



ZU-LAT
Equality and Human Rights

Jerusalem From a Gender Perspective and a Human Rights Point of View

**Marking 54 Years of Occupation
and the 20th Anniversary
of UN Resolution 1325**

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SUMMARY

This report for the first time examines the realities of life of Jerusalem's women, who live in a city annexed by Israel in 1967 and ruled by it ever since, from a gender and human rights perspective -- and therein lies its uniqueness. It was born out of recognition of the immediate need to protect women and ensure the realization of their rights, without it being entirely dependent on ending the occupation and Israel's rule, nor on normalizing or legitimizing it.

In the past few weeks Jerusalem has been up in flames. Between the decision to block the Damascus Gate plaza during Ramadan, limit the entry of Muslim worshipers into the city, and the visible increase in the presence of Israeli troops in the Palestinian neighborhoods, Jerusalem has turned into an actual battlefield. Women are the first to get hurt in conflict zones, especially in times of escalation. This is one the basic premises that led the United Nations Security Council to pass Resolution 1325 in the first place, and it is what guided us throughout the process of writing of this report. Now, in light of recent developments and the turmoil in the city, it guides us even more.

Political plans proposed over the years did not take gender aspects and women's positions into account, and were conspicuous for the absence of women's participation. Furthermore, most of them focused on matters of security and religion, and neglected the human rights aspect. This report is not meant to offer a comprehensive political solution, but to address the violation of the right to national equality and the right to gender equality, as well as the tension and interdependence between the two.

The gender perspective is evident in the spotlight turned on Jerusalem's women, their life experiences, and the issues preoccupying them. It is also manifest in our research methodology: in-depth interviews that challenge the paradigmatic patriarchal lens customarily used

to look at Jerusalem and that create a space for dialogue, diversity, and an emphasis on everyday reality.

The focus on human rights is primarily seen in our effort to map out the violated rights, based on the experiences and perspectives presented in the interviews. It is even more distinct in the challenge that this report poses to the hegemonic militaristic and patriarchal definition of security that has shaped the normative discourse about Jerusalem, as well as in the introduction of alternative definitions that meet the different needs of diverse women living in the city.

Last October marked the 20th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which addresses three main issues: participation (commitment to full and equal inclusion of women from diverse population groups in the decision-making centers on matters of peace and security); protection (commitment to protect women and children from violence); and gender mainstreaming (integration of a gender perspective by diverse groups of women and its adoption in the discourse, processes, contemplation, and decision-making on matters of peace and security).

Resolution 1325 is a major research topic for most women's organizations and feminist entities in Israel, and much has been written about it, especially upon the approach of its 20th anniversary. The Zulat Institute seeks to contribute to the debate by directing the focus to Jerusalem's women, their experiences living in an annexed city under foreign rule, the human rights they are deprived of as a result, and the special needs engendered by this situation.

We now mark 54 years since Israel occupied the territories. In 1967, Israel annexed East Jerusalem along with over 20 villages and neighborhoods in its vicinity that had been under Jordanian control. Since then, this area has been under Israel's rule, with most of the city's Palestinian population having residency status. Like other inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, Jerusalem's Palestinian residents live under foreign sovereignty and are not allowed to vote or be elected to the

institutions of the state to which they were annexed.

Israel's control of East Jerusalem is a violation of international law, constitutes a grave defilement of the principles of justice and equality, and infringes upon personal and collective-national self-determination. It is a fundamental denial of two basic rights -- the right to choose and the right to self-rule -- as well as additional human rights.

Our work process began with a review of policy plans dealing with Jerusalem, which have been characterized by an almost complete absence of women's participation and a mindset that does not take into account gender perspectives or the unique life experience of women. In response, we formulated the approach which we believe should be used to look at the reality of the city:

Jerusalem is an urban space inhabited by two peoples, both with the right to conduct their daily lives in security and prosperity as autonomous communities. Any solution regulating the status of the city must be equitable and take into account the national aspirations of the two peoples, and consider the needs, considerations, and life experience of the city's women in order to ensure prosperity and security for all its residents.

Accordingly, the research methodology we chose consisted of in-depth interviews with Palestinian women living in Jerusalem, based on the premise that different women from different parts of the city would come up with different perspectives and life experiences, thereby allowing us to gain a direct, credible, diverse, and up-to-date picture of the affected rights. Likewise, it was important for us to bring the remarks and positions of a variety of Jewish women who are in one way or another engaged with the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Israel and with the promotion of gender equality, and to present the points of affinity along with the areas where the differences are most prominent.

Our unique perspective and the interviews gave rise to six key recommendations:

1. The daily reality in Jerusalem is unequal and asymmetrical. The picture emerging from the interviews is one of deliberate neglect, of systematic and enduring abandonment of the eastern part of the city and its residents. Therefore, alongside the struggle to end the occupation, and independently of it, the authorities must act to immediately rectify all the restrictions, dangers, and shortcomings suffered by the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem and ensure the immediate and full realization of all their rights.
2. In the spirit of Resolution 1325, action must be taken to promote a municipal policy that will ensure the prosperity, security, and realization of the rights of all women in Jerusalem, as well as women's participation, in order to bring to the decision-making table a gender perspective, female life experience, and daily connection with the field. Women's participation must be diverse and suitable, both quantitatively and substantively, and must put forward a gender-oriented perspective and feminist thinking in order to ensure that the debate is not bound by patriarchal and exclusionary codes.
3. An occupation regime that has been in place for over 54 years constitutes a serious, deep, and continuous violation of human rights. An end must be put to Israel's occupation, annexation, and rule over the territories and the Palestinians living in them, including the Jerusalem area annexed since 1967. As long as Israel continues to rule over the Palestinians, Jerusalem will remain a city of oppression, where only one side enjoys the right to personal and national fulfillment and to communal autonomy. As in other conflict areas, in this case too, the main victims are women, whose right to choose and to self-rule are denied all the more so.
4. A policy must be enforced in the city that challenges the militaristic conception of security that has prevailed to date, and ensures concern for the sense of civic security of its residents.

This policy should include concern for personal security, physical security, employment security, economic security, food security, medical security, social security, cultural security, and security in the family space, in keeping with the concerns emerging from the interviews with the city's women.

5. Thought should be given already at this point not only to the next step of ending the occupation but also to the steps that will follow. Initiatives should be taken that will promote a spirit of reconciliation, and be based on reciprocity, compromise, recognition, and gender perspective. The model we propose for post-occupation Jerusalem is one of an open city that will serve as the capital of the two peoples, with each functioning as a separate community that sustains its life independently and autonomously.
6. This model should include a post-occupation infrastructure that will create interfaces allowing these two autonomous communities to share the space equally, whether through joint activities or separately. Such interfaces, which can be built upon existent common spaces operating today, will attest to a gender perspective and to the importance and strength of a civilian dimension, which while not only composed of women certainly is more representative of women than the militaristic dimension.

In our view, looking at the reality of life in an annexed city that is a core issue of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from a gender perspective is the best way to mark not only 54 years of occupation, but also the 20th anniversary of Resolution 1325, in a way that takes a critical view of the resolution and its local application but also implements it. We believe that any comprehensive future solution will require such contemplation of all the components of Resolution 1325. Much like the different organizations working to promote equality and justice in the city, we believe that such a solution will need to recognize the two peoples' connection to Jerusalem, as well as their national aspirations and rights.

INTRODUCTION

To mark 54 years of occupation and the 20th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, the Zulat Institute decided to focus on the genderization of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Jerusalem. In the past few weeks Jerusalem has been up in flames. Between the decision to block the Damascus Gate plaza during Ramadan and limit the entry of Muslim worshipers into the city, and the visible increase in the presence of Israeli troops in the Palestinian neighborhoods, Jerusalem has turned into an actual battlefield.

In 1967, Israel annexed East Jerusalem along with over 20 villages and neighborhoods in its vicinity that had been under Jordanian control. Since then, this area has been under Israel's rule, with most of the city's Palestinian population having residency status. Like other inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem live under foreign sovereignty and are not allowed to vote or be elected to the institutions of the state to which they were annexed.

Living under foreign rule is a dangerous and rights-deprived life by definition. Israel's control of East Jerusalem is a violation of international law and entails a serious denial of human rights on a daily basis. It constitutes a grave defilement of the principles of justice and equality and violates both personal and collective-national self-determination. It is a fundamental denial of two basic rights that affect women -- the right to choose and the right to self-rule.

This report was written on the basis of this premise but also in recognition of the immediate need to protect East Jerusalem women and ensure the realization of their rights, without the matter being entirely dependent on the end of the occupation or, conversely, halted due to reservations about cooperating with the occupation authorities. It is not intended to offer a comprehensive political solution for Jerusalem but rather to present a position that will look at the reality of life in a city that has been under foreign rule for the past 54 years from a gender perspective.

Resolution 1325 consists of three main components: women's participation, protection of women in conflict situations, and gender mainstreaming in conflict resolution. This is the perspective from which we examine Jerusalem -- a feminist, boundary-breaking perspective that fights for women's autonomy. We want to look at the city through the different geographical, national, and socioeconomic positions of different women.

Our work process began with a review of policy plans dealing with Jerusalem, including the Oslo Accords, the Clinton Parameters, the Geneva Initiative, the "Deal of the Century," and more. It should be emphasized that most of these political solutions were put on the table nearly 20 years ago and that since then, not only have the political contacts between Israel and the Palestinian Authority made no progress, but a reality has emerged on the ground that may prove irreversible. In addition, the initiatives and political arrangements proposed to date for a resolution of the conflict in Jerusalem have been characterized by an almost complete absence of women's participation and a mindset that does not take into account gender perspectives or the unique needs of women.

The research methodology we used -- interviews with Palestinian women living in East Jerusalem and Jewish women in the western part of the city -- is a feminist methodology designed not only to answer the three components of Resolution 1325 but also to challenge the patriarchal perspective on which most of the political plans were based. Our premise is that different women from different parts of Jerusalem will come up with different points of view, perspectives, and needs, and each will choose her own way to challenge the occupation according to her perspective and position. This also enables us to obtain a direct, reliable, and up-to-date picture of the violated rights, needs, and issues that concern the women in Jerusalem.

In addition, we believe that the built-in tension between the demand for national equality and the demand for gender equality in the discourse between Palestinian and Israeli women in Jerusalem is something that should be given a place, recognized, and made part of the discussion. That is why we decided to bring the words and stances of a variety of Jewish women who are in one way or another engaged in implementing Resolution 1325 and promoting gender equality in Israel, and to bring to the fore not only the points of similarity but also areas where the differences are more pronounced.

Our approach to a political solution in Jerusalem is consistent with the concept of *Ir Amim*, whereby "secure and stable life in Jerusalem is possible only based on recognition of the claims of both peoples to the city, with both communities being able to pursue their daily existence and their public life independently, sovereignly, and without fear." We believe that Jerusalem should be treated as a space inhabited by two peoples, both of whom have the right to conduct a secure and prosperous daily life as autonomous communities, and that the political solution that regulates the city's status must be equitable and take into account the national aspirations of the two peoples.

To this approach, we now seek to add a tier of gender perspective. Any solution will have to take into account the needs, considerations, and life experience of the city's women and ensure not only women's participation in the brainstorming and negotiating teams but also the assimilation of a gender perspective, which will ensure prosperity and security for all the city's residents in the spirit of Resolution 1325.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

UN Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted in 2000, addresses three main issues: **participation** (commitment to full and equal inclusion of women from diverse population groups in the decision-making centers on matters of peace and security); **protection** (commitment to protect women and children from violence); and **gender mainstreaming** (integration of a gender perspective by diverse groups of women and its adoption in the discourse, processes, contemplation, and decision-making on matters of peace and security in order to prevent violence and promote peace.)

It was the first time that a global entity dealing with peace and security issues passed a resolution devoted entirely to women, based on the understanding that even though women in conflict zones are uniquely and significantly hurt, their presence and participation in conflict resolution processes is very limited.¹

Five years later, in 2005, Israel enacted Article 6c1 of the Women's Equal Rights Law-1951, which stipulates that public bodies established and funded by the government, as well as teams dealing with matters of peace and security, peace negotiations, and national policy, must include adequate participation of women from diverse sectors of the population. Israel thus became the first country to anchor Resolution 1325 in legislation. In practice, however, the law has not been fully nor even sufficiently implemented.

As a result, since 2007, efforts have been underway in Israel to promote the implementation of Resolution 1325 through petitions to the High Court of Justice, parliamentary activities, and conferences and seminars led by Itach-Ma'aki Women Lawyers for Social Justice² and other women's organizations. In 2013, a coalition of

1 [Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations :Connections Between Presence and Influence](#), UN Women, August 2010

2 [About Us](#), Itach-Ma'aki website

NGOs set up to promote the adoption of a government action plan for the implementation of all aspects of Resolution 1325 published a comprehensive paper on the issue.³ In late 2014, the government passed Resolution 2331,⁴ whereby a team would be established to draft such an action plan, but this decision, too, has yet to be implemented.

Globally, Resolution 1325 was adopted by nearly half of the UN member states, which proceeded to draft political and regional plans to implement its conclusions.⁵ There are a number of prominent examples concerning the integration of women in conflict-solving processes throughout the world that yielded fruit and contributed both to attaining peace and to advancing the status of women in the region, such as Afghanistan, Somalia, Liberia, Congo, etc. In Colombia, for example, a historic peace agreement signed in 2016 between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) not only integrated women representatives of civil society organizations but also set up a specific team focusing on women, their positions, and needs.⁶

In recent weeks, Israeli organizations dealing with the issue -- Itach-Ma'aki,⁷ Women Wage Peace,⁸ Shavot (Equals) - Israel Association for Feminist and Gender Studies (Van Leer Institute),⁹ Coalition of Women for Peace,¹⁰ and more -- have held a variety of activities, meetings and discussions to mark the 20th anniversary of Resolution 1325.¹¹ The discussions centered on a critical examination of the

3 [Comprehensive Action Plan for the Application of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325](#), Women Leaders for Peace, Itach-Maaki website, October 2013

4 [Government Resolution on Advancement of Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming](#), Prime Minister's Office website, December 2014 (Hebrew)

5 [Resolution 1325 -- Vision and Reality](#), Yasmin Gera, Politicallycorret website, November 2020 (Hebrew)

6 [20th Anniversary of UN Resolution 1325: Have Women Become More Influential on Matters of Peace and Security?](#), Tsafi Saar, Haaretz website, October 2020 (Hebrew)

7 [Women, Peace and Security -- Resolution 1325](#), Itach-Makki website

8 [Enough! No More Decisions Without Women](#), Women Wage Peace website, November 2020

9 [Women, Peace, and Security: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in the Israeli Context](#), Dr. Sarai Aharoni, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute website, 2015 (Hebrew)

10 [20th Anniversary to UN 1325 Resolution -- Media Coverage](#), Women Wage Peace website, November 2020

11 [Women, Peace and Security -- Resolution 1325](#), Itach website; [videos](#), Itach-Makki Facebook page (Hebrew)

implementation of the principles of Resolution 1325 in Israel, along with such issues as preventing violence against women, women's sense of security, the participation of women in popular culture, women's collaborations, and more.

Another issue that featured in many discussions is the tension between mere numerical participation ("head counting") and substantive, diverse, and feminist-oriented participation.¹² On the one hand, there is no overlooking the importance of respectable numerical participation and of the principle that the number of women involved in decision-making should be commensurate with their general number in the population.

According to Adv. Neta Levy, Itach-Ma'aki's coordinator of the project to advance the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325, "when women participated in peace processes, the chances of an agreement increased, the legitimacy of the agreement among the general public increased, and the chances of implementing the agreements the day after increased."¹³ In fact, studies show that "when women participate in peace processes, the chances of agreements lasting more than 15 years increase by 35%."¹⁴

On the other hand, much has been said about the importance of women's voices from various sectors of the population, given the power of women's unique life experiences when it comes to long-term solutions and prevention of violent conflicts. According to Levy: "Resolution 1325 is based on the premise that if a wide variety of women sit around the decision-making table, they will bring different positions and angles and will not have to sound as 'masculine' and belligerent as the retired general sitting next to them."¹⁵ To wit,

12 [From Adequate to Substantive participation](#)– Critical Glance Upon 20th Anniversary of UN Resolution 1325, online event on Itach Facebook page, 12 November 2020 (Hebrew);

13 [Making Global Change: Women Around Negotiating Table Advance Peace](#), Neta Levy, Onlife website, 30 August 2018 (Hebrew)

14 [Bringing About Change: Toolbox for Implementation of Resolution 1325](#), Itach-Maaki website (Hebrew)

15 [Making Global Change: Women Around Negotiating Table Advance Peace](#), Neta Levy, Onlife website, 30 August 2018 (Hebrew)

Itach-Ma'aki's petitions to the High Court of Justice filed over the years against committees that failed to implement Resolution 1325 "demanded the participation of women, with an emphasis on women from minority groups who are frequently excluded from decision-making centers, especially Arab and ultra-Orthodox women."¹⁶

Another issue that has been discussed more than once is the feminist identity of women involved in peace-making efforts and its importance.¹⁷ On the one hand, it is very important that female representatives should be gender-oriented and politically aware, and be familiar with the existing power structure and with the hegemonic status of men and male thinking in general and with matters of peace and security in particular. On the other hand, the question arises: Do women who define themselves as feminists and who echo the prevalent feminist discourse represent women better than other women? Doesn't the mere demand for "feminist" participation actually contain troubling exclusionary elements? Moreover, much has been said about the danger inherent in the automatic attribution of certain traits to femininity and their dichotomous difference from traits that are considered masculine.

The issue of women's participation, numerical as well as substantive, is permeated with the connection between gender and national exclusion, chiefly Israel's rule over the Palestinian people. Or, as Dr. Sarai Aharoni from Ben-Gurion University's Gender Studies Program puts it: "Unfortunately, despite its involvement in military conflicts and a military occupation over a civilian population, the State of Israel has not implemented the resolution at all."¹⁸ As noted, one of the main reasons behind the resolution was the realization that military conflicts by definition lead to increased gender inequality and that women face more danger and suffering in conflict zones.

16 [20th Anniversary of UN Resolution 1325: Have Women Become More Influential on Matters of Peace and Security?](#), Tsafi Saar, Haaretz website, October 2020 (Hebrew)

17 [From Adequate to Substantive participation](#) - Critical Glance Upon 20th Anniversary of UN Resolution 1325, online event on Itach Facebook page, 12 November 2020 (Hebrew)

18 [20th Anniversary of UN Resolution 1325: Have Women Become More Influential on Matters of Peace and Security?](#), Tsafi Saar, Haaretz website, October 2020 (Hebrew)

Hence, the Zulat Institute seeks to contribute to the debate by shining a light on East Jerusalem's Palestinian women, their experiences living in an annexed city and under Israeli rule, the human rights they are deprived of as a result, and the special needs engendered by this situation.

As an institute dedicated to equality and human rights, we recognize and greatly appreciate the work and contribution of the organizations engaged with Resolution 1325, and thus chose to tackle this angle of the subject in the hope that our research will add to the existing discourse and enrich it ever so slightly.

We do not pretend to offer analysis or a magic formula to settle a complex and important issue whose solution has for years eluded many talented and brilliant women, but to focus on the exact point of confluence between gender and the national issue, and to examine their unique interrelation with regard to the lives of women in Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM - BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The reality in East Jerusalem is one of living in an annexed city under Israeli rule. Hence, by definition, it constitutes a serious violation of the principles of justice and equality, as it does not allow the Palestinians living in the city to realize the right to self-determination, neither on the personal nor on the collective-national level. It entails a fundamental denial of two basic rights that affect women -- the right to choose and the right to self-rule -- as well as a daily violation of many other human rights.

Jerusalem was first divided following the 1948 War that left the western part of the city under Israeli control and the eastern part under Jordanian rule. Shortly after, Israel declared Jerusalem its capital, while Jordan annexed the eastern part, including the Old City. In the years between 1949 and 1967, the city remained divided, separated mainly by fences and military presence. In the 1967 War, Israel occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Immediately after the end of the war, it declared the new borders of its capital and applied Israeli law throughout. The annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem included not only the urban area of the city but also 28 Palestinian villages and two refugee camps that had not been considered part of Jerusalem until then.

While Greater East Jerusalem was annexed to Israel, its Palestinian inhabitants did not receive full civil status and were instead defined as permanent residents - a status lower than that of citizens, that allows them to live and work in Israel and entitles them to social security benefits and health insurance. However, this status does not allow them to vote in general elections or to hold an Israeli passport and can be revoked if someone remains outside the area for too long.¹⁹

According to Ir Amim, "one-third of the city's residents are people without citizenship. They live in a country that views their territory

¹⁹ [Statistics on Revocation of Residency in East Jerusalem](#), B'tselem website, May 2019

as its own but does not view them as part of it. As far as Israel is concerned, they reside in the place of their birth by sufferance, not by right. Israel has built huge Israeli neighborhoods in East Jerusalem but left the Palestinian neighborhoods in wretched squalor. The systematic neglect of the Palestinian population and the harassment of its public and civil institutions are the practical and inevitable manifestations of a 'unification' which is actually a separation."²⁰

East Jerusalem is the only occupied Palestinian area annexed to Israel by legislation. The methods used by Israel to exercise its rule in Jerusalem's Palestinian neighborhoods and surrounding villages run the gamut from those used in the West Bank to practices that are unique to the city. Among them, three practices of domination and dispossession stand out in particular: expropriation of land and restrictions on Palestinian construction; detachment of East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank, primarily by means of the separation barrier; and discrimination in budgets and the supply of municipal services.²¹

In conclusion, East Jerusalem and its residents suffer from severe and deliberate discrimination, designed to provide a demographic advantage to Israel, ensure Israeli control over as much territory and as few Palestinians as possible, and impair Palestinian territorial continuity on which the viability of a future Palestinian state depends. Ir Amim puts the blame on Israel's policy: "In order to entrench its rule on the Palestinian population that did not want it, the Israeli state used the 'stick-and-carrot' method. On the one hand, it provided welfare services and social benefits that exceeded those of the Palestinians under the military regime in the territories. On the other hand, any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism was suppressed and the Israeli hold on the territory was deepened through the massive construction of neighborhoods intended for Jews in the eastern city."²²

20 [Permanent Residency: A Temporary Status Set in Stone](#), Introduction by Dr. Menachem Klein, Ir Amim website, May 2012

21 [Statistics on Land Expropriation in East Jerusalem](#), B'tselem website, January 2011; [Statistics on Building Starts in East Jerusalem](#), B'tselem website, July 2012

22 [Jerusalem as a Political Issue](#), Ir Amim website

CRITICAL VIEW OF ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE JERUSALEM ISSUE

CRITICAL LOOK AT THE INITIATIVES, PROPOSALS, AND AGREEMENTS PERTAINING TO A SOLUTION IN JERUSALEM

Proposals for a political solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Jerusalem were first put on the negotiating table as part of the **Oslo Accords**, but without any substantive provisions on the issue.²³ In the **Camp David talks** and other negotiations on a permanent settlement that started around 2000, the Jerusalem issue was discussed in general terms, off the record and in private conversations, and no agreement was reached.²⁴ The **Clinton Parameters** of December 2000 proposed an ethnic division of the city ("what is Arab to the Palestinians, what is Jewish to Israel"), with a special regime in the Old City that would allow free passage without fences or border controls, and a similar position was adopted in the **Tabah talks** in 2001.²⁵ The Jerusalem issue also came up at the **Annapolis Conference** in 2007, where the main topics discussed were ways to implement the division, demarcation of borders, and a land swap, and no agreement was reached in this case either.

Other initiatives proposed since then also tended to resolve the issue of Jerusalem by means of separation and division. The **Arab Peace Initiative**, adopted in 2002 and reaffirmed by the Arab League countries in 2007, 2008, and 2010, "accepts West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, but at the same time calls for a withdrawal to the 1967 lines, which includes an Israeli withdrawal from East Jerusalem."²⁶ The **National Census**, a 2002 document of principles drafted by Ami Ayalon and Sari Nusseibeh that aimed to exert civilian pressure on the leaders of the two peoples, also asserted that the city would be open and serve

23 [Political Solution in Jerusalem: Possible, At Ever Growing Price](#), Ir Amim website, April 2014, p 6 (Hebrew)

24 [Ibid](#), p 7

25 [Ibid](#), p 7-9

26 [Ibid](#), p 12

as the capital of both states, with Arab neighborhoods remaining under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods under Israeli sovereignty.

Former US President Trump's "**Deal of the Century**", which was officially published in January 2020 and centered on US recognition of Israel's sovereignty in Jerusalem and the planned annexation of approximately one-third of the occupied territories, took the notion of separation to a whole new level. Not only was it one-sided, but it envisioned squeezing the entire Palestinian population of the West Bank and Jerusalem into small, allegedly autonomous enclaves that would no longer be under Israel's responsibility.

The Geneva Initiative, signed at the end of 2003 by Yossi Beilin on the Israeli side and Yasser Abed-Rabbo on the Palestinian side, is also based on a two-state solution and the division of Jerusalem between the two peoples, leaving only the Old City open and mixed. The Geneva Initiative group is well aware of the changes that have occurred in the city since 2003 and realizes that many of its proposals and initiatives are no longer aligned with the reality created in the city and have thus become irrelevant. These days, the group is actually working on a revision of the original plan that sought to divide the city with a hard border. Shifting from a spirit of separation to one of connections, the new plan, **Jerusalem Reconsidered**, proposes an "open Jerusalem" model based on the recognition that it is no longer possible or sensible to divide the city into two separate parts.

Common to all the political initiatives and solutions presented so far, whether they are about separations or unifications, is the obvious lack of women's participation and a perception that does not take a gender perspective or women's unique interests into account. Furthermore, it seems that among many, Jerusalem is still perceived primarily as an "issue" and less as a city in which women and men live. Most conflict resolution initiatives tend to look at Jerusalem from a distance and from above, through aerial photographs, the crosshairs of a rifle, or

topographic maps.

All proposals for a political solution in Jerusalem should take into account the deep affinity of the three monotheistic religions with the city and its holy places. The aforementioned solutions proposed for Jerusalem denote a distant perspective that focuses primarily on the security component derived from soldierly concepts and neglects most other factors of life. In reality, the quality of life of the women and men living in the city is determined above all by their sense of personal security, the level of municipal services, the quality of infrastructure, or in other words: in the neighborhoods and the streets, health fund clinics, grocery stores and markets, schools, after-school activities, at home, etc.

The extensive preoccupation with the security issue also forces us to examine the nature of the security concept presented. Expertise in security issues is mostly attributed to men with seniority and high military ranks - whose idea of a "sense of security" derives mainly from being in positions of power and advantage, tactical and strategic thinking, and combat capabilities. However, civilians and especially many women define "sense of security" completely differently. Especially for women, the private sphere, and even the immediate public sphere, can be an unsafe and even dangerous arena, where they are exposed to sexual, economic, and occupational violence at a much higher rate than men.

When generals sit in front of maps and think of a solution for Jerusalem, do they take into account civic and gender concerns beyond narrow security considerations? Most probably not. Will a solution that offers security only in the narrow sense enable the feasibility of a large, bustling, and sustainable city in which two peoples accustomed to distinctly separate roles of occupier and occupied live together? Most probably even less.

ASSIMILATION OF A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

ASSIMILATION OF A GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THINKING ABOUT A SOLUTION IN JERUSALEM

Our approach to a solution is in line with Ir Amim's concept, whereby "Jerusalem is the current home of two peoples whom both regard as their capital and the source of their historic, religious and political attachments. A secure and stable life in Jerusalem can exist only out of recognition of the entirety of the connections of both peoples to the city, and when both are able to conduct their daily and public lives in an independent and sovereign manner, without fear. In the absence of a permanent solution in the foreseeable future, the two peoples will continue to share a complex urban reality dependent on a delicate weave of symbiotic relations and interdependence.

"In this current reality, policies should be adopted to enhance the living environment and personal security of all of Jerusalem's residents and to reduce elements that exacerbate tension in the city. First and foremost, the living conditions and the existential security of East Jerusalem residents must be significantly improved, both within and outside of the Separation Barrier, in an adequate and non-coercive manner. Palestinians must be permitted to physically and socially develop their communities in the urban sphere, preserve the wholeness of their community and physical surroundings, and conduct their affairs in the city through their own institutions without fear.

"Living conditions in West Jerusalem also require improvement, while positive economic, social and political channels for dialogue and cooperation must be established. The residents of both parts of Jerusalem and their respective political leaderships, along with the support of the international community, must be full partners in determining the political future of the city. The shared life in the

city can and must constitute a basis for negotiations for a viable sustainable solution, out of the understanding that in every possible political constellation, the two peoples will live alongside each other in Jerusalem."²⁷

To this view, we seek to add the tier of gender perspective. We aim to look at the reality of life in Jerusalem and the solutions it requires through a feminist lens that takes into account a wide range of women's viewpoints and positions in the city. We believe that in order to improve the quality of life of Jerusalem's residents and to enable them to live in communal autonomy and prosperity, women must be put at the forefront along with their life experience and the unique worldview they bring with them.

In this context, a gender-oriented security concept must be added to the accepted definition of security, which has so far been formulated primarily by men and has served as a yardstick for the feasibility of suggested solutions. This will address real needs that have hitherto been marginalized at best or never discussed at worst. Furthermore, it must also be ensured that brainstorming and negotiations teams include a variety of women with gender-oriented views who will be able to contribute their experience and opinions in order to ensure that all residents of the city live in it amid prosperity, equality, and security.

In our view, Resolution 1325 should be implemented in any effort to end conflicts or political, social, and diplomatic disputes. Women's perspective, as well as women's participation, has great power and crucial importance in shaping a mindset that can contribute significantly to conflict resolution, if only because it will put an end to the exclusion of half of the people directly affected by that conflict. History shows that this perspective was neglected and not taken into account in many cases and that the conflict zone and its inhabitants paid the price -- if not immediately, then in the long run.

27 [Ramifications of the US Middle East Plan on the Future of Jerusalem](#), Ir Amim website, April 2020

Jerusalem is a crucial core issue in the debate on Israel's rule of the territories and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and in any attempt to reach a permanent settlement. It is the spiritual-religious center for the three monotheistic religions, but at the same time functions as an urban space with a long tradition of living side by side. When we examine the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the context of the national issue, Jerusalem is a unique and fascinating case study, both as a mixed city and as the capital of two nations that have been engaged in an intricate and long-standing conflict that requires a permanent solution.

Implementation of Resolution 1325 is also an opportunity to challenge the existing system and break the long-standing conflict cycle. Women who propose a solution to the core issue of Jerusalem will bring to the table additional perspectives that, at least in part, will undermine the existing patriarchal structure and challenge the hegemonic position that has prevailed so far. Such a reassessment will "shake" and challenge the existing conception that has to date proved futile, may ensure that the element of compromise and equality plays a more central role, and will spell liberation from hierarchical fixations and perceptions that contradict the idea of solution and agreement between two peoples in conflict.

In our view, a gender-oriented outlook may also contribute to creating a language of togetherness, community, solidarity, compromise, and connection. Most of the agreements and proposals for resolving the conflict that have been put on the table have mainly involved men: military, government, and diplomatic personnel. Proper and suitable women's participation will enable the incorporation of gender parameters that will take into account the identity, social, and cultural differences between women and men and the knowledge accumulated as a result of women's daily experiences. Only in this way will it be possible to really map out the needs, the violated rights, and the points of friction in order to focus on daily life in Jerusalem.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN IN JERUSALEM

THE EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN JERUSALEM THROUGH THE EYES OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN

Living under foreign rule is by definition a dangerous life deprived of rights. Understanding that, but at the same time recognizing the urgent need to protect and ensure women's rights without it being entirely dependent on an end to the occupation or, conversely, totally stunted by misgivings about cooperating with Israeli entities, was the basis for our decision to talk directly with Palestinian women residents of the city.

Occupation is a gross violation of human rights, since it entails control of the occupied population and the fundamental denial of its autonomy, agency, and choice and, hence, a violation and denial of its rights in all areas of life. Our exploration of the situation of Jerusalem women looks at the big picture -- the very existence of two different and separate regimes applied to two different ethnic groups within the same city, which excludes, discriminates against, and harms one of them on a structural and day-to-day level -- as well as its specific components. We also know that patriarchal traditions and gender discrimination clearly exist in both ethnic groups, and that the various components of women's Jerusalemite identity - national identity, gender identity, class identity, ethnic identity - touch and intersect in many different ways.

To this end, we chose to conduct in-depth interviews with Palestinian women from Jerusalem and hear their personal experience of the city. This will provide us with an understanding of the reality of life in the city and the ensuing needs in a bid to present a range of perspectives and positions.

This review of the constituents of life in the city should not be seen as an attempt to repair the occupation or legitimize it, nor to imply that its continued existence is morally valid. The charting of the needs and

violated rights presented in this chapter deals with specific and limited elements of the routine of life in Jerusalem, but we seek to place each of these elements within the big picture of the fundamental and structural human rights violations caused by the very existence of the occupation.

On the other hand, the idea that no steps should be taken to improve the lives of the Palestinian residents of the city and to ensure the fulfillment of their rights until the occupation comes to a complete halt is somewhat crippling and flawed, too. As part of the introduction of a gender perspective to challenge the conventional thought process on how to resolve the conflict in Jerusalem, one of our aims is to eradicate this crippling dichotomy and to find the balance between an uncompromising effort to end the occupation and promoting a localized policy that advances equality and justice.

The methodology we chose to use in this report -- gathering qualitative rather than quantitative information based on in-depth interviews and an intricate dialogue -- is a feminist one and is consistent with the content we decided to put at the forefront. This methodological process reflects the three components of Resolution 1325 -- women's participation, protection of women, and integration of a gender perspective in conflict resolution -- both in form and content.

The findings in this chapter are mostly based on interviews conducted with Palestinian women in the city, the remarks of women published in various platforms, and other studies. The interviews were based on a prepared questionnaire, but it was important for us to conduct them in the form of a dialogue, of a flowing conversation where topics came up and evolved in a relatively natural manner. The answers of respondents were slightly edited for clarity prior to their inclusion in this document, while taking great care to preserve the spirit of the responses and avoid biased or misleading redactions.

1. Issues of Geographically Dependent Status

Although most Palestinian residents of Jerusalem have never received Israeli citizenship or attained equal rights, their status differs from that of Palestinians living in the West Bank. This difference serves Israel's divide-and-rule policy and, among other things, ties in with the effort to undermine the Palestinians' sense of national unity and aspirations.

On a practical level, their freedom of movement is restricted by Israel's permit regime, which allows them to move in certain geographical areas and at specified times only;²⁸ the separation barrier that one clear day created a physical barrier separating Jerusalem from the West Bank; and the security forces.

Also living in Jerusalem are Palestinians who hold an Israeli ID card as one of their parents is an Israeli citizen while the other is a resident of Jerusalem, as well as Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip who came to the city following their spouse. According to B'tselem, Israel implements a strict policy regarding family reunification applications submitted by East Jerusalem residents who married spouses from other parts of the West Bank or Gaza. In fact, it does not allow such couples to live together in Jerusalem, thus hindering their children from getting residency status even though one of their

"Until my husband got the approval for family reunification, even on our honeymoon - we had to meet each other in Jordan. Sometimes he could not come to see us because there were no permits. And even when he got a permit, he had to go through the checkpoint at Bethlehem or Qalandiya, which was also humiliating."
(Manar, pseudonym, 35, Bir Una)

"My mother is [an Israeli Arab] from Jerusalem, so she has [Israeli] citizenship. But my father doesn't. He only has residency status. This has had quite an effect since it differentiates. Say, if you have citizenship you're entitled to some rights, and if you think about it - my father couldn't have them all. For example, he has lots of problems with health care. The same goes for freedom of movement."
(Rusayla Kurd, 23, Jabel Mukaber)

28 [No Longer a Temporary Order: A Dozen Years Under the Citizenship and Entry Into Israel Law](#), Hamoked Center for the Defense of the Individual website, June 2014

parents is a permanent resident.²⁹

"Discrimination by Default," a gender-based analysis of the permit regime, examines how it shapes the reality of women's lives in the Gaza Strip and ignores their unique needs. Published by Gisha to mark the 20th anniversary of Resolution 1325, it states that "many women in Gaza are cut off from their families by the travel restrictions imposed by Israel," and they are the ones "who are most exposed to the bureaucratic violence inherent to Israel's permit regime when it comes to access to family."³⁰

Most Palestinians say that the geographical separation between East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza, and the State of Israel is inconsistent with the fact that they share a national identity, language, culture, traditions, and customs. The events of 1948 and 1967, the official annexation of Jerusalem, the creeping annexation, and the construction of the separation barrier created countless absurd situations of artificial separation between Palestinians from the same family, neighborhood, and household.

Also, this abnormal situation directly affects all areas of daily life: social life, family relations, matrimony, child rearing, employment, education, freedom of movement, property ownership, friction with the security forces, municipal assistance, rights and benefits, bureaucratic red tape, etc. This is the main issue that arises from the interviews; it has countless aspects and implications, and it ties in with other issues that this report will touch upon later.

"If not all of your brothers, aunts, and uncles are in the country, that gives [Israel] an opening for invoking the Absentee Property Law. Even if they live in Ramallah and carry West Bank ID cards, they are still considered absentees because they don't live in Israel. As far as Israel is concerned, because there is one absentee, you cannot proceed with the registration of property. And so, the whole land becomes absentee property." (Terry Boullata, 54, Beit Hanina)

"The most problematic for the welfare bureau are people from Jerusalem who marry somebody from the territories with a Palestinian ID card. In these cases, there's nothing that can be done for them. There is no way these people can find employment or receive any kind of assistance." (Lujain Subhi, 27, Beit Safafa)

29 [Statistics on Revocation of Residency in East Jerusalem](#), B'tselem website, January 2011

30 [Discrimination by Default](#), Gisha website, December 2020

"Imagine if your husband or wife has an Israeli ID (East Jerusalem residency), but you are from the West Bank. You will need to have two homes, one in Jerusalem and one in the West Bank. If you are lucky, you will get a permit for your husband to enter Jerusalem maybe once or twice a year, because family reunifications are a real problem. Imagine if your kids have to be separated, some with the father and others with the mother." (Rula Salameh, Balfour Project)

Violated Rights

Right to family life: Allows an individual to choose the family unit she wishes to form and is recognized in Israeli law as a derivative of the *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty*. Denying Palestinian couples of different national status the opportunity to conduct a common family life on a continuous basis, as well as the very existence of Israel's permit regime, which stipulates that Palestinian movement is restricted unless otherwise decreed, constitutes a serious violation of this right.

Right to property: Seeks to protect a person's property from arbitrary harm by the state or private parties. The Absentee Property Law constitutes a serious violation of the property rights of Palestinians living in East Jerusalem whose family members left or were deported to other parts of the Occupied Territories without explicitly transferring ownership of their property to them. The law also allows Jews to claim ownership of land they held before the State of Israel was founded, even if Palestinian families have been living there for decades.

"As an unmarried person, I stay away from the idea of [marrying] a person living in Palestine even in my thoughts. I have to, or else I will suffer later. What will happen to my children? What will happen to my family? What if one day there is a decision to close [the crossings]? I know many girlfriends who did not pursue romantic relationships for this reason." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

2. The Separation Barrier: Physical and Substantive Obstacle

The construction of the separation barrier began in 2002, with the stated purpose of preventing West Bank Palestinians without permits from entering Jerusalem due to security reasons. Its establishment had other goals, however, chief among them being Israel's desire to entrench its hold on as much territory as possible, to prevent the future establishment of a Palestinian state, and to facilitate control of the Palestinian people.

The separation barrier is considered one of the most recognizable symbols of the occupation, and its existence is synonymous with many of the most prominent injustices associated with the occupation and annexation in the West Bank in general and in Jerusalem in particular.

The route of the barrier not only physically detached East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank, thus making the separation created by the permit regime much more tangible, but also laid "the groundwork for the de facto annexation of most of the settlements and much land for their future expansion."³¹

The barrier is used by Israel to establish facts on the ground, appropriate territory, entrench a policy of separation between Palestinians and between them and their lands, take over land, normalize settlements, and pile up many daily difficulties on Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, both at the bureaucratic level and in terms of access and of freedom of movement.³²

"We lost around 100,000 Palestinians with Israeli IDs (residency permit) after building the wall. Sooner or later, they will lose their residency in Jerusalem, and they will be in a really bad situation. Some families were divided; some of them are inside the wall and some of them are outside the wall. Imagine kids that have to pass through checkpoints; imagine the daily experience."
(Rula Salameh, Balfour Project)

"Many places in the territories, like Ayzariyah, remained behind the barrier, but according to the municipality are still part of Jerusalem. Families in those places are known to the welfare bureau... They pay municipal and other taxes, yet we cannot get to them because they are behind the barrier."
(Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

³¹ [The Separation Barrier](#), B'tselem website, November 2017

³² [The Separation Barrier](#), Ir Amim website

"Why was a wall needed at the edge of Abu Dis, splitting the community apart, when the nearest Israeli lives 5 kilometers away? The wall has nothing to do with Israeli security, but with grabbing more land from the Palestinians and putting facts on the ground. I do not need to read any political analysis; I see it with my own eyes." (Terry Boullata, Beit Hanina)

Violated Right

Freedom of movement: Intended to ensure that every person can move freely from one place to another without restrictions. It is considered a basic right due to the fact that its implementation is necessary for the fulfillment of other rights, such as the right to freedom of occupation, family life, health, education, etc. The separation barrier limits the educational and employment opportunities of residents of neighborhoods and villages who, following its construction along a route that did not take into account their fabric of life, found themselves detached and isolated.

3. Employment

The difficulties East Jerusalem residents face in finding employment stem from two main reasons: first, inequality of opportunity and prolonged discrimination, including restrictions related to the separation barrier and the lack of work permits due to differences in national status; second, the fact that most solutions offered by the authorities are not suited to the needs of Palestinian society in the city and disregard the views of its women and men.

According to Ir Amim, in 2014, the employment rate among the city's Jewish population was 50%, but the employment rate among Palestinians in the eastern part of the city stood at 37%. One of the reasons cited for this gap was a particularly low employment rate among Palestinian women, which in 2011 was only 16%.³³

Furthermore, "The labor force of East Jerusalem residents (over the age of 15) accounted for 28% of the total labor force in the city in 2016, compared with their relative share of the Jerusalem population (37%). In addition, participation of Arab women in the labor force is particularly low: only 17% compared to 62% in the Jewish sector [...]. Also, there is a fixed nominal difference of about 3,000 NIS per month between the average wage of Jews and the average wage of Arabs in the city in the years 2002 to 2012."³⁴

"There are no employment or job opportunities in the east of the city. Do you know how scary it is for a woman from the east of the city who does not speak the language to go to Talpiyot (an Israeli neighborhood) to work? We feel in danger when we have to go to the west of the city." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

"They are trying to establish a new Silicon Valley to replace the small businesses. Consider that the Wadi al-Joz area is full of 200 small businesses that provide for poor people. Then you come with your capitalist approach to remove all of that for the sake of the hi-tech engineers that care less about the people. They never ask us; they impose things on us." (Terry Boullata, Beit Hanina)

33 [Response to Government "Decision on Plan To Enhance Personal Security and Socio-Economic Development in Jerusalem for the Benefit of All its Residents,"](#) Ir Amim website, June 2014 (Hebrew)

34 [East Jerusalem -- Key Statistics,](#) Ir Amim website, January 2019 (Hebrew)

"I know really, really, really smart people who should have been scientists, yet they work in jobs that don't suit them just to survive. That's the policy: barriers everywhere." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

Violated Right

Right to equality: A fundamental right stipulating that there should be no discrimination in hiring employees on the basis of nationality, accent, or religion. Over the years, High Court of Justice rulings have affirmed that the state must act to eradicate differences based on identity characteristics such as nationality, religion, gender, or sexual orientation. The fact that the authorities do not offer solutions tailored to the needs of Palestinian society in Jerusalem contravenes the state's responsibility to treat its citizens and residents equally.

"Why are my high school graduation grades -- I got excellent grades -- not taken into consideration by the university? Why?! Why do they denigrate our education? Then they say: 'Something about it isn't working out for Arabs. Maybe they are not so smart'?" (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

4. Education

The difficulties faced by residents of East Jerusalem in the education sphere have many different aspects. According to Ir Amim's "Conditional Education" report published in 2018, there is a shortage of 2,476 classrooms in East Jerusalem. Only 41% of all Palestinian students attend the official education system, while 14.6% of children of compulsory school age are not enrolled at all in any educational institution recognized by the Education Ministry.

Furthermore, in order to receive adequate budgets from the government to improve education, East Jerusalem schools are required to adopt the Israeli curriculum, which includes the Zionist narrative that comes largely at the expense of the Palestinian national narrative (some 43.5% of the state budget for education according to resolution 3790 in East Jerusalem explicitly hinges on adopting the Israeli curriculum).³⁵

The interviews show that not only is there a huge shortage of classrooms, but teaching levels are deficient, unadjusted, and incompatible with teaching levels in the west of the city and insufficiently prepare students for their adult lives in terms of employment, self-esteem, and sense of aptitude.

"We have around 10,000 Palestinian children who do not have seats in the schools in East Jerusalem. We have a serious problem in getting funds for schools. We have a serious problem that Palestinians in East Jerusalem need to register their sons and daughters in schools inside the wall." (Rula Salameh, Balfour Project)

"My sons attend Palestinian Authority schools. Three times I applied to the bilingual Hand in Hand School and was rejected because they want a balanced number between Jewish and Arab children. I know from my sister-in-law who teaches there that the number of Jews is very small and that they want more Jews in order to balance the numbers." (Manar, pseudonym, Bir Una)

³⁵ [The State of Education in East Jerusalem 2018](#), Ir Amim website, August 2018

"I think people in our society are very desperate. We do not believe in ourselves and do not see our abilities. The schools do not develop our skills, thought processes, or critical thinking. We finish school without knowing what we are, what strengths or aptitudes we have. If we had the kind of education that prepared us for life and addressed our rights, everything would be different." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

Violated Rights

Right to education: Obliges the state to ensure that all its residents have access to education. Border crossings and checkpoints, scarce resources and infrastructural neglect and, of course, the shortage of classrooms and teachers in East Jerusalem constitute a violation of the very essence of the right to education, as the state fails to fulfill its obligation to provide access to education to its residents.

Right to dignified existence: A derivative of the *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty* intended to ensure that citizens and residents of a democratic state have the necessary conditions for a minimum dignified existence. Violation of the right to education by definition violates the right to a dignified existence as it denies the basic education required for professional integration in occupations that can ensure a prosperous existence and a reasonable lifestyle.

"Many Palestinian families decided to stop their young daughters from going to school because they have to cross the checkpoint, and they can't allow them to have this experience because maybe something will happen to them." (Rula Salameh, Balfour Project)

5. Concern for the Safety of Children

Due to the nature of the Israeli rule in annexed East Jerusalem, many Palestinian parents in the city feel anxious about the safety and well-being of their children on a daily basis. Last February's shooting incident in Issawiya, in which 9-year-old Malek Issa lost an eye,³⁶ attests to the danger faced by girls and boys in the east of the city.

This danger is first and foremost a result of the large presence of Israeli security forces in the Palestinian neighborhoods, which carries increased and uninhibited use of violent and repressive measures. As a result of this constant friction with the security forces, parents feel in constant fear that their child might disappear or be abducted for the purpose of arrest, interrogation, etc.³⁷

Another risk factor is the friction with the settlers, who have been taking over neighborhoods and buildings in the eastern part of the city, provoking and abusing the Palestinian population. This, in turn, leads to increased friction with the security forces, which are required to expand their presence in the Palestinian neighborhoods in order to protect the settlers. Noteworthy in this context is the case of Muhammad Abu-Khdeir, a teenager who was abducted outside his home in Shuafat in July 2014 and burned to death by Israeli murderers.³⁸

"My son, Marwan, was in school in the Old City. I had to find a bodyguard and a taxi driver to take him every day to school and bring him back, because I was really afraid that something would happen to him. Maybe the settlers, maybe the violence will spread again, maybe a bombing or something. My only son could get kidnapped or something bad will happen to him. How can you concentrate on your work if you have to worry about your sons and daughters? I can't make him stay in the house and prevent him from spending time with friends." (Rula Salameh, Balfour Project)

36 [9-Year-Old Palestinian Was Hit by Police Fire and Lost an Eye. Israel Closed the Case](#), Josh Breiner and Nir Hasson, Haaretz website, 12 March 2020

37 Testimony reading event recently held by Parents Against Child Arrests in cooperation with Breaking the Silence and Yesh Din: [At Night, When Everybody Is Asleep](#), Facebook page of Parents Against Child Arrests, November 2020 (Hebrew)

38 [Israeli Police Arrest Six Suspects in Murder of Palestinian Teen](#), Chaim Levinson and Associated Press, Haaretz website, 6 July 2014

"Many of the children who are arrested spend up to 48 hours in prison, and then they are released for home arrest, awaiting court proceedings. So, the mother basically becomes the jailer of her own child, and you can understand the tension that raises. The mother will be very afraid of her child leaving, even to the garden, or talking to anybody, because he is under home arrest."
(Terry Boullata, Beit Hanina)

Violated Right

Right to life and security: One of the principal rights that regimes, not necessarily democracies, are obligated to provide to their citizens. It includes preserving bodily integrity, upholding state security, and preventing fear of possible arbitrary harm to human life. Over-policing, the increased presence of security forces, and the systemic nature of the law enforcement mechanism in East Jerusalem cause parents to be constantly worried for their children and severely infringe on the right to life and security.

6. Infrastructure

East Jerusalem is characterized by severe neglect of all types of infrastructure: electricity ,water and sewage ,education, public transportation ,health ,welfare services, etc .In some areas ,residents have no water or electricity ,no sidewalks or roads ,and garbage piles up in the streets.

Even in Palestinian neighborhoods whose residents enjoy a relatively high socioeconomic status ,it is clearly visible that years of deliberate policies of neglect and arrested development have created deep gaps between the western and eastern parts of the city.³⁹

As of 2017, in Palestinian neighborhoods of the city only 59% of households are legally connected to the water network. The Jerusalem Municipality operates only six well-baby stations in all of East Jerusalem as opposed to 27 in the city's Jewish neighborhoods and only four welfare bureaus compared to 19 in the Jewish neighborhoods.⁴⁰

"When I conducted workshops for women, they would tell me that their boys play in the street, literally in the street, in those narrow alleyways, because children in Silwan have nowhere to play. It's so dangerous and unsafe for children." (Manar, pseudonym, Bir Una)

"We live in a village that is far away from everywhere, and it is not easy to manage with our public transportation. Buses come every 1-1.5 hours, and it is hard to travel from one place to another. I have a car and drive to work, but other women wait 1-2 hours for a bus." (Wafa Atton, 40, Sur Baher)

"There are parks [in East Jerusalem], but not a lot. My Israeli friends here tell me that every Israeli neighborhood has one. And it's something that we need, too. So even during the [Corona] closure for example, now I'm in Beit Jala, but for two months I couldn't take the kids to any park because we were not allowed to travel more than 100 meters [away from our house]. For Israelis it was obvious [to have a near-by park] since they have it in their neighborhoods." (Manar, pseudonym, Bir Una)

39 [Amendment 116 to the Planning and Building Law and the Palestinian Neighborhoods in East Jerusalem](#), attorney Sharon Karni-Cohen and architect Efrat Cohen-Bar, Ir Amim website, July 2019

40 [East Jerusalem -- Key Statistics](#), Ir Amim website, January 2019 (Hebrew)

"All infrastructure in East Jerusalem is in appalling condition. There are houses that get no water, have all sorts of problems, and are forced to take water from the neighbors. Not just water, but also electricity." (Rusayla Kurd, Jabel Mukaber)

Violated Rights

Right to freedom of movement: Lack of public transport infrastructure constitutes a de facto restriction of the right to freedom of movement, certainly in low socioeconomic areas. Furthermore, this violation significantly limits an individual's autonomy to be an active member of society in their place of residence.

Right to education: The continuous shortage of community centers in East Jerusalem violates the right to education, which calls for providing diverse and unique tools to children in order to promote their educational and employment development. In addition, the lack of electricity and Internet service harms the children's ability to fulfill their right to education (certainly during the corona pandemic), while the lack of public transportation forces them to choose a school that is close to their home, which is often impossible due to the huge shortage of classrooms.

Freedom of occupation: Basic infrastructure such as electricity and Internet are vital elements in the modern working world (particularly during the corona pandemic), and all the more so in jobs with higher-than-average wages. The lack of public transportation also impairs the ability to work outside walking distance from home, thus significantly reducing employment opportunities.

Right to health: Seeks to ensure access to health care as well as to protect against direct harm to health due to deeds or misdeeds on the part of the authorities. Its fulfillment is imperative for the realization of all other civil and political rights. In East Jerusalem, this right is violated both by restrictions on access to health services and by the lack of access to water (especially during the corona pandemic).

7. Discrimination, Racism, and Exclusion Based on Appearance and Clothing

Due to the religious and national importance of Jerusalem, and thanks to its unique position as a city that is mixed on the one hand and with a clear balance of power between occupier and occupied on the other, the external appearance of people, and even more so of women, plays a crucial role in shaping their daily routines.

"In Jerusalem, clothing is an arena through which social norms and community boundaries are enforced and reproduced [...]. The everyday clothing practices of women in Jerusalem suggest how the city is structured as religious and conservative, with constant collective monitoring of people. Bodies become sorted into a grid of categories: male/female, religious/secular, Jewish/Arab, etc. These 'grids of difference' work to define who is 'in place' and who is 'out of place'."⁴¹

For Palestinian women, the experience of being the object of visual scrutiny is twofold: first, because they are women living in a space governed by the male gaze, and second, because they are Palestinian women living in a space dominated by the Israeli gaze.

"Being a woman who wears a hijab, you always have to prove that you're a good person. It's suffocating. I have to smile more, and I cannot raise my voice. Even when a person has done something bad to me, I must still be good because I am trying to change perceptions. It always shocks me when people jump the line ahead of me as if I did not exist. It's like they know that I will not respond or say anything, that I will not raise my voice." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

"My health fund clinic is in the east of the city, and they treat me a little differently because of my appearance. Society creates its own rules and if you do not look like them, like wearing a hijab and so on, they start judging you. Do you know what normalization is? It's about that, about what they think. And yet they know nothing about me." (Rusayla Kurd, Jabel Mukaber)

⁴¹ Malka Greenberg Raanan and Nufar Avni, (Ad)dressing belonging in a contested space: Embodied spatial practices of Palestinian and Israeli women in Jerusalem, October 2020.

Violated Rights

Right to dignity: A derivative of the *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty* intended to protect a person from denigration and humiliation, especially on the basis of identity characteristics. The frequent use of profiling, especially associating men and women with Arab/Palestinian society or with Islam, constitutes an acute violation of the right to dignity, as does the use of identity indicators such as appearance or dress that perpetuate and deepen de facto discriminatory policies and further reinforce existing stigmas in society.

Right to equality (discrimination at work): As stated, the law against discrimination in the workplace and on admission to work takes a serious view of any discrimination arising from identity characteristics such as religion, nationality, or gender. The very fact that a religious indicator such as a hijab prevents Muslim women from being hired at certain workplaces constitutes a serious violation of the right to equality.

8. Military and Police Presence

As part of Israel's rule, friction between the Palestinians and the Israeli security forces is an everyday occurrence. It consists of checkpoints and crossings, patrols and inspections, constant presence in the streets, home raids, summonses for interrogations, arrests, etc. Last month, amid a succession of mass expulsions of Palestinians from their homes in the eastern part of the city, police decided to block the Damascus Gate plaza during Ramadan, restrict the entry of Muslim worshipers into the city, and significantly increase the use of force by security forces in the Palestinian neighborhoods.⁴²

In a survey conducted in April 2018, in response to a question about how often they encounter violence between the security forces and the local residents in their neighborhood, 73% of Palestinians living in Jerusalem responded 'often' and 'very often'.⁴³

This reflects the complex status of Jerusalem's Palestinian residents, who due to the annexation are considered entitled residents by the municipality, "while the security forces see them as a hostile and threatening factor, to the point that raids and arrests in urban areas and even in schools have become commonplace."⁴⁴

"When I used public transportation, it was the scariest thing. They stop buses and start asking for IDs, and then you are half an hour late through no fault of yours. The most frightening thing is if you forgot your ID, because that means you either go home or to the police station." (**Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa**)

"Every time I pass through Damascus Gate, one feels something in the air, as if any minute something might happen. It is a very unsettling feeling. In years past, we heard of people being hurt, like Iyad al-Halak." (**Rusayla Kurd, Jabel Mukaber**)

"In big events, like when the killing of Abu Khdeir took place, the army was just in front of our house, blocking Beit Hanina from Shuafat, and even within the community. You know, more divide-and-conquer policy, where in 5 minutes they can divide everything – either with walls or with army jeeps." (**Terry Boullata, Beit Hanina**)

42 Nir Hasson, Israel Police, [Take Note: Ramadan Is Not the Time for a Show of Strength](#), Haaretz, 10.5.21.

43 [One City Two Realities: Jerusalem 2018 Public Opinion Survey](#), Prof. Dan Miodownik & Mr. Noam Brenner, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 2018

44 [Jerusalem of Hunger](#), Natan Odenheimer, The State of Jerusalem website, April 2020 (Hebrew)

Violated Right

Right to life and security: As stated, the right to life and security includes preserving bodily integrity, upholding state security, and preventing fear of possible arbitrary harm to human life. Over-policing, the increased presence of security forces, and the systemic nature of the law enforcement mechanism in East Jerusalem cause parents to be constantly worried for their children and severely infringe on the right to life and security.

9. Linguistic Barrier

East Jerusalem is a fully Palestinian area under Israeli rule as a result of its annexation. Therefore, in order to conduct their everyday, make a living, get an education, etc., its residents must deal with a Hebrew-speaking system.

Most Palestinians do not speak Hebrew, and many don't use it due to anti-normalization reasons, but changes are also taking place in this sphere among the young population. These young people "aspire to progress and take advantage of available opportunities," and many of them "study Hebrew and work in diverse Israeli workplaces: as consultants at the Jerusalem Municipality, lawyers, certified accountants, and doctors."⁴⁵

Ignorance of the Hebrew language, however, remains an obstacle that many Palestinian women consider important to overcome. The linguistic limitation is an impediment in all areas of life, from education and employment to access to services and welfare. Both parts of the city are governed by a Hebrew-speaking system, which perceives Arabic not only as a foreign language but also as the language of the enemy.

"We live here, after all. I can tell you that I got a lot of opportunities because I speak the language. I'm sorry for my colleagues who are also highly educated and very smart but do not speak the language. They do not get the same opportunities that I do." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

"The fact that not everybody speaks Hebrew also has an effect, because they cannot communicate. I see soldiers at Damascus Gate speaking Hebrew to young Arabs who cannot understand what the soldiers want from them. Once that happens, it can also become violent." (Rusayla Kurd, Jabel Mukaber)

"As an Arabic speaker, I know that when we get a task at university, I must set aside two days to finish what others can do in a few hours." (Lujain Subhi, Beit Safafa)

⁴⁵ [Jerusalem of Hunger](#), Natan Odenheimer, The State of Jerusalem website, April 2020 (Hebrew)

Violated Rights

Right of appeal: Stipulates that a citizen or resident of a country has the right to appeal any decision that concerns them personally, and Israeli law has recognized that the fulfillment of this right must be allowed in the individual's mother tongue. The lack of Arabic-speaking clerks and officials providing explanations and instructions in Arabic makes it difficult for Palestinian residents to receive the services to which they are entitled and is a blatant violation of this right.

Right to equality (discrimination at work): The fact that most Palestinians living in Jerusalem do not speak Hebrew at all or speak it very poorly hinders their hiring and clearly constitutes a violation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law.

JEWISH ISRAELI WOMEN IN JERUSALEM

THE EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN JERUSALEM THROUGH THE EYES OF JEWISH ISRAELI WOMAN

"The balance of power between occupier and occupied does not stop once you decide you are creating a female space, or even a feminist space."⁴⁶

When discussing Jerusalem from the perspective of Jewish women, we take into account the structural duality that characterizes the relationship between Israeli and Palestinian women in our conflict zone. On the one hand, there is basic identification, similarity, and partnership when it comes to the female life experience in general, and specifically to the female life experience in the shadow of a violent conflict, and at that, one that has been managed for many decades primarily by men.

On the other hand, there is a conscious and perceptual distance, a fundamental sense of dissimilarity, which stems not only from the enduring distinction and enmity between the two peoples but also from a systemic gap between the occupying and the occupied side. This gap leads to profound differences between Israeli and Palestinian women regarding life experience and daily routine, opportunities and possibilities, and the amount of disposable time and privilege to deal with such complex issues.

We believe that the built-in tension between the demand for national equality and the demand for gender equality is something that should be given a place, recognized, and made part of the discussion. By acknowledging this as part of the aspiration to challenge the paradigmatic male outlook with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we also seek to undo the one-dimensional dichotomy between

⁴⁶ From an interview with Hamutal Gouri, 8 December 2020 (Hebrew)

"us" and "them." We want to acknowledge the fact that different women and men define themselves and act according to different, variable, and sometimes even contradictory circles of identity, be they ethnic, religious, gender, ideological, or local, but at the same time hold on to both the sense of identification and dissimilarity.

We fully understand that for most Jewish women, connecting and sharing a common space with Palestinian women is assessed by such tools as self-fulfillment and realization of values and ideology, while for many Palestinian women living under a violent occupation regime, the option of sharing Jerusalem with its Israeli residents is a survival tool. At the same time, we also consider the possibility that such a statement is a generalization whose accuracy needs to be debated at the very least.

In any case, we understand that in order to get a credible picture of the Israeli and Palestinian women's positions, we must adopt a variety of perspectives on both sides. Similarly, it is clear to us that dealing with the issue allows us to examine, and even challenge, the place and status of Israeli women who don't live under occupation but definitely do live in a conflict zone.

The findings in this chapter are mostly based on the positions of Jewish women who are engaged with the issue of gender equality and work to promote it in the region. Their remarks are taken from interviews and conversations conducted with them for the purpose of this report, as well as from various articles and publications on the subject. Most of the women quoted in this chapter live in Jerusalem and speak from personal experience and daily acquaintance with the mixed character of the city, with its points of affinity and friction, and with the occupation regime enforced on the residents of the eastern side of the city, as well as the unique experience of women about life in Jerusalem.

The Meaning of Resolution 1325 for Jewish Women

Prof. Naomi Chazan, one of the leading writers and theorists about major activities pertaining to Resolution 1325 in Israel, writes in an article from a special issue of the Palestine-Israel Journal devoted entirely to 1325: "As the occupation has deepened, disenfranchised Palestinian women have increasingly felt the heavy hand of Israeli overrule and have therefore accorded greater significance to the national goal of ending the occupation and asserting their right to national self-determination.

"Israeli women, by contrast, have mostly viewed the partnership with their Palestinian sisters as a springboard for future cooperation on feminist and other matters of mutual concern, downplaying the specifically gender-based aspects of the occupation and the urgency of finding a political solution to thwart the entrenchment of Israeli control."⁴⁷

Hamutal Gouri is a Jerusalemite feminist who has been working for peace, human rights, and social justice for 35 years. Among other things, she is a consultant, group trainer, and a member of the Women Wage Peace movement. In this latter capacity, she recently led some activities pertaining to Resolution 1325 and had the opportunity to work and talk in individual or group settings with a variety of Jewish and Palestinian women. Her remarks quoted below not only represent her as a woman living in Jerusalem but also convey the main feelings and messages expressed by other women.

Gouri raises the difficulty experienced by many Jewish women, even those who define themselves as left-wingers, to identify with Palestinian women and connect with their plight. As noted, this difficulty lies first and foremost in the gaps between the realities of life of Israeli women (the occupiers) and those of Palestinian women (the occupied).

⁴⁷ [Israel, Palestine and UN Resolution 1325: Then and Now](#), Naomi Chazan, Palestine-Israel Journal, Vol. 25 No. 3&4, 2020

According to Gouri, another reason is that "part of the debate about Resolution 1325 in liberal-mainstream circles refers to women as a force rather than as victims. Therefore, women have a very deep emotional barrier, which I understand and respect, in understanding that they are victims of gender violence and that gender violence is the result of the occupation."

Some attribute the tendency of Jewish women to focus on the desire for gender equality at the expense of the desire for national equality to the fact that the debate about Resolution 1325 has taken on an apolitical character over the years.

One of them is Dr. Sarai Aharoni, a gender specialist who writes about the gender aspects of the Israeli rule over the Palestinians: "One of the consequences of the disconnect between the debate on gender equality within the State of Israel and foreign relations-security issues is that the deep change in the situation of Jewish and Palestinian women in Israel and the Occupied Territories following the collapse of the peace process has been overlooked. This has a lot to do with the effects of neoliberalism and the cultural change in the global feminist discourse, which have led to the decline of the public and political debate about socioeconomic equality for women and growing demands for adequate numerical participation."⁴⁸

48 [Women, Peace, and Security: UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Israeli Context](#), Sarai Aharoni, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute website, 2015 (Hebrew)

Jewish and Palestinian Women's Affinity and Identification

Along with the aforementioned gaps between the Israeli and Palestinian female perspectives, there are also quite a few points of affinity and identification about which Palestinian and Jewish women in Jerusalem describe a shared female experience.

1. **Jerusalem as a city at war and as a core issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:**

Jerusalem is a living and bustling urban space, a large city where men and women live, work, study, travel, and go out, but at the same time Jerusalem is a core issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and large parts of it actually are annexed territory under foreign rule. This character of the city has a far-reaching effect on the sense of security of not only its Palestinian residents but also its Israeli residents and certainly Israeli women. Gouri asks: "What does it mean to be a Jewish woman in the western part yet live in an atmosphere of a city at war, in a city where boundaries are constantly broken? What is the impact of unilateral measures on Jewish women?"

2. **Jerusalem is a difficult and violent city, especially for women:**

Jerusalem is also a very poor, very crowded, and mixed city. It comprises different religions, different nationalities, different legal systems, and different levels of religious life and observance among both its Palestinian and its Israeli residents. This heterogeneity has the potential for a meeting of the minds and a common dialogue but, at the same time, is a sure recipe for heightened friction. As Gouri puts it, "Jerusalem is a particularly difficult city. All the problems of the State of Israel exist on steroids in Jerusalem. As a woman, I can say that Jerusalem is simply an unfriendly city to women. It is a city that does not reflect the needs of women in general."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ [Women, Peace, and Security: UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Israeli Context](#), Sarai Aharoni, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute website, 2015 (Hebrew)

3. Jerusalem as a religious space with increased potential to abuse, control, and exclude women:

A large part of Jerusalem's residents -- Jews, Muslims, and Christians -- are religious. Religious and ultra-Orthodox communities tend to uphold distinct patriarchal codes and a clear balance of power between men and women, whose traditional and conservative nature hinders any attempted challenge.

Dr. Malka Greenberg, a Jerusalemite who studies the daily practices of Palestinian and Israeli women throughout the city, writes in this context: "Many women view Jerusalem as a panopticon-like⁵⁰ space dominated by patriarchal social relations that are shaped by the power of the male gaze, which perceives immodest clothing as unacceptable. The policing of women's bodies and their self-image is not merely an internal process but is also enforced by harassment in the street and the feeling of being the target of 'uncomfortable looks' when they do not align with the socio-cultural norms of modest dress."⁵¹

In the previous chapter, an entire section was devoted to the difficulties related to discrimination and racism based on appearance and dress. Indeed, since Palestinian women in Jerusalem live under an occupation regime, they are the first to suffer abuse, exclusion, and policing due to the way they dress and look. As Jerusalem is a very religious, traditional, and patriarchal place, however, the immediacy with which women can be "classified" and the degree to which they can be determined to belong (or not belong) to certain spaces applies to Jewish women as well.

50 "Panopticon" is a central term in Michel Foucault's cultural critique, describing a self-governing mechanism created from the sense of constantly being watched and surveilled. The term is based on an architectural structure proposed by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century, designed to address the problems of supervision, discipline, and surveillance of a large number of people, and was used primarily in prisons.

51 Malka Greenberg Raanan and Nufar Avni, (Ad)ressing belonging in a contested space: Embodied spatial practices of Palestinian and Israeli women in Jerusalem, October 2020.

The use (usually by the male) of the female body for the purpose of separation, differentiation, and demarcation of boundaries targets Jewish women to a similar extent as Palestinian women. According to Gouri, "The only thing that is talked about in the context of the impact of the occupation and conflict on Jewish women is that they suffer sexual harassment from Palestinians, which immediately turns you into a body that belongs to the national collective, and the national collective then steps forward to defend the female body for racist reasons. The female body is part of a war site, a means to hurt or humiliate the other side."

In this context, the exclusion of women in Jerusalem is manifested even in the most practical sense, given that "there is a coordinating religious council, rabbis, priests, sheikhs, etc. whose job supposedly is to produce a kind of religious leadership in order to mitigate the destructive effects of the religious aspects of the conflict. There are no women among them, not in any significant way."

4. Israel's paradigmatic security concept is masculine and ignores female needs:

One of the most debated issues within the Israeli discourse dealing with Resolution 1325 revolves around the local definition of the term "security." In a country whose history is written by wars and military operations, where military service is obligatory, and whose national identity is largely defined by the idea of "they are out to kill us," security is a very central issue. Therefore, many of the women involved in the gender aspects of the conflict wish to challenge the way in which "security" is perceived in Israel, to point out the exclusionary and discriminatory aspects of the militaristic definition of security, and to propose new definitions.

According to Asia Istoshina, a conflict research expert and coordinator of the Women's Security Index project, "we must think not only in terms of militaristic security but also of human security [...]. Human security means that the system will be able

to adequately address all the needs of civilians. [...] Do I have pension security, transportation security, employment security, health security, etc.?"⁵² Like Istoshina, Gouri asserts that "security is to walk in the street in the evening and to know that you will get home safely. In my opinion, security is to know that you will receive a fair and adequate wage for your hard work, that you will have a roof over your head and healthy and nutritious food. Security is to get on the bus and know that you can sit wherever you want. Security is the right to a life free from oppression, exploitation, and violence."⁵³

While the hegemonic perception in Israel attributes the sense of insecurity among Israelis to "the security threat that hovers over our small country that is surrounded by enemies," the gender-oriented approach to matters of peace and security seeks to offer a different and even contradictory explanation.

In a position paper published jointly by a number of women's organizations in Israel in 2015, they write: "The definition of security in the national plan must recognize the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and the institutional discrimination against Palestinians living in Israel as core factors of insecurity for all women. [...] Security must include protecting the collective rights of a national minority, as well as ending the occupation, structural discrimination, and discriminatory legislation."⁵⁴

5. Militaristic discourse that excludes women from the debate and ignores their needs:

The aforementioned narrow definition of security is part of an entire discourse characterized by militarism and power that is

52 [Female Experts Talk About Annexation, Conflict, and Possible Solutions](#), Women Wage Peace website, 21 June 2020 (Hebrew)

53 [Israel Strong on Security But Weak on Gender Equality](#), Hamutal Guri, Women Wage Peace website, 14 February 2019 (Hebrew)

54 [Critical Assessment and Recommendations for Action Plan for Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in Israel](#), position paper of Jewish and Palestinian women's rights organizations in Israel, 2015 (Hebrew)

very much identified with patriarchal hegemony in Israel, which tends to push women out when it comes to security.⁵⁵ According to Merav Kahana-Dagan, deputy head of the Mitvim Institute dealing with Israel's regional foreign policy, "the background and circumstances that lead to the unequal participation of women and men in politics and decision-making centers can also be attributed to militarism, which plays a key role in society, Israel's history, and its national narrative. Israel has been engaged in an enduring conflict, and over the years the emphasis on security has overshadowed other needs and efforts."⁵⁶ In the same vein, Gouri argues that "as a woman with a feminist consciousness, even the way in which the debate on how to end the conflict is conducted I often experience as offensive, as it leaves me out of the discourse because of its militaristic nature."

Women, Peace, and Security

Many Jewish women engaged with the women-peace-security issue point to such unique components as female life experience and outlook, as well as traits and skills identified with women and femininity, as highly effective conflict resolution tools, especially when applied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the occupation.

Like many of the authors quoted here, we, too, disapprove of any substantive or natural attribution of these and other traits as being exclusively masculine or feminine, and consider that just as there are different types of women in the world, so there are different types of femininity. Nevertheless, we do recognize that years of social and gender construction, as well as women's unique life experiences, have sharpened quite a few skills and traits that are more identified with women than with men, and it is those experiences that we

55 [Make Room for Peace: Participation, Diversity and Inclusion in Women's Actions for Peace in Israel](#), Nurit Haghighagh and Shiri Levinas, Friedrich Ebert Foundation website, December 2020

56 [Women, Peace, and Security: Decisions and Recommendations Are One Thing and Reality Is Another](#), Merav Kahana-Dagan, Mitvim Institute, December 2020 (Hebrew)

want to discuss here.

Given the militaristic discourse and narrow perception of security that characterize Israel's leadership, sentimentality is not only a superfluous tool but is perceived as an obstacle and a sign of weakness. Looking at the attitudes that have ultimately led to the resolution of complex and protracted conflicts around the world throughout history, however, one can certainly detect that the emotional dimension has gained place and recognition.

A clear example is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up in South Africa after the fall of the apartheid regime, to which many attribute a key role in the success of the whole process. According to Gouri, "all Israeli leaders who entered negotiations adopted a very pragmatic and unemotional attitude of 'let's talk business, these guys only understand force, so we will approach them with enticements on the one hand and with force on the other.' However, we continue to ignore the fact that this conflict has emotional dimensions and depths, and so does the occupation."

In the same breath, Gouri speaks of motherhood as an element in the female life experience that may contribute to conflict resolution. "Motherhood is often seen as a private and personal act that belongs in the home and the family. The tenderness, care, and devotion that are associated with child rearing are seen as suitable for 'feminine' nurturing roles, but less so for management and leadership tasks that require determination, resolve, and toughness [...]. Is that so? Every human encounter, be it personal, professional, business, or political, evokes a variety of emotions; pushes buttons in us, touches us in unknown places. Small and large crises break out when we act blindly, arrogantly, or forcefully. Our reactions can escalate or calm a crisis."

Furthermore, even in the face of all the justified reservations against identifying certain traits as feminine or masculine, the social and gender constructions that have led to women often having a greater

ability of conciliation, flexibility, and compassion than men must still be taken into account: "Politics of care, empathy, and the common good; the ability to formulate an inspiring vision; a sense of mission and responsibility; deep attentiveness and the ability to analyze complex situations of uncertainty, instability, complexity, and ambiguity; compassion and determination; the ability to consult, learn, and make decisions based on shared processes."⁵⁷

These "feminine" qualities give more space to aspects of recognition and healing, and they are what will eventually lead to an open discussion and to progress. "There are many 'elephants' in the room in every forum of female activism, semi-unspoken issues of age, economic status, nationality, ethnicity, civil status, and social and geographical situations. And of course, the biggest 'elephant' of them all, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To get these 'elephants' out of the room, we must talk about them, stare them in the face, and say that the disagreements between us are the beginning of a conversation and not the end."⁵⁸

Israel must strive for a permanent and agreed-upon political agreement that will end the occupation, stop the creeping annexation, curb the nationalist aspiration to rule forever over the entire region and maintain a Jewish demographic advantage, as well as to enable the realization of the national aspirations of women and men of both peoples, both individually and collectively. Having said that, until a long-term and agreed-upon political agreement is reached, the State of Israel has a responsibility to protect its Palestinian residents and, in particular, its women, who are all the more exposed to dangers and violations of rights.

57 [Why I Need 1325 and Why You Need It, Too](#), Hamutal Guri, Onlife website, 11 November 2020 (Hebrew)

58 [The Secret to World Peace: Women](#), Hamutal Guri, 13TV website, 8 March 2017 (Hebrew)

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The daily reality in Jerusalem is unequal and asymmetrical. The picture emerging from the interviews is one of deliberate neglect, of systematic and enduring abandonment of the eastern part of the city and its residents. Therefore, alongside the struggle to end the occupation, and independently of it, the authorities must act to immediately rectify all the restrictions, dangers, and shortcomings suffered by the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem and ensure the immediate and full realization of all their rights.
2. In the spirit of Resolution 1325, action must be taken to promote a municipal policy that will ensure the prosperity, security, and realization of the rights of all women in Jerusalem, as well as women's participation, in order to bring to the decision-making table a gender perspective, female life experience, and daily connection with the field. Women's participation must be diverse and suitable, both quantitatively and substantively, and must put forward a gender-oriented perspective and feminist thinking in order to ensure that the debate is not bound by patriarchal and exclusionary codes.
3. The Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories that has been in place for 54 years constitutes a serious, deep, and continuous violation of human rights. An end must be put to Israel's occupation, annexation, and rule over the territories and the Palestinians living in them, including the Jerusalem area annexed since 1967. As long as Israel continues to rule over the Palestinians, Jerusalem will remain a city of oppression, where only one side enjoys the right to personal and national fulfillment and to communal autonomy. As in other conflict areas, in this case too, the main victims are women, whose right to choose and to self-rule are denied all the more so.

4. A policy must be enforced in the city that challenges the militaristic conception of security that has prevailed to date, and ensures concern for the sense of civic security of its residents. This policy should include concern for personal security, physical security, employment security, economic security, food security, medical security, social security, cultural security, and security in the family space, in keeping with the concerns emerging from the interviews with the city's women.
5. Thought should be given already at this point not only to the next step of ending the occupation but also to the steps that will follow. Initiatives should be taken that will promote a spirit of reconciliation and be based on reciprocity, compromise, recognition, and gender perspective. The model we propose for post-occupation Jerusalem is one of an open city that will serve as the capital of the two peoples, with each functioning as a separate community that sustains its life independently and autonomously.
6. This model should include a post-occupation infrastructure that will create interfaces allowing these two autonomous communities to share the space equally, whether through joint activities or separately. Such interfaces, which can be built upon existent common spaces operating today, will attest to a gender perspective and to the importance and strength of a civilian dimension, which while not only composed of women certainly is more representative of women than the militaristic dimension.

CONCLUSION

To date, all the initiatives and political arrangements proposed for resolving the conflict in Jerusalem have been conspicuous not only for the almost complete absence of women's participation but also for a mindset that does not take into account gender perspectives or female interests.

This report is not intended to offer a comprehensive political solution but rather to present the position that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the occupation of Jerusalem must be viewed with a gender-oriented eye. The gender perspective is reflected first and foremost in the emphasis on Jerusalem women, their life experiences and needs, as well as in the research methodology of interviews and conversations, which allowed for dialogue, diversity, and a focus on the everyday reality.

The interviews enabled us to acquaint ourselves with the main issues that preoccupy the city's Palestinian women (including questions of status; access and language; infrastructure; education and employment; a sense of personal, physical, and family security, etc.), thereby mapping out the rights that are being violated. This stems from the understanding that living under occupation fundamentally entails a lack of equality and justice as well as a deep, daily, and continuous abuse of the most basic human rights, including the right to fulfill national aspirations and the right to self-rule.

Therefore, the discussion of distinct violations of this or that right or of specific needs that are unfulfilled is in no way intended to normalize or entrench the occupation, nor to imply that it can be "repaired" until it becomes bearable. At the same time, in the name of our commitment to protect women from the dangers and vulnerabilities to which they are exposed and to address their immediate needs, neither can we afford to wait for a comprehensive political solution or for the end of the occupation to consider these issues.

As we see it, even this challenge of the "all-or-nothing" approach that is often embodied by the Israeli and Palestinian patriarchal hegemony and the attempt to replace it with a more compromising, complex, and ambivalent line, is a feminist act. It challenges the militaristic mindset that has dominated the management of the conflict from its inception to this day and presents a more flexible and dynamic alternative to a concept that divides Jerusalem residents into "either us or them" and life in the city as "either together or separate."

This approach is also reflected in the chapter touching on the perspectives of Jewish women. The interviews, as well as the Israeli woman writing on the subject, revealed an interesting duality: Israeli women find it difficult to identify with many of the life experiences of women living under occupation on the one hand while, on the other, there are many points of similarity and affinity. The main areas of identification that emerged in this chapter touch on the female experience of life in a conflict zone, dominated by patriarchal and a militaristic discourse, which have perpetuated a narrow definition of the sense of security that largely does not speak to women or meet their needs.

There are fundamental gaps between Palestinian and Jewish women that stem not only from a long-entrenched tradition of hostility but also from the huge gap in the living conditions and the consciousness of the occupying and the occupied side. Nonetheless, we believe that the gender issues over which identification is possible proffer an opportunity to open a dialogue that can overcome the gaps regarding national, ethnic, and religious identity.

Looking at the range of Palestinian and Israeli perspectives, we have drawn six key conclusions that we believe must underlie any process to resolve the conflict. First, the daily reality in Jerusalem is unequal and asymmetrical. From the interviews with Palestinian women, a picture emerges of deliberate, systematic, and enduring neglect and abandonment of the eastern part of the city and its

residents. Therefore, alongside the struggle to end the occupation, and independent of it, the authorities must ensure the immediate and full realization of all the rights of Palestinian residents of the eastern part of the city. This needs to be done not only through massive budgeting but also by correcting all the discriminatory and exclusionary mechanisms, starting with infrastructure neglect and lack of development, through free and safe movement, to issues of deportation, loss of status, restrictions on family reunification, house demolitions, etc.

Second, most programs for a political resolution have been led and discussed primarily by men and have been characterized by a lack of women's participation, both numerically and substantively. Efforts must be made to promote a municipal policy that will ensure the well-being, security, and realization of the rights of all women in Jerusalem and at the same time ensure women's participation that will bring to the decision-making table a gender perspective, female life experience, and daily engagement with life on the ground. Women's participation must be diverse and suitable, both quantitatively and substantively, and must put forward a gender-oriented perspective and feminist thinking in order to ensure that the debate is not bound by patriarchal and exclusionary codes.

Israel must end the occupation, annexation, and aspiration to rule forever over the entire area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and establish Jewish supremacy in it. The policy that Israel has been pursuing for 54 years in the Occupied Territories constitutes an extreme violation of human rights, hurts millions of women and men every day, and involves danger, dispossession, and harm. As long as Israel continues to rule over the Palestinians, Jerusalem will remain a city with oppressive relations, in which only one party enjoys the right to self-fulfillment, national realization, and communal autonomy.

In the same breath, the interviews with the city's women show that for

most of them, a safe life for themselves and their family depends on various elements, which have been neglected and ignored thanks to the narrow concept of security that has guided most decision makers so far. Therefore, the paradigmatic definition of security must be added with a broader concept of security, which will meet the needs of all residents of Jerusalem and will provide the women and men living in the city with a sense of personal security, physical security, occupational security, financial security, nutrition security, medical security, social security, cultural security, domestic security etc., in accordance with the issues brought up in the interviews.

Furthermore, the model we seek to propose for the post-occupation Jerusalem urban space is one of an open city that will serve as the capital of the two peoples, each functioning as a separate community that sustains its life independently and autonomously. This model should include a post-occupation infrastructure that will create interfaces allowing these two autonomous communities to share the space equally, whether through joint activities or separately. Such interfaces can be found in Jerusalem even today, and unsurprisingly, they are usually associated with initiatives led by women.⁵⁹

These interfaces, created out of awareness of the importance of coexistence in the city on the one hand but in recognition of the ills of Israeli rule over the Palestinians and the goal of ending it on the other, are already laying the groundwork for the reconciliation process that can mature after the occupation ends. In this sense, they echo the gender perspective not only through the gradual nature of the effort to turn Jerusalem into an open, shared, and egalitarian city but also thanks to the importance and strength of the civilian dimension, which does not only comprise women but also gives them much more expression compared with the militaristic dimension.

By implementing the recommendations above, we will not only offer

⁵⁹ For example, women panel at ["Shine a Light"](#) by ALLMEP, regular activity of Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian women living in Jerusalem led by Ir Amim, etc.

important food for thought about a resolution of the conflict but also implement components of Resolution 1325: women's participation, protection of women, and assimilation of a gender perspective in conflict resolution. In our view, this is the best way to mark 54 years of occupation and the 20th anniversary of the Resolution – by taking a critical view of the resolution and its local application but also looking at ways to implement it. We believe that any comprehensive future solution will require such contemplation of all the components of Resolution 1325. Much like the different organizations working to promote equality and justice in the city, we believe that such a solution will need to recognize the two peoples' connection to Jerusalem, as well as their national aspirations and rights.



In May 2020, we launched Zulat for Equality and Human Rights, a unique institute that combines research and analysis via social media networks and conventional media, and acts as a bridge between the political arena and civil society. Zulat's studies portray the political and public reality, but our work only begins there. As an activist think tank, we fight back by working to set an alternative agenda, change the public discourse, and advance policy and legislation to uphold democracy and human rights. We represent a broad perspective on human rights, that looks at universal rights, civil rights - private as well as collective, and social rights – as a whole. We believe all different types of rights depend and relay on one another.

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