



Arab American University

Faculty of Graduate Studies

The Role of Feminist Elites in Achieving Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Palestine during the Period 1993 – 2019. Women in Palestine Liberation Organization Case Study

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This Thesis was submitted in Partial Fulfillments of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution Program

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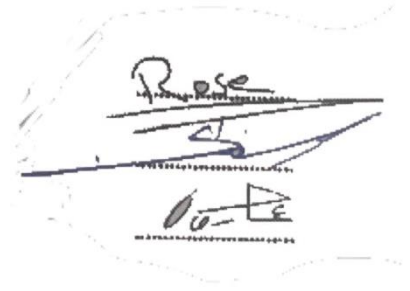
The Role of Feminist Elites in Achieving Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Palestine during the Period 1993 – 2019. Women in Palestine Liberation Organization Case Study

**By
Abeer Abu Al-Rub**

This thesis was defended successfully on 12 / 2/2022 and approved by:

Committee members' signatures

- 1. Dr. Rose Othman (Supervisor)**
- 2. Dr. Sania Abu Amro (Internal Examiner)**
- 3. Dr. Omer Rahall (External Examiner)**

The image shows three handwritten signatures on a piece of paper. The top signature is 'Rose', the middle one is 'Sania', and the bottom one is 'Omer'. Each signature is written in black ink and is positioned above a horizontal line. The paper has a slightly textured appearance and some faint markings.

II Declaration

I, **Abeer Abu Al-Rub**, one of the students of the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the Arab American University hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**The Role of Feminist Elites in Achieving Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Palestine during the Period 1993 – 2019. Women in Palestine Liberation Organization Case Study**”, is all by my own work and the resources that are used in this thesis (including the internet resources) have been referred to and properly acknowledged as required.

I declare that I have fully understood the concept of plagiarism and I acknowledge that my thesis will be immediately rejected in case of including any type of plagiarism.

Abeer Abu Al-Rub

Signature: *Abeer Abu Alrub*

Date: 12/2/2022

III **Dedication**

To this homeland integrated in grief, steadfastness and resistance

To those who have always helped and support me, and set an example... my dear father.

To the one who always stood by me without getting tired or bored... my tender mother.

To my beloved brother and sisters.

To my dear loved ones and friends.

To everyone who taught me a letter in my educational career to this day.

To those who truly and faithfully belong to Palestine..

The land of prophets, martyrs and prisoners

To all of them I dedicate the fruit of my labor.

Abeer Abu Al-Rub

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Thanks and Appreciation

Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, and prayers and peace be upon the most honorable messengers, our master Muhammad and all his family and companions.

The Almighty said: “If you give thanks, I will give you more.”

And based on what the Almighty says, I extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to the honorable supervisor.

“Dr. Rose Othman”

The one who supervised my thesis, had it not been for the grace of God and the instructions of the supervisor, I would not have been able to complete this study in its current form.

I also extend my highest thanks, gratitude and appreciation to the esteemed discussion committee, and my distinguished professors in the Conflict Resolution Program at the College of Graduate Studies at the Arab American University.

I am honored to thank the Arab American University, the administration and a platform for science and thought, and all its staff for what they offer to serve science and scientific research.

My thanks go out to the women leaders who supported me in enriching this study, as well as my colleagues in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

God grants success...

Researcher Abeer Abu Al-Rub

Abstract

The study aimed to identify the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019 (women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model). For this reason, the study adopted the descriptive analytical method and used the questionnaire and interview as tools since the study community consists of active women in the political, feminist and societal fields, and women in the Palestine Liberation Organization. The researcher used the simple random sampling method, and the number of valid questionnaires for analysis was (50), and an intentional sample of 7 Palestinian women leaders was used.

The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: that the feminist elites are keen to achieve gender equality in the Palestinian society because of its impact on the empowerment of women in the Palestinian society. The women's elite in the PLO also reflected the ability of women to participate in politics alongside men, as they made many achievements at the level of government and at the level of municipalities as well, and women held high political positions as minister and deputy in the Legislative Council. This is evidenced by the approval of the study sample members on the role of the female elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, which came to a medium degree, as the arithmetic mean of all axis paragraphs was 3.25, while the relative weight of all axis paragraphs was 65.02%. The results showed the approval of the study sample members on the challenges facing the women elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine to a high degree, as the arithmetic mean of all the axis items was 3.85, while the relative weight of all the axis items was 77.02%. Where there are challenges related to society's ignorance of women's rights and their importance in developing them, in addition to challenges related to the stereotypical

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image of women "in the second place with a relative weight (80.8%)". The results of the study showed that women constitute a minority in the political system and the role, due to patriarchal attitudes towards them, although there are opinions that go towards believing that Palestinian women do not constitute a minority within the political situation, and the social/stereotypical view through the role; An obstacle to women's access to leadership positions and participation in decision-making. The study recommended the Palestinian government to address and remove all the challenges facing the feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving equality and empowering women at work in the institutions of the Palestinian government, so that competence is taken into account as a basis for opportunities, not gender, in addition to the need to work to strengthen the role of feminist elites in the PLO for her serious work in achieving equality between women and men.

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Chapter One

The General Framework for the Study

Chapter One

The General Framework for the Study

Introduction

For more than a quarter of a century, gender equality has received global and local attention led by the United Nations and human rights institutions with sustained efforts in order to change the gender discrimination, rooted in the composition of peoples and their cultural, historical and social heritage, in line with the comprehensive development that resulted from globalization and the technological and information revolution as well as the process of sustainable development, whether at the local or international level. Achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls is the fifth goal of the sustainable development's set by the United Nations for the development process.

Women in managerial and leadership positions play an important role in the reality of women and girls at the local level and in dismantling the constraints and conflicts they face, bearing in mind that the issue of gender equality and the empowerment of women is one of the most important foundations that combine justice and development. Despite the persistence of the issue of gender discrimination, women in the Palestine Liberation have had some historical roles with a social impact that affected the stereotypical image of women in some cases. Nevertheless, Women have managed to reach some positions that enabled them to achieve a change which is what the current study is about. This study seeks to research the leadership role of women in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine: Women in the Palestine Liberation Organization are a model. The study will focus on the Palestinian society and what these

elites have done to empower Palestinian women. So what has it done at the level if all aspects whether the structural, legislative, legal, conceptual, and even achieving equality?

I have chosen (The Palestinian woman in the Palestine Liberation Organization are a model) since the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and it includes the majority of the Palestinian factions, except for the two movements of ' Hamas ' and Islamic Jihad ' Al-jihad Al-islami'. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is considered the President of Palestine and the Palestinian people.

Historically, women were often outside the social context, or on the sidelines due to the dominance of the patriarchal society. This fact becomes clear through the current extension of the remnants of that situation despite the continuity of male society's dominance in the time of the knowledge and information revolution. It is also clear through oral history and folk proverbs, which are a cultural storehouse for societies that they showed the reality and suffering of rural women in particular. The position of women in Arab societies were linked to traditional roles and the inferior view of them and linking them to the honor of the family, which limited their social, political and economic roles. This view is a reflection of the false awareness that has dominated for a history of decades in dealing with women in Arab society including the Palestinian. Women were required to be chaste, preserve honor, marry early and have children. They had to be weak and not argue nor even think about defending their rights, such as the right to inherit, the right to accept marriage or not, which means that they did not have freedom of choice, decision nor independence. They could not work nor learn... They only had to obey orders.

However, there were women who played an active role and stood out in the political, social and cultural fields. Community development specialists have realized the importance of getting rid of all that hinders women's participation in terms of

discrimination against them in Palestinian society, which is imposed by a set of restrictions surrounding them by relatives, customs and traditions that limited their role and deprived them of opportunities in which they could innovate and play an influential role. The presence of political changes in the Palestinian issue, which relate to its situation under the Israeli occupation, its reality after the Oslo Accord, the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, and the moral and material support to help the authority to succeed, have prompted a change in the roles of women, starting with their independence, defense From her, and her access to the Legislative Council. It was necessary to create elites and feminist organizations who specialized in women's issues commensurate with the special role they played in the struggle against the occupation, so that the idea of these elites was established and stemmed from women and their rights.

Both the abolition of discrimination and the phenomenon of gender equality are considered as a global demand based on investing the energies and human resources of both sexes in order to promote human development, but still there are many social, political and cultural factors that impede reducing the gender gap. I have chosen this topic for many reasons. First, because there are no direct studies that shed light on this topic. Secondly, I am a woman, and the fact that Palestinian women in our society make up more than half of the society. Palestinian women constitute (49%) of Palestinian society compared to males who constitute (51%) of Palestinian society. As working in the Palestine Liberation Organization(PLO), my field will facilitate my task more to shed light on the role played by the leading women in the PLO to achieve equity and empowerment for women in Palestinian society and how they worked to develop themselves popularly, legally, security and structurally.

The Study Problem

Palestinian feminist elites have always been one of the components of the Palestinian national movement in the Palestine Liberation Organization since its inception in 1967, as they extended their hand to the land, thought and the general women from the standpoint of rising and addressing concerns in Palestinian society, in order to serve the Palestinian cause.

In March 2018, the feminist leadership submitted a feminist memorandum to the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which it demanded feminist rights in the decision-making process. Despite all the efforts made by the feminist movement and civil society institutions to promote women's participation, based on a deep history of struggle presented by women since the beginning of the Palestinian revolution until now to achieve human rights goals, which prompted the Palestinian leadership to sign a number of international agreements that would Promoting equality and eliminating discrimination, but this did not prevent women from failing to establish their presence in the PLO boards. This is resulted from the intransigence of the political administration to raise the status of women's representation in practice (Al-Danaf, 2018).

According to Bani Hani and Al-Awawda (2018AD - p. 1), women's economic empowerment is significant. As a result, it has received great attention at all international and local levels because of the increasing global interest in consolidating human rights and striving to eliminate all forms of gender-based discrimination in order to bring about positive change in power relations, redistribute power between women and men, seek to eliminate obstacles, take advantage of available opportunities, access and control resources and capital, and the ability to make informed decisions and choices as a distinctive and sensitive feature in the organization of modern and contemporary societies aimed at achieving Sustainable development with its various objectives.

The abolition of discrimination and the phenomenon of gender equality is considered as a global demand based on investing the energies and human resources of both genders in order to promote human development. However, there are many social, political and cultural factors that surround and impede reducing the gender gap. It should be noted that the period between 1993 and 2019 is a period that included many pivotal events in the Palestinian issue and social life. These are:

- Oslo Agreement 1993
- The stage of building the institutions of the Authority 1996-2000
- The stage of the second Palestinian Intifada (Al-Aqsa Intifada) 2000-2005
- The stage of political Islam (political power) 2006
- The Palestinian division stage 2007-2019
- Bahrain Conference - The Economic Part of the Deal of the Century 2019
- The controversy over CEDAW 2019

Based on the foregoing, the problem of the current study is represented in the following main question:

What is the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019 (women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model)?

The main question is divided into the following sub-questions:

1. What is the role of the feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality in Palestine?

2. What is the role of the feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine?
3. What are the obstacles to women's access to decision-making positions?
4. What are the legal, political and social challenges and obstacles that stand in the way of empowering women?

The Study Objectives

1. This study monitors the reality of gender equality and the changes that occurred in women's lives in various political, social and economic sectors, and identifies the historical context of the development of feminist elites in Palestine.
2. Identifying the role of the feminist elites in the Palestine Liberation Organization in achieving gender equality.
3. Identifying the role of the feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine.
4. Knowing the obstacles to women's access to decision-making positions.
5. Identify the legal, political and social challenges and obstacles that stand in the way of empowering women.

The Study Importance

The importance of this study lies in the importance of its topic, which relates to both women and feminist elites, and gender equality and empowerment. This study includes the social, cultural and political dimensions that have a peculiarity in Palestinian society, and that affect in a way the status of women and the issue of gender equality as

a major development goal, an indicator of human development and a motive for it. The importance of the study is as follows:

1. In light of the scarcity of studies that dealt with the role of “feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women”, this study deals with the issue of feminist elites and their role during the period 1993-2019.
2. This study reflects the reality of the feminist elites and their role in the issue of equality and empowerment, which means attempts to change the stereotypical image of women's work linked to the home. It is a change that affects the societal culture, as it equates women with men and rises from its stereotypical role to other fields of work and ensures its independence.
3. The study acquires temporal importance during the period it is studying, i.e. from the year 1993. It is the date of the signing of the Oslo Accord, which is a peace agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, on September 13, 1993, which resulted in the establishing the Palestinian National Authority and the Palestinian Legislative Council.
4. This study is considered an academic addition and reference available in the Palestinian and Arabic library, for specialists in the field of gender, and academics.
5. This study also analyzes the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women.
6. The results and recommendations of the study can be used for decision-makers in the State of Palestine.

The Study Hypotheses

The Main Hypothesis

There is no relationship between the increase in women's participation in an PLO after Oslo and the empowerment of women in all parts of Palestine during the period (1993-2019).

The following hypotheses emerge from the main hypothesis:

1. There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes -towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019) - due to the educational qualification variable.
2. There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes- towards the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019) - due to the variable number of years of experience in the field of feminist work.
3. There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes- towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019) - due to the variable of job position/leadership position.
4. There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes- towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019) - due to the variable of specialization.
5. There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes- towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019) - due to the variable of location.

Methodology and Procedures of the Study

1. Introduction

This study presents the procedures and methodological steps that have been taken in this study, as it deals with the study method, the study community, and the sample to which the study was applied, in addition to clarification of the tools used in the study and its steps, and the details of the methods used in the following.

2. The Methods of the Study

In order to achieve the aims of the study, the researcher employed the descriptive analytical approach which attempts to evaluate the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019 (Women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model). The descriptive analytical method aims to compare, explain and establish hope to reach to meaning generalizations increasing the available knowledge on the issue of this study. Secondary and elementary data was collected has collected Data from:

1. Secondary Sources: The researcher employed secondary sources in addressing the theoretical framework of the study through the following:
 - Books and the Arab and foreign references that dealt with the subject of the study.
 - Published periodicals and articles as well as related master's and doctoral theses.
 - Reports and bulletins issued by the relevant institutions and centers.
 - Internet and transcription electronic pages on it.
2. Elementary Sources: This is done by distributing surveys to study some study the key concepts of the study, collecting required information related to the issue of this

study, analyzing this data using SPSS in order to reach valuable indications supporting the main issue of this study as well as employing interviews.

The Population and Sample of the Study

The study population consists of female activists in the political, feminist and societal fields as well as women in the Palestine Liberation Organization. The researcher employed random sampling that the overall number of valid questionnaires reached (50) due to the fulfillment of the required conditions. Also, the researcher calculated the sample according to Stephen Thomson's equation, and the sample was determined according to the following equation:
$$\frac{N \times p(1-p)}{[N - 1 \times (e^2 \div z^2)] + p(1-p)}$$

whereas:

N: community size.

Z: The corresponding standard score corresponding to the significance level (0.95) and equal to (1.96).

d: The error ratio is equal to (0.05).

P: The ratio of the availability of the characteristic and the neutral is equal to (0.05)

An intentional sample was also employed consisting of 7 Palestinian women leaders.

The Tool of the Study

1. Interviews: The researcher conducted interviews with 7 Palestinian women leaders, who are:
 - Dr. Laila Ghannam: The only woman to hold the position of governor in the State of Palestine.

- Dr. Magda Al-Masry: member of the Palestinian National Council; the political bureau of the Democratic Front for The Liberation of Palestine ; the General Secretariat of The General Union of Women and former Minister of Development.
 - Dr. Najat Abu Bakr: Najat Abu Bakr is a member of the Legislative Council, head of the Canaanites Congregation, and a member of international institutions.
 - Rima Nazzal: Palestinian feminist activist and politician, member of the Palestinian National Council and the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women.
 - Feryal Salem Abdel Rahman: Adviser to the presidency and representative of Palestine in the Arab Women's Organization, and a member of the General Union of Palestinian Women.
 - Jihad Abu Abounaid: Head of the Women's Center in Shuafat refugee camp. He is a former member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and a former member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council.
 - Mona Nammoura: Member of the Political Bureau of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, a member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women, and a member of the Palestinian National Council.
2. Questionnaire: The researcher prepared a questionnaire concerning the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019 (Women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model)

The study questionnaire consists of three sections, which are as follows:

The first section: contains an introduction to the objectives of the study, and the type of data and information to be collected from the sample of the study, while providing a guarantee of confidentiality of the information provided, and pledging to use it for scientific research purposes only.

Section Two: Personal Data, and represented in: (qualification scientific, Number of years of experience in the field of women's work, job position, place of residence, age).

The third section: the study variables, and it consists of three main axes, consisting of 40 paragraphs, which are as follows:

Table (1-1) The Axes of the Questionnaire the Number of the Paragraphs

Paragraph	Number of Paragraphs
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	13
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	14
Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	13
	40

3. The Validity and Reliability of The Questionnaire:

3.1. The Validity of The Questionnaire:

The validity of the questionnaire means that the questions of the questionnaire measure what they were measurable. The validity of the questionnaire was verified through the following:

1. Virtual Validity:

The researcher presented the study tool in its initial form to a group of arbitrators, consisting of faculty members to cover each axis of the study. They suggested what they deem necessary to modify or delete the wording of the phrases. Consequently, the observations, directions and modifications made by the arbitrators were applied.

2. Internal Consistency Validity:

To verify the internal consistency of the questionnaire, the Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to find out the degree of correlation of each of the questionnaire's phrases with the total score of the axis to which the phrase belongs.

Table: (1-2) Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for The Paragraphs of The Questionnaire

Axis	No .	Correlation Coefficient	No. of Paragraph	Correlation Coefficient	No. of Paragraph	Correlation Coefficient
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	1	0.695**	6	0.801**	11	0.711**
	2	0.696**	7	0.767**	12	0.700**
	3	0.853**	8	0.767**	13	0.755**
	4	0.72**	9	0.778**	--	--
	5	0.785**	10	0.722**	--	--
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	1	0.715**	6	0.793**	11	0.775**
	2	0.818**	7	0.837**	12	0.784**
	3	.860**	8	0.779**	13	0.814**
	4	0.772**	9	0.752**	14	0.737**
	5	0.749**	10	0.793**	--	--
Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	1	0.466**	6	0.780**	11	0.583**
	2	0.595**	7	0.811**	12	0.537**
	3	0.636**	8	0.524**	13	0.660**
	4	0.601**	9	0.656**	--	--
	5	0.709**	10	0.576**	--	--

** Function at 0.01 level or less

It is clear from the table (3-2) that the values of the correlation coefficient of each of the expressions with positive axis is statistically significant which indicates the sincerity of the internal consistency of the questionnaire items, and their suitability for measuring what they were prepared to measure.

3.2. The Stability of the Questionnaire:

The stability of the questionnaire means that this questionnaire gives the same result if the questionnaire was redistributed more than once under the same conditions and conditions. In other words, the stability of the questionnaire means stability in the results of the questionnaire and not changing them significantly if it was redistributed to the sample members several times during periods of time, has been calculated through the following:

1. Stability calculation by following the Cronbach Alpha method:

Table (1-3) shows Cronbach's alpha coefficient to measure the stability of the questionnaire

Axis	No. Paragraphs	Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	13	0.936
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	14	0.951
Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	13	0.866
All paragraphs of the questionnaire	40	0.951

It is clear from the table (3-3) that the general stability coefficient is high, reaching (0.951 indicating that the questionnaire has a high degree of reliability.

4. The Normal Distribution of the Variables of the Study:

Statisticians use two types of testing of Hypothesis Parametric Tests and Non-Parametric Tests. It is essential to have a normal distribution of data if the first test is used. However, if that does not happen, the second test can be used but only in the case of small samples whose size is less than (30) members. In the case of samples larger than (30) members, the condition of a normal distribution can be waived, according to what you decide theory Central tendency (Spring, 2007 AD). This study will be used the tests parameter according to the reason for which It was without resorting to checking the condition of the normal distribution of the data.

5. Procedures for Applying the Study's Questionnaire:

1. The researcher prepared a questionnaire for the study.
2. The validity of the questionnaire was confirmed to measure the study variables.

3. The questionnaire was distributed to the study members, which numbered 50 individuals.
4. The data was unloaded and analyzed through the statistical analysis program SPSS.

6. Statistical Methods

The researcher filled and analyzed the questionnaire through the statistical analysis program (SPSS) The following statistical methods were used:

1. Descriptive statistics, including: percentage, arithmetic mean, standard deviation, and relative weight, and this command is mainly used in order to know the frequency of the categories of a variable and is use full researcher In describing the study variables.
2. Pearson correlation coefficient: to measure the validity of the questionnaire items, and to find out the relationship between the variables.
3. Cronbach's alpha stability coefficient test to determine the reliability of the study tool.
4. one-way analysis of variance test One Way ANOVA test to verify the differences between the trends of the study sample according to their variables, which are divided into more than two categories.
5. LSD test to verify the direction of the differences between the trends of the study sample, which were among the one-way analysis of variance test.

The Study Limits

Spatial limits: This study is limited to the feminist elites in the PLO in both cities Jerusalem and Ramallah.

Time limits: First semester 2021-2022.

The Study Obstacles

1. The study is limited to the feminist elites in the West Bank because it is difficult to reach all the feminist elites in their various locations, in occupied Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, and the diaspora.
2. The lack of studies on the feminist elites in Palestine.

The Study Terminology

Feminist elites: There are researchers who believe that the women of the world are led by feminist elites within a framework called the feminist movement and the defense of women's rights. Politicians are also working to use the women's card in the elections by choosing leaders who symbolize women's demands in order to direct this electoral force in favor of the programs of the competing parties. As the case is currently in almost all countries of the world. (Alaq, 2017: pg. 178).

Empowerment: Increasing the spiritual, political, social and economic capacity of individuals and communities. It is the process of increasing the ability of individuals or groups to make choices and transforming those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Among its basics: the procedures that contribute to the formation of individual and collective assets, and improving the efficiency and integrity of the organizational and institutional context that governs the use of these assets. Economic empowerment is also the empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups of the population. For example, in many African countries that were colonized (Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia: 2020). It is a process by which women - whether individually or collectively - become aware of

the way in which signs of strength affect their lives. Thus, women gain self-confidence and the ability to confront inequality between them and men (ANERA 1968).

Decision-making: It is a series of individual and collective conclusions that end with an alternative decision to confront a specific situation (Jedali, 2014, p. 2). It is also defined as the choice of one of the available alternatives whose potential results will benefit the achievement of one or several appropriate goals (Jarar, 2017, p. 14). Another defined it as a careful study of multiple alternatives to an issue that needs a decision made by the head of the hierarchy in the institution, with the active participation of other members at the various levels of the institution (Hammad, 2016 AD, p. 7).

Challenges: They are crises, difficulties and problems that arise from the surrounding environment and require planning to confront them (Al-Ajmi, 2017, p. 70). It is also known, according to Suleiman (2014 AD, p. 3), as a group of crises that fall in all fields at the global, regional, and local levels, and it is necessary to plan to confront them. It is also defined as a set of circumstances, resources and capabilities that the administration needs or is forced to deal with, while it cannot control or influence them directly nor quickly (Al-Khatib, 2015 AD, p. 48).

Participation: the set of activities through which citizens seek to influence government actions, whether directly - through the formulation and implementation of public policies - or indirectly - through the selection of official officials (Hanna, 2014, p. 7). It is also defined by Abdul Latif (1996, p. 51) as the means by which society is able to influence decisions related to their lives and the policies and programs that society sets for them. Another defined it as the process through which the individual plays a role in the social and political life in his country, which gives him the opportunity to contribute to setting

the general goals of his society and to suggest the best means to achieve those goals (Saif, 2005 AD, p. 75).

The Study Chapters

The Study is Divided into Five Chapters:

Chapter One: The background of the study which included the introduction, the study's rationale, its importance, the study's objectives, the study's questions, its methodology, its limits, and previous studies.

Chapter Two: The historical development of the feminist elites in Palestine, the reality of women in the PLO and the extent of women's representation in the Palestine Liberation Organization in the period between 1993-2019.

Chapter Three: The effectiveness of the feminist elites in the PLO and their role in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine.

Chapter Four: Challenges Facing the Feminist Elites and Standing in the Way of Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women in Palestine.

Chapter Five: Results and Recommendations.

Previous Studies

Numerous studies have dealt with the issue of women in general, and Palestinian women in particular. In addition to those studies that dealt with the issue of empowerment. Here are the studies that, whether directly or indirectly, relate to the subject of the current study are reviewed, after categorizing them into studies that dealt with women, legislations and political life, and others that dealt with the issue of women's empowerment. They are explained as follows:

First: Studies Dealing with Eomen, Legislations and Political life**1. Al-Danaf Study (2018): Strengthening the Role and Representation of Women in Decision-making Positions in the PLO.**

The study aimed to present policies and alternatives that would enhance the role of women and their participation in the Palestinian decision-making and implementation centers in the PLO, and to present means of pressure on decision-makers to adopt policies that would expand the role of women, and their participation in decision-making centers in the PLO and its various departments. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method, and its results reached a number of alternatives. The first alternative was eliminating discrimination and achieving equality within the Statute of the Liberation Organization and the adoption of the feminist quota. In order to implement it, the Statute of the Liberation Organization must be amended, and the Charter of the political parties must be amended as well. A second alternative has been reached, which is the oversight of gender justice within the PLO. The third alternative is through women's demand for their rights.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

- 1. In terms of the objective:** Both studies are similar in dealing with the Palestinian woman and her role in the PLO as a decision-maker, who represents a different political elite, is able alongside men to participate in political decision-making and even to make decisions indeed.
- 2. In terms of the method:** the two studies are similar, with the analytical method used, which is the descriptive analytical method.

3. **In terms of study limits:** the two studies share the "Palestine Liberation Organization" as spatial limits for the studies implementation.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous Study

1. The current study undertakes an extensive study through the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019, that is, it examines the extent to which gender equality has been achieved on one hand, and women's empowerment on the other.
2. In terms of study tools: this study relies on two tools, namely the in-depth interview, and the questionnaire, so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous study.
3. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

2. Muftah Study (2018): Fact Sheet: PLO Reform is as a National Necessity.

The study aimed to research the reality of women in the Palestine Liberation Organization and the need for reform. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and it reached a set of results, the most important of which are:

1. Women leaders reject the continuous decline of the Palestinian situation at the internal and external levels, and look at reforming and activating the PLO. Then holding periodic elections in the Palestinian National Authority and the local

municipalities in the Gaza Strip, during which they guarantee real representation of Palestinian women and at least applying the quota ratio (30%) agreed upon.

2. The Basic Law and the resolutions of the Liberation Organization give women rights - albeit unequally - especially in the PLO, but Palestinian women have not yet obtained their rights. The percentage of Palestinian women's representation declined due to the main issue, which is the Palestinian division.

The study recommends the necessity of reforming the reality in the PLO and its support for women, the necessity of implementing laws with regard to supporting Palestinian women politically, socially and economically, as well as the necessity of solving the social and political problems facing women and weakening the PLO.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. In terms of purpose: they are similar in their approach to the issue of women in the PLO, as well as their representation and participation in which.
2. In terms of methodology: The two studies depended on the descriptive analytical method.

The Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study dealt with the issue of reforming the PLO as a national necessity to advance the reality of Palestinian women and address the national problems that are reflected on which, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019.

2. In terms of study tools: This study is based on two tools. These are the in-depth interview and the questionnaire, so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous one.
3. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

3. Salhab Study (2017): Palestinian Wmen's Rights between CEDAW and Palestinian Legislations

The study aimed to identify the reality and rights of Palestinian women between CEDAW and Palestinian legislation- specifically the personal status law in force in the West Bank. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method. It concluded that there is compatibility between CEDAW and the personal status law applicable in the West Bank in ensuring some rights for women, such as: the right to educate, the right to have health care, as well as the right to own and dispose of their property. But still there is an inconsistency in some other rights, such as: Freedom of housing, work, inheritance, alimony, guardianship, polygamy, and divorce. This difference comes due to the religious and cultural difference of the Islamic society. Changing the stereotypical roles of men and women within the family, and abolishing guardianship, the Convention calls for gender equality. It is difficult to amend some of these clauses so that they will be compatible with CEDAW because they violate the provisions of Islamic law. One of the most important recommendations of the study is to amend the Personal Status Law so that

it does not conflict with the Palestinian Constitution. Because Islamic Sharia is one of the sources of legislation, the study also recommends adopting a unified Palestinian Personal Status Law between the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. In terms of the objective: The current study shares with the previous study in part of the objective, which is to deal with women in Palestinian legislation and laws, in the midst of researching their reality in Palestinian society - including decisions or agreements that dealt with the issue of gender equality such as CEDAW.
2. In terms of methodology: the two studies are similar in the method used, which is the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The current study is more comprehensive in dealing with the situation of women in Palestinian legislation and law, including the Palestinian accession to CEDAW. The dimensions of this study are more comprehensive, and it deals in details with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019.
2. The previous study deals with the Islamic legal dimension of CEDAW, whereas this study deals with its social and political reflection.
3. In terms of study tools: This study is based on two tools. These are the in-depth interview and the questionnaire, so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous study.
4. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis,

which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

4. Amira's Study (2017): The Role of Palestinian Women in Social and Political life in Palestine from 1920 to 1940: the Arab Revolution in 1936-1939 is a Model.

This study aimed to investigate the social and political participation of Palestinian women in the 1920s and 1930s. This participation was an essential part of the steadfastness of the Palestinian family in the face of the control of the British colonialism and the Zionist occupation. The study adopted the historical-analytical method to explore the role of Palestinian women in that period. The study concludes that there are varying degrees of Palestinian women's participation according to class, region and age. This has been dated and put into one specific template, "The History of Women's Participation," which will not be useful in objectively listing historical knowledge about women's participation, because understanding the context and structures that produced these roles is important in order to analyze and categorize those roles based on influences.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous One:

- In terms of objective: the two studies are similar in dealing with women's political and social participation in light of colonial and occupation policies.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The two studies differ in how they approach Palestinian women in terms of their reality and participation. The previous study deals with the role of Palestinian women in social and political life in Palestine from 1920 to 1940: The Arab revolution in

1936-1939 is as a model, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in Palestine during the period "between" 1993-2019.

2. The two studies differ in terms of the time period in which it is addressed. The previous study studies the status of women in the twenties and thirties of the last century.
3. The two studies differ in terms of the method used. The methodology of the previous study is the historical-analytical method, whereas the current study relied on the descriptive analytical method.

5. Ismail's Study (2016): The Development of Feminist Thought in Gaza Strip and the West Bank (1991-2006).

This study aimed to investigate the development of feminist thought in the West Bank and Gaza Strip - from 1991 to 2006 - by identifying the role of women's institutions in critiquing women's social, economic and political roles. In addition to highlighting the role of women's institutions in presenting bills for women, and their role in rehabilitating women's cadres. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method and the historical method. It reached a number of results, the most important of which are: that feminism is a movement that has spread as a thought in various countries of the world. It has been adopted by all institutions that advocate women's rights and gender equality. Palestinian women are among the first Arab women to participate in political and social life and are the most effective in Palestinian society. The study concluded that, despite the increase in the number of women's institutions in both the West Bank and Gaza, this was not accompanied with an actual increase and change in the lives of abused and marginalized

Palestinian women in Palestine. The development in the participation of women in the social, economic and political fields in Palestinian society is the result of the change and development in the situation of Palestinian society as a whole. It is not the result of the activities, trainings and campaigns of women's organizations. The study recommends the necessity of educating the society as a whole about male and female rights and justice between them as stated in the Islam. In addition to make men and women aware of marriage and its responsibilities, and the nature of the relationship in which as stated in the Islam. They also should be aware of the rights and duties of them both in marriage. It also recommends providing special programs to advance the rights of poor illiterate women in marginalized areas and providing awareness to those regions about that.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. In terms of the objective: the two studies are similar in dealing with details related to the development of feminist thought, the role of feminist institutions in presenting draft laws for women, and their role in rehabilitating feminist cadres.
2. In terms of methodology: they both use the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study deals with the development of feminist thought in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (1991-2006), while the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019.
2. The study adopts an additional analytical descriptive approach, which is the historical method that is not supported by the current study.

3. In terms of study tools: This study relies on two tools, namely the in-depth interview, and the questionnaire, so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous one.
4. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

6. Nasr Study (2014): Legal Reform and Gender Equality

The study aimed to research the issue of legal reform to achieve equality for women in the Palestinian context, relying in the analysis the theoretical foundations on which legal reform was based as a means to achieve equality. It adopted the analytical approach and used content analysis, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are:

1. Subservience of the Palestinian feminist institutions to Western liberal feminism to achieve equality for women has led to neglecting the real contexts in which Palestinian women live as well as overlooking the impact of the Israeli occupation on the process of law reform in general and the impact of the Palestinian division.
2. There are a number of different contexts for the Palestinian woman, so that the concept of the Palestinian woman is not an abstract concept, or a single person is before the law. There is a Palestinian woman who is subject to racist laws, another

to Israeli laws, another woman residing in Area C, and there is a woman to whom the laws of the authorities in Ramallah are applied.

3. There is the illusion of legal reform and its ineffectiveness in reducing the killing of women, perhaps because the legal reform process is linked to liberal feminist thought which considers that the law is a tool for change towards women's equality.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of objective: the two studies are similar in their approach to achieving gender equality.
2. In terms of methodology: The two studies are similar in using the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The current study deals with legal reform and achieving gender equality, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019.
2. The previous study uses content analysis, whereas the current study uses the descriptive analytical method based on the in-depth interview and questionnaire as tools for the study.

7. Rahall’s study (2013): The Local Political Elite and the Issue of Development.

The study aimed to examine the reality of the political elites and the issue of development in Algeria based on the fact that the issue of development is the main concern of the young political authority represented in the liberation war in order to restore dignity and a decent life to the people. That is depending on the observance of

applying law and equality among Algerians. This study adopted the content analysis and descriptive method as well as the statistical method. The study concluded that there is deviation - between the authority and the regime in general - from working with the actual representatives of the citizens. Restricting development projects and involving elected officials only will increase the gap between the political authority and the citizen. The researcher believes that it is necessary to set standards and measures to increase the level of political culture so that it can activate the development process.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of objective: Both studies are similar in their approach to the issue of the reality of political elites, the issue of development, and equality.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The two studies differ in that the previous one deals with the political elite in general, whereas the current study specializes in the female political elite.
2. They differ in the spatial boundaries in which they are implemented. The previous study was applied in Algeria, whereas the current study is being implemented in Palestine.
3. They differ in terms of the method used. The previous study used the following approaches: the content analysis approach, the descriptive approach and the statistical approach, whereas the current study adopts the descriptive analytical approach only.

8. Security Council Document No. 1325, (2000).

This document aimed to empower women, provide them with protection, preserve their rights in times of war and armed conflict, and involve them in the process of maintaining peace and security and making decisions. On October 31, 2000, the Security Council issued Resolution No. 1325, in its 4213th session, in which it called on Member States to empower women. The document emphasized the need to implement the strategic plan (A/49/587) calling for increasing women's participation at all levels of decision-making in conflict resolution and peace processes. This came in the second item of the document which emphasized in its sixteenth item the need to study the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in creating peace, and the human dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution.

Similarities:

1. The issue of empowering women, preserving their rights, and involving them in the decision-making process in conflict resolution and peace processes was addressed.

Differences:

1. In terms of study tools: This study relies on two tools: The in-depth interview, and the questionnaire so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous study.
2. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and

resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

Studies Dealing With Women's Empowerment:

1. Al-Mazer study (2017): Saudi Women from Marginalization to Empowerment in Education and Work.

The study aimed to identify Saudi women from marginalization to empowerment in education and work. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method. In this study, the researcher reached a number of results the most prominent of which: reviewing all legislations to abolish all forms of discrimination against women, intensifying efforts to modify traditional community attitudes towards women, making efforts to modify the negative image of women -gained from socialization- about themselves, providing social services that help women reconcile their work outside the home with their family responsibilities and participation in public life, working to empower women economically to enhance their social and family role and to be a support for them in overcoming all obstacles that stand in their way, increasing women's participation in the labor market in all areas suitable for them, as well as improving the conditions of poor women and helping them integrate into social life. The study recommended the necessity of changing the stereotypical image of Saudi women through the various stages of education, and helping working women to perform their various roles by providing support and services that enable them to perform these roles, taking care of all categories of Saudi women: educated, working and breadwinner, presenting positive images of women in the media while working to remove negative stereotypes about women in which, as well as educating society in general and women in particular about their legal and professional rights and duties.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of the objective: Both studies are similar in dealing with the issue of empowering women, the necessity of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women and intensifying efforts to modify society's traditional attitudes towards women.
2. In terms of methodology: The two studies share the method used, which is the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study deals with Saudi women from marginalization to empowerment in education and work, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019.
2. There is a difference in the spatial boundaries of the study implementation: the previous study was applied in Saudi Arabia, whereas the current study is being applied in Palestine.
3. In terms of study tools: This study relies on two tools: the in-depth interview, and the questionnaire. Thus, the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous study.
4. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and

resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

2. Al-Dirawi Study (2014): The Role of the General Personnel Council in Empowering Women in Government Leadership Positions.

The study aimed to identify the role of the General Personnel Council in empowering women in government leadership positions. In her study, the researcher relied on the descriptive analytical method. The study population consisted of all the employees of the highest category in government institutions in the Gaza Strip. Their number is (899) male and female employees. The actual sample of the study consisted of (292) male and female employees. The study reached a number of results, the most prominent of which are: the current labor law contributes to women's assumption of senior administrative positions, the personal obstacles - such as women's weak knowledge of the rights and duties guaranteed to them by law and legislation and women's lack of confidence in themselves and others - make it difficult for women to assume senior administrative positions. Then, as time progresses, her insistence on proving herself increases in spite of all the obstacles that impede her progress, and it becomes able to change the culture of the community by proving that she can take high positions effectively and be creative in her positions. The study recommended the need to enhance the Council culture and its employment committees with the importance of women's role in social and practical life, and to encourage female employees to develop their administrative skills to advance in their jobs. The study also recommended the Council adopt a comprehensive plan with the participation of all ministries based on well-studied programs to advance the status of women and work to overcome them obstacles that they may face, introduce male and female employees in general to their rights and duties, and

the importance of their participation in decision-making, provide equal opportunities for assuming leadership positions, and establish a training center to prepare female employees for leadership in various fields and disciplines and provide them with leadership skills and capabilities through workshops and seminars that inform them of the latest findings of management science.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of objective: Both studies are partially similar in dealing with empowering Palestinian women and their status in legislation in the State of Palestine.
2. In terms of the method used: Both studies adopt the descriptive analytical method.
3. In terms of study tools: Both studies share a questionnaire as a study tool.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study deals with the role of the General Personnel Council in empowering women in government leadership positions, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period "between" 1993-2019.
2. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

3. Al-Sayyad Study (2013): The Role of Jerusalem Women's Organizations in the Economic Empowerment of Women Affiliating With and Benefiting of them in The Period between 2000-2012 and Prospects for Development

The study aimed to identify the role of Jerusalem feminist organizations in the economic empowerment of women affiliating with and benefiting from them in that period. In this study, the researcher relied on the descriptive analytical method. The study population consisted of all women who were affiliating with and benefiting from Jerusalem feminist organizations during that period. The study sample was selected using a stratified random sampling method consisting of (215) respondents. The study reached a number of results, the most prominent of which are: Jerusalem women's organizations work on women's empowerment programs through women's and human rights programs to a greater extent than their work on economic empowerment programs. The important role of these organizations is that they mostly provide their services to housewives and then to young women. These two groups are more in need of such empowerment than others. One of the most important weaknesses of women's organizations is that the programs offered do not focus on marginalized women who really need the process of economic empowerment, and that the following aspects are considered the reasons that hinder women's orientation to women's organizations, namely: customs and traditions, patriarchal authority, and the lack of desire, in addition to the loss of confidence in the importance of such programs and the general feeling of inferiority of women (that they are inferior to men), and finally their preoccupation with domestic matters and family work. The study recommended women's organizations establish institutions and companies to employ women and to be managed by a team of women affiliating with the organizations. It also recommended providing specialized courses that benefit women in

obtaining a job and providing them with professional experience that enables them to obtain a job and receive acceptance and recognition from companies, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and providing organizations for lending to small women's projects - which are unavailable in the Jerusalem- because these institutions help and enable women to open their own projects.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of purpose: Both studies are partially similar in dealing with the issue of the role of women's organizations and women's empowerment.
2. In terms of methodology: Both studies are similar in using the descriptive
3. In terms of tools: the two studies are similar in adopting the questionnaire as a tool.
4. In terms of spatial boundaries: Both studies are similar in their implementation in Palestine.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study deals with the role of Jerusalem feminist organizations in the economic empowerment of women affiliating with and benefiting from them in the period between 2000-2012 and the prospects for development, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993- 2019.
2. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis, which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and

resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

4. Najm Study (2013): The Role of Development Institutions in Empowering Palestinian Women - An Analytical Study of Strategic Plans and Annual Reports in the Light of Empowerment Criteria and Its Indicators.

The study aimed to identify the role of development institutions in empowering Palestinian women (analytical study of the strategic line and annual reports in light of empowerment standards and indicators). In this study, the researcher relied on the descriptive analytical method. The study population consisted of local governmental and non-governmental institutions in Gaza Strip, in which the number of permanent employees reached (10) or more. It used the content analysis method for strategic plans and annual reports for three past years. The study sample consisted of (10) institutions working in the field of women's empowerment. The study reached a number of results, the most prominent of which are: The standards and indicators of women's empowerment in the development institutions' documents varied, so they were arranged in descending order (social empowerment, educational empowerment, economic empowerment, political empowerment, health empowerment), and there is no difference in the percentage of variation in the criteria of women's empowerment according to the type of institution as well as the type of document. The study recommended doubling the efforts of development institutions in empowering Palestinian women, increasing capacity-building of development institutions working in the field of women's empowerment, and holding workshops for development institutions in order to discuss standards and indicators of women's empowerment.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of objective: Both studies are partially similar in dealing with the role of development institutions in empowering Palestinian women.
2. In terms of methodology: they are similar in using the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study deals with the role of development institutions in empowering Palestinian women through an analytical study of strategic plans and annual reports in light of empowerment criteria and indicators, whereas the current study deals with the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019.
2. The two studies differ in terms of the method and tools used. The previous study uses the content analysis method, whereas the current study relies on a questionnaire and in-depth interview as its tools.

5. Rahall's study (2010): The Palestinian Woman is between the Hammer of Internal Conditions and the Anvil of the Occupation

The issue of Palestinian women living in exceptional circumstances as a result of the deteriorating political, social and economic conditions, which limited the possibility of actual development, was addressed. On the other hand, in the last two decades, women have played a remarkable role in developing mechanisms and rules for good governance and participation in sustainable development, The state of global advancement pushed Palestinian women up towards enhancing their status and reality in line with their sacrifices in order to remove any discrimination between both genders in all different legislations, or with regard to assuming public positions taking into account their

experience in feminist work. However, the Palestinian woman has not been able to achieve her ambitions yet. Although she has won parliamentary representation, held membership in local bodies and held ministerial and senior positions, all of this is below the level of her giving, sacrifices, and quest for social change. This means that the percentage of their participation is not commensurate with the men's, as they are more numerically but they are a minority in the political sense.

Similarities between the Current Study and the Previous Study:

1. In terms of objective: Both studies are partially similar in dealing with the issue of Palestinian women, the obstacles that limit the possibility of their actual development, and the need to eliminate any discrimination between men and them in various legislations.
2. In terms of methodology: Both studies are similar in the method used, which is the descriptive analytical method.

Differences between the Current Study and the Previous One:

1. The previous study dealt with the issue of Palestinian women between the hammer of internal conditions and the anvil of occupation, whereas the current study deals with the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019.
2. In terms of study tools: this study relies on two tools: The in-depth interview, and the questionnaire, so the tools of the current study are more comprehensive than those in the previous one.
3. In terms of the implementation timing of this study (time limits): This study is being implemented in light of a global environmental, health, economic, and social crisis,

which is the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has added to it a special spirit and challenge in line with the different lifestyle that has been formed in harmony and resistance to the spread of the epidemic, for the sake of human existence, continuity, and human development.

Chapter Two

Palestinian Feminist Elites: Historical

Development and the Reality of Political

Participation In the period “between” 1993-2019

Chapter Two

Palestinian Feminist Elites: Historical Development and the Reality of Political Participation In the period “between” 1993-2019

First: Introduction

Palestinian feminist participation has always been associated with the idea of comprehensive national, political, social and economic liberation, and with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which arose from the womb of genuine resistance, in order to resisting colonialism and revolting against oppression, and confronting- whether it is (armed or peaceful) in order to gain freedom and return the stolen land.

Historical, political and social accumulations that affected the historical development of the Palestinian feminist movement, which was based primarily on the Palestinian National Program. The most important of these was the pivotal stage represented by the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, and the formation of the General Union of Palestinian Women in 1965.

Women who have assumed distinctive roles have built the grounds and features for building a democratic Palestine. So that they were a tributary of the national action that began with the Palestine Women’s Union in 1921. The tyrant- at that time- was the affiliation to the issue, and to move forward in line with the development taking place in science, knowledge, the economy and even civil, leadership and technological work.

Despite this, that is, despite the remarkable role of Palestinian women in light of the specificity of their social status, the term Palestinian feminist elite has never been used. Perhaps, that is because of its stereotypical complex political and social roles, and a large part of its political participation was “spontaneous” when their eyes were on

freedom and salvation. There was a preservation of its partisan role and representation by quota. But if we search for feminist icons in the various sectors, we will find role models at the international and regional levels. However, this role cannot bring about social and cultural change in society, due to the lack of integration of the feminist movement and keeping itself separate from people's concerns. Perhaps they see that the marginal role given to them by the parties is sufficient. It is necessary to point out that there is a weakness in ensuring the involvement of subsequent generations of girls and women and their joining the feminist movement, which has led to these movements being restricted to the very old age group, mostly.

The estimated population in mid-2020 in Palestine is about 5.10 million individuals. 2.59 million Of them are male, or 51%. Whereas there are 2.51 million females, or 49%; the sex ratio reached 103.4; That is, there are 103 males for every 100 females. In addition, more than one-tenth of Palestinian families are headed by women (Palestinian Bureau of Organization of Statistics, 2020). This statistic reflects the reality of female presence in Palestinian society. She has not only quantitative presence, but also task- managing in their family. They are often deprived and have suffered from gender, class and other discrimination.

It is worth noting that the State of Palestine addressed in its report within Article (5) the fact that it had taken legal measures with the aim of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, but all of them were draft laws that were not approved, which is justified by saying: "The disruption of the Legislative Council contributed to delaying the adoption of the amended Penal Code, the Law on the Protection of the Family from Violence and other laws." However, this justification loses its significance when considering the applications of Article 43 of the Basic Law, which "allows the

President of the Palestinian Authority to issue decisions that have the force of law in necessary cases that cannot be delayed in the absence of the Legislative Council.” Especially since the president used his powers mentioned in this article, and since the split in 2007 until the end of April 2018, has issued 770 decrees and decrees by law, the majority of which have nothing to do with women's rights. Only a few of which remained at the level of informal equality. This confirms that the issues of women and girls do not fall within the priorities and obligations of the State of Palestine which must ensure their protection (General Union of Palestinian Women, 2018).

This chapter examines the historical development of the leading Palestinian woman in the political and national fields. She is the Palestinian citizen who is at the head of her traditional social responsibilities and more, under the Palestine Liberation Organization the supreme political authority in the State of Palestine, and for Palestinian refugees in the diaspora, and the extent to which women are represented in the PLO in the period between 1993-2019. This chapter presents theoretical material supported by reliable recent figures, facts and statistics, obtained through continuous searches. The researcher relied on it to crystallize a fertile ground and a solid framework for the status of Palestinian feminist elites and the mechanism of ambition and political and human achievement alike.

Second: The Palestinian Feminist Movement: The Concept and Intellectual Trends Feminist Theory and Political Participation

The feminist theory (Feminism), like other theories, has multiple tendencies and directions, so there are other theories such as liberal feminism, socialist feminism, libertarian feminism, and others. However, all these tendencies strive to believe in the need to abolish the subordination of women” and advocate the principle of gender

equality, and the rejection of social and legal discrimination in favor of men's authority. This is related to the biological justification or nature that places women in a lower rank than men and establishes a difference between them that justifies unequal and, therefore, unfair treatment between them (Abdul Azim, 2014: p. 640).

As for the principles of feminist theory?

The basic principle on which the theory is based is the principle of equality as one of the principles established by the Islamic religion, WhereIt showed that the Noble Qur'an made this clear when it established the unity of the human race.The origin of humans is the same, whether the person is a male or a female. In addition, differential criterion between humans lies in the piety and morals advocated by Islam, not a male or a female (Al-Dabouni, 2012).

For this reason, equality was one of the fundamentals and principles that he advocated, based on, and upheld the society.

Feminism: it is a western revolutionary movement with a philosophical and intellectual content that aims to destroy false intuitions (male domination), and to put women in the position of actors in the community. In other words, feminism is an intellectual or behavioral system that defends women's interests and calls for the expansion of their rights. It has historically emerged in the liberal capitalist society as a movement to liberate women in the nineteenth century, and it was a reaction to the deteriorating conditions of women during industrial revolution_and beyond.

Still, it was not successful until the twentieth century since feminist demands were crystallized by some associations. The movement then moved to a number of countries in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic world, through military and cultural invasion. Feminism was supported by the United Nations in 1945, and it differs from feminism, which expresses the activities carried out by women without regard to the

intellectual and philosophical dimension, but merely because they are activities carried out by women (Pahlawan and Pierre, 2017).

There are three feminist trends that presented different visions regarding the feminist movement and institutions and they are explained as follows (Kitana, 2016: 16):

Liberal Feminism: This trend is based on the fact that people are created equal, and is based on the beliefs of the Enlightenment element such as faith and rationality. This liberal feminist trend is based on equality and is the oldest of the feminist trends and one of the oldest feminist trends historically.

Marxist Feminism: It is based on Marx's vision and philosophy related to conflict and existence, as the oppression of women appeared with the emergence of the monarchy, and with regard to the reality of Palestinian women. It is her responsibility to provide a source of livelihood for her family or contribute to the development of the national economy, in addition to her role in recent years and her interest in small projects that are financed by donors.

Radical Feminism: It is characterized by an extremist tendency, far from reality and gradualism, biased towards women without regard to the social context. This theory has attracted many left-wing trends and movements in order to develop the women's sector in Palestine, which made it remarkably enter the arena of political and social life.

The researcher defined the Palestinian feminist movement, as a qualitative and important tool of the Palestinian struggle, came mainly as a reaction to the political, social and existential injustices that occur in the oppressed peoples, and in the Palestinian people in particular. It provided charitable support and health services, and with time its resistance and demands took a different shape or form. Its idea is to activate the political

participation of women and their assumption of leadership and decision-making positions, and to develop their entity by encouraging education and work, believing in their energy, instinct and ability to bring about change.

It can also be noted that the state of Palestinian woman has been weak in light of all Social and political and existentialism and economic and educational limitations which clouded women's different roles. Despite the attempts to grant women their rightful status in the society, the primary impact for the social reality and the mental stereotypes of Palestinian women

Third: The historical development of Palestinian women's political participation, women's participation from 1917 to 1993.

The political participation of Palestinian women is a qualitative and important tool of the Palestinian struggle. It came mainly as a reaction to the political, social and existential injustice that is taking place in the oppressed peoples, in the Palestinian people in particular. With this historical participation, I stood by the man in the revolution and the resistance, took up arms, and provided charitable support and health services. By the time, their resistance and demands took a different turn. So that political participation was activated more, and it assumed leadership and decision-making positions, and developed its entity by encouraging education and work due to her belief in its energy, instinct and ability to bring about change.

Women's political participation is a positive practical empowerment, and an actual step to address the problems and challenges faced by women in Palestinian society, whether cultural, social and economic. All of this is a form of development promoting sustainable development.

a) Women's participation from 1917-1948

Palestinian women have lived in an Arab society with its well-known image of being a conservative, traditional, patriarchal, semi-closed society, the primary economy of which is based on agriculture, where agricultural workers constituted 71% of the population of Palestine. Women's work was limited to housework. As for women's participation in political life in that period, it was represented as follows:

1. Participating in demonstrations and protests, especially after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Some of the pioneers in the Palestinian women's movement, such as Milia Sakakini and Zulekha Al-Shihabi, worked to lead women to carry out demonstrations and sit-ins.
2. Participating in the establishment of associations. In 1924, the Women's Renaissance Association was established in the city of Ramallah, which collected donations to buy weapons for the revolutionary fighters, and provided assistance to Palestinian families affected by the British aggression.
3. The formation of the Arab Women's Committee following a general conference that was held in Jerusalem in October 1929 with the attendance of 300 women, which resulted in the formation of special committees for Arab women in Jerusalem, Akko and Jaffa..
4. Participating in the 1936 revolution, in which the general strike was declared. During the battle of Wadi- Azzoun in 1936, dozens of Palestinians were martyred, including the fighter Fatima Ghazal.
5. The participation of Palestinian women in an Arab women's conference in 1946. It was attended by about 3000 Arab women, after which a protest note was submitted

to the High Commissioner to denounce the arbitrary British policies against the Palestinian people.

Thus; the political role of Palestinian women has emerged since the early twenties of the last century. With the Nakba in 1948, the role of women began to shift from a secondary role- supporting the revolutionaries and the national movement- to an effective practical role in terms of women's participation in political work. This was represented by their active involving and participating in military and organizational work, joining national parties and organizations, as well as participating in demonstrations and sit-ins, distributing data and publications, supporting the families of martyrs and detainees, and joining regional work committees.

b) Women's participation from 1948-1967

The Palestinian Nakba in 1948 was followed by changes that affected the struggle, social and cultural reality of Palestinian women, and this is evident through the following:

1. Women were allowed out to work.
2. Women worked through women's associations to implement vocational training programs for women and hold courses (sewing, weaving, embroidery, handicrafts, opening kindergartens, and others).
3. Women have been allowed to go into the field of education, so that they are able to work and provide financial income. After losing land and homes, men's tendency toward education increased. In 1963, the number of students in UNRWA schools in Gaza, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon reached 30,932 students in the preparatory and secondary levels.¹¹ 376 which were females, or 36.77%. At the primary level, the

percentage of girls was 44.85%. In addition, the university opened its doors to female Palestinian students.

4. Palestinian women participated in the Afro-Asian Women's Conference held in Cairo 14-23/1/1961, where the women's movement was represented in the conference by five Palestinian women.
5. The Palestinian Women's Union was established in 1964. One of its objectives was to raise the level of women in economic, social and health terms, and to pay attention to motherhood and childhood.

c) Women's participation from 1967-1993

The Palestinian Naksa 'setback' in 1967 was followed by Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It controlled all resources, services, and the general economic situation. This was through imposing exorbitant taxes, and dumping the Palestinian market with Israeli goods. This had implications for the status of women through:

1. Pushing the Palestinian woman to support her family and go to work, so that the percentage of working women increased from 1967-1978 to 119% - excluding those working in the agriculture field.
2. Women worked in professions other than traditional professions and entered new fields such as: wage agricultural work, household manufacturing industries (packaging), work in clothing factories, administrative office work, medicine, law, journalism, pharmacy and engineering.

The seventies witnessed establishing four women's committees, or the women's frameworks affiliated with the factions of the Liberation Organization. Its leadership

consists of a generation of female activists and university students who have political and social awareness. These four committees emerged from the major political factions of the PLO and political organizations abroad that sought to establish influence in the Palestinian territories. These committees were established in the late seventies and early eighties. They are:

- Palestinian Women's Work Committees of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.
- The Union of Palestinian Women's Work Committees affiliated to the Communist Party, or the People's Party.
- The Women's Committee for Social Work of the 'Fath' movement.
- The Union of Palestinian Women's Committees.

The activists joined these frameworks after closing the doors of charities and the General Union of Women in front of them due to the conflict between the old generation of the feminist movement and the new generation. The new activists were unable to merge into those associations. These frameworks had a wide public base as they used effective methods to organize and mobilize women. They were able to reach women in villages, rural areas and cities to organize them. These frameworks also targeted organizing women of prisoners, martyrs and women affected by the occupation, school students, housewives, female workers and professionals. This made it different from the associations, and these committees combined:

- The national, political and social agenda related to women, such as women's liberation.
- Equality with men in terms of wages and work.

- Raising political, social and progressive slogans that call for activating women's political participation.
- Raising the issue of women's rights, social liberation, and equality with men (Jaafari, 2012: p. 59).

Fourth: The historical development of the political participation of Palestinian women after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority in 1994-2005.

The form of Palestinian women's political participation was changed after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Then, according to a study, the women's category was divided into two main groups (Labada, 2016: p. 20):

The first group: They supported the peace process that moved to form a technical committee for women's issues, called the "Women's Affairs Team". That is order to participate in the Madrid negotiations as a support team for the participating Palestinian delegation. This team worked to increase the number of women participating in the negotiating delegation to ensure that women's issues are included in the peace process. They demanded broader women's participating in the authority's organs and institutions, introducing articles in the constitutional system that guarantee women's access to their rights in all areas of life, and achieving equality in educational and work opportunities between men and women.

The second group: it included women critics and opponents of the peace agreement and the Palestinian National Authority at that time. They refused to join the women's affairs team, which was formed by supporters of the peace process. However, both groups later reached a temporary settlement between them to pass a feminist agenda based on women's issues and demanding to give them all their economic, social and political rights, as

stipulated in the Women's Rights Document. Feminist participation has moved in the post-Oslo period to non-governmental institutions due to the weakness of secular national parties and factions in achieving issues and national demands, as the feminist movement was part of these parties. This weakness was a reason for the transfer of female cadres to work in NGOs, away from their parties. Consequently, women's activism in NGOs was far from its political, partisan and mass framework. There are also those who believe that the marginalization of the role of women in parties, patriarchal control over committees, and previous feminist frameworks helped lead many women leaders to non-governmental organizations, the rise of Islamic movements, and the need to crystallize the agenda of attempts to political participation of Arab women in the occupied Palestinian interior in the elections Parliamentary.

1. This stage was also characterized by focusing on activities around legislation and laws specific to women, and the representation of women in decision-making positions as priorities compatible with the state-building stage at the expense of issues of national liberation. This phase was also marked by the flow of foreign aid to Palestinian women's NGOs, and the establishment of Palestinian National Authority ministries after 1994.
2. The programs of most women's organizations are similar in that they are based on two basic concepts, the first of which is "equality" within the framework of obtaining equal rights with men. The second is "empowerment" through adopting targeted mechanisms that adopt discourse, international mechanisms emanating from international conferences use training and workshops, and focusing on education about women's rights in various fields as basic mechanisms without any critical vision, or accountability for the concepts used.

3. The various feminist institutions were distinguished at this stage by their lack of a specific and clear feminist vision. They put forward programs and a supranational agenda that are not related to the economic, political and social reality in which Palestinian women go through. It also worked on putting forward programs and agendas that fit the conditions of the funders, as many of these programs and projects do not meet the basic and practical needs of rural and refugee women. They have started focusing on encouraging women's equality through gender projects and advocacy (Jaafari, 2015: pg. 64).

It was believed after the Oslo Accords of 1993 that a civil society would be built that would guarantee the participation of both women and men in the construction process. Many women's non-governmental organizations have emerged, where hopes were pinned on an actual expansion of the base of women's participation by providing a democratic atmosphere that would allow them to present themselves based on the criterion of competence and the priority of expressing their needs and problems. Despite the difficult conditions compounded by political, cultural and social obstacles, the geographical division between the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the severe blockade, we find that gender equality is slowly taking its place thanks to women who have played distinct roles in preparing the ground for building a democratic state. Significant progress has been made in providing an enabling environment for gender-responsive development (Abu Mandeel, 2014).

The researcher realizes that the Oslo period has direct repercussions on all societal systems and frameworks, thus affecting the political participation of Palestinian women. Rather, the image of the woman herself has changed, and the national feminist rank has

been shaken, between supporters and opponents. Despite this division between support and rejection, both sides have in common the following:

1. The belief in the justice and centrality of the Palestinian cause, and the necessity of liberation.
2. Commitment to supporting women, preserving their rights and eliminating forms of gender discrimination.
3. Adopting feminist social issues, and working to address the imbalance.
4. Removing social injustice against women.

Fifth: The presence and participation of Palestinian women in the executive authority from 1994 to 2020

Since 1994- during the first Palestinian government, Palestinian women have been granted one or two ministerial positions- according to the cabinet line-up in each government. In the first government, there was only one female minister- Intisar Al-Wazir / Ministry of Social Affairs. In the second government, there were two women ministers: Intisar Al-Wazir/Minister of Social Affairs, and Hanan Ashrawi/Minister of Higher Education. In the third government, one woman- out of 29 ministers- held the position of Minister of Social Affairs, which is Intisar al-Wazir. Just like in the fourth, fifth and sixth government. In the eighth government, Intisar al-Wazir took over the Ministry of Social Affairs, and Zahira Kamal took over the Ministry of Women's Affairs. In the ninth government, Zahira Kamal/Ministry of Women's Affairs, and Hind Khoury/Minister of State, whereas in the tenth government, a woman out of 24 ministers held the position of Minister of Women's Affairs who is Maryam Al-Saleh. In the National Unity Government, Amal Siam/Ministry of Women's Affairs, and Kholoud

Daibes/Ministry of Tourism. In the emergency government, Kholoud Daibes/Ministry of Women's Affairs and Tourism, Lamis Alami/Ministry of Education, Tahani Abu Daqqa/Ministry of Youth and Sports took over, Whereas 5 women ministers out of 22 men held ministerial duties: Kholoud Daibes/Tourism, Lamis Alami/Ministry of Education, Siham Barghouti/Ministry of Culture, Magda Al-Masry/Ministry of Social Affairs, and Rabiha Diab/Ministry of Women's Affairs. In the eighteenth government, which is still extended until 2021, there are 3 women ministers, who are: Rula Maayah / Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, Amal Siam / Minister of Women's Affairs, and Mai Al Kaila / Minister of Health.

The participation of women in the first cabinet formations did not exceed one or two female ministers. There is a formal and limited presence through the successive Palestinian governments, where they have been assigned portfolios such as (the Ministry of Women's Affairs, the Ministry of Culture), but the last government assigned an important portfolio to women, which is the Ministry of Health, with the government's intervention in its management such as the management of the Corona crisis.

With regard to women representation in official institutions, there is a gap in the participation of women in decision-making positions. The percentage of women in the Council of Ministers as members amounted to approximately 14%, compared to about 86% for men, in 2019. In addition, women in the presidency of the security institution constitute only about 6%. That is there is only one woman in the position of head of a security institution, specifically for the services Military Medical in 2019. On the other hand, the percentage of women's representation in the diplomatic corps is low, reaching only about 11%, according to (the Palestinian Bureau organization of Statistics, 2020). With regard to the diplomatic corps, their presence was limited through previous

governments, but recently they have seen an improvement in their occupation of good administrative positions, as Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Amal Jado) has been appointed, along with female ambassadors in some countries.

The participation of women in party frameworks and the establishment of specialized arms for women - (such as the Palestinian Women's Union), which was established in 1965, (women's committees) in all fields - led to the inclusion of the priorities of Palestinian women in the plans of the organization. Women have occupied the position of Secretary-General of a party, such as Zahira Kamal, Secretary-General of the Feda Party, and Deputy Secretary-General Khaleda Jarrar. They also occupied the positions of members of the Revolutionary Council and members of the political office of parties and factions.

• **The presence and participation of Palestinian women in the judiciary.**

The percentage of female Sharia judges in the West Bank is about 8%, compared to 92% for men. The presence of women is an indication of the possibility of increasing women in this sector, whereas the percentage of women members of the Sharia prosecution increases, reaching 71% compared to 29% for men. For the year 2019 (Palestinian Bureau organization of Statistics, 2020).

Nevertheless, on the judicial level; the participation of women is higher than the international requirement that was approved in the CEDAW agreement, a quota of 18%, as the participation of women in administrative positions reached 21%, but this percentage began to decline in recent appointments. In addition to descending the stairs in the judicial ladder with the presence of strong models that have a long history in this

field, such as (Iman Nasser Al-Din), the oldest judge in the Arab world, who is still at the head of her work in the current and former Supreme Judicial Council.

In the administrative side of the judiciary, women's work is restricted to traditional stereotyped roles (secretarial work and writing).

The presence of Palestinian women and their participation in the legislative authority.

Palestinian women participated in the elections for the Legislative Council in 1996. Although Palestinian women were able to enter these elections and prove themselves in them, their participation was low compared to the participation of men. 28 women, including (14) women from the West Bank, and (14) women from the Gaza Strip, out of (672) candidates, ran for (88) seats in the Legislative Council, and only (5) women won, i.e. the rate of participation of women in the legislative elections was 43%. One of the most prominent issues in the 1996 legislative elections was the absence of Islamist and leftist women's participation as a result of their rejection of the Oslo Accord. There was no competition between female candidates from different organizational and party backgrounds. The competition was limited to female candidates loyal to the Oslo Accord, the majority of whom belong to the Fatah movement. This deprives a large segment of women of access to decision-making positions.

1. Adoption of the district system in the 1996 elections. There are districts limited to one or two seats, which reduced women's chances of running for candidacy because the competition is in favor of men, knowing that the amendment was later made in June 2005.

2. The financial burden that stood in the way of women in the elections. The electoral cost per person reached about (30) thousand dollars. This money can only be obtained by women through the political party or the women's movement which did not provide any material or moral support to the candidates.
3. Some believe that the reason is women's weakness and lack of self-confidence, as well as women's lack of confidence in each other. In addition to the dispersal of visions among women's movements as a result of the implementation of programs funded from abroad.

- **The participation of Palestinian women in the local "municipal" bodies.**

There are no women mayors in the municipalities classified (B + A). However, in the municipalities classified (C), there is only one female mayor compared to 94 men, in the year 2019, which is considered a small percentage and less than the percentage that is approved for the quota of women in the quota.

Six: Women's rights and equality in Palestinian laws and legislations

The references and national laws related to women's rights are represented in the Declaration of Independence issued in 1988, the Palestinian Labor Law No. 7 of 2000, the Palestinian Basic Law in 2002, the Palestinian Women's Rights Document in 2006, and other laws such as the Service Law civil, which are described as follows:

1: The Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence- which was issued in Algeria in 1988 by the Palestinian National Council in its nineteenth session- is one of the most important foundations upon which the Palestinian legislation issued in the post-establishment phase of the Authority. These foundations gave also great importance to the principle of equality

between men and women in Palestine. This document constituted an important constitutional basis for the realization of Palestinian women's rights, as it stated: "The State of Palestine belongs to the Palestinians wherever they are, in which they develop their national and cultural identity. They also enjoy complete equality of rights, their religious and political beliefs and their human dignity are preserved under a parliamentary democracy based on freedom of opinion, freedom to form parties, the majority taking care of the rights of the minority, and the minority respecting the decisions of the majority. It is also based on social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights on the basis of custom, religion, color, or between men and women, under a constitution that believes in the rule of law and an independent judiciary" (Palestinian Legislative Council, 1998). This document has called for ensuring that women enjoy their full rights on an equal basis with men under a parliamentary democratic system, (Lubada, 2016: p. 35).

2: The Palestinian Basic Law

The Palestinian Basic Law became effective on (7/7/2002). It is the Palestinian constitution for the transitional period. As it's known; the constitution, as a supreme law in the state, is based on regulating the relationship of public authorities with each other and their powers.

From which, the basic rights and public freedoms of individuals is derived, and according to it the nature of the basic system is determined. This law dealt with women's right to equality and equitable participation; it stated this in several texts, confirming the commitment of the Palestinian Authority to the spirit of human rights principles. This can be deduced from Article 10, which states: Human rights and fundamental freedoms are binding and must be respected. Article (6) stipulates the principle of the rule of law is

the basis of governance in Palestine. In addition, all authorities, bodies, institutions and persons are subject to the law.

With regard to Article (26), it affirmed that the Palestinians have the right to participate in political life, both as individuals and groups, and in particular, they have the following rights:

1. The right to form and join political parties in accordance with the law.
2. The right to form unions, federations, associations and clubs in accordance with the law.
3. Voting and nominating in the elections to choose representatives from them to be elected by universal suffrage in accordance with the law.
4. The right to hold public positions on the basis of equal opportunities.
5. The right to hold private meetings without the presence of police personnel and within the limits of the law.
6. With regard with the right of women to participate and hold high positions in the diplomatic corps and international bodies, Article 56 comes to this in general without any specification for women. Here, the door for positive distinction for women is left to the executive authority and its head (Zaydat, 2020).

3: The Palestinian Labor Law

After reviewing Labor Law No. 21 of 1960 and its amendments in force in the governorates of the West Bank as well as Labor Law No. 16 of 1964 and its amendments in force in Gaza governorates, and after the approval of the Legislative Council in its session held on 3/29/2000, the Palestinian Labor Law 'Labor Law No. (7) Of 2000 AD' was issued.

The Palestinian Labor Law singled out Chapter Seven to regulate women's work. Article 100 and up to Article 106 dealt with provisions that guarantee women's rights, which are explained as follows:

Article (100): In accordance with the provisions of this law and the regulations issued according to it, discrimination between men and women is prohibited.

Article 101: It is prohibited to employ women in:

- Hazardous or arduous work determined by the Minister.
- Additional working hours during pregnancy and the six months following birth.
- Night hours, except for the work that the Council of Ministers determines.

Article (102): The facility must provide the workers with special amenities.

Article (103): A working woman who spent a period of one hundred and eighty days at work prior to each birth has the right to a paid maternity leave for ten weeks, including at least six weeks after the birth. It is not permissible to dismiss a working woman because of the leave mentioned in paragraph (1), unless it is proven that she worked in another job during that time.

Article (104): A woman- who breastfeeds during work- has the right to breastfeeds her child for a total period of not less than an hour per day for a year from the date of birth. The nursing hour mentioned in Paragraph (1) shall be counted from the daily working hours.

Article (105): According to the interest of work, a working woman may take unpaid leave to take care of her child or accompany her husband.

Article (106): The establishment shall hang in the workplace the provisions relating to the employment of women (the Palestinian Labor Law.

4: Palestinian Elections Law No. (13) Of 1995

The Palestinian Election Law No. (13) Of 1995 was issued under the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accords signed in Washington on 28th, September, 1995. In the second annex to the protocol on elections, the agreement included the basis for elections, the qualifications and placement of candidates, the conditions for the electoral campaign and the international observation of the elections, and the arrangements for the elections in the city of Jerusalem. The Palestinian Elections Law stipulates the right of women to participate in the Palestinian elections, and to be nominated and elected without discrimination. We are guided by the following articles:

Article 6 of the Right to Elections clause: "Election is a right for every Palestinian man and woman in the West Bank - including Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the Gaza Strip - who fulfill the conditions stipulated in this law to exercise this right, regardless of religion, opinion, and political affiliation, social, economic or scientific status.

Article (7) defines eligibility for elections as "that the voter must be of Palestinian nationality and be at least eighteen years old."

As for Article (9), it was devoted to the nomination for the position of President, and it contained the following conditions:

"The applicant to run for president of the Palestinian Authority must have reached the age of thirty-five."

In this article, there is no discrimination against women, nor does it require the gender of the candidate.

Article (12): In which the conditions for candidacy of the membership of the Legislative Council were specified in the election law and stipulated that: "Every Palestinian person, whether male or female, who has reached the age of thirty or more on the day specified for the polling, and whose name is included in the list of the final voters, and who fulfills the necessary conditions If it is available to the voter, he has the right to nominate himself for membership in the Council."

The articles contained in the "Palestinian Elections Law" do not mention any discrimination or prejudice against women, and considered the conditions for elections or candidacy to be applicable to men and women. For the experience of the first elections in 1996, the percentage of women registered in the electoral lists compared to those registered in general (49 %). However, this percentage differed from the reality, as the percentage of males was (68%) and the percentage of females was 32% (Al-Qutb, 2012: pg. 46).

5: Job guarantees for Palestinian women in the Civil Service Law No. (4) of 1998:

The provisions of this law include all employees working in government departments who receive their salaries from the state treasury (the Palestinian Authority) according to the job formation system.

This law guarantees equal pay for all employees without discrimination on the basis of sex. It also gave the same opportunity in senior jobs without discrimination. There are those who believe that the law should guarantee a female participation rate in jobs no less than (30%) if this percentage is not achieved (Zaydat, 2020).

Ministry of Women's Affairs

The vision of the Ministry of Women's Affairs is towards a Palestinian society in which women and men, girls and boys enjoy citizenship rights and equal opportunities in both the public and private spheres.

6: Women in Social Security

The importance of social security and security laws can be seen by referring to the percentage of women working in the private sector- which amounts to 68% of all female workers in the labor market for the year 2019. This percentage does not enjoy any protection as a result of disability or old age. Article (11) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - to which the State of Palestine acceded - obligates the states party to the Convention to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020: p. 143).

7: As part of its quest to achieve gender equality, the State of Palestine - following its accession to many international agreements, foremost of which is CEDAW in 2014 - has taken a series of measures at the level of legislation and policies, including the establishment of the Legislation Harmonization Committee. In 2018, Decree Law No. (5) Of 2018 was issued regarding the abolition of Article 308 of the applicable Penal Code applied in the West Bank, which exempts the perpetrator of the crime of rape from punishment if he marries the victim, and cancels and deprives the perpetrator of the “honor crime” from benefiting from the penalties diluted.

8: In 2019, a decree was issued by law specifying the age of marriage for both parties to 18 solar years.

9: In March of 2018, the Council of Ministers decided to grant the mother the right to issue passports for her minor children, the right to open bank accounts and deposit for her minor children- taking into account the legislation in force in managing the account and spending rules in line with the best interests of minor children- as well as granting her the right to transfer her children from their schools.

10: The Ministry of Women's Affairs has developed the implementation plan for the recommendations of the CEDAW Committee for the years (2019-2022) as a national mechanism for implementation (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020, 145).

11: Women in the Civil Service Law No. (4) Of 1908.

This law referred to equal pay for all employees, without discrimination on the basis of gender (male and female). It also gave the same opportunity in senior jobs without discrimination, so that this law guarantees a participation rate of women in jobs no less than (30%).

The legal framework in Palestine has attempted to prepare the atmosphere with regard to women's human, social and economic rights and their political participation.

The foregoing shows the extent of legal and legislative concern for women to enjoy their full rights equally with men in a democratic parliamentary system through women's right to equality and equitable participation and their assumption of high positions in the diplomatic corps and international bodies. There is an emphasis on the prohibition of discrimination between men and women as well as the prohibition of women's employment in hazardous or arduous jobs or at night hours- except for what is permitted by law or Palestinian legislation.

Seven: The Political Participation of Palestinian Women in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The participation of women in political life in Palestine- who constitute half of Palestinian society- reflects public participation and general societal awareness.

Palestinian women participated in the first Palestinian National Council- which was held in Jerusalem on May 15, 1964 AD. The number of participating women was (21) members from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Palestinian National Council issued an important decision related to women. It states the necessity of Palestinian Arab women's participation in all areas of organizational and struggle work, and their equality with men in all rights and duties in order to liberate the homeland. The General Union of Palestinian Women was also formed in (1965), which had a prominent impact as a representative of Palestinian women inside the country borders and in the diaspora, and as one of the rules of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It became a center for women's activities, and as one of the popular unions of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the role of women in the Gaza Strip. The feminist movement in the Gaza Strip unified the three women's associations under the banner of the Palestinian Women's Union (Jadallah, 2007, p. 52). The Women's Union contributed to enhancing feminist awareness of political life under the supervision of the Palestine Liberation Organization - the highest authority and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This gives the leading women and the feminist elites working under the banner of the organization great political and social importance and weight.

In the wake of the political division as a result of the decisions of the Palestinian National Council in 1988 and as a result of the Madrid Conference in 1991, many voices and intellectual practices that reject the involvement of women in the Palestinian national

revolution emerged. The position of the parties and factions towards these ideas was negative. Especially with regard to the issues of women's movement and clothing, killing women on the grounds of honor, or accusing them of working and dealing with the enemy. This trend led to the killing of 107 women in the period "between" 1988-1993. Most of them from the Gaza Strip, where the number in Gaza alone reached 81 women. (Jadallah, 2007, 61). The percentage of women's representation in the 1996 session of the National Council- which was held in Gaza City- reached (7.5%), with (56) women out of (730) members, whereas the percentage in the session of the year (2018) reached (12%). The office of the presidency of the council, which consists of five members, its two deputies, the general manager and the secretary, is devoid of any female presence (Naddaf, 2018).

Looking at the council committees in the Palestine Liberation Organization, it appears that its presidency is entirely male. This is a clear violation of the decision of the Central Council of the year 2015, which is confirmed by the Council in its session for the year 2018. It states it states to put in place mechanisms that guarantee the representation of women by no less than 30% in the organization. For example: The Constitution Committee consists of 7 members, including one woman, Mrs. Fadwa Barghouti, member of the Revolutionary Council of the Fatah Movement (Al-Danaf, 2018).

The number of women in the Central Council in its (23) session held in Gaza in 2009 was (5) members out of (129) members (Naddaf, 2018). That is, (5.4%) compared to (94.6%) for men. This percentage is considered low, knowing that the percentage of women in the Legislative Council reached (11.3%), which is also a low percentage. This confirms that the policy supporting women is the decision agreed upon by all members of the Liberation Organization and all partners on a 30% quota in the all leading positions. The percentage of women members of the Executive Committee was represented by one

woman, Mrs. Hanan Ashrawi, which means that the percentage of representation was (6.7%) compared to (93.3%) for men. This is due to the weak presence of women in decision-making positions, as men still dominate most decision-making positions (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2018).

On the other hand, the percentage of Palestinian women's representation in the Central Council reached about 5%, compared to 95% for men, in 2018, which is a low percentage. However, the percentage of women's presence in the Legislative Council reached 11.0%, which is considered a low percentage as well.

The following table shows the percentage of women's representation in the Palestine Liberation Organization after the establishment of the National Authority:

Table (2-1): Women's representation in the PLO after the establishment of the authority

the National Council	The percentage of women's representation
Twenty-first session 1996	The percentage of women's representation in the 1996 session of the Palestinian National Council- which was held in Gaza City- was (7.5%). That is, there were 56 women out of 730 members.
Twenty-second session 2009 (extraordinary)	The special session was held in the year 2009; This is for the purposes of renewing and electing a new executive committee for the Palestine Liberation Organization.
Twenty-third session (2018)	The percentage of women's representation in the 2018 session of the National Assembly was (10%). The presidency office of the council- which is made up of five members: the president, his two deputies, the general manager and the secretary - is devoid of any female presence. At the National Council meeting, it was found that the number of women participating did not exceed 70 women out of more than 600 participants. Even when the PLO Executive Committee was elected, only the name of Mrs. Hanan Ashrawi appeared among the 15 members.
Central Council	The percentage of women's representation
The first session of the Central Council was held in Palestine after the establishment of the National Authority in 1999 - the thirteenth session / Gaza. It was an exceptional session. Then, it was followed by seventeen sessions. That is, (18) sessions of the Central Council were held, between Gaza and Ramallah. In order to see the representation of women, we monitor three sessions in different time periods as follows:	
Twenty-first session 2000- Gaza.	The percentage of women was (5) out of (28), whereas there is only one woman on the Executive Committee.
Twenty-third session 2009- Ramallah.	The number of women members of the council in the 23rd session was 5 out of 129.
Thirtieth session 2018 – Ramallah.	The Palestinian News and Information Agency "Wafa" reported that the total number of council members reached 110- without giving details of gender or names.

Source (Miftah, 2018: pg.5)

The researcher notes from the previous table that there are shortcomings with regard to the representation of women in the Palestine Liberation Organization. This is an explicit violation of the decision of the Central Council of 2015- whereby women must be represented by at least 30% in the PLO.

The Palestinian woman did not reach the required level. However she was able to achieve something with the women's quota, through her participation in the Legislative Council and ministries, as well as her participation in the political, social, economic and cultural fields. The woman is the teacher, doctor, judge and minister, but in the Palestinian government she is a participant and not the final decision-maker. This is based on the nature and composition of the Palestinian society which is characterized as a patriarchal society.

The Palestinian woman, as a political actor, fighter, leader and social influencer, deserves more space in the supreme political authority of the State of Palestine to create and give. This is the right... and this is the duty.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Procedures

Chapter Three

Methodology and Procedures

This topic presents the procedures and methodological steps that have been taken in the field of the field study, as it deals with the study method, the study community, and the sample to which the study was applied, in addition to clarification of the tools used in the study and its steps, and the details of the methods used in the following.

First: Study Methodology

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the researcher used the descriptive-analytical approach, which attempts to assess “the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period between 1993-2019 (women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model).” The descriptive-analytical approach attempts to compare It interprets and evaluates in the hope of reaching meaningful generalizations that increase the balance of knowledge on the subject. Data has been collected from secondary and primary sources as follows:

- Secondary sources: The researcher used secondary data sources in addressing the theoretical framework of the study through the following:
 - Arabic and foreign books and references that dealt with the subject of the study.
 - Periodicals, articles, published studies, and related masters and doctoral theses.
 - Reports and bulletins issued by the relevant institutions and centers.
 - The Internet and the electronic copies on its pages.
- Primary sources: by researching on the field side by distributing questionnaires to study some of the study vocabularies, inventorying and compiling the necessary

information in the subject of the research, and then unpacking and statistical analysis and using appropriate statistical tests in order to reach valuable indications and indicators that support the subject of the study.

Second: Population and Study Sample

- The study population consists of active women in the political, feminist and societal fields, and women in the Palestine Liberation Organization. The researcher used the simple random sampling method, and the number of valid questionnaires for analysis reached (50) due to the fulfillment of the required conditions. The sample was selected according to Stephen Thomson's equation, and the sample was determined according to the following equation:

Whereas:

- N: the size of the community.
- Z: the corresponding standard score corresponding to the significance level (0.95) and equal to (1.96).
- D: the error rate is (0.05).
- P: The ratio of the availability of the characteristic and the neutral is equal to (0.05).

An intentional sample of 7 Palestinian women leaders was used.

Third: The Study tool

- The Interview: The researcher conducted interviews with 7 Palestinian women leaders, who are: Dr. Laila Ghannam: The only female governor in the State of Palestine.
- Dr. Magda Al-Masry: Member of the Palestinian National Council and member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine Member

of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Women and former Minister of Development.

- Dr. Najat Abu Bakr: Najat Abu Bakr is a member of the Legislative Council, head of the Canaanites Congregation, and a member of international institutions.
- a. Rima Nazzal: Palestinian feminist activist and politician, member of the Palestinian National Council, and the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women.
- a. Feryal Salem Abdel Rahman: Adviser to the presidency and representative of Palestine in the Arab Women's Organization, and a member of the General Union of Palestinian Women.
- a. Jihad Abu Abozunaid: Head of the Women's Center in Shuafat Camp, a former member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and a former member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council.
- a. Mona Al-Namoura: Member of the Political Bureau of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women, and member of the Palestinian National Council.

The questionnaire: The researcher prepared a questionnaire revolving around “the role of women’s elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019 (women in the Palestine Liberation Organization as a model).” The study’s questionnaire consists of three sections, and they are as follows:

- The first section: contains an introduction to the objectives of the study, and the type of data and information that the researcher would like to collect from the study

members, with a guarantee of confidentiality of the information provided, and a pledge to use it for scientific research purposes only.

- Section Two: Personal data, which are represented in: (Educational qualification, number of years of experience in the field of women's work, job location, place of residence, age).
- The third section: the variables of the study, and it consists of three main axes, consisting of 40 paragraphs, which are as follows:

Table (3-1) of the questionnaire's axes and the number of its phrases:

The hub	
13	The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality.
14	The role of feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine.
13	Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine.
Resolution	

Fourth: The Validity and Reliability of the Resolution

First: The Validity of the Resolution

The validity of the questionnaire means that the questions of the questionnaire measure what they were prepared to measure. The validity of the questionnaire was verified through the following:

1. Virtual honesty

The researcher presented the study tool in its initial form to a group of arbitrators, consisting of faculty members. To cover each axis of the study, in addition to suggesting what they deem necessary to modify or delete the wording, and based on the observations and directions made by the arbitrators, the researcher made the modifications agreed upon by the arbitrators.

2. The validity of the internal consistency

To verify the internal consistency of the questionnaire, the Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated; to find out the degree of correlation of each of the questionnaire's phrases with the total score of the axis to which the phrase belongs.

Table (3-2) Pearson correlation coefficients for the questionnaire expressions:

Axis Correlation Coefficient	Ferry number	Axis Correlation Coefficient	Ferry number	Axis Correlation Coefficient	Ferry number	the hub
**0.711	11	**0.801	6	**0.695	1	The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality.
**0.700	12	**0.767	7	**0.696	2	
**0.755	13	**0.767	8	**0.853	3	
--	--	**0.778	9	**0.72	4	
--	--	**0.722	10	**0.785	5	
**0.775	11	**0.793	6	**0.715	1	The role of feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine.
**0.784	12	**0.837	7	**0.818	2	
**0.814	13	**0.779	8	**860.	3	
**0.737	14	**0.752	9	**0.772	4	
--	--	**0.793	10	**0.749	5	
**0.583	11	**0.780	6	**0.466	1	Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine
**0.537	12	**0.811	7	**0.595	2	
**0.660	13	**0.524	8	**0.636	3	
--	--	**0.656	9	**0.601	4	
--	--	**0.576	10	**0.709	5	

* **Function at 0.01 level or less**

It is clear from Table (3-2) that the values of the correlation coefficient of each of the phrases with its axis are positive, and statistically significant, which indicates the

sincerity of the internal consistency of the questionnaire items, and their suitability for measuring what they were prepared to measure.

Second: Resolution Stability

The stability of the questionnaire means that this questionnaire gives the same result if the questionnaire was redistributed more than once under the same conditions and conditions, or in other words that the stability of the questionnaire means stability in the results of the questionnaire and not changing them significantly if it was redistributed to the sample members several times during periods of time Specific, has been calculated through the following:

Stability by Alpha-Cronbach method:

Table (3-3) shows Cronbach's alpha coefficient to measure the stability of the resolution:

Cronbach's alpha coefficient	Paragraph number	The hub
0.936	13	The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality.
0.951	14	The role of feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine.
0.866	13	Challenges facing feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine.

It is clear from Table (3-3) that the general stability coefficient is high, reaching (0.951), and this indicates that the questionnaire has a high degree of stability that can be relied upon in the field application of the study.

Fifth: The Normal Distribution of the Study Variables

Statisticians use two types of statistical tests to test hypotheses, the first type is parametric tests and the second type is non-parametric tests. The use of parametric tests requires the condition of a normal distribution of the data on which statistical tests are to be performed, while non-parametric tests are used as an alternative to parametric tests in the event of non-parametric tests. The condition of a normal distribution of data is fulfilled, but that is only in the case of small samples whose size is less than (30) singletons, while samples whose size is more than (30) singletons, the condition of normal distribution can be abandoned, according to what is approved by the central tendency theory (Spring, 2007). M), and in this study, parametric tests will be used according to the reason that was mentioned without resorting to checking the condition of the normal distribution of the data.

Sixth: Procedures for Applying the Study

1. The researcher prepared the study questionnaire.
2. The validity of the questionnaire was verified for measuring the study variables.
3. The questionnaire was distributed to the study individuals, which numbered 50 individuals.
4. The data were unloaded and analyzed through the SPSS statistical analysis program.

The researcher unpacked and analyzed the questionnaire through the Statistical Analysis Program (SPSS), and the following statistical methods were used:

1. Descriptive statistics, including: percentage, arithmetic mean, standard deviation, and relative weight. This is mainly used in order to know the frequency of the categories of a variable and it is useful to the researcher in describing the study variables.

2. Pearson's correlation coefficient: to measure the validity of the questionnaire items, and to know the relationship between the variables.
3. Cronbach's alpha stability coefficient test to determine the reliability of the study tool.
4. One Way ANOVA to verify the differences between the trends of the study sample according to their variables that are divided into more than two categories.
5. The LSD test to verify the direction of the differences between the trends of the study sample, which included the one-way analysis of variance test.

Chapter Four

Presenting and Discussing Results

Chapter four

Presenting and Discussing Results

Introduction

This research aims to achieve the study objectives, so the researcher collected the necessary data through the study tool "the questionnaire". It was unloaded and statistically analyzed. The necessary tests that were detailed in the previous chapter were conducted as well. The researcher used the (SPSS) program to analyze the data, in order to reach the results of the study.

First: The Study Sample Characteristics

The frequencies and percentages of the study sample members were calculated according to (Educational qualification, number of years of experience in the field of women's work, job position, place of residence, age).

Table (4-1): Distributing the study sample members according to the study sample characteristics

Variable	Variable levels	Iteration	Percentage
Educational Qualification	Bachelor Degree	35	70
	Master Degree	13	26
	PhD	2	4
Total		50	100%
Job Position	Director-General	1	2
	Director	10	20
	Member of the Board of Directors	5	10
	Feminist Activist	34	68
Total		50	100%
place of residence	City	31	62
	Village	18	36
	Camp	1	2
Total		50	100%
Age	Less than 25	13	26
	From 25 to less than 35	24	48
	From 35 to less than 45	11	22
	45 years and over	2	4
Total		50	100%
Number of years working in women's work field	Less than 5 years	38	76
	From 5 to 10 years	5	10
	More than 10 years	7	14
Total		50	100%

It is clear from Table (4-1) that 70% of the study sample have a bachelor's degree, 26% of the study sample have a master's degree, whereas 4% have a doctorate qualification. In terms of job position, 2% of the study sample work as a (Director-General), 20% work as a (Director), and 10% work as a (member of the Board of Directors), whereas 68% of them work as a Feminist activist. In terms of place of residence, 62% of the study sample live in a (city), 36% of them live in a (village), whereas 2% of them live in a (camp). With regard to age, 26% of the study sample are (less than 25 years old), 48% ranged in age (from 25 to less than 35 years), and 22% ranged in age (from 35 to less than 45 years), while 4% are aged (45 years and over). In terms of years of service, 76% of the study sample have spent (less than 5 years) in the

work field, 10% have spent (from 5 to 10 years) in the work field, whereas 14% of them have spent (more than 10 years).

Second: The Study Axes Analysis:

The researcher used the five-point Likert scale to obtain the study vocabulary responses, according to the following degrees of agreement: (strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree), then expressing this scale quantitatively by giving each of the previous expressions a score, according to the following:

Strongly agree (5) points, agree (4) points, neutral (3) points, disagree (2) points, strongly disagree (1) point. As it is shown in Table (4-2).

Table (4-2): Classification of the Five Likert Scale categories (the limits of the average responses)

No.	Category	Category Limits	
		From	To
1	Strongly agree	4.21	5.00
2	Agree	3.41	4.20
3	Neutral	2.61	3.40
4	Disagree	1.81	2.60
5	Strongly disagree	1.00	1.80

The researcher conducted an analysis of the study axes to know the reality of these axes in the study community. The results can be clarified through the following:

1. The First Theme Analysis Results: The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality.

To identify the responses of the study sample members about the role of the female elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, the arithmetic mean, standard deviation, the relative weight of each of the theme items, and the total score of the theme were calculated. It was found that the arithmetic mean of all items equals 3.25, the standard deviation equals 0.851, and the relative weight equals 65.02%. This indicates

the study sample members' approval on the role of the female elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality to a moderate degree. The results are shown in Table (4-3):

Table (4-3): Arithmetic mean, standard deviation and relative weight of the first theme and its items

No.	Item	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight
1	Feminist elites are keen to achieve gender equality in Palestinian society.	3.6200	1.00793	72.40
2	Feminist elites address the marginalization of women in Palestinian society.	3.4000	.94761	68.00
3	Feminist elites in the Palestine Liberation Organization combat violence against women in Palestinian society.	3.2200	1.16567	64.40
4	PLO feminist elites fight sexual harassment in public.	3.1800	1.17265	63.60
5	Feminist elites in PLO criminalize marital rape.	3.1800	1.17265	63.60
6	Feminist elites in the PLO support the legal security of Palestinian women.	3.4200	.92780	68.40
7	The organization's feminist elites provide legal aid to battered women in Palestine.	3.2200	1.18304	64.40
8	The organization's feminist elites provide the costs of legal aid and court fees to some needy women in Palestine.	2.9000	1.07381	58.00
9	The feminist elites in the PLO provide social security for Palestinian women.	3.0000	.98974	60.00
10	Feminist elites achieved gender equality with regard to governance.	2.9200	1.08496	58.40
11	Feminist elites achieved gender equality with regard to political participation.	3.3600	1.04511	67.20
12	After the 1948 Nakba, the role of women shifted from a supportive role- to the revolutionaries and the national movement- to an active role through participation in political action.	3.3400	.98167	66.80
13	The feminist elite in the PLO reflected the ability of women to participate in politics alongside men.	3.5000	1.07381	70.00
Total score		3.25	0.851	65.02

It is clear from Table (4-3) that the approval degrees ranged between (2.90-3.62) with a relative weight ranging between (58%-72.4%). **The highest items were as follows:**

1. Item No. (1), which states that “Feminist elites are keen to achieve gender equality in Palestinian society” ranked first, with a relative weight of (72.4%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that achieving gender equality works to empower women in society.
2. Item No. (13) Which states, “The feminist elite in the PLO reflected the ability of women to participate in politics alongside men.” ranked second with a relative weight of (70%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that Palestinian women have participated in the political field alongside men and have got many achievements at the level of government and at the level of municipalities as well. Women have held high political positions as a minister and deputy in the Legislative Council.

Whereas the least items were as follows:

1. Item No. (10), which states that “Feminist elites achieved gender equality with regard to governance” ranked 12th and penultimate at a relative weight (58.4%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that it is difficult for women to have equal access to government as well as men, due to the different ruling provisions concerning men and women.
2. Item No. (8) Which states that “The organization's feminist elites provide the costs of legal aid and court fees to some needy women in Palestine” ranked 13th and the last with a relative weight (58%). The researcher attributes this to the difficult economic situation, the financial crises that the Palestinian financial situation suffers from, and the lack of organizations supporting women in the current period.

2. The Second Theme Analysis Results: The role of Feminist Elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine.

To get to know the responses of the study sample members about the role of the feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine, the arithmetic mean, standard deviation, the relative weight of each of the theme's items and the theme total score were calculated. It was found that the arithmetic mean of all items equals 3.41, the standard deviation equals 0.871, and the relative weight equals 68.17%. This indicates the study sample members approval on the role of the feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine to a high degree. The results are shown in Table (4-4):

Table (4-4): Arithmetic mean, standard deviation, and relative weight of the second theme and its items.

No.	Item	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight
1	Feminist elites in the PLO are interested in promoting the political and economic activity of Palestinian women.	3.2800	.94847	65.60
2	Feminist elites in the PLO seize every opportunity to improve the reality of Palestinian women as well as empower them.	3.3800	.94524	67.60
3	Feminist elites in the PLO seek to enhance the image of women in society.	3.5600	.90711	71.20
4	Feminist elites in the PLO provide economic security for Palestinian women.	3.0200	.95810	60.40
5	Through its projects, The PLO contributes to developing the status of Palestinian women.	3.2800	.99057	65.60
6	Feminist elites play an important role in women's social development women.	3.5800	1.08965	71.60
7	Feminist elites play an important role in women's political development.	3.4400	1.18080	68.80
8	Feminist elites play an important role in women's economic development.	3.3200	1.09619	66.40
9	Feminist elites have increased women's awareness of their existence as well as the associated roles and tasks that are not devoid of national and social affiliation.	3.5800	1.01197	71.60
10	Feminist elites implement projects that create jobs and reduce the unemployment rate among women in Palestinian society.	3.2600	1.08440	65.20
11	Technological development contributed to facilitating the work of the feminist elites in developing the Palestinian women.	3.6400	1.02539	72.80
12	Feminist elites plan for a better societal development future for women.	3.4400	1.01338	68.80
13	Feminist elites adopt and widely apply more efficient solutions for women's development.	3.4200	1.05153	68.40
14	Feminist elites in the PLO presented many programs and courses related to how to prepare projects and economic activities for developing and empowering women	3.5200	1.03490	70.40
	Total score	3.41	0.871	68.17

It is clear from Table (4-4) that the degrees of approval ranged between (3.02 - 3.64), with a relative weight ranging between (60.40%-72.8%). **The highest items were as follows:**

1. Item No. (11) Which states, “Technological development contributed to facilitating the work of the feminist elites in developing the Palestinian women” ranked first with a relative weight of (72.8%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that women have developed themselves electronically to keep pace with the rapid developments in the world. This is to facilitate access to women to get development and empowerment in society.
2. Item No. (6), which states that “Feminist elites play an important role in women's social development women” ranked second with a relative weight of (71.6%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that the primary role supported by women’s elites is to support women socially, as this aspect is the main influential aspect in all other aspects.

Whereas the least items were as follows:

1. Item No. (10) Which states that “Feminist elites implement projects that create jobs and reduce the unemployment rate among women in Palestinian society” ranked the thirteenth and penultimate, with a relative weight of (65.2%). The researcher attributes this to the current high unemployment rate in Palestine due to the siege and the critical financial situation, especially since the government cannot provide many jobs for women due to the high unemployment rate among men as well.
2. Item No. (4), which states that “Feminist elites in the PLO provide economic security for Palestinian women” was in the fourteenth and last rank, with a relative weight (60.40%). The researcher attributes this to the effect of the previous item on this one,

as the elites cannot provide economic security for Palestinian women in light of the existing economic and financial crisis.

3. The Third Theme Analysis Results: The challenges facing the feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine.

The arithmetic mean, standard deviation, the relative weight of each of the theme's items and the theme total score were calculated in order to get to know the responses of the study sample members about the challenges facing the feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine. It was found that the arithmetic mean of all items equals 3.85, the standard deviation equals 0.680, and the relative weight equals 77.02%. This indicates the study sample members' approval on the challenges facing the feminist elites, which stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine to a high degree. The results are shown in Table (4-5):

Table (4-5): Arithmetic mean, standard deviation, and relative weight of the third theme and its items.

No.	Item	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Relative weight
1	The Israeli occupation is the most prominent obstacle to achieving gender equality and empowering women.	3.5800	1.07076	71.60
2	The unstable security conditions in Palestine have weakened the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women.	3.7800	.99571	75.60
3	The difficult economic conditions that Palestine is going through have weakened the role of women's elites in providing investment opportunities for women's projects.	3.8600	.98995	77.20
4	The regulations and laws regulating the work of the PLO and its various institutions and bodies are considered one of the obstacles facing the feminist elites.	3.6000	.92582	72.00

5	The quotas principle between the factions of the organization is considered a problem that hinders the feminist elite's work in the PLO.	3.8000	.96890	76.00
6	Political instability and differences in viewpoints among Palestinian organizations have weakened the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment.	3.9600	.90260	79.20
7	The challenges associated with lack of political will, weakness or dysfunctional political upbringing.	3.9000	.95298	78.00
8	Challenges related to the stereotype of women by members of society.	4.0400	.87970	80.80
9	Challenges associated with conservative political forces or inherited social forces such as clans.	3.9400	.89008	78.80
10	Challenges associated with society's ignorance of women's rights and the importance of which in society's development.	4.1200	.93982	82.40
11	Financial challenges in implementing effective programs and projects for the sustainable development of the reality of women in Palestine.	3.9200	1.04667	78.40
12	Challenges related to lack of managerial or technical skill and competence as well as communication skills.	3.8000	.94761	76.00
13	Problems with the Labor Code and procedures for registering women's enterprises in official bodies such as chambers of commerce.	3.7600	1.07968	75.20
Total score		3.85	0.680	77.02

It is clear from Table (4-5) that the approval degrees ranged between (3.58 -4.12)

with a relative weight ranging between (71.60%-82.4%), **the highest items were as follows:**

1. Item No. (10), which states “Challenges associated with society's ignorance of women's rights and the importance of which in society's development” ranked first with a relative weight of (82.4%). Society is ignorant of women's rights and their

essential role in the development of society, especially men. Most of them reject women's work and their equality with men.

2. Item No. (8), which states “Challenges related to the stereotype of women by members of society” ranked second with a relative weight of (80.8%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that society limits the role of women to a specific stereotype because society is not convinced of women's equality with men.

Whereas the least items were as follows:

1. Item No. (4), which states, “The regulations and laws regulating the work of the PLO and its various institutions and bodies are considered one of the obstacles facing the feminist elites” ranked twelfth and penultimate with a relative weight of (72%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that the PLO and its various institutions and bodies have become supportive of women's presence and participation in all fields, especially political participation.
2. Item No. (1), which states, “The Israeli occupation is the most prominent obstacle to achieving gender equality and empowering women” ranked thirteenth and the last one with a relative weight of (71.60%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that the Israeli occupation does not affect women directly in any way, but it affects them through siege, barbarism and infringement of rights it creates in society as a whole.

Third: Hypothesis Testing:

1. **The first hypothesis: There are no statistically significant differences - in the respondents' attitudes towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993 - 2019 - due to the educational qualification variable.**

To find out whether there are statistically significant differences in the responses of the study members according to the difference in the educational qualification variable, one-way analysis of variance "One Way ANOVA" was used. It was applied to clarify the significance of the responses' differences of the study members according to the educational qualification difference variable. The results were as shown in the following table:

Table (4-6) shows the results of the "One Way ANOVA" for the differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in academic qualifications

Theme	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	'F' Value	Statistical Significance	Comment
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	Between Groups	1.160	2	0.580	0.79	0.45	Not Significant
	Within Groups	34.388	47	0.732			
	Total	35.548	49				
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.270	2	0.135	0.17	0.84	Not Significant
	Within Groups	36.985	47	0.787			
	Total	37.256	49				
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.183	2	0.091	0.19	0.82	Not Significant
	Within Groups	22.509	47	0.479			
	Total	22.691	49				

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-6) that there are no statistically significant differences according to the difference in the educational qualification variable at the level of (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, the role of feminist elites in the PLO in

empowering women in Palestine, and the challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).

2. The second hypothesis: There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes - towards the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period "between" 1993 - 2019 - due to the variable number of experience years in the field of women's work.

To find out whether there are statistically significant differences in the study members' responses- according to the variable number of experience years in the field of women's work, "One Way ANOVA" was used. This was to clarify the significance of the differences in the study members' responses according to the variable number of experience years in the field of women's work. The results were as shown in the following table:

Table (4-7): Shows the results of "One Way ANOVA" for the differences in the responses of the study members according to the different number of experience years in the field of women's work

Theme	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	'F' Value	Statistical Significance	Comment
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	Between Groups	2.118	2	1.059	1.489	0.23	Not Significant
	Within Groups	33.430	47	0.711			
	Total	35.548	49				
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	4.934	2	2.467	3.587	0.03	Significant
	Within Groups	32.322	47	0.688			
	Total	37.256	49				
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.557	2	0.278	0.591	0.55	Not Significant
	Within Groups	22.134	47	0.471			
	Total	22.691	49				

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-7) that there are no statistically significant differences according to the difference in the number of experience years in the field of women's work at the level of (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, and the challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine, whereas it is clear that there are statistically significant differences according to the variable number of years of experience in the field of women's work at the level (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine.)

In order to determine the validity of the differences between the categories of the number of experience years in the field of women's work, the LSD test was used. The results were as follows:

Table (4-8) shows the results of the LSD test to verify the differences between the categories of the number of experience years in the field of women's work

Theme	Number of years working in women's work field	The Number	Arithmetic Mean	Less than 5 years	From 5 to 10 years	More than 10 years
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Less than 5 years	38	3.50	--		
	From 5 to 10 years	5	3.76	0.52	--	
	More than 10 years	7	2.65	0.01	0.02	--

It is evident from the results shown in Table (4-8) that there are statistically significant differences at the level (0.05 or less) between the study members whose years of experience in the field of women's work (more than 10 years) and the study members whose years of experience (less than 5 years, from 5 to 10 years) about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine) in favor of the study members whose years of experience (5 to 10 years).

3. The third hypothesis: There are no statistically significant differences in the respondents' attitudes- towards the role of women's elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993 - 2019-due to the variable of job position/leadership position.

To find out whether there are statistically significant differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the job and leadership position variables, "One Way ANOVA" was used. This was to clarify the significance of the

differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the variable of the job position / leadership position. The results were as shown in the following table:

Table (4-9): Results of the "One Way ANOVA" for the differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the job position / leadership position

Theme	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	'F' Value	Statistical Significance	Comment
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	Between Groups	1.965	3	0.897	0.897	0.45	Not Significant
	Within Groups	33.583	46	0.730			
	Total	35.548	49				
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	4.287	3	1.429	1.994	0.12	Not Significant
	Within Groups	32.969	46	0.717			
	Total	37.256	49				
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.539	3	0.180	0.373	0.77	Not Significant
	Within Groups	22.152	46	0.482			
	Total	22.691	49				

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-9) that there are no statistically significant differences- according to the difference in the variable of the job position/leadership position- at the level (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine, challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).

4. The fourth hypothesis: There are no statistically significant differences attributable to the age variable in the respondents' attitudes towards the role of

feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019).

To find out whether there are statistically significant differences in the study members responses according to the difference in the age variable, "One Way ANOVA" was used. This was to clarify the significance of the differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the age variable. The results were as shown in the following table:

Table (4-10): The Results of the "One Way ANOVA" for the differences in the study members' responses according to the age difference.

Theme	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	'F' Value	Statistical Significance	Comment
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	Between Groups	4.81	3	1.603	2.399	0.08	Not Significant
	Within Groups	30.739	46	0.668			
	Total	35.548	49				
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	6.783	3	2.261	3.413	0.02	Significant
	Within Groups	30.473	46	0.662			
	Total	37.256	49				
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	3.558	3	1.186	2.852	0.04	Significant
	Within Groups	19.133	46	0.416			
	Total	22.691	49				

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-10) that there are no statistically significant differences according to the age variable at the level (0.05 or less) in the study

members' attitudes about (the role of women's elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality), whereas it is clear that there are statistically significant differences - according to the age variable - at the level (0.05 or less) in the attitudes of the study members about (the role of the feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine, the challenges facing the feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).

The LSD test was used to determine the validity of differences between age groups. The results were as follows:

Table (4-11) shows the results of the LSD test to verify the differences between age groups

Theme	Age	The Number	Arithmetic Mean	Less than 25 years	From 25 to less than 35 years	From 35 to less than 45 years	45 years or more
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Less than 25 years	13	3.81	--			
	From 25 to less than 35 years	24	3.50	0.27	--		
	From 35 to less than 45 years	11	2.92	0.01	0.06	--	
	45 years or more	2	2.43	0.03	0.08	0.43	--
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Less than 25 years	13	4.07	--			
	From 25 to less than 35 years	24	3.58	0.03	--		
	From 35 to less than 45 years	11	4.10	0.89	0.02	--	
	45 years or more	2	4.31	0.63	0.13	0.68	--

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-11) that there are statistically significant differences- at the level (0.05 or less) between the study members aged (less

than 25 years) and the study members aged (from 35 to less than 45 years, 45 years and more) on (the role of the feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine)- in favor of the study members who are (less than 25 years old). It is clear that there are statistically significant differences- at the level (0.05 and less) between the study members aged (from 25 to less than 35 years) and study members aged (less than 25 years, from 35 to less than 45 years old), regarding (challenges that confront the feminist elites and that stand in the way of achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine)- in favor of the study members (from 35 to less than 45 years old).

5. The fifth hypothesis: There are no statistically significant differences- attributable to the variable of residence- in the respondents' attitudes towards the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period (1993-2019).

To find out whether there are statistically significant differences in the responses of the study members according to the difference in the place of residence, "One Way ANOVA" was used to clarify the significance of the differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the place of residence. The results were as shown in the following table:

Table (4-12): The results of the "One Way ANOVA" for the differences in the study members' responses according to the difference in the place of residence

Theme	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	'F' Value	Statistical Significance	Comment
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality	Between Groups	0.318	2	0.159	0.212	0.80	Not Significant
	Within Groups	35.230	47	0.750			
	Total	35.548	49				
The role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.545	2	0.272	0.349	0.70	Not Significant
	Within Groups	36.711	47	0.781			
	Total	37.256	49				
Challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine	Between Groups	0.765	2	0.383	0.820	0.44	Not Significant
	Within Groups	21.926	47	0.467			
	Total	22.691	49				

It is clear from the results shown in Table (4-12) that there are no statistically significant differences according to the variable of the place of residence at the level (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine, and challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).

Interviews' Results

First: Women in the political system: a majority in number and a minority in the political system - between support and rejection

Since the establishment of the Palestinian state on the land of Palestine after the return of the authority, women have always had an important role. Building was carried out according to the rule established by the woman before the establishment of the authority. There is the feminist participation from the revolutions of 1916 and 1936, and it is a basic struggle participation that has its impact despite the social limitations that women were experiencing at that time to the extent that the Palestinian novel is often told by women, and therefore Palestinian history was preserved by the woman who had always been beside men in the struggle for land and human (Al Namura, 10/12/2021).

Despite a qualitative shift in the status of women in political participation and decision-making, what has been achieved does not rise to the level of sacrifice and capacity of Palestinian women. This is fundamentally linked to the culture of Arab societies, and to our Palestinian society which is impeding the advancement of women, thereby increasing the responsibility of women to prove themselves. (Ghannam, 17/12/2021). The opinion of the Palestinian women leaders goes to consider that women do not constitute a minority, but rather they have participated in all areas of struggle, and their rights should be equal to the great role that they have played and are still playing in society (Abd al-Rahman, 9/12/2021.) Three of the sample members agreed on that, as Palestinian women constitute half of the scene. Even if they surpass men in number, but they remain a minority in the political situation due to patriarchal attitudes towards women (Nazzal, 14/12/2021).

The rate of women's participation in work at its best is 21% of the workforce. This is a very low percentage if it is compared to the education rate, because the education rate is almost equal between males and females for several reasons. The main reason is related to the economic situation and the lack of adequate job opportunities for women. With regard to women's participation rate in decision-making bodies such as in the National Council, their participation constitutes 11% so this percentage is very low, especially when comparing the rate of women's participation in political parties. For example, in the central committee of the Fatah movement, there is only one woman- Dalal Salama- and therefore yes, women's participation in the political sense is a minority (Al-Masry: 14/12/2021).

On the other hand, some feminist leaders emphasize that Palestinian women are a digital force and not an actual force. They still do not participate in decision-making, and are even far from decision-making. Therefore, it is a formalist force. Until now, there has not been a woman in Palestinian society who is actual decision-maker, and if she does exist, she is a formalist decision-maker. Behind that decision, there is a man who has taken the prior decision, instead of her (Abu-Bakr, 9/12/2021).

These leaders affirm that women have: a minority role. For example, as an electoral measure, there was pride in Palestine as the first Arab country to have women in the Legislative Council, and in ministerial positions. At some point, five women ministers were appointed in the same period. But the question is, did these women really have an effective role in enhancing the presence of women and providing new opportunities and joint work with women in order to reduce the challenges faced by Palestinian women and to search for mechanisms to develop and support women as decision makers in Palestine? (Abu Zneid, 9/12/2021). This is a very important reason.

Unfortunately, women leaders who had reached high positions were not near at the grass-roots, nor they had promoted the concept of women and their role as better-oriented models.

Second: Obstacles to women's access to decision-making positions

Women's access to decision-making positions is one of the important issues that preoccupied women's elites, women's institutions, researchers and researchers specializing in gender issues. In general, it can be considered that democratic mechanisms are the most effective and influential for women's access to decision-making circles. As there is a lack of real leadership that can reach real women, through the ballot box it is possible to reach and achieve the goal (Abu Bakr, 9/12/2021).

The arrival of leadership positions in popular organizations often comes within the election, and therefore this method is democratic, but to measure the extent of transparency in the election and how much it was given a real opportunity to vote, here lies the issue; For the government, it is not an election that is a contest, she says (Al-Namoura, 10/12/2021): We always say that there should be competitions for appointments and that there should not be exceptional decisions that put people who do not have the capabilities at the top of the pyramid, and in return ignore the people who are qualified, this is considered a destruction of the societal structure". So, democratic methods are better, as there must be women's inclusion, and here lies the importance of social change and the importance of having strategic policies adopted by the authority to integrate women into decision-making centers and there will be a change in society. There is a need for a strategic plan based on the need for a complete change of the social scene, such as changing the media, the prevailing culture, and educational curricula. Democratic

mechanisms alone are not sufficient unless there is a quota for women in the elections (Nazzal, 12/14/2021), and work to invest in the latent Palestinian women's energies.

Another trend is to consider both procedural methods and democratic mechanisms that together contribute to the effectiveness and access of women to decision-making. Women leaders possess qualifications and have the ability to do so, but they are invited to submit their identification papers and accredit them more than once. She also must make effort in the place in which she is, because there is strong competition from the man (Abd al-Rahman, 9/12/2021). The woman in Palestine is in dire need of stabilization and strengthening her role as a mother. The role of women in Palestine is greater than all the roles of women in the world. In Palestine, women must have the right to protection, and to be able to perform this role without facing obstacles.

There are a number of obstacles to women's access to decision-making positions, which can be summarized as follows:

a. Socio-stereotyped view of the role

The social/stereotypical view of the role is an obstacle to women's access to leadership positions and participation in decision-making. Men have become accustomed to the woman being subordinate to them, not being a decision maker (Abu Bakr, 9/12/2021). This was confirmed by four members of the sample. Yes, undoubtedly (Al-Masry: 14/12/2021) and (Ghanam, 17/ 12/2021) and (Abu Bakr, 9/12/2021) and (Nazzal, 14/12/2021). Women affect and are being affected centrally, but the question is: Is it only the stereotypical view of men, or also the stereotypical view of women themselves? Women do not help women. Women themselves sometimes constitute the biggest obstacle and challenge in that the leading woman was not the best model. Women lost

confidence in women leaders; this was the essence of the social challenge, with the nature, customs, traditions and values that limit the role of women. This is how much women leaders have paid personally in their family life. There are many divorces in most women leaders. Women who have not lived their normal lives as mothers or wives. This can be cited by what Dr. Najat Abu-Bakr tells about her personal experience that she did not allow that social outlook to be a hindrance - though it is difficult and cruel. She says: "I never received any decision from men and I always tried to be independent. When they wanted to limit my decision, I stay away from those who want to clash with my decision. So they harassed me, arrested me, lifted my immunity, and cut off my monthly salary. For 7 years, I have not received the salary of the Legislative Council. To the extent that I was absent from many institutions that used to invite me or send any official letter to me in particular to participate with them. I did not give up, so I established an unlicensed group called "The Canaanites" whose aim is only to launch initiatives". Here, we can talk about two sub-trends:

First: The leading women did not focus on protecting women nor enhancing their strength and belief in women's issues.

Second: Women have not yet believed in the role of women. In some positions, she is not convinced that women have the right to work in which. This is due to the false believe they have that these positions are the preserve of men. In fact, the economic empowerment is a basis in this matter. In addition, there are both obstacles the patriarchal authority and clans that still dominate until now. In my opinion, in order to change this image, we must go back to the grass roots and work with. We focus on distinguished and pioneering women, but there is nothing done to deal with women who are originally against women and who did not believe in women's issues and women's economic

empowerment because if women are not economically empowered, they will continue to live with their social problems. Therefore, we need to strengthen the role of women and return to work with women (Abu Zneid, (9/12/2021)).

Another trend is to consider that the issue is not related to the social outlook, but rather to the leadership and who is appointed to leadership positions or to high positions. The government is not required to take the society's view, whether it gives importance to women or gives weakness, so it is a justification for not employ women in leadership positions or decision-making positions. That is, the subject has nothing to do with the societal view, but it is related to the will of the decision makers which is the will of the leadership that makes women reach decision-making positions. Women in all leadership positions need a quota. Thus, a decision was made by the Central Council of the Liberation Organization, which is that 30% of all PLO institutions are approved in favor of women. Women are calling for the implementation of this decision, which was approved by the Central Council (Al-Namoura, 10/12/2021). When the quota was set and women were allowed to run for office, its presence became acceptable and the obstacles were removed. Women who get respect and appreciation from all segments of society need protection and decisions that achieve justice and give them this right (Abd al-Rahman, 9/12/2021). It is illogical for a woman to have all this without her right to participate in decision-making and to represent her country in decision-making positions.

The societal awareness and value system will change and remove the image of the negative or ignorant woman, and replace them with intelligent, educated woman who keeps up to date to everything that is new and useful, aware of history and social, political and economic developments, by activating her participation in development movements, which leads to clarification of the social framework for work, productivity, and the social

role of the individual, which contributes to the achievement of empowerment and development policies (Musa, 1997: p. 120). It is noteworthy that the development and advancement of societies are based on human energies, whether men or women, which makes caring for women and activating their role in the community development process an essential part of the development process itself. Considering the woman's ability to influence the other half, as she is half of society and the one who raises the other half of it. This means the necessity of their actual contribution to society, and here we recall the indicator that links the progress of any society with the advancement of women and their social and economic participation, thus eliminating differences and discrimination on the basis of gender (Hmoud, 1997: p. 21).

A woman can help herself and the women of her community in changing the society's view of them, by increasing her education and awareness, and by investing the energies that have been latent in her for years. In addition to maintaining her first tasks represented by her home and family, she must invest in the details of that first task that begins with herself and her home, and then begins to innovate outside the home... towards the larger home, which is the community, which gradually contributes to changing the society's view of it or affecting it either. Directly or indirectly.

b. Dimensions of men's negative attitude towards women's access to leadership positions

Five women from the study sample members agreed that a man's negative attitude towards women leaders is an obstacle towards women's access to leadership positions, whereas there was an opinion that the negative attitude of the man has no effect. Another opinion believes that there may be a partial effect if the man is in control of those positions from all aspects

C. jurisprudential opinions is as an obstacle to women's access to leadership positions

All members of the study sample agreed that jurisprudential opinions have an impact on impeding women's access to leadership positions. Strict jurisprudence frustrates or affects society. This is CEDAW, for example, and what happened in Hebron against the CEDAW agreement and the Palestine accession to which.

Third: Legal, political and social challenges and obstacles to empowering women

Empowerment of women is the process which allows women the ability to make strategic decisions that give them power that enables them to control their lives. Empowering women can also be defined as the process that refers to women's possession of resources and their ability to benefit from and manage them in order to achieve a set of achievements, and based on this definition It shows the importance of the availability of three interconnected elements for women to be able to exercise their individual choices; Which: Resources, management, and achievements, each of which has a different meaning; Resources refer to material, social, and human expectations and allocations, while management refers to a woman's ability or at least her sense of ability to define her strategic goals that she wants to reach in her life and act on those goals and make decisions based on the results of those goals. As for the achievements, they refer to a variety of outcomes that start from achieving and improving a decent standard of living to achieving the principle of women's political representation (Marwan, 2020).

The researcher defines empowerment as "the remarkable and effective participation of women in Palestinian society in various political, economic, social and cultural fields, so that empowerment reflects the extent of appreciation enjoyed by the

human element, especially the female element, with the aim of achieving societal development goals, based on a specific strategy, through which obstacles and challenges can be overcome. That women face on a psychological, personal and social level.

The elements of women's empowerment are as follows:

- The right of women to determine their own choices.
- A woman's right to be able to control her life, whether inside or outside the home.
- A woman's sense of her worth and herself.
- Women's right to access resources, and to provide them with opportunities to benefit from them.
- The right of women to influence the trends of the social and economic system at the national and international levels (Marwan, 2020).

However there are a number of challenges that stand in the way of empowering women, which can be clarified as follows:

- 1- The challenge of the law: That is, duplication of law (such as British, Egyptian, Jordanian, Israeli, and finally Palestinian law) this contributed to impeding women from obtaining their rights.
- 2- Political challenges: the occupation.
- 3- Social challenges: they differ from society to society. The challenges that women face differ from one city to another and from one village to another. Among these challenges is what is at the heart of the issue: i.e. gender inequality, and society's view of women.

- 4- The poor training and rehabilitation of women is an obstacle to women's empowerment and access to decision-making.
- 5- A woman's success, whether negative or positive, affects all women. When a woman holds a leadership position, her position affects not only her but all women. Therefore, there must be a challenge and a belief for women that their success or failure will affect women afterwards. An example is Dr. Laila Ghannam gave a different view of women that she could be a governor. So, this qualified her to reach decision-making positions. Sometimes, the surrounding social conditions and the existing political structure and composition help support women; thus, it helps achieve balance and political and security structure.
- 6- Being restricted to an "executive authority" that controls the whole country. There is no legislative or judicial authority, which means the absence of integrity and the important role of women in security positions.

However, the researcher believes that these obstacles can be addressed and overcome by increasing women's empowerment projects in Palestinian society, because of its multiple effects, which can be summarized as follows:

- Gives women the skill of self-management to plan for the future.
- Investing the primary resources and individual capabilities of women.
- Empowerment contributes to improving the level of women's sense of self and respect for themselves.
- It increases women's freedom to choose their profession and work.
- Supporting the increase of women's share of the national income.

- Raising women's awareness of their rights at work according to the Palestinian Labor Law.
- Supports women's participation in making and making decisions within the family.
- Modifying negative societal attitudes towards giving women their share of inheritance.
- Contribute to the elimination of forms of discrimination against women.

Fourth: Recommendations of women leaders/women's elites in decision-making field.

1. The necessity of awareness. It is very necessary for women to continue imposing their presence because society views women as if it is Superman. So when women reach political positions, they are required to dress in Superman's clothing! (Abu Bakr, 9/12/2021), (Al-Namoura, 10/12/2021).
2. Giving women more opportunities in education, opportunities to obtain leadership positions, and greater support from the family and society (Ghannam, 17/12/2021).
3. There must be feminist institutions that support women, to call, scream and appeal more than to implement (Unfortunately, these institutions do not exist).
4. Women need economic and social empowerment before they reach political empowerment. If the woman is educated but not economically and socially empowered, this will contribute to weakening her political empowerment (Abu Bakr, 9/12/2021).
5. The Palestinian Authority is required to make policies and develop legislation and laws that raise the value of women, based on its vision of the Palestinian state's desired identity that the Declaration of Independence spoke of, as well as to place

women in a level equal to men according to the Declaration of Independence which recognizes pluralism and peaceful deliberation of decision-making. This is what 3 of the sample members confirmed. (Nazzal, 14/12/2021) (Abu Zneid, 9/12/2021) (Abd al-Rahman, 12/12/2021), in addition to raising the quota rate (Al-Masry: 14/12/2021).

6. There is a responsibility that lies with the political parties, which are supposed to ensure the presence of women in decision-making bodies and give them opportunities. That is, presence of women in party bodies enables them to play a political and social role.
7. There is a responsibility on women and women's institutions that are supposed to play a role in pressing for the development of policies that enable women to participate in decision-making bodies as well as women's institutions concerned with their programs in order to raise the level of women's awareness and empower women. Thus, women can be in position decision-making positions and be able to prove their role and presence.

Chapter Five

Results and Recommendations

Chapter Five

Results and Recommendations

The researcher prepared a study on the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period “between” 1993-2019 (women in the Palestine Liberation Organization is a model). The study showed a high degree of honesty and reliability as the study tool was presented to the doctor supervising the thesis and a group of arbitrators. The study was based on hypotheses testing (Correlations). The study reached a set of results, in the light of which the recommendations were made.

First: The Results

The study reached the following results:

1. The feminist elites are keen to achieve gender equality in Palestinian society because of its impact on empowering women in Palestinian society. The women's elite in the PLO also reflected the ability of women to participate in politics alongside men. They got many achievements at the level of government and municipalities as well. Women have held high political positions as ministers and deputy members in the Legislative Council. This is clear in the approval of the study sample members on the role of the female elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, which came to a medium degree. The arithmetic mean of all theme items was 3.25, whereas the relative weight of all theme items was 65.02%.
2. Technological development has contributed to facilitating the work of women elites in developing Palestinian women. Women have developed themselves electronically to keep pace with the rapid developments in the world, in order to facilitate access to

women for their development and empowerment in society. In addition, the primary role supported by the feminist elites is to support women socially as this aspect is the main and influential aspect in all other aspects. This is evidenced by the approval of the study sample members on the role of the female elites in the Liberation Organization in empowering women in Palestine to a high degree. The arithmetic mean of all the theme items was 3.41, whereas the relative weight of all the theme items was 68.17%.

3. The approval of the study sample members on the challenges facing the feminist elites and impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine to a high degree. The arithmetic mean of all theme items was 3.85, while the relative weight of all theme items was 77.02%. There are challenges related to society's ignorance of women's rights and their importance in developing it, in addition to challenges related to the stereotype of women "in the second place "with a relative weight (80.8%). The researcher attributes this to the fact that society limits the role of women in a specific stereotype without expanding due to the society's conviction that women are not equal to men.
4. There are no statistically significant differences according to the different variables (educational qualification, job position / leadership position, place of residence) at the level (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine, and the challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).
5. There are no statistically significant differences according to (the number of experience years in the field of women's work) variable- at the level (0.05 or less) in

the attitudes of the study members about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality, and the challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine).

6. There are statistically significant differences at the level (0.05 or less) between the study members whose years of experience in the field of women's work (more than 10 years) and the study members whose years of experience (less than 5 years, from 5 to 10 years) about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in empowering women in Palestine), in favor of the study individuals whose years of experience (5 to 10 years).
7. There are no statistically significant differences according to the age variable at the level (0.05 or less) in the study members' attitudes about (the role of feminist elites in the PLO in achieving gender equality).
8. There are statistically significant differences at the level (0.05 or less) between study members whose ages are (less than 25 years old) and study members whose ages are (from 35 to less than 45 years old, 45 years old and older) about (the role of women's elites in the PLO in Empowering women in Palestine), in favour of study members whose age is (less than 25 years).
9. There are statistically significant differences at the level (0.05 and less) between the study members aged (from 25 to less than 35 years) and study members aged (less than 25 years, from 35 to less than 45 years old), regarding (the challenges facing feminist elites that impede achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine) in favor of the study members aged (from 35 to less than 45 years).
10. Women constitute a minority - in terms of the political system and the role they play - because of patriarchal attitudes towards them. Although there are opinions that go

towards believing that Palestinian women do not constitute a minority within the political situation.

11. The social/stereotypical view of the role is an obstacle to women's access to leadership positions and participation in decision-making.
12. The democratic mechanism is the most effective and influential for women's access to decision-making positions. Women must be included, and herein lies the importance of social change. However, some consider that both procedural methods and democratic mechanisms contribute to women's access to decision-making positions.
13. Men's negative attitude towards women leaders is an obstacle towards women's access to leadership positions.
14. Jurisprudential opinions have an impact on impeding women's access to leadership positions.
15. The dual law in Palestine represented by: (British, Egyptian, Jordanian, Israeli, and finally Palestinian law) constitutes a challenge that has its impact on delaying women's arrival and obstructing them in obtaining their rights.
16. There are a number of challenges facing women's empowerment, such as: the political challenges represented by the occupation, the poor training and rehabilitation of women, in addition to the social challenges that differ from society to society. The challenges that women face differ from city to city and from village to village. Among these challenges is what is at the heart of the issue: i.e., gender inequality, and society's view of women.
17. The absence of the Legislative Council, and the restriction of the executive authority, is considered a negative impact on Palestinian women's access to leadership and

decision-making positions. This has a prominent relationship with the absence of integrity, accountability and justice.

Second: Recommendations

Recommendations- based on the above-mentioned study's results- can be as the following:

1. Recommendations for the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Factions.

It is recommended to:

- ❖ work on empowering women politically and socially to gain their full rights equally with men in various social and occupational fields including health, education in the Palestinian society.
- ❖ work on integrating Palestinian women into human development projects and various activities, as they are a key player and a major part of the national policy.
- ❖ protect Palestinian women and provide them with psychological and human security, away from marginalization, violence and fear.

2. Recommendations for the Palestinian government

It is recommended to:

- ❖ deal with and remove all the challenges facing the feminist elites that stand in the way of achieving equality and empowering women at work in Palestinian government institutions, so that competence is taken into account as a basis for opportunities, not gender.

- ❖ work on strengthening the role of the feminist elites in the Palestinian Liberation Organization for their serious work in achieving equality between women and men.
- ❖ commit to what is stated in the Palestinian independence document including supporting women, strengthening their presence in the law, giving them a role in decision-making, and giving them job opportunities at the highest levels. Finally, it includes working for equal rights and the implementation of equality between men and women.
- ❖ empower women by activating the role of institutions supporting them in reality with necessity to provide the financial the official government support for all feminist institutions working in Palestine. Also, it is essential to offer them the opportunity to diversify their internal and external sources of income. In addition, it is important to work on providing financial support to the feminist elites to continue their support for the empowerment of Palestinian women.

3. Recommendations For Civil Society Organizations

It is recommended to:

- ❖ pay attention to supporting and empowering Palestinian women through training courses to qualify them in all social , economic and political fields.
- ❖ work on providing and supporting small women's projects and community awareness of the importance of supporting these local projects.
- ❖ Hold awareness workshops to educate men about the status of women and to get them out of the stereotyped image that he places in society.
- ❖ link a woman to her family socially because her success in the family will lead to her success in all other fields.

- ❖ communicate with all institutions and organizations that support women to activate the company in the programs and activities offered.

4. Recommendations for Academic Researchers:

It is recommended to:

1. Conduct studies on the role of women in making public policy for the State of Palestine.
2. Conduct studies on captive women's leadership in the prisons of the Israeli occupation, and shedding light on the reality of Palestinian female prisoners and its impact on the image of women and their striving role in society.

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Third: Interviewer Names

Abu Bakr, Najat.

Abu Zneid, Jihad.

Abd Al- Rahman, Ferial.

Ghannam, Laila.

Al-Masry, Majida.

Nazzal, Rima.

Nammoura, Mona.

Annexes

Annex (1): Names of the sample interviewers:

Name	Description
Abu Bakr, Najat	A member in the Legislative Council, head of the Canaanite Assembly, and a member of international institutions.
Abu Zneid, Jihad	A former member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and of the Fatah Revolutionary Council. The head of the Women's Centre in Sha'afat Camp.
Abed Al - Rahman, Ferial	An adviser to the Presidency, representative of Palestine to the Arab Women's Organization and member of the General Federation of Palestinian Women.
Ghannam, Laila	The only female governor in the State of Palestine.
Al-Masry, Majida	A member of the Palestinian National Council and Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Member of the General Union of Women's Ministers for Development.
Nazzal, Rima	A Palestinian feminist and politician, member of the Palestinian National Council and the General Secretariat of the General Federation of Palestinian Women.
Nammoura, Mona	A member of the political bureau of the Palestinian People's Struggle Front, member of the General Secretariat of the General Federation of Palestinian Women and member of the Palestinian National Council.

Annex (2): Names of the Arbitrators

Dr. Omar Rahal
Dr. Mohamed Abu Zayed

Annex (3): Questionnaire**Master Thesis Questionnaire**

Dear virtuous woman

This questionnaire is the practical aspect of a research entitled: **The role of Feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine during the period 1993-2019.**

Women in the PLO is a Case study (model); in order to obtain a master degree in conflict resolution and development from the Arab American University, I will be grateful if you could answer the questions in this questionnaire honestly by marking the answer which corresponds to your point of view; I hope to arrive at accurate results that reflect reality.

It should be noted that the information contained in this questionnaire will be used for scientific purposes only.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Researcher Abeer Abu Al-Rub

Section Two: Themes of the study

Put (x) in the appropriate box

No	Item	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Not Certain 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
First theme: The role of feminist elites in the Liberation Organization in achieving gender equality						
1	Feminist elites strive to achieve gender equality in Palestinian society.					
2	Feminist elites address the marginalization of women in Palestinian society.					
3	Feminist elites in the PLO are fighting violence against women in Palestinian society.					
4	PLO feminist elites are fighting sexual harassment in public places					
5	Feminist elites in the PLO criminalize marital rape.					
6	Feminist elites in the Liberation Organization support the legal safety of Palestinian women.					
7	The organization's feminist elites provide legal aid to women in Palestine.					
8	The organization's feminist elites provide legal aid and court fees to some women in need in Palestine.					
9	Feminist elites in the Liberation Organization provide social safety for Palestinian women.					
10	Feminist elites have achieved gender equality in governance.					
11	Feminist elites have achieved gender equality in terms of political participation.					

12	After the 1948 Nakba, the role of women was transformed from one of support for the rebels and the national movement, to one of active role, through participation in political action.					
13	The feminist elite in Liberation reflected women's ability to participate politically alongside men.					
Second theme: The role of feminist elites in Liberation in empowering women in Palestine						
14	The feminist elites of the Liberation Organization are interested in promoting the political and economic activity of Palestinian women.					
15	The Organization's feminist elites seize opportunities to improve and empower the reality and development of Palestinian women.					
16	Feminist elites in Liberation seek to promote the image of women in society.					
17	Feminist elites in the Liberation Organization provide economic safety for Palestinian women.					
18	The Liberation Organization, through its projects, contributes to the development of the status of Palestinian women.					
19	Feminist elites play a role in women's social development					
20	Feminist elites play a role in women's political development					
21	Feminist elites play a role in women's economic development					

22	The feminist elite has increased women's awareness of their existence and associated roles and tasks that are not without national and social affiliation.					
23	Feminist elites are implementing projects that create jobs and reduce unemployment among women in Palestinian society.					
24	Technological development has facilitated the work of Feminist elites in the development of Palestinian women.					
25	Feminist elites are planning for a better community development future for women					
26	Feminist elites are working to harmonize and apply more efficient solutions to women's development.					
27	The organization's feminist elites have offered many programs and courses on how to prepare economic projects and activities for the development and empowerment of women.					
Third theme: The challenges facing feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women in Palestine.						
28	The Israeli occupation is the most prominent obstacle to achieving gender equality and empowering women.					
29	The instability of security conditions in Palestine has weakened the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and empowering women.					
30	The difficult economic conditions in Palestine have weakened the role of					

	feminist elites in providing investment opportunities for women's enterprises.					
31	The laws and regulations governing the work of the Liberation Organization and its various institutions and bodies are an obstacle to feminist elites.					
32	The principle of partisanship among the factions of the organization is problematic for the work of the feminist elites of the Liberation Organization.					
33	Political instability and differences of views among Palestinian organizations have weakened the role of feminist elites in achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women.					
34	Challenges associated with lack of political will, weakness or dysfunctional political upbringing					
35	Challenges associated with the stereotyping of women by members of society					
36	Challenges associated with conservative political forces or legacy social forces such as clans.					
37	Challenges associated with society's ignorance of women's rights and their importance in society's development					
38	Financial challenges in implementing effective programs and projects for the sustainable development of the reality of women in Palestine.					
39	Challenges related to lack of managerial or technical skill and efficiency, as well as in communication					

40	Problems with Labor Law and procedures for registering women's enterprises in official bodies such as chambers of commerce.					
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Thank you very much for your cooperation.

هدفت الدراسة إلى التعرف على دور النخب النسوية في تحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين وتمكين النساء في فلسطين خلال الفترة الواقعة بين 1993-2019 (المرأة في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية نموذجاً)، ومن أجل ذلك فقد اعتمدت الدراسة المنهج التحليلي الوصفي، واستخدمت الاسبانه والمقابلة كأدوات لها، حيث يتمثل مجتمع الدراسة من النساء الناشطات في المجال السياسي والنسوي والمجتمعي، والنساء في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، وقامت الباحثة باستخدام أسلوب العينة العشوائية البسيطة، وقد بلغ عدد الاستبانات الصالحة للتحليل (50) استبانة، كما وتم استخدام عينة قصدية مكونة من 7 من القيادات النسوية الفلسطينية.

وتوصلت الدراسة إلى مجموعة من النتائج أهمها: أنّ النخب النسوية تحرص على تحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين في المجتمع الفلسطيني لما له من أثر على تمكين النساء في المجتمع الفلسطيني، كما عكست النخبة النسوية في منظمة التحرير قدرة المرأة في المشاركة السياسية إلى جانب الرجل فقد حققت الكثير من الإنجازات على صعيد الحكومة وعلى صعيد البلديات أيضاً، وقد تولت المرأة مناصب سياسية عالية كوزيرة ونائب في المجلس التشريعي . ويتضح ذلك من خلال موافقة أفراد عينة الدراسة على دور النخب النسوية في منظمة التحرير في تحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين التي جاءت بدرجة متوسطة، حيث كان الوسط الحسابي لجميع فقرات المحور 3.25 فيما بلغ الوزن النسبي لجميع فقرات المحور 65.02%. وأظهرت النتائج موافقة أفراد عينة الدراسة على التحديات التي تواجه النخب النسوية والتي تقف أمام تحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين وتمكين النساء في فلسطين بدرجة عالية، حيث كان الوسط الحسابي لجميع فقرات المحور 3.85 فيما بلغ الوزن النسبي لجميع فقرات المحور 77.02%. حيث توجد تحديات مرتبطة بجهل المجتمع في حقوق المرأة وأهميتها في تطويره، بالإضافة إلى تحديات مرتبطة بالصورة النمطية من قبل أفراد المجتمع للمرأة " بالمرتبة الثانية بوزن نسبي (80.8%)، وبيّنت نتائج الدراسة أنّ المرأة تشكل أقلية في المنظومة السياسية والدور، بسبب المواقف الذكورية تجاهها، على الرغم من وجود آراء تذهب نحو الاعتقاد بأن المرأة الفلسطينية لا تُشكّل أقلية داخل الموقف السياسي، كما تشكل النظرة الاجتماعية/ النمطية من خلال الدور؛ عائقاً أمام وصول المرأة للمناصب القيادية والمشاركة في صنع القرار.

وقد أوصت الدراسة الحكومة الفلسطينية بمعالجة وإزالة كافة التحديات التي تواجه النخب النسوية والتي تقف أمام تحقيق المساواة وتمكين المرأة في العمل لدى مؤسسات الحكومة

الفلسطينية، بحيث يتم مراعاة الكفاءة كأساس للفرص، وليس الجنس، بالإضافة إلى ضرورة العمل على تعزيز دور النخب النسوية في منظمة التحرير لعملها الجاد في تحقيق المساواة بين المرأة والرجل.