others.

Figure I.4 Mean number of completed school years by gender and age groups



D. Impact of Education on Leisure and Autonomy

The assumption made by the FAFO survey is that the more varied and numerous leisure activities are, the better the general quality of life. The data collected indicates that with regard to having hobbies, enjoying nature and reading books, the pattern is the same for educated men and women. Education correlates with increased activity and the net increase is statistically somewhat greater for men than for women (FAFO p.141). Table I.5 shows percentage of Palestinians who pursue selected leisure activities by years of education and broken down by gender. Educated men and women expressed their desire for more leisure activities. But, women listed lack of facilities, restraints imposed by social conventions, and lack of day care as the primary reasons that prevent them from participating in more leisure activity.

Table I.5 Percentage of Palestinians who pursue selected leisure activities by years of education

	0	1-6	7-9	10-12	13+	Total
Weekly hobbies						
Men	3	12	28	35	50	28
Women	10	19	43	49	49	33
Take weekly walks in countryside						
Men	17	35	44	40	50	40
Women	13	18	42	32	32	27
Read books weekly						
Men	0	22	35	57	84	45
Women	0	22	47	67	81	38

(Source: FAFO-151)

Education, it is assumed provides for a sense of individual autonomy, however, this is not the case for women in Palestinian society. The FAFO 151 survey posed various questions concerning how much influence the educated individual felt he or she had within different realms of daily life-the family the neighborhood and community. The results (tables I.6, I.7 and 5.8) indicated that the degree of influence within the family felt by men across all educational levels is far in excess of women regardless of education. At the level of the most educated men and women there is some correlation between influence and education. In general, education seems to give men a slightly increasing sense of authority outside the domestic sphere. But, education tends to have no similar empowering impact upon women outside the domestic sphere. Authority seems to be based instead on gender and age meaning household position. Authority rests mainly with the household head, generally male.

Table I.6 Degree of perceived influence within family by education of respondent

	Decisive	Considerable	Occasional	Not at all
Mens' responses				
0	56	34	8	2
1-6	48	32	17	3
7-9	47	26	23	5
10-12	33	33	29	5
13 or more	47	34	16	2
Total men	44	32	21	4
Women's responses				
0	16	45	27	12
1-6	14	37	34	15
7-9	10	24	49	17
10-12	14	31	44	11
13 or more	27	32	32	9
Total women	15	33	39	14

(Source: FAFO-151)

Table I.7 Degree of perceived influence within neighborhood by education of respondent

	Decisive	Considerable	Occasional	Not at all
Mens' responses				
0	4	17	41	39
1-5	5	23	38	34
7-9	5	24	40	31
10-12	3	26	43	28
13 or more	3	23	53	21
Total	4	24	43	29
Women's responses				
0	1	13	33	53
1-6	0	13	29	58
7-9	2	10	20	68
10-12	3	10	25	62
13 or more	2	18	23	57
Total	2	12	26	61

(Source: FAFO-151)

Table I.8 Degree of perceived influence within family by age of respondent

	Decisive	Considerable	Occasional	Not at all
Mens' responses				
15-19	4	23	56	17
20-29	24	44	29	3
30-39	63	29	9	0
40-49	76	21	3	
50-59	70	22	6	2
60 or more	59	31	9	2
Total men	44	32	21	4
Women's responses				
15-19	4	16	54	26
20-29	11	32	46	11
30-39	18	41	33	8
40-49	26	48	21	5
50-59	24	42	25	10
60 or more	20	33	29	19
Total women	15	33	39	14

(Source: FAFO-151)

E. Education's Impact on the Status of Women

In all literature on education there is a general consensus that levels of education among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have risen and that women's education in particular has risen remarkably in the last few years. But has this education level and attainment had a strong and positive impact on women's lives? It is assumed that education generally increases the realm of control that one has over one's life. Education, it is assumed provides women with greater self-sufficiency in terms of expanding their realms of choice, control over resources and freedom of movement. The FAFO 151 survey measures the impact of education on these variables in women's lives, some of the results are indicated below (FAFO 0.148).

F. Education and Freedom of Choice

The survey question asked women if they are allowed to move outside the home at will or if their movement is constrained. Except for the most educated women, the relation between education and freedom of movement is negative (see table I.9). It is age rather than education that has an impact on freedom of movement for women: unmarried women have less freedom of movement than married women and post-menopausal women have more freedom than women of child-bearing age.

Table I.9 Women's freedom of movement by education of women. FAFO-151

	Can move at will	Can't move at will
0	64	36
1-6	50	50
7-9	39	61
10-12	41	60
13 or more	55	45
Total	49	51

(Source: FAFO-151)

G. Education and Employment

In Palestinian society there have traditionally been severe moral restrictions against women working outside the household. Are these restrictions relaxed due to greater education? Table I.10 shows that a large majority of women feel that it is acceptable for them to be employed outside the home. Since authority is still in the hands of men on these issues, how do men feel? The survey has shown that men's attitudes (table I.11) differ strikingly in relation to the amount of education they have enjoyed. Interestingly this means that the ability of women to participate in the public life depends on the level of education of their fathers and husbands.

Table I.10 Women's attitudes concerning the acceptability of women working outside the home by educational levels

	Not		
	Acceptable	acceptable	Don't know
0	75	22	3
1-6	68	30	2
7-9	71	27	2
10-12	86	13	1
13 or more	94	6	
Total women	76	22	2

(Source: FAFO-151)

Table I.11 Men's attitudes concerning the acceptability of women working outside the home by educational levels

	Not		
	Acceptable	acceptable	Don't know
0	22	73	5
1-6	31	68	1
7-9	37	62	1
10-12	46	54	0
13 or more	66	34	
Total men	42	57	1

(Source: FAFO-151)

The survey found that age is also a factor in determining attitudes to women working outside the home. However, while one might assume that the younger generation is more liberal, the survey shows. "It is the middle aged, rather than the very young or old, who have more liberal attitudes in this respect". (See tables I.10 and I.11 above.)

The effect of educational attainment on women's lives is open to debate. There are limited opportunities for middle class employment, especially for women. Consequently, education has not altered women's status markedly. Educational attainment does not seem to counteract to any degree deeper organizational principles based on the ascribed attitudes affecting gender and age.

In relation to men's attitudes, in all areas the acceptability of women working, of dress style, of the right to choose their own husband and so forth, including the FAFO survey has shown that it is education rather than age that shifts men's attitudes in a more liberal direction and education seems to influence attitudes gradual.

As might be anticipated the results indicated that in order to affect improvements in the status in women and attitudes toward them, one should be chiefly directed at men. The aspiration among women of all age groups and educational levels to a life style with less control and a greater degree of autonomy already exists.

H. Some Problems Facing The Education of Women

Women's access to education has grown considerably since the 1960's. But occupation and all its political and constraining implications has had an impeding impact on the education system in general and on women's education in particular. Social conditions and attitudes form a second obstacle to education of women.

The government education system in rural areas does not adequately meet the demands of the population and schools are overcrowded. In some rural areas the middle schools are few and, according to Sarah Graham Brown (Brown p.30), many families cannot accept that their daughters commute long distances in order to attend middle or high school in neighboring villages. This, however, is quite acceptable for boys. The girls help in the home instead, or with the agricultural activities of the family which in turn assists the mother. The assistance of the girls is viewed as essential to the families survival.

A surprisingly high number of girls remain at school in Gaza. A comparative study between refugee camps and the rural areas indicates that a larger number of girls remain at school in refugee camps. This because no commuting is required to attend schools (Brown. p. 30).

According to Brown, the most dramatic changes, however, have occurred since the 1960's at the top, rather than the bottom, of the education system: the openings of five local universities and the effect on opportunities for women to pursue their studies was most significant. Because there were universities relatively close to their homes, families became more willing to allow girls to attend when the idea of sending a girl abroad to study was still anathema. Today the percentage of girls at various universities varies between about thirty and forty percent of the total. Of course, this does not take into account the fact that many more females go abroad to study so that the overall percentage of females studying at the university level is actually somewhat lower. (Brown p. 31)

Brown argues that although women are attending universities at unprecedented numbers especially for girls from middle class backgrounds, the political circumstances of occupation have diminished the quality of their education. She sites here military raids of campuses, frequent arrests of students, and periodic closures. Despite these difficulties, the universities, she maintains, are producing a new corp of women who participate in active attempts to bring changes to the lives of other women. Especially those who have not had access to education. Some women students run literacy classes while in villages to cater to women who had no benefit of an education.

The problem facing these women, however, is that they will not be able to work in the fields in which they have received an education. Brown writes "for those with high school, vocational or university education, unemployment has now reached crisis levels. For women, particularly, this accentuates a dislocation which already existed between education and work. Early surveys of university graduates suggested that relatively few of the women who graduated went on to pursue careers of any kind....in the West Bank and Gaza the fact that so few jobs are available for many graduate means that men's needs tend to take priority and women are therefore less likely to pursue careers." (Brown. 33)

According to Brown it is not social attitudes that prevent women from abandoning the "caring" professions as it is the lack of any alternative employment in a stagnating economy. Consequently, she believes that the high rate of unemployment for women outside the "caring" professions will discourage women from seeking alternative career choices Brown p. 34)

II. WOMEN AND WORK

A. Attitudes Towards Women's Appropriate Work Roles

Women's participation in the labor force is low in the West Bank and Gaza, according to the FAFO 151 survey and other sources. One tenth of the women surveyed by FAFO claim to work outside the home while another one tenth claim to do some type of income-generating activities inside the home. Tables II.1 to II.6 depict women's perceptions of the appropriate work roles for women and other work related issues.

Table II.1 Is it acceptable for women to work outside the house? By age. Percentage (FAFO-151)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Yes	71	87	66	78	77	76	77
No	28	12	31	21	21	18	21
Do not know	1	1	3	1	2	6	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	258	364	219	155	94	128	1218

Table II.2 Is it acceptable for women to run a business? By age. Percentage (FAFO-151)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Yes	50	62	48	54	52	43	53
No	50	36	50	45	46	45	44
Do not know	0	2	2	1	2	12	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	258	364	219	155	94	128	1218

Table II.3 Would you like your daughter to work in a professional job? By age. Percentage (FAFO-151)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Yes	82	91	84	88	85	78	86
No	9	7	12	11	15	8	10
Do not know	9	2	4	1	1	13	5
Total	100	100	100	100	101	101	101
N	229	350	208	154	92	121	1154

Table II.4 Is it acceptable for women to put their children in daycare? By age. Percentage (FAFO-151)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Yes	46	59	58	64	67	60	57
No	52	39	41	31	31	31	40
Do not know	2	2	1	5	2	10	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	258	364	219	155	94	128	1218

The majority of women (77%) maintain that it is acceptable for women to work outside the home. In answer to the questionnaires aimed to determine what the culture perceives to be the most appropriate kind of work for women, 53% of women support the idea of women working in business. That would indicate that business is a good career choice. However, when asked "What job would you like for your daughter to have most seemed to favor a professional rather than a business job for their daughters: 86% would rather see their daughters hold a professional jobs (see tables II.2 and II.3.

In response to the question whether women should put their children in day care; this right is supported by 57% of all women. When daycare becomes an actual need and if the quality of daycare is adequate, women will not prove reticent about it. Caring for the children in Palestinian society has been traditionally the role of the mother or other female members of the household such as the grandmother. This change is marked by a positive shift in perceptions that will enable women to work if adequate day care can be found.

In conducting this survey of women's attitudes toward work Reema Hammami has revealed very important information about the shifting perceptions of young women between the ages of 15-19 when compared with the older group of 20-29 year old. She writes that "On every issue, the youngest age group of women is consistently more conservative than women in their twenties...The data seems to vindicate observations that there has been a general social retrenchment during the *intifada*, with women in their teens being most affected by new conservative ideologies" (FAFO p. 309). Based on this survey it would seem that younger women are more conservative than their older sisters.

Table II.5 Percentage who answers "yes" to the question: Is it acceptable for women to work outside the house? By age and region. (FAFO)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Gaza	64	84	74	78	(71)	75	74
N	111	108	84	55	24	42	424
West Bank	76	87	58	78	80	75	77
N	124	222	116	88	59	79	687

Table II.6 Percentage who answers "yes" to the question: Is it acceptable for women to put their children in daycare? By age and region. (FAFO)

	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	All
Gaza	45	65	70	63	(58)	52	59
N	111	108	84	55	24	42	424
West Bank	50	58	52	65	71	64	58
N	124	222	116	88	59	79	687

The low participation of women in the labor force means that the economic picture for women is bleak if considered outside of the marriage. However, women's standard of living in the West Bank and Gaza is largely dependent on that of the husband and their living standard is largely dependent on their husband's income. Further, women have few independent economic resources; when such resources do exist women's access to them is tied to other male members of the family. The survey has shown that at the present time at least women are not critical or resentful and are

rather accepting of the connection between marriage and economic resources-- of the fact that the husband's income determines the wives standard of living.

However the survey also showed that women have a desire to feel more empowered in their marriage and society. And what are the means to attain this empowerment? Women's response is through greater access to professional types of jobs which of course implies greater access to education. Many perceive this as a form of empowerment within the marriage relation.

B. Wage labor and Labor Forces Participation

The literature on women in the labor force indicates that there is no general consensus among the authors on what can be termed as labor. Suad Dajami argues that the subjugation of Palestinian women to Israel's economy has operated on two levels: (1) indirect subjugation through unpaid housework, where the Palestinian women assume the role of reproducing the labor force for the Israeli market: and (2) direct integration through wage labor." (Dajani p. 103). In the FAFO report, however, reproduction is not considered under the general term "labor;" "even if reproduction of life is the material basis for the labor force, and thus constitutes the basis of the economy it is usually not considered as "production." (FAFO p. 208). In the FAFO report the tendency is to accept the traditional definition of work as "Activities which generate income used for the survival of the family." According to this definition of labor the FAFO report states that women are employed in four main areas. Work in the home consists of: Contract/piece work, in Shop/family business, or Work on family farm. Outside the home women are employed in work that requires training (teaching and nursing) or unskilled work and agriculture. Figure II.7 below shows these areas.

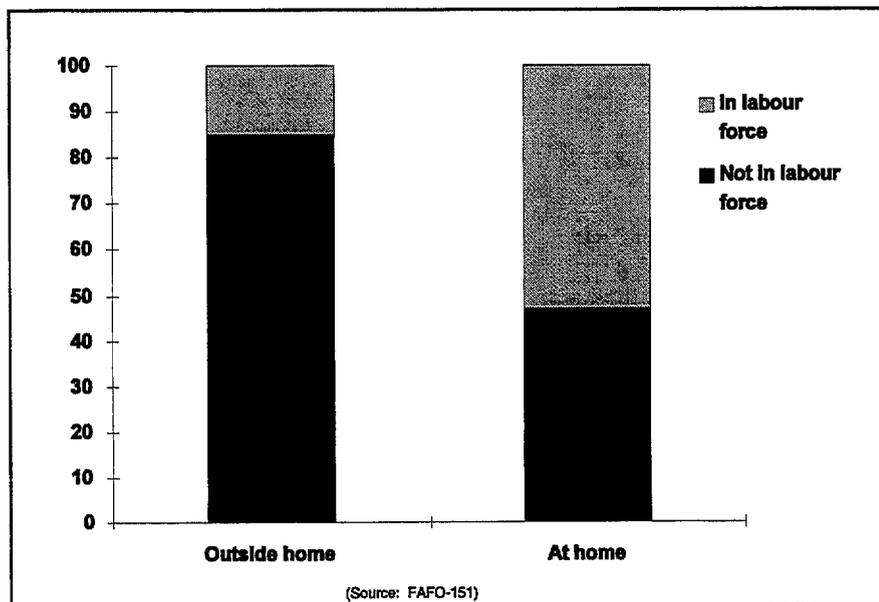
Figure II.7 Graphical presentation of female employment

In family sphere Housewives (domestic work)			Outside family sphere
Contract/piece work	Shop/family business	Work on family farm	Work requiring education and training (teacher/nurse)
			Miscellaneous work for unskilled women (e.g. agricultural work)

(Source: FAFO-151)

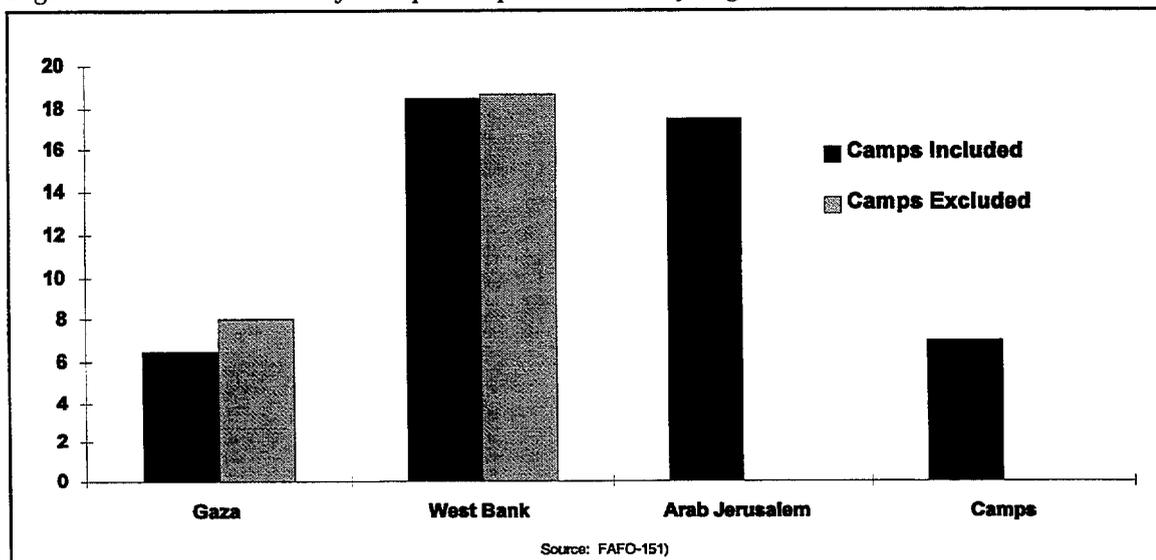
Contract or piece work, listed above, can be sewing clothes for the Israeli industry, work in family shop or business, garden plot or farm, or food processing. Out of house employment found mainly among five groups of women: The highly educated, young unmarried women, widows, divorcees and women without children. Figure II.8 shows the relation between labor force participation ratios for women inside and outside the home.

Figure II.8 Labor force participation ratios for working women by location of work.



The lowest rate of female participation in the work force is in Gaza and in the refugee camps, where in fact women's economic status is also most deprived. Attitudes to work do not seem to be the obstacle facing women. Rather in these regions it is the availability of work that is the problem. Figure II.9 illustrates female labor force participation by region showing particularly low participation rate in Gaza, and in refugee camps.

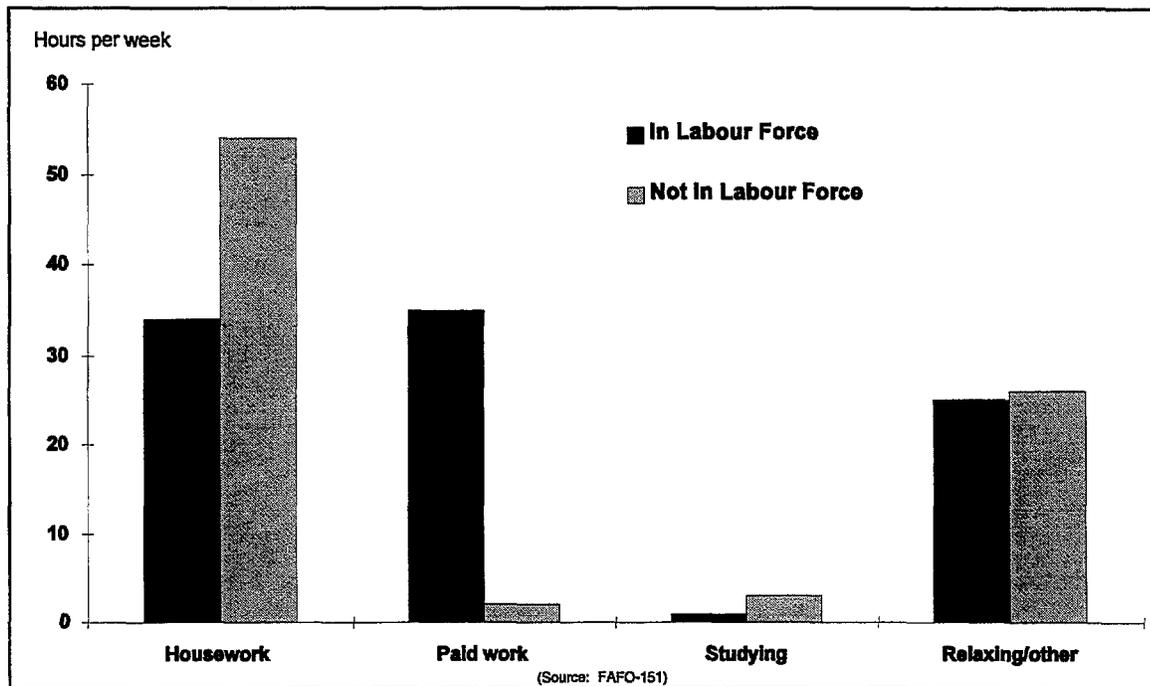
Figure II.9 Female labor force participation rates by region



C. Female (Income Generating) Employment

According to the FAFO report, two elements characterize female employment: first, most women understand employment as an activity done outside the home. Second, because of the greater social acceptance of female employment when it is professional (as opposed to manual), a relatively high number of employed women hold professional jobs. Palestinian women are notably over presented in mid-professional jobs in public services (nursing, teaching, etc). Although small, the female labor force exhibits the same jobs as can be found in the male sector. But women who work outside the home are faced with the phenomenon of the "double burden" working at home and on the job, a factor that affects the lives of women who work outside the home in the West as well. Table II.10 below seek to show how these women cope with the distribution of their time between the job, the work place, and other aspects of life The majority of women are thus "employed" more than full-time with "productive" and "reproductive" activities.

Figure II.10 Weekly time use for women by labor force status



D. The Socio-Economic Conditions of Female Wage Labor

Wages and Work Conditions

The entry of Palestinian women into the labor market seems to reflect women's traditional roles rather than a break away from old traditions. A large number of women are employed in the clothing industry. Hindiye's interview of 53 factory owners in three areas in the West Bank revealed that, of the sample of 101 women, 82 percent worked in the clothing industry. Wages ranged from \$250 to \$143 per month. These percentages reveal the low level of women's wages, especially considering that 92 percent of the women worked 8 hour days.

According to a study conducted by Hindiyeh and Ghazawneh (p. 71). 82.2 percent of Palestinian women workers are unmarried, 6.9 percent are married and 6.9 percent are divorced or widowed. However, the economic conditions of the unmarried female worker are not the same as those of unmarried male workers. Unmarried women workers live with their families and employers argue that they do not have as many responsibilities as men. Consequently, social traditions allow and encourage local employers to pay women workers lower wages. According to Hindiyeh: the wages of male workers are on average double those of women workers in our society. In interviews with owners of mixed factories, the majority of owners stated that men receive higher wages than women first because "they are men and, second, because they because they have greater family responsibilities." Unequal wages are clearly revealed by Hindiyeh's sample (101) of women workers. Out of 47 women working in mixed factories (containing both men and women workers), 37 (78.2 percent) reported that equal wages were not paid for equal work." (page 73)

Hindiyeh and Ghazawneh's research is part of an on-going project that seeks to encompass various aspects of the role of women in the labor force. Their primary findings are listed below.

1. Women workers are not significantly increasing their involvement in union activities after marriage. Women workers are not becoming sufficiently empowered actively to demand their rights.
2. The majority of women workers are still working in traditional types of work and Palestinian factories are not significantly changing the type of work women participate in. But increasing numbers of women in the work force is definitely a progressive step.
3. There is a great need for vocational training for women, especially in non-traditional types of work.
4. The participation of married women in the labor market is very low. This indicates strongly that Palestinian society still places pressure on women to remain in the home as mother or wife (even in situations of clear financial need).
5. The working conditions of women workers are very poor, and do not meet the minimum standard for workers' rights. Wages are low, and lower than those of men. Women are denied paid holidays and health insurance, and working hours are long, with women coerced into working overtime. This implies that the Palestinian bourgeoisie must be pushed to be more just in providing for workers' rights (and that women workers must be increasingly organized to demand these rights).
6. The educational level of women workers is very low--it was found that 62.4 percent were elementary or secondary school dropouts, maybe because of school closures by the authorities, as well as the increased financial needs of families in the conditions of *Intifada*.

E. Women's Production Cooperatives: The experiment that worked

According to Joost Hiltermann, the only clear effort at totally independent action during the uprising, the Women's Work Committees, began to establish women's productive cooperatives in response to the food shortages caused by army curfews and the boycott of Israeli products. These cooperatives produced relatively simple foodstuffs, such as fruit juices, pickled vegetables, canned goods, and jams, as well as clothing, embroidery, and picture frames for the local market. Women were in charge of all stages of the production process and shared the profits. They would sell their wares through offices of the women's committees or through merchants who identified with the committee's work. The number of cooperatives has remained fairly limited, however. More commonly, women affiliated with the women's committees produce goods directly in their own homes to be sold by the committees through the outlets mentioned above." (Hiltermann p.32)

The effectiveness of the cooperatives in providing an alternative to goods imported from Israel was limited, however the experience afforded women a taste of economic independence and set an example of how women can contribute to the market while simultaneously creating jobs.

Another successful cooperative called Our Production Is Our Pride Cooperative, has two branches in the West Bank and was formed shortly before the *intifada*. Its 22 women workers attended a course in marketing, production methods, and bookkeeping. Decision-making is shared and so are the profits. Their jars of pickled cucumbers, olives and stuffed eggplants are popular products in shops around Jerusalem area. Many cooperatives give women work to perform at home, in between household chores; such work is defined as crafts like embroidering of traditional dressing and other embroidered items.

But, assessment of the impact of cooperatives and other forms of home economies on women's lives indicates that increased income did not automatically alter the gender gap. Women still do their household chores in addition to their work outside the home. Yet, participation in the Cooperative decision making process seems to have altered women's perceptions of themselves.

According to Hiltermann "cooperatives have had positive results and probably constitute one of the more significant achievements of the uprising." According to a woman activist, the establishment of the UPWWC's cooperative in the village of Idhna near Hebron "helped to bring the issue of women onto the agenda"; participation in the cooperative "increased women's social consciousness. Women realized that they had the same abilities as men. It helped them get out of the family circle, and help out in the bad economic situation as men were either jailed or unemployed¹." Even if resistance to change is stiff, women's issues have been put on the agenda and women for the first time have begun to discuss their status in society.

F. Restructuring and Gender: Garment Production in Nablus

A paper by Annelise Moors -- "Restructuring and Garment Production in Nablus" -- an unpublished paper, describes the major transformation in the structure of Nablus clothing production and in the gender composition of the labor force. The second section analyzes how these changes tie in with gender asymmetry. Constraints on space make it difficult to discuss all of Moors' findings; the following is a summary of the major points. According to Moors, Nablus has a long

tradition of garment production as a craft-based industry, with clothing mainly produced in small artisanal workshops. At present Nablus is still the center of the garment trade.² As elsewhere on the West Bank, however, after the Israeli occupation (1967) both the structure of Nablus clothing production and the composition of the labor force have changed drastically.³ To a large extent clothing producers have become dependent upon Israeli firms of jobbers and a process of feminization of the labor force has come about." (p.1)

"Developments in garment production on the West Bank are in a number of ways reminiscent of the global process of restructuring and relocation. Historically, low labor costs and high flexibility have been very important for profitability in the garment sector. Little capital is needed to set up a workshop and the sector is characterized by ease of entry and intense competition (Rainnie 1984: 146). Subcontracting has been an important mechanism to lower labor costs and increase flexibility. The garment sector has been marked by a division between manufacturers who perform all steps of the production process (designing, cutting, sewing, and selling) and "outside shops" which sew already cut garments received from a jobber and return the finished garment to him (Lamphere 1979: 258). These "outside" shops were located in areas with a large supply of cheap labor." (p.2)

Moors argues that subcontracting is strongly associated with the feminization of the labor force. In most subcontracting firms the large majority of the workers are women. As has been argued, these women are not preferred as workers because of their innate natural qualities, but rather because existing asymmetries in gender relations define them as highly productive, docile and cheap workers (Phillips and Taylor 1980; Elson 1983). As Hindiyeh has shown, Moors also states that on average in the garment industry which is based primarily on women's labor wages women's wages are half of the wages of their male counterparts. Moors investigated and found that the main reason given for the different payment systems and levels is that men are more productive. Referring to the concept of the male breadwinner it is argued that men are employed for piece-rates and work long hours because they have to earn a family wage and women do not. The "male breadwinner argument" is a powerful legitimization of the existing situation and helps to understand why there are hardly any married women working in garment workshops.⁴ If a married woman works long hours for a very low wage, this does not only mean an extremely heavy work load, but would also undermine her husband's masculinity by making it very obvious that he is unable to provide for the household." Moors takes Hindiyeh's point somewhat farther and she argues that long hours and low wages, instituted in the garment industry, reflect negatively on the integration of women in the labor market since. They serve to reestablish the low status of women vis-a-vis their male counterparts; the impact of this is to reinforce the subservient status of women.

III. THE HEALTH STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

There is a substantial amount of information published on the health status of women in the West Bank and Gaza. The data used includes United Nations and WHO reports, information from the Government of Israel (GOI) published books and articles reports and information from non-governmental sources, UNRWA survey's, Human Right's groups and the FAFO report 151. An overview of this literature can be found in **Health in the West Bank and Gaza Strip**, an annotated bibliography (Health Development Information Project, 1992).

The following issues are treated in this literature: The impact of stress on women's health and on the health of her children, injury sustained during the *intifada*, maternal and child care services including pregnancy related disorders, general access to health care and the quality of health care, and nutrition.

A. Access to Health Care Maternal and Child Care Services

As can be anticipated, when life is disrupted by curfews, strikes and school closures, access to health services has deteriorates. May Thamer, a specialist in health care who worked in the territories reports in a paper presented in a conference that according to the 1988 report of the Director of Health of UNRWA, "Health services, including medical care services, environmental sanitation and supplementary feeding operations were all adversely affected due to demonstrations, general strikes, curfew measures and declaration of certain areas as military zones."⁵ (p. 10) Most of the literature seems to confirm this view postulating that the decline in service usage by refugee women and their infants outside the UNRWA camps may result from difficulties in traveling associated with the ever present curfews, strikes, and declarations of restricted military zones.

On the other hand, the FAFO report 151 states that the availability of Health care facilities is satisfactory but the report does not evaluate the quality of the care available (P.112). The seeming contradiction can be attributed to the fact that the conditions during the height of the *Intifada* where somewhat different from the conditions since 1992 when the report survey was conducted.

The FAFO survey established that on average Palestinians visit their doctor as often as an individual living in a European country, which might be considered as a low rate considering the living conditions of the population on the West Bank and Gaza. Utilization rates do not necessarily reflect health conditions in a population, and may reflect instead the availability of health care services.

The survey also found that women prefer to seek help when they have defined themselves as ill at private clinics while men utilize government clinics and hospitals.

According to the FAFO report 151, only a small number of health services in the West Bank and Gaza provide family planning and most health care resources are situated in urban rather than rural areas. The report has also shown that women are open to using pre-natal health facilities when these are available to them. The report showed that when women under fifty where asked about there pre- and post- natal history in relation to the last child, 69% report having had pre-natal care,

making 3 or more visits during pregnancy, whereas 22% made 1-2 visits and the rest made but a referral visit or had no care at all (9%). The following table III.1 shows the overall distribution.

Table III.1 Where did the consultation take place? Per cent (cases)

= less than 10 persons	Respondents	Private Clinic	UNWRA clinic	Government clinic or hospital	Charitable clinic or hospital	Popular committee clinic	Consultant came to my home	Other
All	567	45	16	14	10	3	4	8
Age								
15-19	57	36	19	19	-	-	-	16
20-39	246	49	12	9	13	4	5	6
40-59	137	40	19	16	11	-	-	10
60+	127	49	16	18	-	-	-	-
Sex								
Men	251	40	15	17	10	2	4	10
Women	316	50	16	10	10	-	3	6
Main region								
Gaza	153	29	36	25	-	-	-	-
West Bank	296	52	9	9	-	-	-	-
Arab Jerusalem	118	29	-	27	-	-	-	-
Refugee status								
Non-refugee	322	53	-	15	13	4	5	8
Urban camp	72	22	56	14	-	-	0	-
Rural camp	23	44	44	-	0	-	0	-
Refugee, not camp	148	41	21	11	9	-	-	12
Camp Status								
Gaza ex camps	92	42	19	28	-	-	-	-
WB ex camps	261	53	4	9	13	5	5	10
Arab Jerusalem	118	29	-	27	-	-	-	-
Camps	96	28	54	12	-	-	-	-
Wealth								
0-30%	197	34	28	14	7	-	-	12
31-66%	206	53	12	14	7	5	-	-
67-100%	164	49	-	12	17	-	8	8

(Source: FAFO-151)

Education for all students in the West Bank and Gaza has been severely disrupted by long-term school closures. All six universities and colleges (Bir Zeit, Najah, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jerusalem, and Gaza) accommodating 18,000 students (7,560 of them female) have been closed by military order since the start of the *Intifada*.⁶ (schools have since reopened).

According to a 1990 U.N. "Report on the Situation of Women in the Occupied Territories," "Because schools are closed, many parents consider it safer for girls to marry early and for this reason these girls are beginning to have many children and from an early age. Although before the *Intifada*, people were beginning to talk about family planning, now mothers are said to want to have more children."⁷ This drop in marriage age is confirmed in the findings of the FAFO report 151.

According to Thamer, in research conducted in developing countries, in early marriage, i.e., when the bride is between the 14 and 18 years of age, early pregnancy place young girls at increased obstetric risk and often jeopardizes maternal and fetal nutritional status.⁸ Studies have shown that, even in very impoverished areas, raising the age of marriage can have a significant impact on improving maternal, fetal, and infant health. The high fertility rates found in the West Bank and Gaza combined with short birth spacing and, in some areas, inadequate prenatal and baby care, can adversely affect maternal nutritional status." (Thamer p.11)

B. Nutritional Status of Women

The statistics available on nutrition are somewhat dated. Only one recent large-scale study, the 1990 UNRWA Nutritional Survey of Palestinian Refugees, included women in its assessment of the nutritional status of the population in the West Bank and Gaza. In the UNRWA survey, hemoglobin measurements were taken from 694 nonpregnant women and 1,297 pregnant women residing in refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza during May and June of 1990.⁹ In the West Bank, 28.3% of the nonpregnant refugee women were assessed to be anemic while in the Gaza Strip, the prevalence of anemia among the same population was remarkably high at 44.4%. The prevalence of anemia among nonpregnant women in the Gaza Strip camps was substantially higher than all other field camps assessed by the UNRWA study (Thamer p.14).

C. Psychological Well-Being

Most of the literature states that women in the West Bank and Gaza are living under conditions of tremendous stress. But there are no studies that show that this level of stress produced psychological or mental disorders in the population. Without such a large study or survey, it is difficult to arrive at estimates of the incidence of mental health disorders. In a study conducted by the Gaza Community Mental Health Center in 1989, it was reported that 30% of the males and 37% of the females were diagnosed as suffering from high to severe anxiety, 63% of the males and 78% of males and 78% of the females reported sleep difficulties, and 26% of the males and 75% of the females reported a propensity to cry easily. However literature on this field is still scant.

IV. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

A. Welfare Organizations

The first form of women's organizations which emerged right after the 1967 war were welfare type organizations. Raymonda Tawil's book *My Home My Prison*¹⁰, is one of a few sources that offers information on the way women organized right after the occupation in July 1967 as a reaction to the punitive measures imposed by the military government. Tawil offers important details about specific events, such as women's active involvement in preventing changes imposed by the military government in the school curriculum, and demonstrations carried out against the demolition of homes. She describes the conditions of the refugees evicted from their homes and settled temporarily around her house during the 1967 war.¹¹ The emphasis then on saving lives and providing sustenance carries through in women's welfare organizations to the present day. By and large, women organized around an extension of their nurturing role. Any problems touching on the life of the family, school curriculum, food for needy families, medical care, becomes women's domain.

The Society for the Resuscitation of the Family, in Ash el-Usra, headed by Samiha Khalil, was founded in 1965, two years before the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. In 1965 the budget of this small organization was five hundred dollars. Shortly before the organization was forced to shut down on the grounds that "it was teaching the slogans of the *intifada*," it was the largest organization of its kind in the West Bank with a budget of \$420,000. This organization was helping 15,000 women, including 4,800 women employed in traditional Palestinian embroidery projects in their homes, 152 full-time employees of the society, and 200 young women registered each year in its vocational programs, 1,500 families were receiving sponsorship aid of \$500 a year, including military prisoners and their families. In`ash el-Usra is not the only organization of its kind.¹² Palestinian society has a high rate of women who are single heads of households either because the husbands are in vail or because they are employed in Gulf countries. Women have to rely on each other through a networking system to increase their income, and their welfare organizations performed a very important role by providing financial, medical and scholarship aid programs¹³.

B. Women's Work Committees

A new form of women's organization emerged in the late 1970's, the four women's work committees were affiliated with the four political factions.¹⁴ While the welfare organizations were run from the top down, generally by urban middle class women who wanted to help women with less income, the new organizations were more democratic and stressed self-help over welfare programs. The younger generation of women leaders felt that welfare organizations did not stress survival and self help programs. The founders formed literacy classes, health education, embroidery training, office skills training, and food processing. They also provided women with day care centers; women felt secure that their children were within reach while they were improving their survival skills. Most importantly, they engaged women in political discussions which soon turned into discussions about women's issues and women's rights.¹⁵ At the start of the *intifada*, when directives were issued by the UNLU calling for strikes or marches to take place, the women's work committees would translate them into a call for action by women and pass them on through their networks. Women

organized marches in which women called for the liberation of the land and for equality for women in a New Palestinian State. At the beginning of the *intifada*, Israeli soldiers hesitated to use force against women and women turned this constraint to their favor. In more conservative villages, women's participation was smaller yet it signified a shift in what constitutes women's territorial domain. The women's work committees also benefited from the increased political awareness of women by drawing many new members to join the ranks of these institutions. They attracted women by offering classes in first aid and health education to compensate for poor access to medical centers in times of curfew. They also increased their day care hours to make it possible for women to participate in the *intifada*.

C. Popular Committees

The *intifada* saw the emergence of a mass base, informal system of organizations called the Popular Committees designed to insure the needs of the community under curfew. Members of the women's committees also joined the Popular Committees and transferred to them their institutional know-how. The two forms of committees were able to supplement each other's programs. The Popular Committees were based on the principle of extending the care and support once reserved to members of one's extended family to all members of one's community. Under curfew and under restricted forms of mobility, one's neighbor is more important than a cousin who lives in the next village. Each neighborhood has a committee to deal with emergencies and ongoing services and supplies: to serve food and baby milk, guard the neighborhood, maintain the clandestine education system, visit prisoners, and to develop and staff the so-called "defense system." This last committee, the most visible one, consists of the Shabab (youths) who engage the army by throwing stones.

All committees had more than 50 percent female members. It is not difficult to see that women were more efficient in assessing the food and baby food requirements of households; first aid needs; and the urgent medical care needed, especially in cases of a new born child. Because of school closures, women developed a clandestine education system in their basements and in community buildings which was illegal. If discovered, the teachers risked a prison sentence and a heavy fine. Pupils who attended had to hide their destination and their books from soldiers, and because of the surrounding anxiety and tension, many were not able to show the same concentration as they might have in a regular school.

D. Women's Research Centers

In the assessment of most research institutions women did not make substantial gains despite their hard work. Despite women's growing political activism, their status in society was not greatly altered. Similar conclusions were reached by the panelists at a women's conference held at the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem on December 24, 1990.¹⁶ The second point made during this conference entitled "Together Toward Enlightenment and Equality" stipulates that the early period of mass involvement by females in the *intifada* was followed by a retreat in women's rights. The most flagrant example cited is the imposition of Islamic dress codes where previously these rules were relaxed. Two main reasons explain this regression phase: the emergence of a backlash against the progress made by women and the failure of the *intifada* at that time to achieve a political solution to occupation.

It is somewhat premature to dismiss or to diminish the positive impact of the *intifada* on women's lives. There have been some positive transformations in traditional norms that mark a shift in the direction of achieving greater equality for women. But, these changes have not permeated all levels of society in a uniform fashion. Looking at the situation through a longitudinal perspective it is easy to see how one must conclude that there is no fundamental change in the position of women in Palestinian society, although, analysts concede that transformations in values did occur.

Many women leaders voiced their disappointment because of the perceived failures of women's organizations to inculcate changes in the status of women. However, a woman analyst confided that the dissatisfaction of women leaders is due to discrepancy between their level of aspiration for the women's movement and the reality in which women's organizations have to survive. Finally, their somewhat gloomy predictions are also reflect the difficulties in which they live: the failure to achieve any political solution to occupation, the economic devastations resultant from the Gulf war, and the emergence of a fundamentalist movement. All these factors combined are enough to put the most optimistic advocate of women's rights in a state of despair that sometimes translates into self blame.

If, documentation of women's participation can safeguard against the obliteration of women's rights after independence has been won, then Palestinian women's rights are well insured. Several research centers belonging to different political factions publish regularly on women's issues. The Women's Affairs Center located in Nablus publishes a quarterly journal in Arabic. The center trains researchers who have published studies on women in agricultural cooperatives; on the exploitation of nurses by local hospitals; the choice of a career in journalism by women; and assessment of the women's movement in the occupied territories. In addition to interviews with local activists, the journal has also published translations of articles by Robin Morgan and other western feminists. Among its many activities the Center sponsors lectures and house meetings to raise women's consciousness on women's issues.¹⁷ Other research centers are doing similar work.

The Women's Resource and Research Center in Jerusalem publishes a monthly popular women's magazine, *Al Mara*, which deals with the social issues facing women. It has published an economic study entitled "The Socio-Economic Conditions Of Female Wage Labor In the West Bank," which addresses such issues as holidays and health insurance available to women: training available for women; and an assessment of women's awareness of their labor conditions, and another paper entitled, "Women Street Vendors," which assessed women's income and status in society. The Center holds conferences and lectures in association with Women's Committees to inform women about their rights. The Communities carried out a campaign and published information pamphlets on violence against women in the home; and holds consciousness raising sessions in which women discuss their rights and their role in society.

The Palestinian Research and Development Group known as Bisan, located in the Ramallah area, published the proceedings of a women's conference entitled "Together Toward Enlightenment and Equality,"¹⁸ held on December 14, 1990 and attended by nearly 500 people. Its five academic papers and four workshops were highly critical of the gains made by women. One of the papers dealt with the "*Intifada* and Social Issues,"¹⁹ in which the author addresses the reasons behind the retreat from female participation during the second phase of the *intifada*. Another panelist argued that women's status has not altered in proportion to their contributions to the national struggle.

Women continue to be perceived exclusively as protectors of the home and have not been fully represented at the political level. This is evident in women's representation in the Palestine National Congress which does not exceed ten percent. A third paper, "*Intifada* and Social Norms" states that the austere culture which developed during the *intifada* did not benefit women. Other centers, not mentioned here have published studies on the role of women, children and the family. Should Palestinians have their own state, these studies may provide an analysis of social and development policy, on which a new government might base its policies. It is to be hoped that through the documentation of their significant role, women will be able to achieve equal rights with the framework of a democratic Palestinian state Women's Research Centers.

V. GENDER ISSUES

Social transformations rarely occur in a uniform fashion. Consequently, it not possible to speak of a transformation in gender relations in the West Bank and Gaza that points in a positive direction without being reminded of numerous examples that point in the opposite direction. Palestinian society consists of a class- system, urban and rural dwellers, educated elites and laborers, nationalists and fundamentalists, all of whom respond differently to social issues affecting women. The lives of some women who became involved in national work has been altered, while the lives of others became more oppressive.

The *intifada* brought about some positive transformations in traditional norms that symbolize women's dependency. The Mahr or dowry, bestowed by the bridegroom on the bride and includes much gold jewelry, almost disappeared during the *intifada*. In Moslem Arab culture where the roles of men and women are clearly defined, the responsibility of providing for women rests squarely on men's shoulders.²⁰ Dropping the Mahr means that women are economically responsible for themselves. If this norm become inculcated, this will mean that greater numbers of women will earn the right to work outside the home, assuming that job opportunities will become available after occupation ends. Can women's rights for self determination lag far behind²¹?

The *intifada* spurned a number of marriages based on romantic involvement as opposed to so called arranged marriages. In a segregated culture, young men often resort to a third party to assist them in choosing the right marriage partner. By facilitating meetings between the sexes the *intifada* made it possible for the current generation to chose their own marriage partners based on romantic involvement, although most young women insist that their choice is based on political and ideological compatibility. For many women the *intifada* had an adverse effect. In rural areas there was a substantial drop in marriage age for women form age 18 to age 14 in some cases²². (See section above on marriage.)

A. Political Representation of Palestinian Women

The political representation of Palestinian women lags behind their contribution to the national struggle and the seats that they do occupy reflect their traditional roles. In the Palestinian Red Crescent in Lebanon women hold 40 percent of the higher positions. In the overall structure of the PLO, Palestinian Women constitute roughly 6 percent of the higher authority of the organization as a whole. In the army in Lebanon they constituted around 4 percent of the higher posts, ranking as high as officers. Out of a total of 301 members in the Palestine National Council, Palestinian parliament in exile, 37 are women. In the structure of Fatah, the largest faction in the PLO, Um Jihad and Um Lutuf are the only two woman members of the Revolutionary Council. In the mass unions and syndicates, Isam Abdel Hadi, is the only woman heading the General Union of Palestinian Women.²³ While the political representation of Palestinian women compares favorably with other Arab countries, this does not mean that Palestinian women are anywhere near close to achieving a measure of equality in political representation. Many believe that the women's movements will be in a position to negotiate like the other factions of the PLO, once sovereignty is achieved; this, of course, will depend on the level of democracy and political participation within the apparatus of the new government.

The relation of Palestinian women to leadership roles is often a confused one. If leadership implies individuals who transform society, then the list of Palestinian women is an impressive one indeed. However, leadership is often employed as a synonym with political representation and here women's representation lags behind their level of contribution. Still, the *intifada* caused the emergence of the Higher Women's Council, a unified body of women leaders representing women from the four main political factions. Reema Hammami's article "Women, the Hijab and the *Intifada*" examines the dynamics by which the Women's Council influenced the UNLU (*Intifada* Leadership) in their decision to refuse to endorse the hijab (head and sometimes body cover for women) because it was enforced by men. Three women, Zahira Kamal, Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi and Suad Ameri participated as negotiators and as spokeswoman to the Middle East Peace Negotiations in Washington D.C. Although the political representation of Palestinian women in no way equals women's contributions, yet the presence of these three women in the Peace Negotiations brings out the issue of women's role in political decision making and in running for political office during the first elections projected for December, 1994..

B. Regressions For Women in the Current Phase

The failure of the *intifada* to bring about a political solution to occupation any sooner and the emergence of a religious fundamentalist movement that succeeded in imposing the Hijab on women and restricting their mobility especially in the Gaza Strip contributed to the decline in women's activities. Further, the Gulf War generated a sense of economic insecurity and personal vulnerability that brought women back into the fold of the extended family causing the reinforcement of its patriarchal structures over women.

While women are still active in the West Bank, women in Gaza are being coerced to wear the hijab and to conform to an Islamic dress code that does not have its roots in the indigenous traditional culture.²⁴ Some have argued that imposing the hijab constitutes a backlash against women's changing role. A Gaza based psychiatrist argued that by turning to religion the fathers sought to reinstate their traditional authority within the family which was challenged first by occupation and, during the *intifada*, by the youths who no longer complied with parental regulations.²⁵ Since the women's movement had not taken root yet in Gaza, women complied to avoid additional aggravation within the home and because they were disappointed that the *intifada* did not bring an end to occupation. Some women wore the hijab because they were convinced by arguments based on fear stating that the Hijab will protect women from the soldiers. There is very little evidence to show that this argument is correct.

Another analyst has argued that the hijab must be viewed as a sign of imposing a hierarchy based on gender as well as a sign of political affiliation. The hijab receives its meaning in the struggle for control between the nationalists and religious forces²⁶. If this is indeed the case then the nationalists have not come to the assistance of women in the same measure as women's contribution to the struggle. The UNLU (*intifada* leadership) issued a leaflet chastising anyone who coerces women to cover. In the following weeks women were not bothered by Hamas and this led many to argue that had the leaflets been issued at the beginning of the campaign women might have fared better.²⁷ When it comes to protecting women's rights the UNLU does not always act as fast as they should which worries many women in the West Bank and Gaza. The fact remains that women have not worn the hijab willingly. In Gaza today, all women cover their hair, although by most estimates

the number of nationalists exceeds that of fundamentalists by two thirds. One must conclude, therefore, that many women are wearing the headdress against their wishes.

The Gulf War marks another downwards trend to the rising expectations of women. During times of extended 24 hour curfew women were concerned with the problems of a chemical warfare, with the availability of food supplies and with overcrowding. But, the women's network system had not been set up to meet these needs.

As women returned to the folds of the extended family structure the struggle for women's issues was placed on hold because the economic survival of the family became the most important agenda. Many families survived on the income of their sons and husbands working in the Gulf states. While other families survived on salaries from institutions that were in turn supported by funding from the Gulf States. This income was lost or severely decreased in the Gulf War. Poverty spread over a large segment of the population and consequently many newly married couples went back to live with the extended family where the women had to conform.

In the Arab World, as in the third world in general, the women's movement has always been tied to the fate of national liberation struggles which have both aided and hindered it's development in a number of ways. The Palestinian women's movement holds this in common with the early emergence of a women's movement in Algeria and Egypt. To better understand the demands of Palestinian women one must look at their demands as these are presented in their Declaration of Principles analyzed in the following section.

VI. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Declaration of Principles (see Attachment A) was drafted and signed in the name of the General Union of Palestinian Women's organizations, an umbrella organization formed in 1965 which includes women from all four Palestinian political factions. In the past women's groups in the occupied territories had little contact with the leadership structure of the General Union of Palestinian Women. Headquartered in Tunis, the latter group was co-opted by the leadership where female participation in the PLO structure verges on little more than tokenism. Cut off from the leadership structure, the women's movement in the occupied territories developed a more serious women's agenda that exceeds the early female activities, "feminine" in nature. And because these demands were based on women's essential role in the *intifada* as well as prior to that, they were able to make substantial demands to guarantee their basic equality.

The Declaration of Principles on Palestinian Women's Rights calls on the political leadership to ratify all international conventions concerning individual rights of women including **The International Convention For The Elimination Of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women** and to guarantee complete equality for women in all areas. The declaration begins by endorsing the issues that are important to all Palestinians, such as the right of self-determination, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The women thus begin by showing their solidarity with the group and the objectives of the Palestinians as a whole through their endorsement of the national and civil rights of all Palestinians. This position on paper reflects the way in which Palestinian women view their own rights.

In the second paragraph, women bring out the specificity of women's issues stating that for a long time their national concerns were placed ahead of these issues "The participation of Palestinian women in their people's struggle meant that national concerns were prioritized." There was disagreement over this statement because the more progressive women's organization had, since the late seventies, set up an agenda that addressed simultaneously both the rights of women and the national rights of Palestinians. However, Fatah which is the largest group continued to prioritize the national struggle.

In the third paragraph women base their demands on the **Declaration of Independence**, passed by the PLO in the Palestine National Council in Algeria in 1988. In this respect they further buttress their demands showing that these demands emanate from the very document that grants the rights of all Palestinian people. The paragraph begins as follows:

"Based on the Palestinian Declaration of Independence which states that 'The state of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be, the state is for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights and non-discrimination in public rights of men or women, on grounds of race, religion, color or sex.'"

And, since the Declaration of Independence is in turn based on the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** and other international charters, the demands of women are finally also based on these documents. To sum, up women first see themselves as part of the struggle to regain national rights, which is a priority in this document even if many women's organizations see the situation as

a struggle on both fronts simultaneously. And women base their claims on the central document of the future state: the Declaration of Independence. Further down, women evoke their essential contribution to the liberation struggle as the right that earned them equality in the new state. By these methods women buttress themselves against criticism that aims to disqualify the movement on the bases that a women's movement is a western phenomena imported from abroad and foreign to the area. Grounded in the struggle for the national liberation, the nine demands raised by women are not much different from the demands of many international women's organizations. And, should they be enacted as laws, then these laws would surpass the laws that govern the lives of Arab women in the various Arab countries. The nine points are analyses below:

1. "A clear and categorical statement in the Constitution and all legislation which grantees complete equality in rights and responsibilities and the adoption of the necessary measures to amend and delete the laws and practices which are obstacles to the implementation of this principle."

Indirect challenge is here made to the Shari' which states that men are the providers for women and consequently women are to obey men. This passage seeks to dispel any notions of inequality since women will also be required to take full financial responsibilities. The passage thus voids the relationship, whereby, women have to obey in return of financial support.

2. "Complete equality in all political rights, including the right to participate in the formulation and the implementation of policies and in occupying positions in all areas and levels and in representing the country on the international arena:"

Based on the interpretation of the Shari'a, in some Islamic countries women are not considered fit for certain judicial positions, specifically that of judge, because their emotional fluctuation can cloud their judgement. Women here demand that such archaic notions be revised in order to compete for government positions on all levels.

3. "Equality in civil rights, including the right to obtain, maintain or abdicate citizenship and the right to grant citizenship to her children (this right is reserved for the father in most Arab countries)."

In all Arab countries (except Syria) citizenship is passed on from the father to the children or wife. Women don't have the right to pass their citizenship to their husband or their children. In 1989, after the Declaration of Independence was passed by the Palestine National Council (PNC) and the leadership started issuing Palestinian passports (not valid as travel documents), women petitioned the PLO leadership to give them the right to pass their nationality on to their husbands and children. This because in the diaspora many Palestinian women married non-Palestinians but they wanted to share their identity with their offspring. The leadership agreed but the issue was not voted upon in the PNC.

4. Equality in work opportunities and wages, all securities and compensations training and promotion and in her right to maternity leave and social services which enable her to combine her family duties and the responsibilities

Palestinian society in general is not adverse to see women in positions of power in the workplace. However, because of the extreme shortages of jobs under occupation, women anticipate that they will be elbowed out by men seeking employment in the coming phase under autonomy. Childbearing could be used as an excuse to keep women out of the job market. Palestinian society is very family oriented and bringing the children, is a very important consideration. Therefore, to enable women to work, there has to be excellent day care facilities and a sufficiently long maternity leave to prevent critics from claiming that working women cause undue hardships to their children.

5. Equality in educational opportunities on all the educational stages and levels and the adoption of the necessary measures to implement this principle through the elimination of discriminatory references in the educational curriculum is unjust to human and women's status and dignity and the adoption of unified curriculum for both sexes:

This passage reflects the near obsession that Palestinians have with education. This, of course, resulted from the loss of the land in 1948 when the only source of income for the individual became the education that one had. Many Palestinians were able to work in Gulf countries, underdeveloped at the time, and some amassed great fortunes due to their education. In published interviews (Najar) many young women have stated that they either had to go on hunger strikes in their homes or refuse to leave their rooms in order to convince their parents to send them to institutions of higher education. Parents often have to choose between sending their sons or their daughters due to financial hardships. Further, reference is made here to the language of the curriculum which is usually addressed to the male gender and thus constitutes a violation of women's rights to higher education.

6. Equality in personal rights on the familial and societal levels which grants equality between women and men and the right to choose a spouse, providing care for the family, in ownership rights and the protection of family's property;

This is probably the most important principle which will lead to the regulation of gender relations in society, if it is enacted into law. In years past, because of the segregation of the sexes, most Arab men had to resort to their female relative, usually their mothers, when selecting a marriage partner. During the *intifada* the segregation of the sexes was relaxed somewhat sanctioned by the fact that men and women worked for the "national good" in Al-Amal Al Watani (Changed lives, below). The number of marriages based on romantic involvement grew, but not without a degree of resistance from families in some cases (Najar). Women seek a law that will grant women the right to choose their spouses and put an end to paternal control. Women here seek to own themselves and to give themselves into marriage. So far this has been a paternal right since according to the Shari'a the woman can only agree or disagree to marry the husband chosen for her by her father and has no right to marry against his wishes. Further, women seek here to alleviate the double burden of working women "equality between men and women ... providing care for the family." Steps in this direction were made during the *intifada* when many husbands became more willing to assist with the housework when their wives were involved in Al Amal Al Watani but the situation remains far from equal. The difficulty is in the implementation of such a law, will a husband be sent to jail for failing to help his wife?

The right to protect the family's property, refers here to the fact that often the house or the property is not written in the wife's name and remains in the husband's family's name should the

husband die suddenly. The property is often passed on to his male offspring when they reach age 21. This has caused much financial hardship to women who found themselves widowed during the *intifada*.

7. Guaranteeing women's rights to legal protection from violence or the restriction of their freedom.

Under occupation, a number of women's shelters were formed to protect women from violence with varying degrees of success since this concept is not indigenous to the culture. Violence against women in the home is directly related to the occupation in a number of ways.

Psychological studies have shown that a frustrated manual laborer who works in Israel and subjected to humiliation at the workplace or in the process of obtaining daily work, the husband is likely to take this frustration out on his wife (Sarraj). It is interesting to note that violence against women has decreased in the early part of the *intifada* when the community pulled all its resources together. Not all forms of violence against women are physical. Most parents restrict the mobility of their daughters in an effort to avoid the possibility that the daughter might develop a romantic relationship. This is a form of punishment which women seek to eliminate.

8. Guaranteeing the right of women to participate in all levels of decision making while insuring the proportional representation of women in all areas.

This principle seems rather vague but it emanates from the fierce sense of competition between men and women for positions and jobs since the Peace Agreement was signed. For example, although women were held in great esteem during the *intifada* for their resourceful contributions, when in recent months technical committees were formed to prepare for the transfer of power in all areas, women on the same committees were not always invited to come to the regular meetings of the committees. When an add was placed for new recruits to the Palestinian Police force in the paper, the first adds did not include any mention of women candidates while the second stipulated that married women need not apply. Currently, some women have been selected and to serve on the police force.

9. Guaranteeing the rights of women to participate in all the bodies that are specialized in writing the laws and legislation of the State of Palestine.

Indirect reference is here made to the token representation of women in the decision making structures of the PLO where only a handful of women, of whom many are either the wives or widows of high ranking officials in the PLO sit in the PNC or in the central structures of the PLO.

Finally, the last paragraph states that:

"Specialized committees are currently working on revising all the laws in the various areas in order to formulate addenda to this declaration, thus defining the detailed demands to guarantee women's rights. We pledge to struggle together with our Palestinian women by all means to implement these principles. The document is endorsed in the name of the General Union of Palestinian Women.

VIII. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Women in the Labor Force

Since 1967, with the beginning of the occupation, Palestinian women's consciousness of their rights and their responsibilities has been markedly altered. Fighting occupation has meant a greater awareness of their own oppression in a male dominated culture. Their fight has been conducted on two fronts: nationalist and feminist. Today women are at a historical juncture which could either lead to greater control and autonomy over their lives and a greater access to resources--the job market and in the educational system-- or, alternatively, they could lose what gains they achieved as the new administration is set up. For example, men might argue that women who are not the breadwinners are not in urgent need of employment and male employment might take precedence over that of female employment. The "breadwinner" argument has been used effectively to justify paying women half the salary that men receive in the garment industry as Moors and Hindiye have shown.

A lot depends on the role that international agencies and donor countries perform. Since the donations/assistance to the territories are largely managed by international institutions like the World Bank or by Western countries, it is possible for these countries to condition their aid on the hiring of women. If a quota system is undesirable, then a recommendation should be made by donor countries that each project financed should employ an average of one third women. This will insure that women will not be elbowed out of the labor market in what promises to be a strong competition between men and women for jobs within the coming few years. Further, such a step could create a snow ball-effect in the region, whereby, women in Arab countries will require of their government make similar commitments.

With a degree of training, Palestinian women are receptive to practicing non-traditional types of jobs, even if these jobs are in construction. USAID has conducted through AMIDEAST a successful experiment in Morocco, whereby women were trained in a pilot program in construction jobs. In the first session, 163 women started training: 20 in construction design, 15 in electricity, 30 in electronics, 15 in industrial drafting, 15 in constructional drafting, 37 in accounting, and 31 in secretarial training. The FAFO 151 survey has shown that the Palestinian society favors professional employment for women. A pilot program, such as the one conducted in Morocco could ensure the employment of women since much construction will be going up in the West Bank and Gaza.

The danger exists that in the coming few years the shortsightedness of industrial projects, like the garment industry in Nablus (Analyst Moors) will provide women with work that will eventually lead to diminishing women's status in society and will increase their subservient position. Moors has shown that paying women half the wages of men and basing this on the argument on the fact that women are less adequate workers, coupled with long work hours for women reinforces the (a) the non-desirability for women to work outside the home, and (b) the inferior status of female workers to male workers and to male authority at the work place. This kind of work environment helps to reinforce the subservient status of women and women's work. Work, in this case, does not lead to the empowerment of women but to their demise. Currently only destitute women are willing to work in the garment industry whereas prior to the

contractualization of the garment industry only women from middle class families joined this profession.

Donor countries could impose the notion of "equal pay for equal work," to the extent that it is possible, and guarantee good work conditions for women in any industrial enterprise. Such a move would in turn, as Moors argued, avoid re-enforcing the subservient status of women in the community.

The experiment of the Women's co-operatives (Hiltermann) has shown that Palestinian women are highly motivated to work if work provides them with a degree of pride and autonomy. They have proved that they have an enterprising spirit. However, they needed greater training in canning and other forms of food production. These cooperatives could become the future canning and food production factories and with the help of donor organizations they will continue to be run by women in a co-operative fashion. Cooperatives require subsidy but in time these enterprises become an adequate form of income generation for women.

Palestinians have a large number of crafts, many produced by women. This area includes the embroidery that women produce in their homes. Embroidery requires no overhead and women resort to it because they can do it in their homes. The quality can easily meet the world market. The problem here has to do with the marketing of these products. The embroidery in particular could be developed to meet the world market and to be sold in department stores in the United States. It will require perhaps a changing of the colors of the embroidery to meet western taste. Applying such embroidery to items and garments that can sell in the United States through department stores. While women on the West Bank are diligent in their embroidery work, what they lack is expertise to adapt these items to the world market. Several proposals have been floated around by experts to market these products in a way that can produce income generation for women. And, Women's Welfare organizations can become the vehicle for conducting this activity.

Finally, Palestinian women need training in order to qualify for the various work opportunities. International agencies and donor countries must give women greater attention because women are not well integrated into the workforce at the moment. The gains made in women's rights as a result of their active participation in welfare activity over the past will soon dissipate if women do not gain a foothold in the economy of the new era.

B. Education

In all literature on education there is a general consensus that levels of education among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have risen and that women's education in particular has risen remarkably in the last few years. It is generally assumed that education generally increases the realm of control that one has over one's life. Education, it is assumed, provides women with greater self-sufficiency in terms of expanding the realms of choice and control over resources and freedom of movement.

However, the FAFO 151 survey has shown that the effect of educational attainment on women's lives is open to debate. There are very limited opportunities for middle class employment, especially for women. Education alone cannot alter the status of women unless women find middle class employment that can give women greater economic control. Currently, women are well represented in the professional fields in relation to their rate of employment, and they are employed mostly as teachers and nurses. Mothers favor professional employment for their daughters more than any other field.

Based on these findings, International agencies and donor countries must create the opportunity for professional women to enter the work force. These women can be trained in training centers to become administrators or they can be trained to hold other positions in the governing structure. Working women are in a better position to gain greater control and autonomy over their lives. In this way the education of women will have a greater influence over their status in society.

C. Attitudes to Women

The FAFO 151 survey has shown that, regarding the acceptability of women working, of dress style, of the right to choose their own husband and so forth, it is education rather than age that shifts men's attitudes in a more liberal direction and education seems to influence attitudes gradually.

As might be anticipated the results indicated that in order to affect improvements in the status in women and attitudes toward them, one should be chiefly directed at men. The aspiration among women of all age groups and educational levels to a life style with less control and a greater degree of autonomy already exists. In order to shift men's perceptions, school curriculums and texts should be targeted to remove the current stereotypical perceptions of women's role by male students at an early age. Further, women's organizations should gear their programs towards educating men about the rights of women. Women's organizations can find the means to attract a male audience. It is important to carry out programs that shift men's consciousness at this point in order to consolidate the gains made by women during the *intifada* which has brought about greater respect for women and for their abilities. Further, this new respect has led to some transformations in gender relations that denote a greater equality for women.

D. Democratization

Women's organizations constitute the best structure to implement the methods of democratization during the coming phase. These organizations have shown their resilience and understanding of the mechanisms that regulate the lives of women. These institutions can carry out workshops to educate women in the process of election and running for office. A women's organization in Gaza is currently carrying out such a program. Further, Women's Work Committees and Women's Research Centers are run by women who are fiercely dedicated to modernization, democratization and greater equality for women. They are in an excellent position to argue with the younger generation of women who are, according to the FAFO 151 report, more conservative than their older sisters.

ENDNOTES

1. Interview, Ramallah, 20 December 1989.
2. In 1983 47% of all West Bank textile units were located in Nablus and 40% of all West Bank textile unit employees were employed in Nablus (UNIDO 1984: 17).
3. For developments in the Gaza Strip see Rockwell.
4. In the CWW survey 6% of the women was married, 7% divorced and 87% single. In Siniora's material 95% of the women workers were single (1987: 81); from the twenty women I interviewed none was presently married and four were divorced.
5. Report of the Commissioner-General of the United National Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East: July 1987 - June 1988. United Nations: New York, NY; 1988.
6. Al Haq "Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising." December 1987 - 1988. Al Haq/LAW in the Service of Man; 1988, p. 421.
7. United Nations. Economic and Social Council. Commission on the Status of Women. "The Situation of Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories." U.N.: February 8, 1990, p. 8.
8. National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau. Report for the year 1974-79. Hyderabad: National Institute of Nutrition; 1980.
9. Yip R. (CDC and WHO), Keller W. (Formerly, Nutrition Unit, WHO), Woodruff B.A. (WHO and CDC), and Sullivan K. (CDC and WHO). Report of the UNRWA Nutrition Survey of Palestinian Refugees in Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and West Bank, 1990. Survey and Consultation Report for UNRWA and EMRO/WHO.
10. for information on how women organized see Raymonda Tawil's book My Home My Prison (New York: Holt 1979).
11. Even as early as 1967, involvement in the national agenda afforded women a kind of protection against criticism for transgressing against traditional behavior.
12. For information on **In Ash el-Usra** see article by Orayib Najjar "Palestinian Self-Reliance on Trial," in *The Christian Century*, November 23, 1988, pp: 1070 to 1072.
13. Ibid. **In Ash el-Usra** is headed by Samiha Khalil, one of the most prominent women in the West Bank. Even when the society faced a severe financial crisis in 1984, Khalil refused offers of aid from organizations that did not support the principle of self-determination for Palestinians. She refused funds from American organizations whose money comes from the U.S. Congress on the grounds that the same Congress finances Israel which in turn transgresses against Palestinian rights.

14. The four women's committees belong to the following political groups: Federation of the Palestinian Women's Action Committees (FPWAC) belongs to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committees (UPWWC) belongs to the Communist Party. Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC), belongs to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. And, Women's Committee for Social Work (WCSW), supports Fateh.
15. Joost Hiltermann "The Women's Movement During The Uprising" *Journal of Palestine Studies* XX, no. 3 (Spring 1991) pp.48-57.
16. Conference was covered in "Al-Fajr" newspaper December 24, 1990: "Openness and frankness dominate discussion on women's role." P.8.
17. The Women's Affairs Center is headed by Sahar Khalifeh, a prominent feminist novelist who has published 6 novels translated into nine languages. See article on her novels by Suha Sabbagh in this book.
18. The Bisan Center For Research and Development is headed by Mr. Izzat Abdel-Hadi. Mrs. Eleen Kutab is Director of the Women's Research Committee.
19. Eleen Kutab argues that the *intifada* consists of two phases. In the first phase women performed a much more important role. The second period was characterized by a relative decline in the intensity of struggle and a retreat in women's rights. She sights the following reasons for the decline in women's participation in the struggle:
 1. The lack of a policy on the part of the national forces to liberate women from the constraints of traditional norms.
 2. Both the women's movement and the national forces lacked a clear and pragmatic agenda for dealing with women's issues and a clear women's programs.
 3. Women formed an important part of the popular committees and local committees. When these committees began to decline, so did women's participation.
 4. The rise of fundamentalism brought about the segregation of the sexes.
20. Palestinian men have always shouldered the responsibility of providing for the family irrespective of the difficulties of finding employment and the harsh conditions of labor in construction sites in Israel.
21. For an account of social transformations which have affect the lives of women during the *intifada* see Philippa Strum, *The Women are Marching: The Second Sex and the Palestinian Revolution* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1992), p.137-153.
22. See the results of a study conducted by Najah Manasra and published in Arabic in al-Katib, check dates.
23. Arafat interview.
24. See article in this book by Reema Hammami "*Women the Hijab and the Intifada*" pp.

25. See in this book interview with Dr. Eyad Sarraj for an analysis of the psychological impact of the *intifada*.
26. See article in this book by Reema Hammami "*Women The Hijab And the Intifada*" pp.
27. Ibid.. Hammami argues that "modest dress code" sought by HAMAS suggests that the movement has its roots in the fundamentalist religious movement that is sweeping the ARAB world. At no previous time in history did Palestinian woman wear the same headdress or the same long overcoat. Rather, this attire is worn by women belonging to the recent Islamic movement in the Arab world.

ATTACHMENT A

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

This stage of our Palestinian people's history is vital in that our people is preparing to establish its national authority on a part of its land--the land of Palestine, while a large part of the homeland continues to be occupied and while Zionist settlements are set up on large parts of it. The people, and its political leadership, has yet to achieve a number of its national goals, such as the right of return, self-determination, and the establishment of the independent state. These goals require the mobilization of the forces and the vital energies, as well as the resurrection of all the social sectors so that they can assume their role in building social institutions and laying the foundations for the new state --the state of democracy, equality and social justice.

The participation of Palestinian women in their people's struggle meant national concerns were prioritized over social issues. Bitter experiences, however, have made Palestinian women conscious of the specificity of women's issues which are linked to the struggle for justice, democracy, equality, and development. Furthermore, Palestinian women have become more aware that women's energies were vital for the achievement of the national goals, without which a new democratic society cannot be founded.

Based on the Palestinian Declaration of Independence which states that "The State of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be; the state is for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights and discrimination in public rights of men or women, on grounds of race, religion , color or sex." This Declaration corresponds with the Universal Declaration of Human and International charters pertinent to political, legal civil and religious rights, as well as with the various conventions that aim at the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

In pursuant to the completion of the national goals and the establishment of the democratic society: and as Palestinian women have historically participated in building the cultural heritage of the Palestinian people in the various stages of struggle, we, in the General Union of Palestinian Women, declare in the name of all Palestinian women that we look forward to assuming --on equal footing-- the responsibility in the independence stage and laying the foundation for the new Palestinian society.

Furthermore, in order to resurrect the human and the cultural capabilities to which our great people is called upon to ratify all the international conventions concerning individual rights, especially the international conventions concerning individual rights especially the International Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and to adopt all the necessary measures which guarantee the following principles:

1. A clear and categorical statement in the **Constitution and** all legislation which guarantees complete equality in rights and responsibilities and the adoption of the necessary measures to amend and delete the laws and practices which are obstacles to the implementation of this principle.

2. Complete equality in all political rights, including the right to participate in the formulation and the implementation of policies and in occupying positions in all areas and levels and in representing the country on the international arena:
3. Equality in civil rights, including the right to obtain, maintain or abdicate citizenship and the right to grant citizenship to her children.
4. Equality in work opportunities and wages, all securities and compensations training and promotion and in her right to maternity leave and social services which enable her to combine her family duties and the responsibilities to participate in the public and social life with a special consideration for women in countryside.
5. Equality in educational opportunities on all the educational stages and levels and the adoption of the necessary measures to implement this principle through the elimination of discriminatory references in the educational curriculum is unjust to human and women's status and dignity and the adoption of unified curricula for both sexes:
6. Equality in personal rights on the familial and societal levels which guarantees equality between women and men and the right to choose a spouse, providing care for the family, in ownership rights and the protection of family's property;
7. Guaranteeing women's rights to legal protection from violence or the restriction of their freedom: and
8. Guaranteeing the right of women to participate in all levels of decision making while insuring the proportional representation of women in all areas.
9. Guaranteeing the right of women to participate in all the bodies that are specialized in writing the laws and legislation of the State of Palestine.

Specialized committees are currently working on revising all the laws in the various areas in order to formulate addenda to this declaration, thus defining the detailed demands to guarantee women's rights. We pledge to struggle together with our Palestinian women by all means to implement these principles.

The General Union of Palestinian women

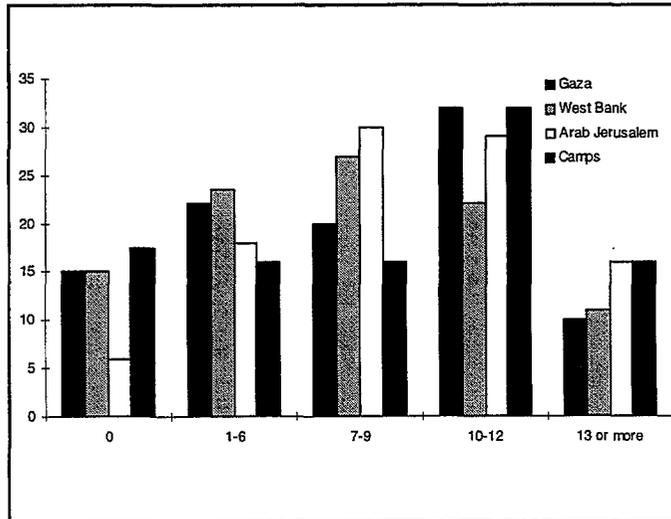
ATTACHMENT B

CHARTS AND FIGURES

LITERACY, RELATION OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION TO ATTITUDES ON WOMEN

The charts and figures presented below are from the FAFO-151 Survey and are offered without comment or description.

Years of education by region



Men's attitudes on a women's right to choose her own husband by educational levels

	Women should choose	Women shouldn't choose	Don't Know
0	28	71	1
1-6	48	51	1
7-9	48	51	1
10-12	55	44	1
13 or more	63	37	
Total Women	51	48	1

Women's attitudes concerning the acceptability of women working outside the home by educational levels.

	Acceptable	Not acceptable	Don't Know
0	22	73	5
1-6	31	68	1
7-9	37	62	1
10-12	86	13	1
13 or more	94	6	
Total Women	76	22	2

Adult literacy rates by region and gender

	Can Write	Can write with difficulty	Can't Write
Male Gaza	72	7	21
Female Gaza	69	5	27
Male West Bank	77	15	8
Female West Bank	57	11	32
Male Arab Jerusalem	78	9	13
Female Arab Jerusalem	75	6	19

Men's attitudes concerning the acceptability of women working outside the home by educational levels

	Acceptable	Not acceptable	Don't Know
0	22	73	5
1-6	31	68	1
7-9	37	62	1
10-12	86	13	1
13 or more	94	6	
Total Women	76	22	2

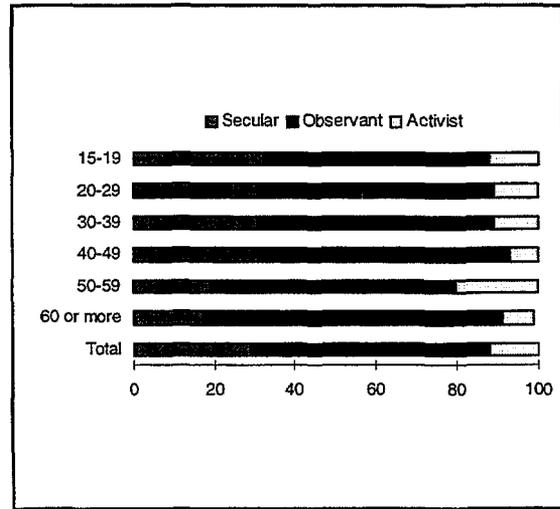
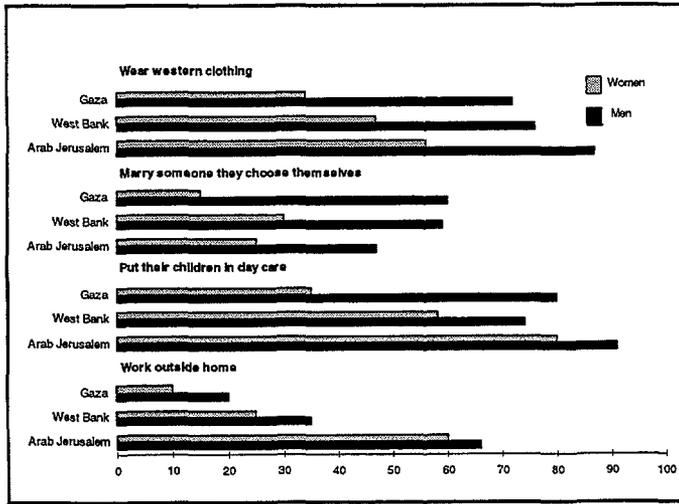
Men's attitudes to the acceptability of western clothes for women by educational level.

	Acceptable	Not acceptable	Don't Know
0	7	92	1
1-6	17	83	0
7-9	22	78	0
10-12	21	79	1
13 or more	30	69	1
Total Women	21	79	1

ATTITUDES TO WOMEN AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

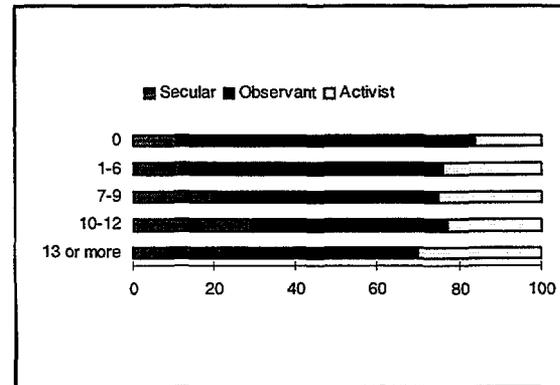
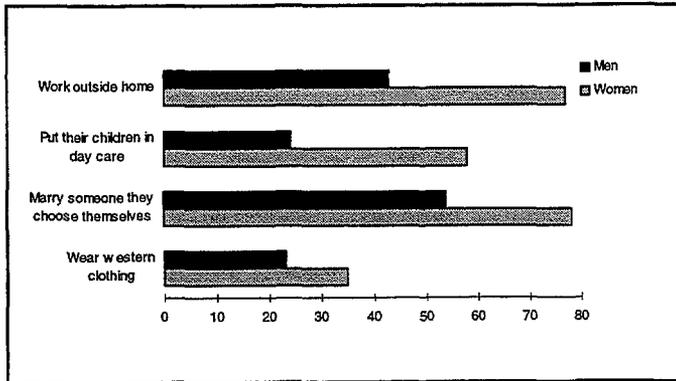
Comparison between men's and women's attitudes concerning women by region.

Religious index by age, for women.



Comparison between men's and women's attitudes concerning women.

Religiosity index by educational level, for men.



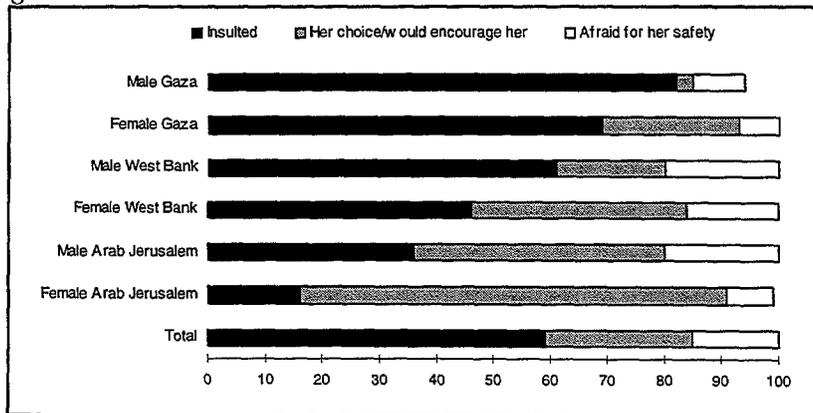
43

ATTITUDES TO WOMEN AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

Appropriate roles for married women by region and gender.

	Stay home and care for children	Give priority child-care, but can work	Can work outside house	Can study outside house	Don't know
Male Gaza	67	26	5	1	1
Female Gaza	37	57	5	0	1
Male West Bank	51	46	1	1	1
Female West Bank	35	51	2		3
Male Arab Jerusalem	48	49	2	0	0
Female Arab Jerusalem	21	77	2		1
Total	45	50	3	1	2

Reaction to female household members appearing in public without a head scarf by region and gender.



Forms of dress worn by women by women's educational levels.

	Thobe	Strict Islamic	Modified Islamic	Western
0	76	20	4	
1-6	25	56	16	4
7-9	11	48	30	11
10-12	10	49	31	11
13 or more	2	50	30	17
Total Women	28	43	21	7

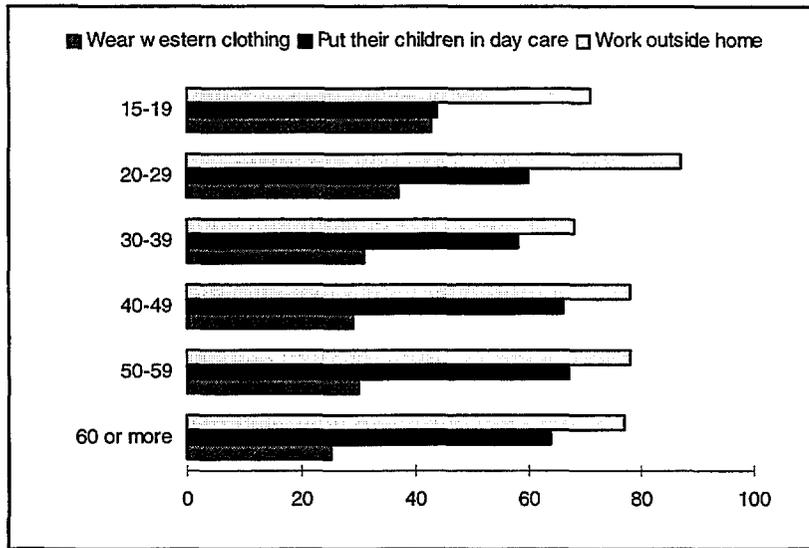
Men's attitudes on a woman's right to choose her own husband by educational levels.

	Women should choose	Women shouldn't choose	Don't know
0	28	71	1
1-6	48	51	1
7-9	48	51	1
10-12	55	44	1
13 or more	63	37	1
Total Women	51	48	1

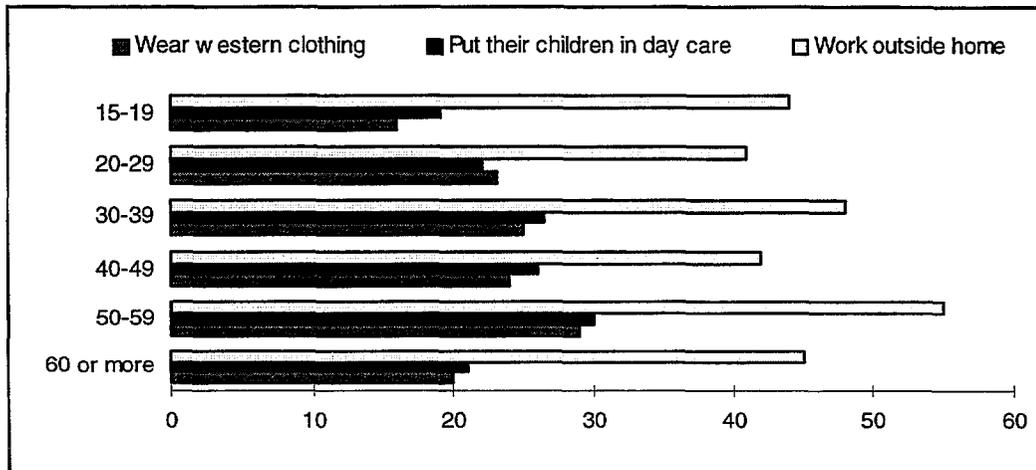
Women's attitudes on the acceptability of western dress by what they actually wear.

	Acceptable	Not acceptable
Thobe	11	34
Strict Islamic	28	48
Islamic headscarf	29	16
Western	29	1
Other	3	2

Percentage of women who approve of day care, women working outside house and western dress by age.



Percentage of men who approve of day care, women working outside home and western dress by age.



45

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Articles

- Abdo, Nahla, "Women of the *Intifada*: gender, class and national liberation." In *Race and Class*. Vol. 32. no. 4 pp 19-34. 1991. This article deals with the relation between the women's movement and the **class** system in the occupied territories. It poses the question "which class of women was most organized and what was their political affiliation. It also delineates the process by which women's organizations were formed and what is their primary agenda. There is some duplication of information in the articles on women's organization and this article includes information published elsewhere.
- Abdul-Hadi, Huda, "Women and Education". In *The Intifada and some Women's Social Issues*, a conference held in Jerusalem, 14 December 1990. Ramallah, West Bank: Women's Studies Committee, Bisan Center. (In Arabic), 1991. This article deals with the problem facing the education of women during the *intifada*: school closures, university closures and their impact on women's education. It also deals with attitudes toward female education and changes therein as it also deal with the remarkable efforts women are making in order to attain an education.
- Abdul, Jawwad Islah, "The Evolution of the Political Role of the Palestinian Women's Movement in the Uprising," In *The Palestinians: New Directions* (ed) Washington DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1990.
- Abu-Ghazaleh, Ilham, "Gender in the Poetry of the *Intifada*," In *Gender in the Intifada* (ed) Suha Sabbagh, Indiana University Press, 1995. Article deals with the image of women in Poetry. Important because if there are transformations in the status of women these should be recorded in the way poets (male and female) perceive women. Greater change is reflected in the consciousness of female poets but male poets also perceive some change.
- Al-Assaly, Nabila, "The Palestinian National Movement and Its Perception of the Women's Role," 1991. (Arabic) Offers some interesting figures on the women in the structure of the PLO, she addresses the token representation of women and the discrepancy between the representation of women and their active role on the ground.
- Al-Qura, Nahla, 1991, "The Palestinian National Movement and its Perception of the Woman's Role" *Ibd.*, Arabie This article deals with the role of the Popular Committees during the *intifada* and the way in which these committees were able to help families in need under curfew. Since these committees were more than 50% women, their activities reflect the role of women.
- Al-Qura, Nahla, "The Social Role of The Palestinian Woman During the *Intifada*," In *The Intifada and Some Women's Social Issues*, 1991. This article deals with the role of the Popular Committees during the *intifada* and the way in which these committees were

able to help families in need under curfew. Since these committees where more than 50% women, their activities reflect the role of women.

Antonious. Soraya, "Fighting on Two Fronts: Conversations with Palestinian Women," In *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 8. no, 3 1979. The interviews are conducted with women in Lebanon. Their value here lies in comparing the experience of Pal. women in Lebanon with the experience of women in the occupied territories. Otherwise, this material is not directly related.

Ashrawi, Hannan, "Interviewed on Rights of Women," In *Gender in The Intifada* (eds) Suha Sabbagh, Indiana University Press, 1995. This interview deals with Ashrawi's views of the rights of women and of the history of the Women's movement in the occupied territories. The feminist side of Hannan Ashrawi is evident here and her views support the liberation of women in a progressive way.

Attwan, Terry, "Life is Struggle Inside and Outside the Green line," In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*, edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books UK: Zed books, London England n.d. Article is autobiographical. Author speaks of her experiences at the UNRWA school and the activities of students there. Of the imprisonment of women and of the way in which women's groups organized on University Campuses. Important because it speaks of the emergence of a feminist consciousness.

Augustin, Ebba, "Developments in the Palestinian Women's Movement during the *Intifada*." In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*. edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books UK: Zed books, 197 pages, 1993. This article shows that Palestinian women's role in resisting occupation began long before the *Intifada* and must be sought in the changes that occurred in women's role since 1967. This basic idea is emphasized by Ebba August through the structure of her book which is divided into two parts: the first describes women's role in society and politics since 1967, while the second describes women's role in the *Intifada*. The activities and experiences of the first generations of charitable women activists paved the way for a more radical women's movement which developed in the early 1970s. Augustin's perspective is based on historical and sociological analyses, also using key informant interviews, indigenous periodical sources. and observation. The Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (FWAC) is ideologically affiliated to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP); the Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committees (UPWWC) is affiliated with the Communist Party; the Union of Palestinian Women's Committee (UPWC) is affiliated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); and the Women's Committees for Social Work (WCSW) is supported by Fateh. The committees have made efforts to democratize their organizational structures and seek to liberate women politically, socially and economically.

Baumann, Pari, "Annotated Bibliography on Palestinian Women." Jerusalem: Arab Thought Forum 1989.

Berberi, Yusra, "Active in Politics and Women's Affairs in Gaza," In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience* edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books UK: Zed books, London England, 1993. Berberi born in Gaza in 1923 and still active in Palestinian Women's Union, skillfully recounts the history of Gaza as she describes the factors that shaped her won life. She was the first woman in Gaza to receive a college degree, from Cairo university in 1940. As can be anticipated. Berberi continues to see the women's struggle as secondary to the national struggle but the article is important because it describes the consciousness of a committed woman although her commitment to women's issues is not the same as that of the current feminist in the West Bank.

Brand, Laurie, *Palestinians in the Arab World: Institution Building and the Search for State*. New York: Columbia University Press 1988. Good resource on structure of the PLO, some very important sections on the General Union of Palestinian Women, headquartered in Tunis.

Brown, Sarah Graham, "The Education of Palestinian Women on the West Bank," In *Images and Reality: Palestinian Women Under Occupation and the Diaspora* (eds) Suha Sabbagh and Ghada Talhami. Washington, D.C. The Institute for Arab Women's Studies Inc., 1990. This article deals with the history of women's education in the occupied territories. and proposes that the need to commute in rural areas in order for women to attend school has discouraged many families from sending their daughters to school. Some social conceptions of the role of women are blamed for retarding women's education. Over 30 years there have been marked increases in the number of girls who go to school and on to universities. However the impact of education on women cannot be separated from its impact on the economies of the West Bank Gaza Strip. Economic stagnation and the types of jobs available for women resulted in jobs requiring no education. Hence, there was a disincentive for families to put girls in school. Political, economic, and social constraints have resulted in few women being trained in medicine law and engineering.

Dajani, Souad, "Palestinian Women Under Israeli Occupation" in *Arab Women: Old Boundaries New Frontiers* edited by Judith Tucker. Bloomington: Indiana University Press published in association with the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Georgetown University 1993. This article explains the role of women in the labor market. Her assumption is that women are the reproducers of the Labor market for Israeli society because they are involved in the reproduction act and they "re-new" the laborers who work in Israel each day. The paper also touches on some distinctions between the women's movement in the West and the Women's movement in the occupied territories. The conditions of Palestinian women under occupation and implications for development are studied within the framework of Israeli colonization and settlement of the West Bank. The author outlines the history of the Palestinian women's movement and analyzes the conditions and role of Palestinian women under occupation. Dajani concludes that Israeli colonization of the West Bank has had an impact on all spheres of women's lives.

Giacaman, Rita, "An interview with Rita Giacaman: Women Resistance and the Popular Movement," In *Palestine Focus*. July-August no. 24 p3. 1987.

Giacaman, Rita and Johnson, Penney, "*Intifada* Year Four: Notes on the Women's Movement" *Gender in the Intifada*. *Ibid.* This article deals with the impact of the Gulf war on the women's movement. The authors conclude that the insecurity experienced by women led them to fall back into the fold of the extended family. And that this shift meant giving up control over their lives. The women's organizations proved to be too weak to cope and where totally unprepared.

Giacaman, Rita, "*Palestinian Women in the Uprising: From Followers to Leaders*," In *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. , no. I 1989. This paper is important because it is one of the early articles to delineate women's changing role in society and their challenge not only to occupation but also to the traditional norms that require women to stay within the home. Many articles after this paper began to deal with the same issue. The reason why Giacaman is here listed several times in this bibliography is because the author has always been a pioneer in recording new dimensions in the Women's movement.

Giacaman, Rita and Johnson, Penny, "Palestinian Women: Building Barricades and Breaking Barriers." In *Intifada The Palestinian Uprising against Israeli Occupation* (eds) Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin. Boston, MA: South End Press 1989. The *Intifada* spurned a form of liberation within the liberation movement. This is a liberation from the constraints of traditional patriarchal norms. So argue the writers who tell the story of women's liberation. However the protection afforded women by the national liberation movement proves to be something of a double edged sword because it prevents women from questioning the cornerstone on which patriarchy rests and which is the authority of men over women.

Giacaman, Rita, "Searching for Strategies: The Palestinian Women's Movement in the New Era" *Middle East Report* January-February 1994, Washington D.C.

Haddad, Yvonne, "Palestinian Women: Paterns of Legitimization and Domination," In *The Sociology of the Palestinians* (eds) k. Nakhleh and Elia Zuriek London: Croom/Helm 1980. This paper traces the history of Palestinian women's education to the early encounters with the West the Ottoman period, the British Mandate Under Jordanian and Egyptian curriculum and Under Israeli occupation. It also deals with problems that prevent women from attending school such as some social norms. The paper also describes the way in which women organized in Lebanon.

Haj, Samira, "Palestinian Women and Patriarchal Relations," In *Signs: Journal of Women In Culture and Society* University of Chicago Press Summer 1992. This article explains how patriarchal relations are reproduced and contested in the occupied territories as economic transformation under Israeli occupation, and has forced massive proletarianization of the Palestinian population. Haj argues that a market economy is not a uniformly liberating force and hopes to contribute to the ongoing development of an informed analysis of women's experiences outside of the Western context. Research was conducted in 1988 and 1989 and included interviews with women activists from the villages, camps and towns. Haj describes the exploitative conditions in which women work in the garment industry where national class and gender oppression combine to produce oppressive work environments.

Hammami, Reema, "Women, the Hijab and the *Intifada*," In *Middle East Report*, pp 24-28, May - August 1992. This article deals with the imposition of the Hijab on Women beginning in the Gaza Strip. It delineates the political reasons for the emergence of Hamas and the influence of Hamas on the emerging women's movement. She argues that the kind of fundamentalism preached is not indigenous and does not constitute part of the history of the area and that this can be seen in the mode of dress imposed which does not resemble anything that women wore in the Gaza strip in the past.

Hiltermann, Joost, "The Women's Movement during the Uprising," In *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. xx no. 3. Spring pp. 48-57. 1991. Hiltermann explains that Palestinian women are addressing the issue of their rights and roles in the struggle for national liberation. The women's committees lent their organizing and leadership experience to emerging popular committees in villages, refugee camps, and urban neighborhoods. They organized relief and emergency services, worked on behalf of prisoners and their families contacted lawyers distributed leaflets and organized citizens. Overall directives issued by the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) were translated into action by women's committees. Hiltermann explains in detail what happened in women's production cooperatives and in the Palestinian leadership regarding women. Women's roles were marginalized and cast as protectors of the Uprising. The Union of Palestinian Working Womens' Committees (UPWWC) held lectures about early marriages, divorce personal status law the division of labor at home, and other social problems relevant to the lives of women. This article was expanded into a chapter in a book by the same author on the *Intifada* and published by Princeton University Press.

Hindiye, Suha and Ghazawneh, Affaf, "The Socio-economic Conditions of Female Wage Labour in the West Bank," 1993. In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*. Article deals with the conditions of female wage labor in the workplace, women's awareness of their union rights and the impact of the *intifada* on women in the workplace. We learn for example that most working women are unmarried and entry into the labor market does not represent a break with the past. The importance of these figures are that they are based on data and figures collected by the Women's Studies Center the publishers of this research.

Jad, Islah, "The Evolution of the Political Role of The Palestinian Women's Movement in the Uprising," In *The Palestinians: New Directions (ed Hudson) Washington DC Center For Contemporary Arab Studies* 1990. This article duplicates some of the information found in Dajani and other articles on the women's movement. However, the importance of this article lies in the fact that Islah delineates in greater detail the political involvement of Women in the *intifada*. She addresses the role of women through the Popular Committees and women's contribution to the process of survival during times of curfew.

Jad, Islah, "From Salon's to Popular Committees: Palestinian Women 1919-1989," In *Intifada Palestine at the Crossroads* (eds), 1990. This is a historical article that delineates the development and the evolution of the women's movement from the perspective of the

development of women's organizations. It is important because it sheds light on the early evolution of the women's movement under the British mandate. As is the case currently, women developed their role through their participation in the resistance to occupation. There is very little literature on the Women's movement under the British mandate and this article offers some valuable sources.

Jad, Islah, "Patterns of Relations within The Palestinian Family Islah Jad in *Gender In the Intifada*, (eds) Suha Sabbagh, Indiana University Press 1995. Islah Jad delineates here the impact of the family on the liberation of women. Her premise is that in times of stress the extended family is often the only shelter for women. However, the assistance of the extended family is at a price and this price often spells less control for women over their lives.

Kamal, Zahira, "The Development of The Palestinian Women's Movement," In *Gender in the Intifada*. (eds) Suha Sabbagh, Indiana University Press, 1995. This article is about the Women's Work Committees and the position that they have taken at various historical junctures. It sheds light on the positions espoused by these "progressive" groups. It is important because the author was one of the women negotiators at the Middle East peace process, and she is also one of the leading women in the women's movement on the West Bank.

Kuttab, Eileens S., "Palestinian Women in the *Intifada*: Fighting on Two Fronts," In *Arab Studies Quarterly* n.d.

Jarrar, Dina, "Palestinian Women: The Status and Roles of Palestinian Women in the West Bank," *A Dissertation Submitted To Golden Gate University, California, 1990*. Method of research consists of giving out questionnaires, method measures what is, but does not account for change. Chapter on Women's organizations and interviews with women constitute a valuable contribution to the literature.

Manasarh, Najah, "Palestinian Women: Between Tradition and Revolution," In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*, edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books UK 1993. Article deals with the ideal expectations of the culture for female behavior in childhood, adolescence marriage and divorce. Although the last section describes change, the article remains more descriptive than it is analytical. Important because Manasra provides an interesting account of her own struggle to get an education and to work.

Nassar, Maha, "The Political Role of the Palestinian Woman during the *Intifada*," In *The Intifada and Some Social Issues* (see above) 1991.

Moore, Annelies, "Restructuring and Garment Production in Nablus," Unpublished paper, n.d. This paper deals with the "contractualization" of the garment industry in Nablus as it impacts on the Women's lives. Female employment in this industry did not improve the status of women and lead instead to their subordination and subjugation in society and in the work place. Important paper for the development of the private sector in that it demonstrates what mistakes have to be avoided. In the garment industry clothing

producers have become dependent upon Israeli firms of jobbers and a process of feminization of the labor force. The vertical integration of the Nablus garment industry in Israeli production means that designing, cutting and marketing no longer take place on the West Bank. The gender division of labor resulted in women filling positions in lower echelons, female workers earning less than men and male entrepreneurs Using gender as a means of labor control. The process resulted in a loss of status and respectability for the sewing trade and those employed in it.

Rimawi, Amni, "People's Activities and Trade Union Work: a Personal Account," In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*, edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books. UK, n.d. The author describes women's voluntary work: working women and the trade union movement; Factory work and union work: how women must fight norms to work and meet job discrimination on the job. She provides an excellent section on Women Trade Unionists.

Rockwell, Susan, "Palestinian Women Workers in the Israeli Occupied Gaza Strip," In *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. XIV No. 2. Winter 1985. This article deals primarily with Palestinian women's subordination in the workforce due to sex discrimination, then with women's subordination in the workforce due to class. Information comes from interviews under-taken of female factory workers in the Gaza Strip in summer 1993 and from secondary literature. Palestinian women's position as wage laborers or professional workers reflects the distortion of the economy. Economic forces in Gaza are politically-based. Lack of substantial investment maintaining of the refugee camps in their stagnating state and high natural increase of the population have all contributed to intensifying social pressure of inhabitants on their surroundings which in turn has formed extremist nationalistic sentiments. Palestinian women and children are economically active, yet excluded from the "public" sphere and remain increasingly isolated, in the "private" domestic sphere where they constitute a reserve army of labor.

Roy, Sarah, "Palestinian Industrial Sector: Structure, Institutional Framework and Future Requirements," *Seminar On Prospects for the Palestinian Industrial Sector* 11-13 October 1989. Vienna, 1989. This is an excellent study and critique of the industrialized sector, especially in the Gaza Strip. The Gaza Strip at one point had a number of small industries, Roy assess the possibility of rekindling these industries after their near total destruction under Israeli occupation. Although the study is five years old some recommendations can still benefit the development of the industrial sector.

Salibi, Rana, "Women's Activities in Popular Committees during the *Intifada*," In *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience* edited by Ebba Augustin Zed books UK, 1992. This article deals with collective action and popular work during the *intifada*. It deals with the emergence of the popular committees and their early activities in which women literally organized the community and ensured that each home has enough food and other requirements during the *Intifada*.

- Sabbagh, Suha, "Palestinian Women Writers and the *Intifada*" in *Social Text, Theory Culture and Ideology*. New York, 1989. This article deals with the writings of Palestinian Women. As such it address the consciousness of women regarding their rights in society as women. It is important when comparing the palestinian women's consciousness of their problems to other female writers in other Arab countries. Authors discussed include: Sahar Khalifeh, Raymonda Tawil, Soraya Antonious
- Sayigh, Rosemary, "Encounters with Palestinian Women under Occupation," In *Women and Family in the Middle East: New Voices of Change* (ed) Elizabeth Fernea. Austin and University of Texas Press London 1985. The interviews are here conducted with women in the in Lebanon. The value is in comparing the experience of women in the occupied territories and that of women in Lebanon. Not directly related to subject.
- Sarraj, Eyad, "Gender Relations During the Three Psycho-developmental Phases under Occupation, Interviewed by Suha Sabbagh in *Gender In the Intifada*, n.d. This is one of a few publications that deal with the subject of the psychological effects of the *intifada* on women. In this context it deals with the psychological reasons for the emergence of he Hamas religious movement which he perceives to be as a backlash against the emerging power of women and the diminished status of Palestinian males. The loss of Parental authority is addressed and the long term consequences of Hamas on the women's movement.
- Strum, Philippa, "Revolution Within the Revolution, Palestinian Women and the *Intifada*." In *Gender In the Intifada* (eds) Suha Sabbagh Indiana University Press. 1995.
- Usher, Graham, "Palestinian women. the *intifada* and the state of Independence: an interview with Rita Giacaman," In *Race and Class*. Jan. 1993.
- Wing, Katherine, "Custom Religion and Rights: The Future Legal Status of Palestinian Women" in *Harvard International Law Journal* Volume 35, Number 1, Winter 1994. This article explores the ways in which Palestinian custom and Islamic religious practices can be modified to advance the legal status of women. Wing's analyses are based on her legal analyses: and religious and human rights documentation. Deeply held customary and religious norms endorse the differential treatment of women. With the current climate of rapprochement between Israel and the Palestinians and the move toward establishing Palestinian autonomy, there is hope that the PLO will consider improving the status of women However, improvement of Palestinian women's status requires legal reform. Wing's three recommendations are: 1) reinterpretation of Islamic doctrine usually involving tinkering or following law reform, leaving intact the basic structure of the law, where religious tradition and custom support a given social norm. 2) implementation of codes based on customary and religious norms and on international human rights conventions. Compliance of norms depends on how the state ensures the enforcement of equality 3) improvement of women's legal status as Palestinian-centric (an emphasis which followed the social reforms brought about by the *intifada*).

Books

Giacaman, Rita, *Life in Three Palestinian Villages*, Ithica Press. London 1988.

Najjar, Orayib, For select interviews with Palestinian Women see *Portraits of Palestinian Women*, Introduction by Rosemary Sayigh. Utah: Utah University Press, 1986. This book is about the personal side of women who participate in the women's movement it describes the reasons why these women and not others chose the path that they did. It is important to understand the consciousness of the women in the occupied territories. Interview section is particularly useful.

Strum, Philippa, *The Women Are Marching: The Second Sex and the Palestinian Revolution*, by Philippa Strum Lawrence Hill Books New York. 1992. This book is a Journal of the visit of an American woman activist to the occupied territories. Her book focuses on all aspects of women's activities during the *Intifada*, and includes a chapter on "The Women's Committees, tracing their history to 1978 in which she is able to reconstruct the thinking that preceded the formation of these relatively democratic institutions. This chapter is important because it shows that the feminist agenda of the Women's Work Committees predates the *intifada* and that overwhelming concern with nationalist issues in the first year of the *intifada* retarded that feminist agenda.

Tucker, Judith (ed), *Arab Women: Old Boundaries New Frontiers*. The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Georgetown University and Bloomington Indiana University Press 1993.

Book and Reviews

Larson, Barbara, "Land Before Honor: Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories," Kitty Warnock In *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge University Press, August 1992.

Gerami, Shahin, Book Review: Gender in Crisis, "Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement" by Julie Petteet, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge University Press, November 1993.

Sabbagh, Suha, Book Review, *Portraits of Palestinian Women*, by Orayib Aref Najjar, n.d.

Sabbagh, Suha. Book Review, *Arab Women: Old Boundaries New Frontiers* edited by Judith Tucker. Bloomington: Indiana University Press published in association with the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Georgetown, In *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Fall 1994.

Sabbagh, Suha, Book Review, *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*, edited by Ebba Augustin *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Forthcoming Winter 1994.

Reports

Cantori, Louis J. and Lowrie, Arthur, "Islam, Democracy, the State and the West," *Middle East Policy*, Summary of lecture and roundtable discussion with Hasan Turabi, Volume 1, Number 3, 1992. This is a summary of Dr. Turabi's lecture on the contemporary Islamic movement. Turabi is a leading theorist of contemporary Islamic revival and has played a key role in the Sudanese Muslim Brethren. Turabi says the ideal of Islam is that God, life and society are one program of worship -- fundamentally a unitarianism principle. The Islamic movement isn't exclusively a political movement but a religious movement for the education of the individual. On the liberation of women, Turabi says it cannot be done by law. Government can give women the right to vote, but they could still be denied that right. He says you one has to work from below through social organizations. The segregation of women is not a part of Islam. The role of women changed with urbanization and past injustices are changing.

FAFO Report 151, Palestinian Society, In *Gaza, West Bank and Arab Jerusalem: A Survey of Living Conditions*, Marianne Heiberg and Geir Ovensen. Oslo 1993. Excellent resource on Palestinian Society, figures available on the Fragmentation and Occupation; on Population Characteristics and Trends: on Housing; Education; Household Income and Wealth; Employment; Social Stratification; Attitudes to Women's issues and a section of general attitudes. Data was collected in a period of two months in 1992. Survey analysis by Norwegians and Palestinians.

FAFO Report 161, Draft form, Responding To Change: Trends in Palestinian household Economy, by Geir Ovensen, Oslo Norway, 1994. This is the second report in the same series and it address such items as: Household economy; Household income generation activities as adaptation strategy; Household income types of employment; Labor-force participation; and under utilization of labour and employment.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Assessment Team, "Report of the UNDP Needs Assessment Mission for Palestinian Women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip," January 10-19, 1994. This report is an assessment of the needs of Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It offers an initial policy framework that ensures Palestinian women's partnership with men in development efforts in this transitional period and in the future. It also suggest critical interventions in the economic sectors and in governance in the context of a fast changing environment and in light of two upcoming world conferences; the Summit and the Fourth World Conference on Women. This report serves as a reference point for policy dialogue, a basis for development of Palestinian owned programs, and as a framework through which development programs can be planned and implemented to partnership with the Palestinian Interim Authority. Report is based on events which took place prior to January 1994.

57

Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI) "Final Report: Internal Evaluation of the ACDI/OCDC/CRS Cooperative Development Project," U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, DC., June 1987. Evaluates all ACDI project which sought to encourage the development and strengthening of Palestinian cooperatives in the occupied West Bank and Gaza by providing training and TA. This internal evaluation covers period from 2186-6187. In 1987, 24 training courses were offered. The project intended to increase production of perishable food generate higher producer-prices, improve the ability of service cooperatives to deliver essential services (electric. water, etc.). and increase incomes. It also offered an opportunity to affect the role of women in cooperatives. By 1987, women were beginning to play key roles in dairy cooperatives. and there were five women's cooperatives established. The project planned to develop specific training and TA for women's co-ops.

Agricultural Cooperative Development (ACDI) in collaboration with the Overseas Cooperative Development Committee Cooperative Development Project." West Bank and Gaza Proposals: CDP Extension for Institutionalization; Community-Based Jobs and Home Improvement; and Women's Private Sector Enterprises," Washington, D.C. , May 1992. This proposal takes the next step toward the institutionalization of CDP services and the creation of a sustainable Palestinian institution. The process proposed will stimulate employment among lower and moderate income Palestinians, and will be accomplished through strengthening of cooperatives to operate as effective and efficient businesses. This will help to develop a sustainable Palestinian institution for the long-term provision of credit training technical assistance to cooperatives. The proposal lays Out the framework process and timetable for a gradual shift in functions from CDP to a local organization known as the Community Development and Credit Institute (CDCI) which will work in both the West Bank and Gaza. ACDI will continue to receive input from NRECA NCBA VOCA in their specialized areas.

Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI), "Report by George McKucuen," Cooperative Development Project West Bank and Gaza, n.d.

Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI), "Report by Mona Sarraf," Cooperative Development Project, West Bank and Gaza, n.d.

Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI), "Report by Coleen Brown, Cooperative Development Project," West Bank and Gaza, n.d.

Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI), "Cooperative Conference Proceedings," Cooperative Development Project, West Bank and Gaza, Forthcoming, n.d.

Catholic Relief Services, "Life Cycle Health Education Project in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza -- mid Project Evaluation," U.S. Agency for International Development Bureau for Asia and the Near East, Washington, D.C. January, 1988. This is an interim evaluation of a CRS project to improve the health status of Palestinian mothers and their children in the West Bank and Gaza through preventive health education. The evaluation covers the period 2185-3187. CRS says this project, as implemented on the West Bank, was one of

USAID's successful primary health care (PHC) efforts in terms of impact on women Most quantitative training and teaching targets were met before the end of the project. However, little progress was made in institutionalizing the project because of financial and political constraints facing Palestinian organizations. The Union of Charitable Societies (UCS) in Nablus agreed to take over the program in the northern region of the West Bank but lacked the funding. CRS says success of this program is the result of decade-long persistence in eliciting community participation and improving services.

Evans, Jonathan, "Women Initiative Committee for Development Leather Shoe Uppers Project," 817-93-005, Catholic Relief Services and USCC. Jerusalem, August 1993. This proposal for an income-generating project brings together many facets of the women's movement in Palestine. The project goal is the empowerment of the Palestinian women in the O.T. through training and employment in the formal non-traditional Footwear Industry. Training Design and Implementation are based on the needs of "target groups" and resources available. Activities proposed include (1) Training in the Leather Shoe Uppers Footwear Industry is composed of theoretical, practical training and sheltered manufacturing (including quality control and marketing of production); (2) Self Empowerment Training, which will concentrate on building self esteem self-confidence and self assurance for participants; (3) 2 Footwear Workshops will be the responsibility of a German group. The Women Initiative Committee For Development (WICD) has agreed to invest 65% of the profit for development of this project and this includes the establishment of another workshop in addition, to staff development.

Giacaman, Rita, "Married Women, Family Size and Fertility Behavior." Excerpt by Catholic Relief Services, Community Health Department Birzeit University, 1993. The purpose of this study is to examine some of the factors which prompt people to have large families, and whether these 'choices' that people make, are rational? Do these choices reflect the context, options, and limitations within which they live? Data for this study is based on a sample of 959 married women between the ages of 15 and 85 years of age, with a mean of 38.4 years. The study concludes that the Palestinians need assistance in making choices that are rational and compatible with their needs. A successful population program must come to grips with the problems of early marriage and especially childhood deaths. It needs to tackle the problem of women's education and the right of choice for couples. It also needs to ensure the availability and accessibility of maternal and child health services for all.

Hammami, Remma, "Chapter 10: Women in Palestinian Society," Excerpt by Catholic Relief Services, Jerusalem. n.d. This report captures the totality of Palestinian women's lives from several conceptual levels. which enable both comparison between genders, on the one hand, and discussion of aspects of life that are unique to the situation of women. A comparison between male and female responses to the basic issues and phenomena serves as a fundamental level of analysis. It examines the extent to which there is differential access to material resources and mechanisms of social and economic mobility between Palestinian men and women. The data is only a small part of the information on Palestinian women generated by the FAFO survey. Issues here provide clues for building an overall picture of women's living conditions in the Occupied Territories. In this study,

women's assessments of various social constraints and values assigned to them by the larger social context. Data suggests that women do not have a radical critique of this connection of marriage and economic resources, but would like a certain degree of change.

International Republican Institute (IRI) in collaboration with the Center for Palestine Research and Studies (CPRS), P.O. Box 132 Nablus, West Bank, "Palestinian Public Opinion Poll," August 11-13, 1994. This report reflects the results of IRI's eleventh public opinion poll conducted by the Survey and Polls Unit (SPU) at the Center for Palestine Research and Studies (CPRS). Data was gathered via: (1) Sample selection; (2) Public Forum Sampling in Nablus, Tulkaram Jerusalem Bethlehem Jericho, and Hebron were divided into 13 polling districts; (3) Household Sampling from 770 household interview in Jenin, Ramallah and the Gaza Strip. From the total of 1023 questionnaires from the West Bank and 539 from Gaza and 1562 interviews conducted results included a question on political affiliation. Results show a slight decrease in the popularity of Fateh, and is more obvious in Gaza, where Support fell to 40.4% from 45.2%. Support for Hamas is constant at 13.7%, but in the Gaza, there is a slight increase (1.1%) in its popularity from last month. Support for Fateh is higher in the north of the West Bank than in the middle or south. Support for Hamas is higher in the area of Hebron.

Jad, Islah, "Patterns of Relations within the Palestinian Family after the *Intifada*," *Gender in the Intifada*, Institute for Arab Women's Studies, Washington, DC, for Catholic Relief Services, Jerusalem. n.d. The paper seeks to view the changes in the role of women, traditionally as wives and mothers, and to examine ways in which women in the family structure have been affected by the *Intifada* and by the rise of the national consciousness in the occupied territories since 1967. The author looks at economic, educational, familial political and organizational, social and cultural factors which contribute to the dynamic and active role of women in the *Intifada*. Women's participation in the *Intifada* was used to protect the smaller family from Israeli occupation and forced the return to family-arranged early marriages. This impacted women's plans for better educations. In conclusion, the author says that attention should be given to developments that affect the democratization of social relations inside the Palestinian family -- a process that will benefit women.

Kort, Bassam, "A Study of Women (Grass-Root Organizations and Their Activities in the North of the West Bank." Written for the Integrated Rural Development Project/PM. Catholic Relief Services. Jerusalem. May 1994. This report was prepared by the Integrated rural development staff of our Jerusalem office. As CRS is getting ready to launch a new rural development program taking an integrated approach to development, this calls for mobilization of all sectors of the community. It is important that women participate in formulating their development preferences and carrying out activities accordingly. Data in this report is based on the experience, observations and analyses of CRS/Jerusalem's integrated rural development staff in Jerusalem. CRS's findings include info: on how women's groups view themselves; how they succeeded in maintaining strong hierarchies; how grass roots women's organizations played a key role in national awareness; and how women Unions reached out to disadvantaged women. CRS found that promotion of

income generating projects enhanced self reliance and efficiency: and that training and human development activities were useful as a means to women's economic empowerment. CRS came up with about 5 recommendations: (1) a recommendation to work with one of the grassroots women's organizations; (2) involvement with a union on the IRD/Capacity Building Project; (3) involvement on two levels, building/strengthening capacity of counterpart women's organizations; (4) support for women's activities in training & human resource development; and (5) work with the Union of Women's Committee for Social Work (UWCSW).

Laidi, Adila R., "International Foundation for Electoral Systems's (IFES) Interim Report on Two-Week Workshop Series in Jerusalem in January 1994," Washington, D.C., July 1994. This interim report describes the project, process and lists the participants. The goal of the workshops was to educate women leaders and activists on election issues. Seminars aimed to raise the consciousness of possible women-candidates for the Council and municipal elections. Nine workshops were organized on election awareness in the West Bank and Gaza by the Palestinian Women's Technical Committee, in collaboration with IFES. A total of 180 women participated. Workshops were primarily discussions in a large and in smaller groups about comparative election systems; strategies for civic education and voter information campaigns; examples of women's participation and mobilization in emerging democracies and in conservative societies; strategies for formulation of political and social demands within party platforms; and the exercise of the right to vote; and quotas for women in elected bodies. The final report is intended to be a guidebook for women who would like to become more active in the upcoming electoral process and will summarize issues discussed at workshops.

Mani, Suha Hindiyeh and Ghazawneh, Afaf, "The Socio-economic Conditions of Female Wage Labour in the West Bank," unpublished, n.d. Under the Israeli occupation the labour force is oppressed along national lines and the female labour force in addition, suffers from gender oppression. Female labourers have worked in agriculture or were stereotypically in female positions. This chapter was written on behalf of the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action's Committees and the Women's Resource and Research Centre and was presented at the Fourth International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women at Hunter College, New York, June 3-7, 1990. In conclusion, it was found that women workers are not significantly increasing their involvement in union activities and women's committees; those who are active tend to drop out after activities after marriage. The working conditions of women workers are very poor and do not meet the minimum standard of worker's rights. Wages are lower than men's, women are denied paid holidays and health insurance, and working hours are long.

Oldham, Linda, "Women in Economic Development: A Strategy for Support to the Sector in the West Bank and Gaza" -- phase one consultancy report. US Agency for International Development Bureau for Asia and the Near East Office of Technical Resources, Washington, DC. August 1990. More and more emphasis is being given to supporting women's economic activities in the West Bank and Gaza. This report assesses the activities of 22 Palestinian women's groups including cooperatives, charitable societies

and grassroots organizations. A major finding is that the economic projects are operating in nearly total isolation from the commercial and industrial sector of the society and have little linkage with the business support institutions beginning to develop in the West Bank and Gaza. The focus of these projects is small-scale industry, with some emphasis on commerce. Project leaders are women with little business expertise and no attempts have been made to take advantage of the skills of female entrepreneurs in the society at large. Support from governmental agencies consists of equipment and machinery, and does not satisfy the training needs of Palestinian program managers and workers. The Palestinian women's movement is committed to long-term involvement in increasing women's participation in the West Bank and Gaza and experiences over the past few years have led to rethinking of expertise required to promote it.

PARC UNWRA, Shu'un il Mar'a and Save the Children (SCF) (total of 13 women's committees), "Evaluation of Women's Income-Generating Projects in the Gaza Strip," Save the Children, Jerusalem, July 1992. The evaluation identified structures and patterns of failure, and problems of women's income-generating projects; looked at causes and identified solutions. SCF's Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) methods were used to carry out the evaluation. Participants with different experiences and educational backgrounds participated in all aspects of the study, from the design of research to the analysis of information and making of recommendations. A wide range of viewpoints were taken into consideration and a full picture was gained in a relatively short time. In four days of training and preparatory work the participants split into teams of 4-5 people to prepare case studies to do the following in consecutive order: (1) interviews, (2) ranking; (3) diagrams; (4) direct observation. Women faced problems in income-generating projects in: (1) skills and training; (2) in planning, management and decision making; (3) purchasing raw materials; (4) in production and quality control; (5) supervision and monitoring (6) marketing; (6) social factors. SCF made a number of recommendations pertaining to training, project financial feasibility assessments project management, supervision, and funding.

PHRIC/Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem, and the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC) International in Washington, "Housing Rights Project Proposal," for Catholic Relief Services Jerusalem, 1993. This proposal explains why housing should be understood as more than just a building, but as a place from which to build social and family relationships: to influence the surrounding environment; and to create culture. This proposal argues that the right to housing is necessary for survival and as a prerequisite for cultural and social freedom. It is necessary for people to be free to "belong," to establish, develop and sustain community relations and to be able to protect emotional and social linkages to one's community. The Housing Rights Project at PHRIC is concerned with legal security of tenure; availability of services, material and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; accessibility; location; and cultural adequateness. The objectives are based on meetings and a roundtable discussion of Palestinian women professionals and are worth reviewing in light of USAID's emphasis on the housing and infrastructure sector in the West Bank and Gaza program. Particularly useful are the insights regarding promotion of housing rights; and recommendations for a coordinated plan, dissemination of reports, and development of

Palestinian women's awareness.

Women Initiative Committee for Development (WICD), "Women's Economic Empowerment Strategy (WEES)." Catholic Relief Services. Jerusalem. Unpublished report. n.d. This report and proposal explains Palestinian women's economic disenfranchisement as a result of the political oppression, and loss of civil and political rights during the occupation, and the subjugation they have endured due to cultural attitudes which encourage and tolerate their exploitation, impoverishment and lack of freedom. Palestinian women lack control over their destiny and is manifested in a number of ways. The authors of this proposal say that oppression continues in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Data was gathered from a survey of living conditions by an FAFO International report, and questionnaire responses for a study of the Economic Development Group for the General Union of Palestinian Women's Conference on Development and Environment. WEES seeks to work on women's issues within the OT which include: (1) manifestations of repression; (2) low participation in the workforce; (3) education and training opportunities; (4) women's societies and the increase in religious conservatism.

Zeidan, Hanin, Field Researcher, and Mr. Marwan Al-Haj Da'Oud, Masters in Statistics/ Jerusalem Open University, "The Direction of Work in the Shoe Industry and Women Consumption in the Northern Region of the West Bank," Written for Catholic Relief Services proposal 847-93-005). n.d. This field study was aimed at: 1) identifying the level of support for women in the shoe manufacturing and production industry; 2) identifying the level of acceptance of women working in the shoe industry and making it their career 3) identifying women's inclinations to the local industries 4) identifying women's inclinations in purchasing shoes by price and quantity. Field data is based on 150 questionnaires that were randomly distributed in the Northern district of the West Bank (half to residents of Nablus City and surrounding villages and half to residents of Jenin City, Tulkarem City and Qalqilia, and their surrounding villages). Findings include results of the market study and comments on the social acceptability of the occupations.