



**Arab American University**  
**Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**The role of intercultural communication in enabling  
Palestinian women to participate in the political  
decision-making process in the Palestinian National  
Authority in the west bank -Palestine 1994-2019**

**By**

**Sawsan Ahmad Mohammad Maraheel**

**Supervisor**

**Dr. Ayman Nazzal**

**This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillments of the  
requirements of the Master's degree in  
Intercultural communication and Literature.**

**August/2020**

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By:

**Sawsan Ahmad Mohammad Marahel**

This thesis was defended successfully on ...8/10/2020...and approved by:

**Committee members**

**Signature**

1. Dr. Ayaman Nazzal	Supervisor .....
2. Dr. Ayman Yousef	Internal Examiner .....
3. Dr. Bilal Shobaki	External examiner .....

## **Declaration**

I Sawsan Ahmad Marahel, Student of Graduate Studies of the Arab American university, hereby declare that my thesis entitled **“The role of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to participate in the political decision-making process in the Palestinian National Authority in the west bank - Palestine 1994-2019”** Submitted to the Faculty of graduate studies, is my original work done in the form of partial fulfillment of requirements of the Master’s degree in Intercultural Communication and Literature under the supervision of Dr.Ayman Nazzal.

I declare that I understood the concept of plagiarism and I acknowledge that my thesis will be rejected in case of plagiarism.

**Sawsan Ahmad Marahel**

Signature:

Date:

## **Dedication**

This research is mainly dedicated to my beloved parents

My beautiful inside and outside mother, the strongest most independent woman who  
inspired me to always do my best

### **Jamila Maraheel**

To my beloved father's soul, the first intellectual I knew in my life, who always  
encouraged me and pushed me to know more about the world and who I dream to be  
like one day.

### **Ahmad Maraheel**

To my brothers and sisters who supported me all the way  
and to my friends and family who encouraged me all the time.  
To my supervisor who guided me and made this research possible.

## **Acknowledgment**

Foremost, I thank the Almighty GOD for giving me the strength, knowledge and endurance to finish this thesis.

I would like to thank my sister for her constant guide and support of me in my educational life in specific.

I would like to thank my university professors without them I would not be here today; it has been a great honor to be a student of such great intellectuals

Besides, I would like to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to Dr. Ayman Yousef and the thesis committee members.

Special thanks to all the people I interviewed, the data they gave were very informative and essential to my research.

Last but not the least; I thank my family again for supporting me in every way and all the way to the end.

## **Abstract**

This study aims to identify the role of intercultural communication in enabling and empowering women to participate in political decision-making, considering that Intercultural communication between different cultures can reduce the impact of male dominant culture, and encourage closed and conservative societies to go into the experiences of other cultures in empowering and enabling women to participate in political decision-making.

The researcher resorted to the interview as a tool to identify the most important obstacles that women face in reaching political decision-making positions, in addition to the impact of their experience in intercultural communication on these obstacles, which resulted in enabling them to reach leadership positions. The researcher conducted individual interviews with a sample of (23) leading woman in Palestine distributed in high positions in various private and governmental institutions, and (13) politicians and academics from Palestine.

The study found several results, the most important of which are: that the feminist experiences in intercultural communication have actually contributed to Palestinian women empowerment and their access to leadership positions in the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Palestinian National Authority, as these experiences affected their experience, competence, and outlook on political work, thus increased their self-confidence. On the one hand, enhancing their motivation and readiness to indulge in the political sphere as a result of learning about successful examples from other cultures.

As for the other benefit that helped enable women to reach decision-making, it is the effect of intercultural communication on male culture. It provided an opportunity for society to accept the presence of women in decision-making positions at the societal level. However, at the official level, it became embarrassing to appear in official delegations without the presence of women, which prompted the Palestinian National Authority institutions to include gender units in their system.

Historically intercultural communication contributed to enabling the feminist movement to amend laws and legislation related to the empowerment and protection of women, through their benefit from international and Arab laws, especially the Tunisian experience, in addition to their transfer of the quota experience after learning about it in the Russian and Norwegian experience. Accordingly, the representation of women increased in Leadership and regulatory frameworks.

Based on these results, the study recommended employing intercultural communication experiences to enable women to reach positions of political decision-making and to develop systematic and deliberate plans in this field.

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## **Chapter One**

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## **Chapter One**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Palestinian women's' first political activity was a protest demonstration in Afula against the first settlement's construction in 1893. Along with other essential activities, the most important of which was the Battle of Al-Buraq in 1929, in which the British army's bullets martyred nine women. This event led to accretion in her struggle to change her political and economic conditions. She suffered from arrest, killing, beating, and house demolitions carried out by the British Mandate authorities (Jabali.2009).

The first Palestinian women's conference was held in Jerusalem in 1929, and an executive committee was formed in it, called the "Executive Committee of the Arab Women's Association." In the same year, the "Arab Women Union was established in Jerusalem and another one in Nablus." between 1948-1967, Palestinian society witnessed the catastrophe and its devastating effects on all political and economic aspects (ASSI.2011).

Feminist institutions have been active in providing orphans' homes and support for affected families, such as food, water, housing, and clothing. That is why public women's organization was established in 1965 under the name "General Union of Palestinian Women," It aimed to organize women's social and political status in the occupied homeland (Ismail, 2002, pp 2-5).

After the Palestine Liberation Organization formation, Palestinian women were involved in political, social, and military action. They have exceeded their social role,

become involved in national movements, and participated in military operations in the occupied territory.

By the end of 1967, approximately 68 women's associations working in charitable causes and women's support moved away from political work. However; the qualitative shift of women that occurred in 1978, in which feminist frameworks were formed as one of the Palestinian factions. The aim of this decision was: to badge women in political parties across all areas of their housing (the city, the countryside, the camp), the importance of this decision lies in framing society classes All without interest on another account (Qutb,2012).

Over the past several decades, women have been active in various fields of life: political, social, intercultural, health, and national. Perhaps the most crucial activity was in 1987, which appeared clearly in its struggle through demonstrations, beatings, and imprisonment. (Othman.2003)

After the Oslo agreement and its signing in 1993, the Palestinian situation changed on external and internal fields. Among the indicators of this was the arrival of the Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, representing the Palestinian people (Gad, H, 2007). The Palestinian Authority has built institutions, adopted laws, and held elections. Civil society institutions related to rights and demands for protection have spread to them in the psychological and health areas, sanctioned (Nazzal, 2004, p. 28). Despite the important role that Palestinian women have played through associations and federations over time. What sacrifices they made in light of the Palestinian struggle, their representation in the Palestinian political life is still weak, which affects their participation in decision-making processes.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem:**

The study's problem is represented in the lack of utilization of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to reach leadership positions, due to the lack of awareness of the importance of this and its role in challenging the obstacles that hinder women in political action and accessing decision-making positions.

On the other hand, the researcher found a lack of awareness of Palestinian women's important role in political participation and decision-making, Gender norms, and inequality issues are the main reasons for lack of representation and participation of women in political life. This limits her role as a capable and qualified person to play a beneficial role in Palestinian society's political life, which distracts the attention of Sustainable development processes in Palestinian society.

## **1.3. Questions of the Study:**

**The study main question is: Does** intercultural communication have a role in enabling Palestinian women in the political decision-making processes?

**As for the sub questions:**

-To what extent Palestinian women have been active in assuming their rights socially, politically, economically.

-Are the laws in Palestine prevent women from being active members in social and political aspects of Palestinian life or afford them the opportunity to have an active role in society?

- What are the obstacles that prevent women from participating in decision-making in Palestine?

-. What are the challenges that women face in making political decisions in Palestine?

-. How can the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making in Palestine be enhanced?

#### **1.4. Aims of the Study**

This study aims to identify intercultural communication's role in enabling Palestinian women to participate in political decision-making processes. To shed light on the impact of feminist experiences in intercultural communication on their political experience, the role of intercultural communication in facing the obstacles that stand in their way, in terms of social, economic, intercultural, and political aspects. To come up with possible recommendations that would contribute to the appropriate employment of intercultural communication come up, which leads to women's empowerment to reach decision-making positions in Palestine, similar to the positive experiences of other cultures.

The researcher did this by revealing the role of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to participate in the political decision-making process. By analyzing the current political participation levels in political decision-making, revealing the main challenges that women face, and proposing strategies to overcome these challenges, based on the obtained information and the respondent's point of view.

### **1.5. Study Objectives:**

The main objectives of this study are:

Defining the role of intercultural communication in enabling women to participate in political decision-making.

Discuss the reality of Palestinian women's participation in political decision-making and the main obstacles, which face women's participation in decision-making in Palestine.

-Identify the most important challenges facing women in political decision-making in Palestine and propose possible solutions to enhance Palestinian women's participation in decision-making in Palestine.

### **1.6. The Significant of the Study:**

The study's significance lies in shedding light on the participation of Palestinian women in political decision-making, which is considered one of the most vital political fields in which women deserve to participate, given their history of struggle, abilities, qualifications, and expected benefits from that indulging. Participation in this field, the political participation of women today, has become necessary to achieve the political system's goals being half of society. Their contribution to political work expands the base of political participation to include all segments of society, which reinforces the principle of citizenship and belonging to the homeland (Rahal, 2004). Likewise, the assumption of responsibility by women in official bodies places them in a place that helps them achieve their interests because, without women's real participation, it is not



possible to talk about real equality, rights, and duties between the various groups of society. On the other hand, the study's importance is to shed light on intercultural communication importance in effecting the stereotypical image of women created by the patriarchal culture, which constitutes the first challenge and hindrance, which women face in reaching decision-making positions, by addressing Palestinian experiences in intercultural communication and its impact on their political experience.

The significant of the study can be spelled out under the following titles:

#### **1.6.1. Theoretical Significance:**

The importance of the study lies in the definition of political concepts that are related to intercultural communication, political participation, and decision - making with gender concepts and theories, in addition to political and gender equality studies as well as intercultural communication studies.

#### **1.6.2. Applied Importance:**

This study will contribute to uncovering the role of intercultural communication, in addressing the most significant obstacles, and challenges facing Palestinian women, in their participation in decision-making, through the experiences of a Palestinian political participant from both sides: males and females in specific. In order to conclude solutions, suggestions, and recommendations that would advance the reality of Palestinian women's participation in political decision-making

## **1.7. Limitation of the Study**

**First:** The lack of studies that dealt with the main subject, especially in the time and spatial limit covered by this study.

**Second:** the study group includes a representative sample of women involved in politics and decision-making. This requires more time and effort to gather information about this role from reliable references to enrich the topic in all its aspects. Some of the intended women were not cooperative which made it hard to include the expected sample from all parties.

## **1.8. Definitions of the Study Terms**

Concepts: gender equality, feminism, political participation, influence, discourse, formal and informal organization, pre-Oslo and post-Oslo, the role of women, challenges and prospects, empowerment, support, gender gap, equality between Genders.

### **1.8.1. Intercultural Communication:**

Is the nonverbal and verbal interaction between people from various intercultural norms and backgrounds. Basically, 'inter-' is a prefix which means 'between' and intercultural means the knowledge and characteristics of a specific group of people, encompassing language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music, and arts, so intercultural communication is the communication, and exchange between cultures. Sometimes, this is used to describe an individual trying to interact in a foreign environment. However, more often, it is a two-way street, where people or institutions from both cultures try to

improve their communication. (Chen & Starosta, 1998:28) also means a symbolic, interpretive, transactional, contextual process, in which people from different cultures create shared meanings. (Lustig & Koester, 2007:46)

**1.8.2. Patriarchal Society:** Patriarchal (adj.) describes a general structure that men have power upon women. Society (n.) is the outline of relations of a society and community—a patriarchal society made of a male-dominated power structure by an organized society and in individual relationships. Power is related to privilege. In a system in which men have more power than women, men have some privileges to which women are not entitled (Napikoski.2020).

### **1.8.3. Gender Equality:**

Is the process of being fair to women and men to ensure that fairness, strategies, and measures must often be available to compensate for women's historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity leads to equality. Gender equality requires equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources, and rewards. Where gender inequality exists, women are generally excluded or disadvantaged concerning decision-making and access to economic and social resources. (UNFPA.2005) In politics, gender can be viewed as a foundational discourse that political actors employ to position themselves on a variety of issues. (Salamie. 2011) Gender studies are also a discipline in itself, incorporating methods and approaches from various disciplines. (Lustig.2011).

#### **1.8.4. Enabling Women:**

As a positive term, it references patterns of interaction that allow individuals to develop and grow. These may be on any scale, for example, within the family, or in broader society as "Enabling acts" designed to empower some group, or create a new authority for a body so enabling women is to empower women to develop and grow. (Definitions.2020)

#### **1.8.5. Women's Political Enabling:**

Women's political enabling is making women possess the power, capabilities, and ability to be an active element in change. Meaning that the concept of political empowerment is closely related to the realization of the woman's self and presence on the ground, with the enhancement of her capabilities in political participation through her serious and effective participation in all activities of other political and popular organizations and their professional unions and their administrative offices. (Khader.2013)

#### **1.8.6. The Women's Quota:**

The quota system is a system used to allocate specific seats in an institution or council, to a particular social group to ensure the fair representation of them in this institution and therefore the women's quota is intended to determine a specific number of seats in legislative councils for women, and the application of this system requires the obligation of political parties to allocate seats for the presence of women in its organizational level, there is a specific number of seats in the House of Representatives that are filled by women, so that the number of these seats may not be less than the

legally established percentage, that is, there is a specific female quota that must be filled by women. (Abdel-salam.2013)

#### **1.8.7.Beijing Declaration & Platform for Action:**

Adopted during the Fourth World Conference on Women in September 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action focused on 12 areas concerning the implementation of women's human rights and set out an agenda for women's empowerment. It is considered a significant achievement in explicitly articulating women's rights as human rights. The Platform for Action includes a series of strategic objectives aimed at eliminating discrimination against women and the achievement of equality between women and men. It involves political and legal strategies on a global scale using a rights framework as its basis. The Platform for Action is the most comprehensive expression of governments' commitments to women's human rights. It concerns though that both the 2005 and 2010 reviews of the Platform concluded that de jure and de facto. Equality had not been achieved in any country in the world, and the 2010 review recognized that even where legal reforms have taken place, they are often ineffectively implemented. (OHCHR.1996.2020)

**1.8.8. Women Empowerment:** the process of increasing women's access to control over the strategic life choices that affect them and access to the opportunities that allow them fully to realize their capacities. Women's empowerment as an economic, political, and socio-intercultural process challenges the system of sexual stratification that has resulted in women's subordination and marginalization in order to improve women's quality of life (Chen YZ., Tanaka H.2014).

### **1.8.9. The UN Conference on Sustainable Development:**

The Rio+20 Conference on sustainable development brought Heads of State and Government to Brazil in 2012, to appraise implementation progress and gaps for agreements struck since the landmark 1992 UN Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio. In Rio+20, countries renewed their political commitment to sustainable development and agreed to establish sustainable development goals (SDGs). Notably, the outcome document also reaffirms States' commitments to "women's equal rights, access, and opportunities for participation and leadership in the economy, society, and political decision-making." It includes explicit references to accelerating commitments in CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the Millennium Declaration. The outcome document also includes a recognition that "gender equality and the effective participation of women are important for effective action on all aspects of sustainable development" and calls for the repeal of discriminatory laws and ensuring women's equal access to justice (OHCHR.1996.2020)

## **1.9. Outline**

**Chapter 1:** 1.1.Introduction: 1.2.Statement of the Problem, 1.3.Research Questions, 1.4.Aims of the Study, 1.5.Study Objective, 1.6.Significance, 1.7.Study Limitations, 1.8, Study Definition, 1.9.Study Outline.

**Chapter 2:** 2.1.Introduction, 2.2.Relevant Literature, 2.3.Theoretical Framework 2.4.Relevant Studies.

**Chapter 3:** 3.1.Introduction, 3.2.Methodology.

**Chapter 4:** 4.1.Introduction, 4.2.Data Analysis, 4.3.Conclusion.

**Chapter 5:** 5.1.Findings Summary, 5.2 Recommendations.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### 2.1 Review of Related literature

##### 2.1.1 Introduction

#### 2.2 Intercultural Communication

##### 2.2.1 Intercultural Communication in Palestine and its Impact on the Palestinian Political Experience

#### 2.3 The Participation of Women in Political Decision Making

##### 2.3.1 Palestinian Women Political Participation

##### 2.3.3 Representing Women in Decision Making Positions in the PLO and the Palestinian National Authority

#### 2.4 Theoretical Framework

#### 2.5 Relevant Studies

##### 2.5.1 International Studies

##### 2.5.2 Cross-Cultural Studies

##### 2.5.3 Locally

##### 2.5.4 Regionally

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Review of Related Literature**

##### **2.1.1. Introduction**

This part of the study represents the study's theoretical aspect, which deals with the concepts of the study, the definitions, and its various aspects. In this chapter, the researcher will deal first with the concepts of the study related to intercultural communication, and its relationship to the political experience in the west bank in Palestine, then the political participation of Palestinian women. The last part will deal with previous relevant studies and literature related to the topic of the current study.

#### **2.2. Intercultural Communication**

The world today is characterized more than ever, by an interconnected global community, as a result of globalization, that opened the door wide between people, tribes, and nations, to make the world a small village (Burrus.Kr. ,Katrina.2014). This matter has affected the efficient use of intercultural communication skills, to obtain experiences stemming from other cultures in common human matters, These relate to values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, and communication practices that are ultimately a intercultural product that can be shared worldwide (G. Menaka,2018)

The concept of communication is related to continuity, as it includes another concept, which is the opposite, discontinuity, while intercultural communication means, "The exchange of the main cultures, their branches, and contact with each other in



exchange, acquaintance and cross-fertilization. Intercultural communication may be horizontal communication when it takes place between simultaneous cultures or between regions of a specific culture or vertical communication when it takes place between successive generations of a culture or between its socially interconnected classes. (Bouزيد.2017)

Intercultural communication may also be defined as "the interaction between people whose intercultural perceptions and symbol systems differ enough to influence communication process. (Samovar& Porter & McDaniel. 2013)

Intercultural communication contributes to renewing ideas and encouraging creativity, thus the development of culture. Some writers assert that culture is communication and communication is culture; without intercultural communication, people are judged to remain strangers in another country, regardless of how long they live in another country because everything for people will be interpreted in terms of their own culture. Whether they notice or condone something, respect it or mock it, explicit or subtle, their reactions will be dictated by their own (Fay,R&Athena and others.2000)

In contrast of conservative cultures misconception about intercultural communication that it is changing or threading the values and intercultural legacies of a country, intercultural communication actually contributes to the growth, renewal, and rooting of culture, thus resisting the factors of annihilation, disappearance, and increasing its ability to survive and continue by preserving the ability to Fulfilling the people's need. (Edwin. Roy, R, Carolyn, 2013).

## **The Importance of Intercultural Communication**

Intercultural communication contributes to strengthening human relations, community cohesion, unity, intercultural convergence and coexistence of societies, which also enhances the communicative content in cultures, including economical, commercial, tourism and social communication, in a way that maximizes the benefit to society, and increases the social, political, economic capacity for change.

This paragraph indicates the importance of culture and its reflection on different peoples, which importance increases with the exchange of experiences and knowledge, through intercultural communication that saves time and effort in reaching scientific and intercultural results accomplished in other cultures, which benefit humanity regardless of its culture. (Al-Leith.2008)

The concept of culture also refers to the set of values and ideas that constitute a symbolic pattern that directs social interaction in various social life areas. Culture is transmitted from one generation to another and is absorbed by its Individuals through social institutions such as the family, school, and work institutions (Ali.2003)

It is characterized by its being plural and acquired through interaction with society, this is evident in the behavior of one generation to another and is subject to transmission, and circulation, and the person is most capable of transmitting intercultural heritage from one generation to another, it is characterized by permanence and continuity through time due to its ability to perpetuate itself. And to stay after the death or annihilation of any of the individuals who participated in it. (Bouزيد, p.24 previous reference)

Its diversity in content also distinguishes culture because it includes social, economic,, political, and other aspects, and it is different and from one society to another due to the identification of these factors between societies.

According to the characteristics of the culture that Bouzid mentioned (2017), the researcher can determine that the patriarchal hereditary culture is the result of vertical intercultural contact, from one generation to another, transmitted over time, generations have been complying with it under societal pressures, a stock standard for ideas, Beliefs, and a standard for values and ethics, which drew the attention of the researcher, who assumed that intercultural communication could add new values that contribute to empowering women to make political decision-making. However, intercultural communication carries both positive and negative dimensions according to the transmitted culture, the ways of presenting it to the other, considering the patriarchal culture is an authoritarian culture that limits women's freedom, creativity, and ability to advance, despite the presence of many other cultures that acknowledge their ability to lead and change.

This is what the researcher Al-Wadi (2006) touched upon when he talked about the intercultural nerve, which means the participation of a group of individuals in unified intercultural symbols (language, beliefs, ideas, values, standards, intercultural norms, knowledge, and science) these symbols are homogeneous and similar between them. What drives them to rapprochement and solidarity with each other, in an automatic manner dominated by emotional enthusiasm in support and defense of those who share this culture (Al-Thawadi.2006).

### **2.2.1. Intercultural Communication in Palestine and its Impact on the Palestinian Political Experience**

Intercultural communication is one of the important areas that search for how people from different intercultural backgrounds communicate in similar and different ways with each other. Intercultural communication has become strategically important to the world due to the creation of social relations in a different intercultural context (Menaka.2018), and the consequences of that. The emergence of opportunities to discuss many issues that are intertwined and are similar at the same time between all societies, such as human rights issues, including the rights of minorities and women, and many other issues that are dealing with them is the essence of the process of positive social change, which results from the development of societies. (Meaka, A.2018).

The respondents agreed on the importance of intercultural communication in Palestine, as it allows the way to communicate with other peoples, introducing the Palestinian cause, the injustice that occurred against the Palestinian, which led to the creation of new supporters for the Palestinian cause, and the supporting the recognition of the State of Palestine in August 2018, as a result of long efforts. In intercultural communication with these countries, intercultural communication also contributed to the introduction of scientific and practical experiences which played an important role in political and social change.

The respondents adopted the theory of belief in common human needs, despite intercultural and linguistic differences; it helps in obtaining experiences and knowledge, which other countries required many years of struggle to reach.

In the context, Dr.Hanan Ashrawi<sup>1</sup>, Head of the Diplomacy and Public Policy Department at the PLO stated; That being open to other cultures and interacting with them increases knowledge, which is the basis for self-empowerment, strengthening and familiarity with what is happening in around the world, because cultures are not isolated from each other, even ancient history, the civilization that was formed in Palestine interacted with other cultures And provided to the whole world, a kind of intellectual humans, and creative dimension, that inevitably affects the entire society positively.

Reiad Shraim<sup>2</sup>, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University, thinks that intercultural communication opens the horizon to learn about live, real, and successful experiences. Intercultural communication is preferred over the Arab and political community because of the sensitivity of the study topic, if intercultural contact with European and western communities, maybe a negative result, due to the nature of the Arab societies and religious differences.

Asma Kharroub <sup>3</sup>, Director of the gender unit in Fatah, believes that intercultural communication leads people to acquaint people with different cultures. The experiences of women in other countries motivate women to imitate what is positive and aspire to reach the best, as it finds lofty, in light of the widespread of social networking sites in the creation of new supporters for the Palestinian cause.

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<sup>1</sup> Hanan Ashrawi, Head of Diplomacy and Public Policy Department in the PLO, personal interview, 14/7/2020, 14:05 P.M, Ramallah. Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Reyaad Shraim, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences, call interview, 9/7/2020, 12:45 P.M, Palestine.

<sup>3</sup> Asmaa Kharob, Director of the gender unit in Fatah, call interview, 8/7/2020, 1:18 P.M, Palestine.

As for Tayseer Nasrallah<sup>4</sup>, member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Intercultural Center linked intercultural communication with the exchange of experiences and knowledge, which contributes to raising awareness; also, external contact with other cultures results in new values and social change, stemming from the love of life, especially since the Palestinian people lived under occupation, shackled by fears about their future, and often impeded their thinking, or outlook for their future, intercultural communication opens up the horizon for them for a better future.

Fareed Abu Dhair<sup>5</sup>, Lecturer at An-Najah University emphasizes that Intercultural communication is an element in the development of civilizations. Every society has positive and negative traits to it (from other societies point of view). Many societies in the world have made great strides in enhancing and raising the status of women and her participation in public life, as well as in decision-making. From that point of view, intercultural communication would deliver a clear message to peoples about the status of women, about the challenges they face, as well as about their successes in political work and participation in political decision-making. This, of course, breaks the barrier of fear that women will reach decision-making positions, and reinforces the idea of their ability and competence to play this role.

Nitham Salahat<sup>6</sup>, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University; thinks that intercultural communication is an important factor in social change, but he believes that the localization of the concept of political participation is better than importing, and

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<sup>4</sup> Tayseer Nasrallah, Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Cultural Center, Personal interview, 13/7/2020, 12:40 P.M, Balata Camp, Nablus.

<sup>5</sup> Farid abu Dhair, Lecturer at An-Najah University / Media Faculty, call interview, 13/4/2020, 12:24 P.M .Nablus, Palestine.

<sup>6</sup> Nizzam Salahat, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Law, phone call interview, 17/7/2020, 3:32 P.M, Jareco, Palestine.

spreading it, due to the presence of intercultural components and national components that represent a reference in the historical role of women, especially in the rural national culture that appears as a conservative culture, while women actually played an important intercultural and societal role in the structure of the family and society, and participation in the agriintercultural production process and the national struggle.

Yasser Abu Hamed<sup>7</sup>, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University, also emphasized that communication-affected women's performance, contributed to the integration of gender, reduced the disparities, and strengthened the possibilities for women's participation, to represent a future in decision-making.

Rafee Jawabreh<sup>8</sup>, , Governor of Qalqilya, Governorate stressed the importance of intercultural communication within societal norms, intercultural and religious heritage, as it contributes to increasing knowledge and awareness, but if it is outside the framework of Sharia, this knowledge becomes decadent and unworthy of Palestinian society and its struggles.

As for Tahreer Al-Araj<sup>9</sup>, executive director of MIFTAH foundation, she shed light on the issue of using intercultural communication as a network between different issues and their comparison, to attract support and advocacy for the Palestinian cause and women's issues, this is evidenced by the experiences of South Africa and Eastern Europe, and the political movement in them against racism, as violations of the occupation are similar to the police abuse of blacks intercultural communication also

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<sup>7</sup> Yasser Abo Hamad, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences , call interview, 9/7/2020, 1:00 P.M, Jareco, Palestine

<sup>8</sup> Rafee Jawabreh, Governor of Qalqilya Governorate, call interview, 21/7/2020, 4:20 P.M, Nablus, Palestine

<sup>9</sup> Tahreer Al-Aaraj, Executive Director of MIFTAH Foundation, personal interview, 8/6/2020, 1:30 P.M Ramallah, Palestine.

contributed to the development of a global plan for bias towards human health in exchange for capital in light of the Corona pandemic, the feminist movements in Palestine when they discussed the Family Protection Law, took Tunisian law as a reference, in addition to the model laws developed by the Arab States Foundation of the Arab League. It is imperative to benefit from the experiences of the world and to network with their issues.

As for Asmaa Sharbati, Lecturer at Palestine polytechnic university, she explained that intercultural communication in Palestine is officially limited, even though relations between Palestine and the world existed in the past, but they had little impact on women issues.

Sahar Al-Qawasmi<sup>10</sup>, deputy in the legislative council for Fatah, asserts that human societies are similar in several points, and intercultural communication creates a common language among human beings based on their interests. The human dimension is very important in understanding cultures. Everyone knows in his heart that a difference in belief, color, or gender does not justify violating the rights of others. Intercultural communication brings human societies closer together, and gives them the benefit of experiences that guarantee equality, justice, and dignified life.

### **2.3. The Participation of Women in Political Decision-Making**

Political participation stems from an internal decision to merge with political activities, and it must result from that, providing opportunities for various political decisions that begin with voting, election, nomination, joining parties, trade unions, and

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<sup>10</sup> Sahar Al-Qwasmi, Deputy in the Legislative Council for Fatah, call interview, 1/7/2020, 6:00 P.M, Nablus.



participating in public opinion, so that these decisions affect public policies. Defining concepts is one of the basic problems in the social sciences, as definitions of a single concept vary according to the affiliations of each individual thinker. The concepts are the templates that the researcher uses to plan an organized picture of all the knowledge and facts surrounding it, and within the framework of this research paper and under this paragraph the concept of political participation will be dealt with through both definitions (linguistic - procedural)

#### **A. Linguistic Definition:**

Linguistically, we must start with reference to the structure of this concept, as it is composed of two parts, namely (participation) as an activity carried out by the human being, and the word (politics) as a social term. The following is the explanation:

The word "participation" is derived from the object noun of the Latin word "Participate". This term consists of two parts, "pars" meaning "Part", and the second "Compare" meaning "to do". Therefore, participation means to take part, which means taking a specific role( Al-Dalow, N, 2011)

From the general definitions that dealt with the concept of (participation) in general, we find:

-Participation is the formal and informal participation of individuals and groups in all societal economic, political and social activities with the aim of achieving the common good (Samia, 2005).

-A position that the individual takes in all cases and shares it with others, as it requires the presence of more than one party.

### **The Word (Politics):**

The word "politics" is derived from the word "policy"; it is used to denote many meanings such as, leadership, presidency, treatment, governance, education and taming. (Samia, 2005)

Policy can be defined as:

- The science of authoritarian assignment of values to "David Easton", this is because any decision necessarily involves devoting and strengthening a specific material or intangible value.
- It is the method for the peaceful settlement of conflicts through dialogue and negotiation to reach compromises that reconcile all the conflicting interests.

### **B. Procedural Definition:**

We can deal with the procedural indicators of the concept of political participation through the following definition, which is one of the most accurate definitions through which we can reach the procedural indicators of the concept of political participation, as it means (direct or indirect participation of citizens in the decision-making process within the surrounding political system) and through This concept can be accessed to indicators of political participation in society, which express the intended meaning of the procedural concept, which are as follows:

- Citizen's right to vote
- The citizen's right to occupy public jobs
- The citizen's right to participate in the decision-making process

According to this concept, participation here means the existence of several levels of participation, ranging from negative to absolute positive, which differ according to the different system of government in terms of being a democratic or authoritarian system (Al-Noihi,A,2000)

### **2.3.1. Palestinian Women Political Participation**

The times when the Palestinian people exercise their political and constitutional right are few, for they have suffered throughout history with domination of foreign governments, represented by Ottoman rule, was followed by the Mandate British, and then the establishment of the Israeli occupation and the subjugation of the entire Palestinian territories under occupation authority in 1967. The situation remained, as it existed according to unfair electoral laws, which were reflected in their negative effects on Palestinian women, political circumstances alone did not prevent women from their right, Egyptian and Jordanian laws discriminated against them, Election Law No. (14) Of 1960 prohibited Women to have the right to exercise their political right to run for election (Khader.2013). This law was amended in 1974 and not applied in the Palestinian lands because they are under occupation.

The women also were denied a right of Nomination and election for membership of municipal and village councils in accordance with the Jordanian Municipalities Law for 2015(1950) (Palestinian Planning Center, 2004).

For the first time, Palestinian women won their right to vote and run for office under the occupation military Order No. 627 of 1975 granting her the right to run and be elected as Municipal council member, the point of that was for women to cast their voices for

traditional forces, believing that woman would opposes the forces of change, revolution and men of the Palestine Liberation Organization but, Reality proved the opposite (Gad, 2005).

### **The Role of Women's Institutions in Supporting Women in Political Action:**

Effective women's institutions have realized the need to unify their efforts and replace the unhealthy competitive relations that prevail between them with complementary relations, which pave the way for everyone to work and effort to give priority to women's interests, presence and advancement over the small competitive interests that hold women back and turn them back.

As a result of the difficult political events, that the Palestinian society went through in the wake of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, in the year 2000 and after mid- 2002 ; the General Union of Women decided the necessity of reviewing the national performance, both official and civil, in order to rebuild, support resistance and steadfastness to support the reform process, and to put forward elections to support Palestinian legitimacy Since August 2002 , the Union initiated a campaign to develop the participation of women in elections (Hind, M,2011)

The Union has proposed a set of mechanisms to develop women's participation and effectiveness, represented by the coordination of several workshops and community mobilization programs, in coordination with civil society organizations (political parties and forces, human rights, democracy and youth organizations, in addition to women's centers.).

The road towards the quota system On October 24 , 2002 , after intense deliberations, intense meetings, and as a result of long discussions, a general trend crystallized towards the quota system, i.e. allocating a minimum of 20% of the seats in the Legislative Council for women, considering it a way to reach equality stipulated in Palestinian law. And considered this a temporary measure that it considered in order to achieve the equality stipulated by the law, which leads to a wider participation of the popular groups, in a way that guarantees the development of opportunities for women to participate in the elections, and a memorandum was distributed to all participating parties (Al-Suwaiti, A,2008)

As a result, and after intensive meetings and deliberations, the follow-up committee decided on January 21, 2002, to submit a memorandum in which the various women's centers and civil organizations participate in the decision-making bodies, namely: the President of the Palestinian National Authority, the Legislative Council and the Legal Committee (Al-Samarrai, 2008)

A workshop was held to coordinate efforts between the participating parties. The Campaign to Develop Women's Participation in Elections was launched." She has formed groups of non-governmental organizations, including the Media Center / Women's Affairs Team, and the MIFTAH Foundation, Working Women Association.

In late 2002, memorandum amend was submitted the election law that included the signatures of more than 300 political and national forces and organizations, and interviews were held with some members of the Legislative Council and members of the Fatah Revolutionary Council to crystallize the movement's position.

Accordingly, an election oversight body was formed, and it was developed according to international standards that take into account Palestinian privacy, and it continued in its work and activities, until it was able to sort the secretariat of the committee to monitor the elections, including representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Women, and the secretariat of the National Monitoring Committee, represented by the Women Center For legal advice, coordination has taken place with Gaza to elect members of the secretariat (Al-Shami,2011)

The role of the General Union of Women: During the work of the national campaign, a group of civil society organizations, headed by the General Union of Palestinian Women, pressured and influenced decision-makers to hold meetings, the most prominent of which was:

- Chairman of the Legal Committee in the Legislative Council and a number of Council members.
- The political and legal committees in the Legislative Council.
- A number of Palestinian figures influencing public opinion and decision-making positions.
- Representatives of feminist frameworks and institutions. (National Campaign Public Report, 2004).

As a result of the efforts made by the national campaign, led by the General Union of Palestinian Women, a workshop was held to discuss the election law and the electoral process, the electoral program for women, and the specifications of the candidate who will be supported. The moves aimed to develop a mechanism to develop the

participation of women and youth, through training courses to manage the electoral campaign, as well as the awareness and education campaign through the radio program Against Silence, and the Women's Voice bulletin, in addition to the Working Women's Association working on educating courses and radio programs to educate, and that was through its publication. The MIFTAH Foundation supported the campaign through its program to strengthen women's leaders, in training and on television, as well as publishing a booklet on questions and answers about women's quotas to reach the largest segment of society, and the Rural Women Development Association held workshops and seminars to educate rural women about the issue of elections and women. On decision-making sites (Gad, 2006).

The memo feminist special law, including the local authority to demand elections to allocate a quota (quota proposed) by 30% included recommendations about modifying the electoral law to be presented to the Legislative Council in a meeting slated for the month of July of the year 2003. In 2004, the committee decided to expedite the formation of a women's delegation to meet with the late President Yasser Arafat, and the prime minister, in order to present the memorandum to them (abd-Alsalam., 2013)

This took place after talking about the possibility of holding general elections in 2004. Where a group of women representing the various and all parties of political and social work, feminist, national and academic figures, activists in the field of human rights, presented a memorandum to the president, through which she was transferred to the Council of Ministers. A note was presented to Brother Rafik Natsheh, Speaker of the Legislative Council, on the date 1/15/2005 He had a positive attitude towards it and promised to submit it to the Legislative Council (Ghulam, F.2004)

**Quota Approval Project:** In the mean time, the campaign continued to lay out its plans for the coming months, and it included the formation of committees to develop women's participation in the elections. And dialogue meetings were held with members of the Legislative Council, and it was decided to follow up the memorandum in the Council of Ministers through the coordinator in cooperation with the Minister of Women Affairs, and the committee decided that each organization should produce Information material in the name of the campaign (National Campaign General Report, 2004).

The committee followed up the file, and the quota was approved in the first and second reading on August 31, 2004. And the judge " that the representation of any of the sexes in local government councils is not less than 20 %, " which spread an atmosphere of joy in the midst of civil society organizations and women's organizations, and it invited all organizations, and centers feminist to activate women's committees to develop their participation has been confirmed.

The importance of awareness and mobilization, as well as referred to women candidates specifications, required yen arrival, and to develop the capabilities and skills of women, who wish to run for the management of electoral campaigns and dealing with the media, in addition to supporting election campaigns for candidates Female candidates who own electoral programs, especially those that meet the needs of women and children (National Campaign Statement No. 1, 2004).

The experience of the 2004 local council elections: 14 The Legislative Council, in its session held on Thursday, 10/21/2004 , canceled the provision on the representation of women " that the representation of either sex should not be less than 20%" in local



bodies, which was approved in the second reading on 31/8/2004 , except It is at the request of a quarter of the council members for the third reading ( the third reading is the copy that bears the final amendments), Which reached the presidency of the Council after more than two weeks ( which is the necessary period according to the internal statute of the Council ) , where 18 members voted in favor of cancellation , 17 against cancellation and one out of 36 members who attended the session, and this decision is considered null according to Article (69) of the internal system.(Saber,2009)

Laws are approved by an absolute majority ( unless otherwise stipulated ), which is as defined by the system : a majority ( half + one ) of the number of members of the House present when the opinion is taken(Voting ) , and Article (92 ) indicated , ( Those who refrain from giving their opinions are not counted as those who accept or reject the issue, and if it becomes clear that the number of members who gave their votes is less than the majority required to issue the decision, the opinion on the presented topic is postponed to another session (Al Maaitah,2013)

Relative this is a second session should be held to resolve the issue relative majority (Awad.2004). On the date of December 1, 2004, the Legislative Council called the Legal Committee to draft the law in accordance with the opinions presented, and the Legislative Council voted again on the issue of the quota, and the proposal stipulated (that the representation of women in the Local Government Council shall not be less than two seats for those who obtain the highest Voices among women (Hattab, 2004)

The proposal succeeded with the approval of 36 deputies, 6 against and 5 abstentions, and this was the first step towards activating the role of women and their participation in the political decision (Najm, 2013).

**The Legislative Council and System:** It means the quota is a quota system, in the allocation of a quota for women in the councils of different bodies (Report, 2006 )The quota positive discrimination of women, employed by States to compensate for marginalized groups and vulnerable eyeballs minorities, and in some developing societies are using quotas to help women and enable them to obtain the right to participate In formulating the country's general policies (zahran,2001).

Movements have been seen as women 's and civil society institutions, and the Ministry of Women 's Affairs, that the claim quota in the elections to ensure equitable participation, keeping the right of women, and by allocating a quota for women with a minimum of 20 % quota open " allocated seats in the Legislative Council, urged the political forces and parties That their candidate lists guarantee the right of women at least (30%), and the positions in favor of the quota have resorted to justifying their view that the existing social reality in Palestine depends on masculinity in decision-making, and this cannot do justice to women, even if the law stipulates full equality and therefore there is an urgent need to protect women's rights by applying the quota (Rahal, 2004) .

The viewpoint opposing the quota is that women should reach the council and bodies without exceptional measures, and in their view, the quota is discrimination that harms the principle of equality. The role of the quota in increasing the participation rate of women: Minister Al-Shobaki (Ministry of Local Government) emphasized that the majority of women winners in the elections succeeded with loud votes, not through the quota system, as the percentage of female winners through this system was only 33 percent and the rest 67 percent won naturally and with a large number of votes.

and But it is worth noting that the percentage of women who nominated themselves before the quota was announced is 50 women, but this percentage increased to 89 women after the quota was approved, which indicates that women were encouraged to nominate themselves more after the quota was approved, and this in itself is a goal that has been achieved for a period of time.

From time, and the presence of 18 women (who succeeded in the quota) In Palestinian local councils, it is important to develop and enhance their skills in the field of decision-making. And their presence in addition to women who have merit success enhances the image of the presence of women in local councils ( the Supreme Elections Committee, 2004) And it reduces the stereotype associated with women and that it is important to support these women with the quota until they have equal opportunities with men to win, taking into account that most of those who succeed in the elections succeed as a result of the support of a party for them, and this opportunity is available to men more than women.

As and that the prevailing societal values and the patriarchal culture dominates the Palestinian society does not give women the same opportunities given to men. The role of the Committee for the Development of Women's Participation in the Elections, The Committee for the Development of Women's Participation in the Elections was formed more than two years ago, which emerged to follow up on issues related to the quota and related to elections, with the participation of the Development Committee, and the committees that consist of many women's centers, such as the General Union of Palestinian Women,, Like the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Local Government, the committee worked in several directions:

1. Work on influencing political life, making and decision-making.
2. Expand the participation of women in all legislative institutions and local bodies, by supporting women candidates in the elections.
3. Work to provide support for women candidates' issues.
4. Networking with private and important institutions on gender issues.
5. Networking with decision-making institutions such as the Legislative Council. The Women Participation Development Committee was established.( AL-Naadi, I.2010)

### **2.3.3. Representing Women in Decision-Making Positions in the PLO and the Palestinian National Authority**

Recent statistics show the low access of women to decision-making places in the various sectors. The lack of effective participation of women is a result of the lack of real representation of women in the organization's institutions, structures, and their absence in some political parties such as the Arab Liberation Front, which gives an indication that the participation of women in decision-making is formal. The statistical reports indicated that the percentage of women's representation in the National Council was 12% for the year 2018, but in the presidency books, there is no percent at all.

As for the Central Council, there is only Hanan Ashrawi, as a member of the Executive Committee, Zahira Kamal as the former General- Secretary of the Fada Party, and Intisar Al-Wazeer as a representative of the General Union of Palestinian Women, in the Executive Committee there is one woman, Hanan Ashrawi. As for the public

unions, the official liberation organizations haven't registered any women at the level of presidency of these Union since their inception. (Danf.2018)

Ola Awad<sup>11</sup>, director of the Palestinian Statistics Center, revealed that the participation of women in both the Liberation Organization and the Palestinian National Authority is weak and limited, as 14% of women are members of the Council of Ministers, while they represent 11% of the members of the National Council. As for Zaheera Kamal<sup>12</sup>, she believes that the presence of women in the PA is more than in the Palestinian authority because of there are procedures, but the percentages are also weak.

The number of women in the National Assembly is 93, out of 700, the number of women in the ministries fluctuates from 2-6. The decisions of the PLO are reflected in the institutions of government and authority, and the approach between them is the same, and in harmony with women's issues, the PLO adopted a decision that the representation of women should not be less than 30%, in all organizational frameworks, and at the level of the Palestinian Authority, the election law should be 20% for women's participation. The election law is amended in line with the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Nevertheless, the presence of women in decision-making positions is still weak and does not rise to the political, intercultural and social role of women.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ola Awad, President of the Palestinian Statistics Center, call interview, 23/6/2020, 12:43 P.M, Ramallah.

<sup>12</sup> Zaheera Kamal, Former Minister of Women ministry, former representative of the Feda Party, and founder of the Union of Palestinian Feminist Action Committees, call interview, 16/7/2020, 11:12 P.M , Nablus.

<sup>13</sup> Muna Daklallah, Director of the General Union of Palestinian Women Branch, call interview, 6/7/2020, 3:20 P.M. Nablus.

The PLO brought women to the General Secretariat, such as Zahira Kamal, and this did not happen in the Palestinian National Authority, while secondary representation for other leadership positions is good due to the quota system, but it is not sufficient (Shraim, previous source).

Also, there is only one member in addition to Zahira Kamal, who represents her party, and the attendance of the General Union of Women, comrade Khaled Jarrar, did not represent the membership of women, but rather a representative of the faction, and therefore we did not reach a stage of representation befitting women, even the ministers represent a political decision. For a political system, and they do not specifically represent women, the minister and others are bound by government decisions (Abu-Hammad, previous source)

The National Authority has helped women to hold many positions and effective participation, and it is like a miniature state in which women serve in all fields, whether education, health, or politics, and even universities, girls study, and work and then influence decision-making, but the PLO has become a weak device unfortunately. It does not represent an administrative system.

The Palestinian National Authority has also given a wider scope for the participation of women in political work, and the reason is the passage of the women's quota law in the legislative elections, and the elections of local bodies, yet women have not reached the required percentage, and women are still demanding to amend laws and raise the women's quota to 30% (Kharoub, previous sources).

Which brings us to the next part of the study, which is the women's quota and its relationship to empowering women in political decision-making.

### **The Women's Quota**

The concept of the quota is based on allocating a percentage or number of representation to certain groups that do not have the opportunity to be represented in a large way, which is a temporary measure, to educate society about the importance and necessity of the participation of small and marginalized groups, provided that the quota system is removed after the society is prepared to understand and understand the participation of these groups (Zahran.2001).

The women's quota has been entrenched as one of the mechanisms for bringing women into decision-making positions since the Fourth International Conference on Women in Beijing, which was held to emphasize that the women's quota constitutes a phased solution to the issue of weak participation of women in the political process and decision-making (MFTAH.2017).

In light of the difference in participation between women and men in the political process and decision-making, which led to the crystallization of the development of the women's quota in the electoral system and embodied in the second parliamentary experience and this experience helped women in the 2006 elections with the issuance of the Elections Law No. (9) Of 2005<sup>14</sup>. . The number of women in the elections was 17

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<sup>14</sup>LOOK: article (1/3) of the Elections Law No. (9) for the year 2005 and provides for " the law of the Palestinian electoral system is mainly mixed electoral equally (50% -50%) between the relative majority system ( the multiplicity of circuits, and system menus considering land Palestinian constituency is one . "

women at the top of Parliament, helped by the list system, while the districts did not give any room for any woman to reach Parliament.<sup>15</sup>

The respondents' opinions about the quota system fluctuated between viewing it as an opportunity to empower women, others seeing it as a diminution of its value and its real opportunity to compete, and among those who emphasize the use of the quota to include women within family and partisan criteria, which contradicts the main goal of empowering women.

Kamal considers completing the quota as a measure towards equality, and unfortunately, it cannot be done by competition alone due to the male culture. As for Majedah Al-Masry<sup>16</sup>, she considers that it is a temporary measure until the issue of equality is addressed. As the presence of women in decision-making positions is formal, not of the required strength and size, and accordingly the quota rate must be raised, as it contributes to increasing the volume of women's participation in decision-making.

Wafa Zakarneh<sup>17</sup> believes, on the other hand, that the quota is not a solution because it is for minorities, and women are not a minority, but it is a beginning to spread awareness of the importance of the participation of women who are able to change and make political decisions. The community's needs, and so does Tayseer Khairi<sup>18</sup>, who considers the quota to be the biggest mistake because it limits real opportunities for participation.

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<sup>15</sup>The Report of the Second Legislative Elections January (2006) issued by the Central Elections Commission, Palestine, published on May 31, 2006

<sup>16</sup> Mjedah Masri, Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Personal interview, 10/6/2020, 1:30 P.M., Nablus

<sup>17</sup> Wafa Zakaneh, Member of the Revolutionary Council, call interview, 11/7/2020, 7:21 P.M., Jenen.

<sup>18</sup> Taseer Khaire, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, call interview, 10/4/2020, 1:30 P.M., Nablus



Anan-Al-Attireh<sup>19</sup> believes that Palestine still needs a quota system at all levels, and it is not the goal but a means to involve women in decision-making positions. Otherwise, there must be a mechanism that allows women to participate in decision-making, and equal opportunities.

Kharroub explains that the quota system is considered positive for a certain period, because it contributes to establishing the role of women and changing the patriarchal societal view of their role, but if it is adopted for a long period as is happening now in Palestine, this may affect the role of women in political participation and reinforce the male view, if it does not rise the status of women and men to choose either side according to their ability and competence. Women will remain under siege and their participation will remain restricted by the female quota, and this negatively affects the change of stereotypical perception of women and increases male dominance.

Amal Jadu<sup>20</sup> believes that the quota alone is not sufficient, as the matter needs education, skills, training, promoting culture and openness to others, raising awareness and using the media to enlighten Palestinian society, and the importance of women taking their role in decision-making, and these are all elements that come together to change laws in the interest of women. We have joined many international agreements that our local laws must be harmonized with in order to advance the status of women, and the quota is very important as a start for positive discrimination until we break the barrier, but 20% is not enough. We must talk about 40 and 50%. Women are half of the society, and the quota must express their presence in society.

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<sup>19</sup> Anan Al-Ateera, Deputy Governor of Nablus, personal interview, 14/7/2020, 434 P.M, Nablus

<sup>20</sup> Amal Jadoo, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ramallah, call interview, 18/7/2020, 11:00 A.M. Nablus

Sama Aweidah<sup>21</sup> assumes that the quota system will be temporary until the inability of women to participate is eliminated. It was not used in the right way, but rather was used to distribute seats among clans, families and parties.

As for Hawwash<sup>22</sup>, she focuses her view on the consolidation of laws based on equality, but 30% today is reasonable due to the need to stabilize their role, although there is a defect that may arise in the event that appointments are made based on intermediaries or families, so the desired goal of the quota does not occur in balance in decision-making. .

Dakhalallah considers the quota as a step towards encouraging women to run in the elections, because the material capabilities available to men in elections are not the same for women, and the quota has actually contributed to increasing the representation of women in decision-making positions in the Legislative Council, and in municipal councils, but it should be accompanied by policies and legislation, And programs to change stereotypical perceptions of the role of women.

Atiani considers the quota as a temporary positive stimulus, while Qaradee<sup>23</sup> thinks that the quota provided a part of fairness to women, while Kanaan believes that the quota can be a start for women's participation in decision-making, but the basis is that actual political participation does not fall under the quota system, and it should get a real opportunity election.

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<sup>21</sup> Sama Aweidah, Director of the Center for Palestinian Women's Studies, call interview, 8/7/2020 , 1:18 P.M, Nablus

<sup>22</sup> Samar Hawwash, President of the Palestinian Women's Association, Personal interview, 6/7/2020, 1:59 P.M , Nablus.

<sup>23</sup> Mai Qaradee, A member of the Nablus region in the Fatah movement, personal interview, 31/5/2020,11:14 P.M, Nablus

As for Hourani<sup>24</sup>, believes that it is positive discrimination due to the existing social values, that want women to be denied the right to participate, while Jawabra is the other, which he considers discrimination, but negative, because the quota gives a certain percentage, and what if the presence of creative women is more than this percentage, especially since the amended law 2005 does not There is a difference between a male and a female, and therefore I do not agree with the quota system, especially since the regulations require equality between men and women.

Shreim stands with the quota temporarily due to the lack of equal competition, and if there is, the greater share of men will go. As for the quota, it gives a reasonable share, or a minimum, to ensure fair elections, so equal competition is fair if it is freed from the values, culture, customs and traditions of society.

Abu Dhair also supports the quota system because it pushes women to explore their capabilities, and strengthens their presence in decision-making centers in particular, and in political participation in general. As we know, it is a temporary system that will disappear with the disappearance of discrimination against women in society and institutions.

On the other hand, the high quota is considered to reduce the value of women, because it gives them a chance only at the beginning, but with real elections, women can cooperate around the female candidate to reach more than the quota.

The same applies to Salahat, who believes that the cosmic system expresses backwardness in the political and societal system, and promotes the separation of

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<sup>24</sup> Mohmad Al-Howrani, Member of Fatah Revolutionary Council / political analyst, call interview, 12/3/2020, 11:21 P.M

women from political life, because the principle is the integration of women and not their isolation in favor of influential feminist forces.

The same applies to Nasrallah, who believes that the quota brings ineffective women to fill the gaps. She did not compete with her competence, her ability, and her capabilities. Today, the number allowed for manipulating the selection of women participating in political and leadership positions, based on family, partisan, and tribal interests.

Nasrallah states that the law allowed 30% but in fact the 20% was not mobilized, due to the unwillingness of women themselves to participate even if equality laws were passed in the Palestinian society, and they will find an obstacle due to fear of societal norms and norms that refuse to receive decisions from women.

### **Statistics<sup>25</sup>:**

Half of the Palestinian society is female (49 %)

- 43 female prisoners are still in the Israeli occupation prisons.

- One-fifth of all females in Palestine marry early before the age of 18. The rate of early marriage decreased, especially after the amendment of the Marriage Age Law. However, 20% of registered marriages are less than 18 years old.

- Regarding violence by husbands against women, the governorates of Gaza, Khan Yunis, and Deir al-Balah had the highest rates in the Gaza Strip, while in the West Bank, Hebron and Jenin had the highest rates of violence against women.

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<sup>25</sup> Ola Awad, President of the Palestinian Statistics Center, call interview, 23/6/2020, 12:43 P.M, Ramallah.

- 91 %of females enroll in secondary education compared to 71% of males. However, the illiteracy rate among females in Palestine is 4%, compared to 1% for males.

- The unemployment rate in Palestine is 52%, the percentage of unemployed women who hold diplomas and diplomas is 68% females compared with 35% of males.

-Palestinian women contribute 18% of the labor market. A painful fact that the more Palestinian women are educated, the less chance they will be in the job market!

-The private sector: One-third of workers in the Palestinian private sector get salaries less than 1,450 shekels a month 29% of male employees and 35% of female employees earn less than the minimum wage according to Palestinian law. And a quarter of female employees, or 25% of female employees, works in the Palestinian private sector without a work contract!

-Women in decision-making, according to the Bureau of Personnel Affairs, the percentages are still very modest: 44% of female representation in the Palestinian public sector:

-Only 13% of women represent the position of general manager or above, compared to 87% of men represented in higher positions.

-5 %representation of women in the Palestinian Central Council.

-11 % representation of women in the Palestinian National Council.

-14 %representation of women in the Palestinian cabinet

-11% representation of women ambassadors and women in the diplomatic field.

- Lady Governorate, only of 16 governorates in Palestine.
- 21% of female representation in local bodies
- 17% female representation in the judiciary
- 33% of female representation in the legal profession
- 18% of female representation in the Public Prosecution Office
- 33% of female representation in the Engineers Association
- 18% of female representation on student councils in universities

The struggle of Palestinian women continues politically and socially, yet the rates of women's participation, as mentioned above, are still very low. Palestinian decision-makers must realize the fact that they can influence the aforementioned figures (Awad, 2020)

## **2.4. Theoretical Framework**

In this part the researcher will present the theories related to the research topic, first:

**2.4.1. The Role Theory:** Role theory Concerns One of the most important features of social life, characteristic behavior, patterns or roles (Biddle 1986). In relation to the research topic role theory relies on traditional values that tend to marginalize women's role (Al-Rada'an, 2005) and only join them in specific traditional roles of society and its expectations. There are four roles of gender Prerequisite society: (Hamaki.WD)

- The reproductive role: the woman's role is limited to having children, raising them, and carrying out various household tasks. As for the man's role, we find it limited to the fertilization process and the prominent participation in the process of pregnancy and the production of children in partnership with the woman. However, the greatest effort falls on the woman to carry out household work and take care of him and his children.
- The productive role: the woman clearly contributes to the performance of a specific work entrusted to her in return for this work she receives cash or in-kind wage and based on this role; she is similar to the man's productive role, that is, work for wages
- Societal/organizational role: The societal role is related to the reproductive role of women, such as health and environmental awareness, and other things in which the local community and its institutions contribute to educating women in this field. As for men, we find that his role in this field includes creating and strengthening Social relations and the management of goods of mass consumption and basic services associated with the local community.
- Political representation: The role of women in this field is linked to the work of women with women's organizations whose goal is to develop and empower women politically at the level of local and popular councils and committees and work to raise their level of awareness of all aspects related to this matter. And political work( Kharoof.2017.)

The issue of the roles that both sexes play in the society from the researcher's point of view are gender roles that are shaped by social conditions and not biological differences between them. Political decision-making is one of the most important **areas preserving**

**men and had nothing to do with biological composition** because the roles based on biological formation are stable. While based on gender, it can be exchanged between the two types because what defines it is the community with its Culture, perceptions, and expectations (Al-Osaily, 2004). Despite the importance of involving women who are half of society in productivity and decision-making in the process, which contribute to the development and decision-making, women still suffering from the division of gender (Bella, L, 2018). Which Dr. Hanan Ashrawi agrees with especially in the political field. Various feminist theories have examined the gender division and discrimination that women suffer due to many beliefs, which stem from male culture, and among the most important of these theories are feminist theory, bureaucracy.

In relation to the research topic role theory relies on traditional values that tend to marginalize women's role (Berger, Linda L, 2018) and only join them in specific traditional roles of society and its expectations. There are four roles of gender Prerequisite society: (Al-Osaily, 2004)

**2.4.2. The Second Theory is the Bureaucracy:** which expresses the hierarchical form of the hierarchy of employment and impersonal, rational and organizational relationships (Suleiman, M, 2008). Therefore, it is linked to the organization, division, and work (Rashwan, 2004). Through this theory, we can explain the reason for excluding women from decision-making positions, which society considers from this theory's standpoint to be specific to men. The political field tasks are divided so that women are prevented from them.

**2.4.3. Postcolonial Feminism Theory** is concerned with the struggle against oppression and injustice. The rejection of the patriarchal (patriarchal) institutional system that is



dominated by male domination and strongly rejects the presumed superiority of male power and its authority, and this theory calls for the general problem that women suffer in the countries that were subject to colonialism, It is part of the general problem that the societies of these countries suffer from, both men and women, and therefore the primary goal is liberation from the consequences of colonialism, according to a holistic view that integrates women alongside men in this liberation process and thus calls for equality and non-discrimination. (Al-Taher, 2015).

**As for the Feminist Point of View**, it is based on three basic principles. The first is that knowledge exists socially. The second is that marginalized groups exist socially in a way that makes them more aware of their affairs so that they can question issues that the non-marginalized cannot ask about .Third, research that focuses on the strength of relationships, in particular, must begin with the lives of the marginalized (Essed,2011 )Those with this trend try to uncover the gender biases that prevail in discussions about women's issues. They see that women's experience enables them to create their own perspective on various issues, especially social issue (Guarantor. M, 2007). This theory is concerned with the point at which we see the world around us .It also aims to enable the persecuted to develop their conditions and understand their problems. The theory is suitable for use by the interests of the persecuted to improve their conditions.

This theory calls for building a knowledge-based on the experiences of women that give the clearest picture of the various issues. Because they are closest to society and knowledgeable about its needs, and therefore they are the most capable of decision-making because of their ability to uncover Different and accurate perceptions about how the world is going.

The feminist viewpoint considers women as having their point of view, as they represent a specific position or standard highly specific to the gender of women because the world with its knowledge and concepts is based To a male standard and male experience, and therefore it was necessary to have a feminist viewpoint working on change, especially working to break down the center of global politics that is based on a patriarchal system and which marginalizes the role of women (Al-Taher, 2015)‘

Thus, it can be said that the feminist theories all started from the principle of giving women great importance, and a high position in appreciation of their intelligence, and efforts exerted in all fields to achieve development in society, and called for non-discrimination between men and women, giving them their full rights, and their opportunity for real competition away from parental authority, and the outlook Patriarchy, and activating the political position that it deserves given its long history of struggle, in order to be able to participate in political decision-making.

## **2.5. Relevant Studies:**

### **2.5.1.Internationally**

#### **2.5.1.1- Intercultural In the Change in North Africa to the Interaction Effect of Women's Empowerment And Democratization ·**

April 2019, Ginger Feather

This paper offers new literature and theories for understanding progressive intercultural change in the Middle East and North Africa as an interaction effect between women's empowerment and democratization. Increased women's empowerment at the personal-legal, socioeconomic, and political levels. In effect, it democratizes the nuclear family and macro-level society. By altering patriarchal power

hierarchies and fostering a culture of equality and inclusivity. Intercultural change among North African states towards women's empowerment informs and is informed by intercultural change towards democratization. Besides, democratization in the MENA will likely be feminized. Social democracy, with greater attention to women's issues than the Western liberal model. Consequently, a different democratization measure should be used, rather than the widely used Combined Freedom House and Polity IV scores. Instead, the measure should focus on a state's redistributive capacity and the provision of social services such as education and health care, which are frequently, termed women's issues.

#### **2.5.1.2-Factors Influencing Women Political Participation: The Case of the SADC Region**

Courage Mlambo & Forget Kapingura | Richard Meissner, Oct 2019

This paper distinguishes the determinants affecting women's participation in politics in the SADC region. The writing extracted from the fact that the 30% average woman participation rate is still only partly to the goal of 50% women representation desired by the gender protocol and improvement of 2008. The paper discusses that full and equal participation of both women and men in political decision-making provides a balance that more accurately reflects society's composition. Furthermore, it may enhance the political process legality by changing them to be more responsive and democratic to the concerning perspectives of all segments of society. The study recommended that governments, the SADC region, engage political players, especially political parties, to ensure that they actively involve and appoint more women in their political structures.

## **2.5.2. Cross Culturally**

### **2.5.2.1.. Menaka (2018) CROSS-INTERCULTURAL WAYS –Means and Ways to Make it Effective**

Cross-intercultural communication observes how people from differing intercultural backgrounds communicate, in similar and different ways and how they endeavor to communicate across cultures. Cross a diverse workforce and participate in the global economy. It is also essential for employees to understand the factors that are part of an effective, diverse workforce.

This intercultural way of communication endeavors to bring anthropology and establishes an area of communication. Its core idea is to establish and understand how people from different cultures communicate with each other. It also aims to produce some guidelines with which people from different cultures can better communicate. The following article describes the effective means of cross-intercultural communication, problems faced in intercultural communication and the methodology of solving the issues raised in cross-intercultural communication

### **2.5.2.2. Meenu Rani (2013) Cross Culture – a Hurdle in Communication**

All international business activity involves communication. Furthermore, the managers, executives, have to face cross-culture differences. Within environments internationally and globally business environment, activities such as exchanging information and ideas, decision-making, negotiating, motivating, and leading are all based on managers' ability from one culture or country to communicate successfully with managers, employers, and employees from other cultures and countries. Fulfilling effective communication is a challenge to managers worldwide; even intercultural homogeneously exists in the workforce. However, when one company includes various intercultural backgrounds

and languages, effective two-way communication becomes even more challenging. Cross-intercultural communication happens when a human being from a culture sends a message to a human being from another different culture. Cross-intercultural miscommunication occurs when the human being from the second culture does not receive the other human being's intended message. The greater the differences between the first person culture and the second person cultures, the greater the chance for cross-intercultural miscommunication is. Furthermore, understanding communication problems among the different cultures become essential to avoid miscommunication. This study aims to take into limelight these problems and suggestions to solve them.

### **2.5.3. Locally**

#### **2.5.3.1. A policy Analysis Paper Towards Strengthening the Role and Representation of Women in Positions Making in the PLO (2018)**

Prepared by: Heba Al-Danaf

Palestinian Youth Forum

2018

This paper is a research paper; it aims to present policies and alternatives that enhance women's role and their participation in decision-making and implementation centers in the Palestine Liberation Organization. By presenting mechanisms of pressure on decision-makers and making policies that lead to expanding the role of women and their participation in the Liberation Organization's decision-making centers and its various departments.

### **2.5.3.2. The Reality of National Mechanisms for the Advancement of Palestinian Women Affairs: 1996-2008.**

**Institute for Women's Studies  
Gender and Development Program (2010)**

**Nayla Qassem Arafat Razim**

This study aims to attempt to draw milestones for the emergence and development of the path of national mechanisms for improving Palestinian women's conditions in light of international trends and regional experiences. As part of attempts to integrate Gender, perspective is at the core of the development process, as this study follows the path of national mechanisms. It took different shapes, levels, and stages, starting with the First International Conference on Women (Mexico City 1975) through subsequent international conferences on women, and ending with the 1995 Beijing Conference. The call for the need for governments to adopt the path of national mechanisms for the advancement of women's status was on the Global agenda business for international and governmental institutions. The study showed that the Palestinian National Authority, which established in 1994, adopted the path of mechanisms

Patriotism for women status advancement, despite its recent emergence and the peculiarity of the Palestinian experience In line with international and regional trends, as the emergence of the Authority coincided with the convening of the World Fourth Conference for Women (Beijing 1995) and its Platform for Action. The study reviewed the features of these mechanisms at the Palestinian level through an attempt to follow trends.

Significant changes and changes that occurred in the areas of institutions, legislation, and policies aimed at the advancement

Of the conditions of Palestinian women.

#### **2.5.4. Regionally**

##### **2.5.4.1. Arab Women and Political Development, By Rowaida Al Maaitah, Hadeel Al Maaitah, Hmoud Olaimat, and Muntaha Gharaeibeh (2013)**

This paper aims to examine the political participation of women in Arab countries and identify different challenges that impede Arab women's participation in political decision-making. Impediments include intercultural elements, the stereotyped perceptions of women, women's low confidence in themselves, miss coordination within women's organizations, effectiveness/efficiency of women programs for empowerment, inefficiency in the legal and institutional and structure, political parties practices and election process, suspicious about the Women empowerment Agendas, development process of women empowerment strategies. Thus, obstacles facing women in politics are immense. They require all effort consolidation with great belief in women's capabilities as human beings who can lead and shoulder the responsibility in building their nations. Keywords: Arab women in politics, Arab

##### **2.5.4.2. Women's Political Representation in the Arab Region Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), (2017)**

The study goals are generated evidence-based policy recommendations for the Arab States. to help them scale-up efforts to meet their commitments, which relates to goal 5 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), about gender equality, in particular target 5.5. It aims to ensure women's equal leadership opportunities at all levels of decision-making in political and public life.

The study contributes to the body of knowledge in Palestine and the world by being the first study that directly connects intercultural communication with women political participation in the political decision making which is considered one of the most vital

political fields in which women deserve to participate in the world for to achieve equality and sustainable development goals , and in Palestine in specific given their history of struggle, abilities, qualifications, and expected benefits from that indulging. On the other hand, it sheds the light on intercultural communication importance in effecting the stereotypical image of women created by the patriarchal culture, which constitutes the first challenge and hindrance, which women face in reaching decision-making positions, by addressing Palestinian experiences in intercultural communication and its impact on their political experience.

The researcher did this by revealing the role of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to participate in the political decision-making process. By analyzing the current political participation levels in political decision-making, revealing the main challenges that women face, and proposing strategies to overcome these challenges, based on the obtained information and the respondent's point of view and to come up with possible recommendations that would contribute to the appropriate employment of intercultural communication, which leads to women's empowerment to reach decision-making positions in Palestine, similar to the positive experiences of other cultures.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Methodology**

#### Methodology and Procedures

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.3 Study Methodology
- 3.4 Study Population Sample
  - 3.4.1 The study Sample
    - .3.4.1.1 Female Participation in Political Decision-Making
    - .3.4.1.2 Male Participant in Decision-Making
    - 3.4.1.4 Professors in Palestinian University
- 3.5 Study Tool
  - 3.5.1 The Interview
- 3.6 Interview Section
- 3.7 Validity of the Tool
- 3.8 Study Procedures
- 3.9 Study Design
- 3.10 Statistical Processing

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology and procedures**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This part of the study deals with the procedures followed by the researcher to obtain results that address the problem of the study, by introducing the study method, tool, study community and sample, in preparation for answering the study questions and connecting them to the hypotheses.

#### **3.3. Study Methodology**

This study is considered qualitative research, which is "the study that can be carried out in the context or natural situation, where the researcher collects data, words or pictures, then analyzes them in an inductive way with a focus on the meanings mentioned by the participants, and describes the process in a convincing and expressive language (Bhattacharjee, 2012)

This study relies on the descriptive approach. The study also relied on the historical approach to clarify the historical background of political participation of women in Palestine to shed the light on intercultural communication role in enabling women to participate in political decision-making processes.

#### **3.4. Study Population Sample**

The study population is purposeful (عينه مقصودة) and represented by the Palestinian women who participated in the political field, and who went through the experiences of

political decision-making, to obtain information related to their experience, challenges that they faced, and their recommendations in this field.

The study population is represented by Palestinian political decision makers, female activists, as well as specialists in gender studies and academia's.

### **3.4.1. The Study Sample**

The study sample consists of twenty-six Palestinian women who participate in political decision-making, in addition to seven Palestinian men in political decision-making, and six academics.

The sample of the study was as follows:

#### **3.4.1.1. First: Female Participant in Political Decision-Making**

Number	Name	Position
1.	Hanan Ashrawi	Head of Diplomacy and Public Policy Department in the PLO.
2.	Suha Khateeb	Director of the European Affairs Department, Palestine Liberation Organization - Palestine – Ramallah
3.	Ola Awad	President of the Palestinian Statistics Center
4.	Mjedah Masri	Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
5.	Dalal Salameh	Member of FATEH Central Committee
6.	Zaheera kamal	Former Minister of Women ministry, former representative of the Feda Party, and founder of the Union of Palestinian Feminist Action Committees
7.	Areej All-Khaleli	Member of the Revolutionary Council
8.	Sahar Al-Qwasmi	Deputy in the Legislative Council for Fatah

11	Sheraaz al bzoor	Director of the Student Council in Al-Khadouri
12	Tahreer Al-Aarraj	Executive Director of MIFTAH Foundation
13	Asmaa Kharob	Director of the gender in Fatah
14	Samar Hawwash	President of the Palestinian Women's Association
15	Sama Awaidah	Director of the Center for Palestinian Women's Studies
16	Amal Jadoo	Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ramallah
17	Anan Al-Ateera	Deputy Governor of Nablus
18	Mahasen Dawood	Former Director of the Youth Intercultural Center and one of earlier FATEH founder
19	Mai Qaradee	A member of the Nablus region in the Fatah movement
20	Wafa Zakaneh	Member of the Revolutionary Council
21	Myassar Atyanee	Secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Women, member of the National Council of the PLO
22	Muna Daklallah	Director of the General Union of Palestinian Women Branch
23	Leena Al-Jarbooni	Activist and former prisoner
24	Nehaya Jarar	Khaeeda Jarar , Famous Palestinian activist and current prisoner 'sister
26	Mjedah Fedah	Nablus Muncibility

### 3.4.1.2. Third: Male Participant in Decision-Making

Number	Name	Position
1	Azzam AL-Ahmad	Head of the Arab and Parliamentary Affairs Department in the PLO.
2	Taseer Khaire	Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
3	Rafee Jawabreh	Governor of Qalqilya Governorate
4	Ahmad Shameskh	Director of the Ministry of Interior office in Nablus
5	Tayseer Nasrallah	Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Intercultural Center
6	Mohamad Al-Howrani	Member of Fatah Revolutionary Council / political analyst
7	Nasser Abou Jaish	Coordinator of the factional coordination committee in Nablus

### 3.4.1.4. Professors in the Palestinian Universities

number	Name	Position
1	Yasser Abo Hamad	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences
2	Fareed Abu Dhair	Lecturer at An-Najah University / Media Faculty
3	Nizzam Salahat	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Law
4	Reyaad Shraim	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences
5	Othman Othman	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences
6	Asma Sharbati	Lecturer at Palestine Polytechnic University and other Universities

### **3.5. Study Tool**

#### **3.5.1. The Interview:**

Jahoo defines it as: "That verbal exchange, which is face to face between the, the interviewer or the interviewee." It is also known by Bingham, who says: "A directed conversation that a person conducts with another person, or other people, aims to elicit certain types of information, to be used in scientific research, or to use it in guidance, treatment, and diagnosis."

The researcher chose the interviews with open questions that need explanation and clarification, as they fulfill the purpose of the research.

The researcher chose this tool because it is considered an easy way to obtain data from the respondents. People in general tend to speak more than write, and it also provides depth in the responses, in addition to the integrated answers. This is because questions can be clarified, and repeated

It also provides non-verbal indicators that enhance responses and clarify feelings, such as: tone of voice, facial features, and movement of the head and hands, the respondent feels of his social value more than just receiving a questionnaire to fill it out and return it again (Al-Morshedy, 2014, p.8).

### 3.6. Interview Sections

The interview questions were divided into twenty questions, all of which aim to answer the research questions, which relate to the role of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to participate in political decision-making. Which were collected from the respondents divided the study into three main sections as follows:

- **The First Part: the Political Participation in the West Bank**
- **The Second Part: the Participation of Palestinian Women in Political Decision-Making**
- **The Third Part: the role of Intercultural Communication Enabling Palestinian women to Participate in Political Decision-Making Processes.**

### 3.7. Validity of the Tool

Based on the above, the interview questions were developed, and they were judged by Dr. Raed Na'irat, lecturer in the Department of Political Science at An-Najah National University. And Dr. Samah Saleh, former head of the sociology department at An-Najah University, and Dr. Farid Abu Dhair, lecturer at the media faculty at An-Najah National University, It was modified, by deleting and adding, to reach its final form, which enables us to answer the study's questions

### **3.8. Study Procedures:**

The study was conducted according to the following stages:

1. The researcher collected data and information from books, previous studies, and other references and sources, in order to develop the theoretical framework for this study.
2. The researcher used the previous studies and references in designing the personal interview questions, then judging and modifying them, to reach its final image, and then distribute it to the study sample.
3. The researcher collected the answers and processed the data through qualitative analysis to obtain information on the variables of the dependent and independent study.
4. Results discussion stage: The researcher discussed the results obtained through analyzing the data, in order to reach the results that answer the study questions.

Study design and statistical treatment:

### **3.9. Study Design:**

The study included the following independent and dependent variables:

**3.9.1. Independent Variables:** They are represented in the following:

- 1- Gender, age, educational qualification, job title, years of experience, and the institution in which he works.



**3.9.2. The Dependent Variables:**

It is represented in all areas and dimensions of the tool used in this study, which measures the impact of intercultural communication in enabling Palestinian women to participate in political decision-making.

**3.10. Statistical Processing:**

After completing the interview phase, and collecting data and information from the respondents, the researcher extracted results from the interview axes, and compared the answers.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Data analysis and Discussion**

- 4.1 The Political Participation of Palestinian Women
- 4.2 Participating of Women in Political Decision Making
- 4.3 The Role of Intercultural Communication in Enabling Women in Political Decision making in Palestine

## **Chapter Four**

### **Data analysis and Discussion**

#### **First Topic**

#### **4.1. Women Political Participation**

##### **The Political Participation of Palestinian Women**

The political participation of Palestinian women passed through several stages. These stages reflected the nature of the political and social conditions, which increased in complexity over time. The practice of political activities changed to interfere with social activities, represented by preparing women cadres, caring for different segments of society, which was the basis for the emergence of the public union for Palestinian women.

The national feminist movement grew in light of the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Its work was limited to social activity, but it gradually began to adopt political parties' features and participate in politics. However, the political parties did not give women's movements the space to appear and defend their issues at that time. Her efforts were scattered, which led to the absence of a feminist agenda, so she returned once again to social work, including childcare, women's education, and participation in military activities, especially in light of the first intifada (Åshild, 2010)

With the emergence of the Palestinian National Authority, a new phase began. There was renewed hope for expanding women's participation through a democratic climate that allowed women to demonstrate their competence. However, the Palestinian Authority did allow for many women to work for the new Palestinian government; this

had a negative impact on community organizations that absorbed a large number of Palestinian women.

These stages expressed the feminist movement's achievements in the political, military, and social struggle as well as the setbacks that the feminist movement suffered in light of restricting its ambition and preventing it from reaching administrative positions. This is what prompted the researcher to discuss the right to empower Palestinian women in decision-making due to political and historical struggle and their useful participation in the political, social, economic, and military fields that cannot be denied.

### **The first section: Concept of political participation**

The concept of political participation in Palestine takes a unique character due to the occupation conditions faced by the Palestinian people, which make any activity that it undertakes falls under political participation, despite the general concept of political participation, which is limited to elections and occupying public offices. The international community includes several rights within the framework of political participation, such as the right to vote in elections and public referendums, to participate later in the formulation and implementation of government policy than to assume public positions, to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations related to public and political life in Palestine (Al-Naji, 2016)

Sallahat said that political participation is the participation of citizens in political life. At the same time, Nasrallah believes that political participation consists of working and participating through political parties, authorities, and joining them, in addition to

working in labor institutions, as the civil work institutions play a political role in serving national causes.

Dr. Abu Hamed believes that political participation consists of creating influence in making public policy. On the other hand, Abu Shuraim notes that political participation is represented in the representative dimension, making a meaning to women's presence in leadership positions, whether in government or governmental institutions; Judicial, executive, or legislative participation in parties and social movements. So that they are properly represented in decision-making centers, and in political activities, events on an equal basis.

Tahreer Al-a'raj, executive director of MIFTAH Foundation, her vision of political participation, is that women can make decisions concerning their lives. Their future and everything related to their economic, social, and other conditions. she can be in centers allow societal change, as centers of the decision - making to be able to see policies and laws on all levels, it is possible to apply it at the level of political parties, or political institutions, social movements, official institutions, such as the ministries, the legislative council, and the informal community, such as the municipalities of village councils.

Kamal, stressed the need to recognize women's role in political work, as it is not very approved in political participation and have been seen as a complementary role related to her social and familial role, which limits her ability to take Political decision.

Dakhlallah agreed with her on the necessity of giving women an opportunity to be in decision-making positions and as partners in decision-making so that we can say that there is effective political participation.

Sheraaz al bzoor<sup>26</sup>, Director of the Student Council at Al-Khadouri University, indicated that political participation is represented in decisions and opinions that affect the political situation

Majida Fadda believes that the political participation of women is very important, because society is based on participation, and there can be no equilibrium process without the presence of women and political support for women through social work. For 100 years, and nearly 15 years, women have been active participants in parliaments and government

As for Mohmad Al-Hourani, a member of the FATEH revolutionary council and a political analyst, he believes that political participation is a democratic system that allows female and male citizens to choose their leaders first. Then becomes the leader by going through a set of political, social, and intercultural experiences that qualify them to make political decisions .

Ahmad Shamikh<sup>27</sup> believes that the Palestinian situation is exceptional, as politics is involved in all social, economic, intercultural, and psychological fields. It can be said that any economic, social, intercultural, or educational activity that the Palestinian carries out falls under political activities, given that we are an occupied country .

Political participation today is daily participation in the life that our Palestinian people live under the occupation. This means that the political participation of Palestinian

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<sup>26</sup> Shiraz Al-Bazour Sheraaz al bzoor, Director of the Student Council in Al-Khadouri, call interview, 30/6/2020,3:30 P.M, Jenien .

<sup>27</sup> Ahmad Shameskh, Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Cultural Center, personal interview, 18/3/2020,1:30 P.M, Nablus, director of the Ministry of Interior's office in Nablus

women started from the very beginnings of the Palestinian cause. They were partners in the struggle, armed struggle, social, educational, and intercultural work, and what is evidenced by the presence of many females prisoners from the beginning of the Palestinian struggle until today.

Areej Al-Khaleeli<sup>28</sup>, member of the Legislative Council, affirmed that political participation is not only represented by engaging in political parties and the political country programs, the national struggle, and resisting the occupation. But as well, it is a societal involvement in women's institutions and centers, representing every social action aimed at serving society.

### **The Second Section: the Relationship Between Political Participation and Citizenship**

Political participation is considered one of the essential principles of the state, through which we can distinguish democratic national systems based on citizenship and equality in rights and duties away from authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Democracy aims to reconcile the arrangement of power with human rights and freedoms to achieve participation between them. Within the framework of the state, which means that leads to establishing a kind of participation in the management of public affairs and the work of institutions and their monitoring. Which enhances the position of the human towards power. Thus political participation is more vital whenever the political system approaches the establishment of a democratic life in which individuals obtain their

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<sup>28</sup> Areej al-Khalili, Member of the Revolutionary Council, personal interview, 4/6/2020, 11:12 A.M. Nablus

rights and fulfill their duty, which enhances the feeling of citizenship they have (Al-Shami, 2011, 1244)

This introduction indicates the close relationship between political participation and citizenship. It indicates that political participation is a result of citizenship sense and that the feeling of citizenship contributes to strengthening political involvement. The sample members agreed on this; they emphasized the close connection between the concept of citizenship and political participation. Rights, duties, if all rights are available, they will lead to the fulfillment of political, social, and economic responsibilities.

Based on this concept, Kamal stated that women's political role, if it is limited to the electoral process and voting, means that she fulfilled her duty and did not take her right. The principle in political participation is that she grants her right in decision-making.

Sahar Al-Qawasmi, a former member of the Legislative Council, said that citizenship is an integral part of political participation. It seeks to bring about societal, economic, and political change in a way that guarantees the rights and duties of citizens.

Annan Al-attira, deputy governor of Nablus, stressed that citizenship primarily needs all members of society's efforts at the level of laws and the community-based systems. This result contributes to the ease of the political participation of political citizens.

Wafa Zakarneh explained that participation in decision-making indicates citizenship, which seeks to improve the Palestinian family's social and economic situation, thus enhancing citizens belonging.



Al-Araj explains that political participation helps to understand the policies in the country of which the citizen is a part of, thus evaluate the government whether it work for him, and considers him a priority or not, whether it recruit primary sources to serve the citizen, and when the answers are understood as a result of political activity, the affiliation increases or cancels it, according to Hazar her understanding of the policies obtained Simultaneously, Sama Aweidah emphasized that political participation means participating in setting national priorities and agendas.and participating in making that works to promote citizenship, as the person becomes a member of this country who participates in developing its plans and participating in the implementation of those plans, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of work, and making recommendations Different to develop it.

Al-Hourani distinguished that between a citizen who abstains from political participation and seeks personal reconciliation and another who is involved in political, intercultural, social, and charitable public life, and described the second as a positive citizen who is loaded with constructive energy that seeks the prosperity of his country, state, and society; he is the most capable of acquiring his rights and fulfilling his duties, thus be prepared to decision matters and reach leadership positions as a result that reinforces his supreme values of freedom, respect for culture, and citizenship, which ultimately constitute a coherent and interdependent social fabric.

Nasrallah assumes that citizenship contributes to increasing human awareness and attachment to his land and his cause, reinforcing his belief in his cause, and resulting in actual political participation practice.

As for Khairi, a former employee of the Legislative Council, he believes that political participation is an integral part of citizenship. It provides the individual with opportunities to judge different experiences, thus strengthen his affiliation with matters that he deems correct.

Rafi Jawabra, Governor of Qalqilya Governorate, stated that political participation provides an opportunity for the citizen to know the political reality, interactions, and surrounding political activities, which make him reach a stage of awareness and feel belonging to his land to overcome challenges facing his people, his homeland, his capabilities and wealth.

About the opinion of the associative nature of the relationship between citizenship and political participation, Abu Hamid said the real political participation, one of their tracks to increase citizenship, are the rights and duties, which is the right of a citizen of the state, and responsibilities towards the country, and through that the political participation is embodied in the comprehensive concept, which is to give the space of freedoms, a sense of justice, social equality, and participation in parties, whether in gatherings and demonstrations that resort to the law and is a consistent perfectly proportional relationship with the political involvement . We can say the more the citizens have an excellent feeling of their citizenship, the more significant political participation in public affairs is which promotes social responsibility.

The same applies to Abu Shuraim, who confirms the strong relationship between political participation and citizenship is also based on the issue of rights and duties. It is the most important foundation of citizenship. Political participation is one of the most

important of these duties. When the individual undertakes political participation, he performs his duty and approaches the realization of his concept of citizenship .

### **Third Section: The Reality of Political Participation in Palestine**

Political participation represents one of community participation types, which includes values, concepts, experiences, and political trends. It is related to the political upbringing that crystallizes political behavior and determines its motives and tendencies. It is a democratic indicator that a political system cannot be imagined without it, as political participation cannot limit it to the direction. Or a belief has to be translated into an action (Makkawi, 2017)

In the Palestinian case, political participation diverges into all activities that the citizen practices to build and protect his homeland, because of the Israeli occupation presence and oppressive actions .However, this participation fluctuates according to political decisions and circumstances and takes the character of a phase, where armed action and resistance, in the stage of the armistice and negotiations, represented political participation in periods of the uprising.

It is represented in political, social, educational, and economic work. This is what the respondents agreed upon that political participation in Palestine has never stopped, but was shaped by the stage's character, regardless of their level of satisfaction with it.

As Kamal revealed, her dissatisfaction with the current political participation levels in Palestine, Which she considered incomplete in the absence of d women and youth role, and the deliberate marginalization of them in political work.

As for Al-Khalili, she emphasized that the Palestinian people differ from the rest of the peoples in their active and clear political participation, as a result of the occupation situation that causes successive crises, which makes it in a permanent confrontation, and full political participation in order to liberate from and eliminate the occupation.

Zakarnah. Stated that the exceptional circumstances of the Palestinian people affect the political participation negatively, in terms of the occupation that prevents the movement in the event of an election partially or completely because of the invasions, or hinder political conditions and prevent our role in a democratic and political life.

Al-Qawasmi emphasized that the political participation of the Palestinian people is very far from civilized models, in that it is limited to sacrifice, which is represented by prisoners, martyrs, and the wounded whose homes are demolished. This did not achieve access to decision-making that represents the highest levels of political participation.

As for Asmaa Kharroub, she indicated that the Palestinian people participate in the political process when it is available, and the percentage of political participation ranges from one region to another and from one group to another. Al-Araj, who linked the matter to the time frame, agreed with her and explained that in the period before and during the uprising, political participation was high in the society. Palestinian men and women, in the Diaspora, in the refugee camps, regardless of any geographical division, were as active participation at the level of political parties, frameworks for political activities, with a high degree of belief in the importance of greater political work, as for post-Oslo period, political participation turned into meetings and conferences for offices and working papers, and the struggle transformed into another form.

Al-a'raj showed that the third stage was the period after the closing of the political horizon in 2015 , which reflected negatively on the political participation and specifically after the Palestinian 2007 division, which impacts on Palestinian youth faith in political parties, has touched on recent studies confirmed that the 75 % Of youth do not believe in political parties, do not belong to them, and do not have public spaces, in addition to the factors of exclusion of young people from political life, most notably their lack of presence in decision-making positions in political parties in the political and central office, the average age despite their long sacrifices in the political struggle And military.

Atiani, stressed that political participation today is not appropriate for the stages of struggle that the Palestinian people went through and their sacrifices. After Oslo, the struggle tide of resistance to the Palestinian popular revolution began to recede due to intercultural, regional, and international projections and international interventions, the Oslo agreement has an impact, a negative impact on the Palestinian struggle, because of the economic consequences that followed it, keeps the government in recurring crises, we also still represent a local quasi-state rule, and the Palestinian people still have to struggle, but the levels of struggle vary.

Samar Hawwash, President of the Palestinian Women's Association, confirmed that political participation varied according to time stages. In the seventies and eighties, the level of political participation on the struggle and social dimension was high, but within the last ten years, political participation declined, which began to take weak forms represented in participation. By a demonstration, it may not reflect an affiliation as

before; political participation no longer takes the character of change and influencing decision-makers, and laws to be in favor of the nation.

Khaledah<sup>29</sup> Jarar activists quoting her sister because she is currently in Israeli prisons, she believes that the experiences and the participation of the Palestinian people compared to previous times are weak, but, the percentage of participation in the recent legislative elections are good, and so is for to participate in municipal elections and village councils. Current, participation is weak, and if elections take place, we do not expect that there will be large participation for several reasons.

As for the Palestinian academics and political analysts, they indicated that the reality of political participation in Palestine is frustrating, compared to the political participation in the previous stages, and they attributed this to the political repercussions, the political stage is unclear, due to the political division that preceded it, and the absence of the Legislative Council.

Al- Hourani stated that the form of political participation changed with the historical stages of the Palestinian issue. Before the establishment of the authority, the armed struggle dominated the form of political participation, but after that, political participation turned into voting and joining the Palestinian parties and institutions, including associations, municipal and village councils. The citizen, at that time had a political and social culture and awareness that pushed them to participate in political life, but today and as a result of the recent political circumstances, including the absence of the Legislative Council and the Palestinian division, the Palestinians refrained from

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<sup>29</sup> Nehaya Kanaan Nehaya Jarar, Khaleda Jarar, Famous Palestinian activist and current prisoner 'sister, call interview, 6/7/2020, 3:20 P.M, Ramallah.

political participation due to the blocking of the political horizon and the lack of clarity of the features of the new phase.

Abu Hamed: the political division negatively affected citizenship and political participation. Several studies have confirmed the limited political participation in Palestine and the feeling of political boredom among young people are the various political repercussions.

As for Farid Abu Dhair, a lecturer at the Faculty of media at An-Najah National University, he explained that the Palestinian people are a politicized people as a result of the conditions that Palestine went through, including wars, political fluctuations, and political regimes that ruled Palestine for a century, and he they have good political awareness and aware of the events surrounding them. Perhaps we can say that the Palestinian people are one of the most politically aware of the current events.

However, the Palestinian people's participation in political life has become largely weak since the split between FATEH and HAMAS in 2007. The Palestinian reality has witnessed accountability for political participation, especially on social media, as well as the Palestinian citizen's realization that, his political participation may lead to harm or accountability, which has led many to refrain from political participation, in addition to the absence of the most important forms of practice. Democratic political, which are the elections, and the various political events, which also led to a kind of frustration and despair from any change, but this does not mean that the level of political awareness has decreased, but rather the reluctance to participate and express political positions and opinions in the current stage.

Salahat also emphasized that the political participation of the Palestinian people is old and deeply rooted, especially due to the various stages of the struggle against the mandate, and then against Zionism , but the state of division and the cessation of political life, and the disruption of the work of the Legislative Council since 2007, led to Neutralizing public participation in political life in favor of other priorities that emerged at the expense of national participation in political life.

As for Othman<sup>30</sup> a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at AL-Najah National University, said that political participation has not existed for 14 years and that it has been disrupted in the institutions of power, and the organization as well, although in some cases it was found to be no more than symbolic. Othman attributed the reason to the state of frustration among young people because of corruption, indifference, and lack of achievement in the field of rights.

#### **Fourth Section: The Reluctance of Youth and Women From Political Participation in Palestine**

Political participation represents an acquired process that young people and women learn, not a hereditary process, and develops during the stages of their lives, and their interaction within the reference groups to which they belongs to, and the degree to which political participation is practiced depends on the availability of capacity, motivation, and real opportunities provided by society, in addition to the prevailing political and ideological traditions (Abd al-Muttalib, 2003, 23) and based on the concept of abstaining from political participation, by moving away from practicing it for various

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<sup>30</sup> Othman Othman, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences, call interview, 4/4/2020, 4:30 P.M, Nablus



reasons related to these data and their degrees in addition to other factors related to the occupation and the Palestinian cause.

The respondents' responses ranged between those who assert that there is a reluctance to political participation among youth and women due to political, social, and economic conditions, and others who call it the deliberate exclusion of the youth and women category, so reluctance is linked to desire, while exclusion is forced, and it is linked to marginalization.

Another group of respondents explained that the issue is not related to reluctance or exclusion, but the difference in the form of political participation according to the political stages and their requirements.

As Zahira Kamal, Tahrir Al-Araj, Samer Hawwash, and Dr. Riad Shreim saw that political participation was deficient due to the absence of youth and women and the marginalization of their role in political work, the marginalization is not limited at a political level, but n at the social and economical level as well, although the women had historically a role in the Palestinian struggle, as Hawwash explained, and she expected that her role after the coming of the authority would move from struggle to developmental, to achieve her ambition in legal, intercultural and societal issues, but she was excluded from that, and there was no integration of gender issues and youth groups in the general planning process at those levels. This deliberate exclusion has contributed to a state of frustration and distrust, thus the reluctance of youth and women from political participation.

Hawwash indicated her talk about the 2017 elections for the villages and local councils, in which women leaders, actors, and competencies appeared, but official meetings were held at night, to embarrass women and exclude them or that official decision and important projects were implemented far from them, while they were on the sidelines.

As for Abu Shriam, he also stressed that the issue is not reluctance but rather a marginalization of the entire Palestinian people by virtue of its political reality. It is represented by the occupation more than 100 years ago, beginning with the British and then the Zionist occupation, which made political participation imposed on the Palestinians, in all forms, except with regard to political decision-making. A deliberate exclusion occurs by the absence of youth and women from the positions of the legislative authority, through the creation of many obstacles, such as the failure of political parties to give young people an opportunity to reach the leadership bodies, and the same applies to the government, as there are not enough young men and women in the Legislative Council.

Al-Araj revealed the seriousness of this exclusion through studies that showed that the average age of the political participants in the leadership bodies and decision-makers was in the seventies, which makes the future of the country not politically involved, and it is necessary to enact a law to reduce the age of candidacy.

On the other hand, the rest emphasized that the reluctance of youth and women is mainly due to a state of mistrust and frustration as a result of the ambiguous political conditions, the lack of political programs commensurate with the youth, the lack of empowerment of youth and women, the control of the elderly in politics, in addition to the male view that restricts women and their political participation.

In the context, Al-Khalili indicated that periods of political recession naturally witness reluctance, but in crises and endowments, young people represent the mainstay of politics, struggle, and resistance, and they are indispensable, and this is evidenced by the state of calm after the Oslo agreement, which did not witness any real and clear political participation of youth and women.

As for the Al-attire, she compared political participation now and in the seventies and eighties, where women were the fuel of resistance, struggle, and social movements, and the basis for political and social change, as a result of their standing as a strong alternative to the martyr, the wounded and the captive, to build their society and protect it from the enemy, but the situation has changed due to the social and economic problems that made Women and youth are preoccupied with it more than politics, which led to the decline of political mobility and the blockage of the political horizon. Politics is the one that loses from the reluctance of youth and women, and not the other way around.

Aweidah revealed a number of reasons that have led to the reluctance of youth and women to participate in politics, as follows:

1 -The political upbringing and the established societal culture that limits women to the social role expected of them in reproduction and upbringing makes many women believe that politics is not their own business, and this culture is still studied in some school curricula and the media.

2 -The set of obstacles and challenges that face women participating in political life, and their failure to control the various resources, which hinders their access to leadership

positions, as women usually do not control the financial resources to run electoral campaigns.

3 -The concept of political participation, which was based on polarizing youth, has changed, and today the new generations and women are excluded.

4 - Changing interests from political to economic and pressure on young people not to participate in politics, fearing for business, the economy, and life.

As for Dakhalallah, she touched on the failure of political parties and civil society institutions to develop programs that are attractive to youth and women, which complicated the idea of attracting new generations to political action, despite the high rate of joining political parties at the time of university elections for student councils, but it is a symbolic and not actual participation. It does not seriously takes the needs of women and the young generation, which has led to its reluctance to join the political movement.

Atiani indicated that the current political participation of the Palestinian people is to follow the news. Previously, women-led the marches, and in the second intifada, there were female resistance fighters, female prisoners, military personnel, educated women, the women political participation had a degree of social and intercultural awareness, and so on for economic sufficiency.

Atiani attributed the reason for women's reluctance to participate in politics with the emergence of political Islam, and the various prohibitions, taboos, and political beliefs that emerged from it that played on the chord of male and patriarchal culture, which

made families themselves prevent their daughters and women from participating in the political process.

On the other hand, Al-Qawasmi said that the problem of reluctance to participate in politics is mainly the absence of laws that allow youth to participate in the higher levels of politics, in addition to the personal readiness they have weak due to the obstacles and challenges associated with political participation.

As for Zakarneh, she indicated that there is no reluctance, and this is evidenced by the municipal and village council elections, in which women participated, and she explained that the main problem is the quota system, which some consider the maximum for women's participation while it represents a minimum, and the matter requires increasing awareness and education of the mechanisms of elections. And the importance of women's political participation, and the youth who are the mainstay of society.

As for political analysts and academics, they explained the reason for the reluctance of women and youth to participate in politics is the absence of patterns of political practices, especially elections, and the different functions of political parties and directing their power in internal conflict, which undermined the confidence of many of them.

Ahmed Shamikh, Director of the Internal affairs ministry in Nablus, believes that the reluctance to political participation depends mainly on the ebb and flow of political, social, and economic conditions, which have negatively affected the political participation of women and men, as a result of the occupation, the political conditions

of the surrounding Arab countries, and the political plots being hatched against the Palestinian cause. It is liable to discourage them from any political activity.

As for Nasrallah, he saw that political parties and forces were no longer able to reach the minds of young people and to attract them, as a result of the trust gap. After the Oslo Agreement, the Palestinian people appeared to the world as if they were obtaining their full political rights, and it appeared to the world as if there are a state and a fully sovereign authority, and there is no need for struggle and fighting once again with the Israeli side, but through peaceful negotiations, which were entrusted to the political elite, which led to the reluctance of the youth and women, as a result of their feeling that their role in the national liberation stage had ended, and this was what the FATEH member Abu- Jaish referred to as the weakness of self-initiative as the main reason for reluctance as a result of Political frustration, and delusional achievements.

Salahat explained that reluctance means the citizen's taking off as a result of his decision on political participation, and this is involuntary in the Palestinian cause due to the interruption of democratic life as a result of the division, and for reasons related to the function of political parties, directing their energies in the internal conflict at the expense of the national conflict with the occupation, and not the clarity of party programs, some links to external agendas, and the transformation of party work into interest-based links more than social or national programs. In general, there is a feeling of the bankruptcy of the existing parties, and a gap that separates the slogans they raise from practice on the ground.

Abu Dhair identified the factors that led to the reluctance to political participation among the citizen in general, and the youth and women in particular, which are the

division and the iron grip on freedom of expression, as well as the absence of patterns of political practice, especially elections. In addition to what could be described as "economic prosperity," which made people's most interest in work and achieving better financial income, which led to placing interest in the political situation and political participation in the last priorities of the citizen.

### **Fifth section: the importance of women's political participation in Palestine**

Political participation is considered a fundamental change process for the political system, and women's participation in it achieves the goals of this change because it helps expand the legitimacy base of the representative and executive institutions of the political system, which stains it with the character of democracy, and this reinforces the principle of citizenship, in both its rights and duties, which clearly contributes to Promoting belonging to the homeland and achieving comprehensive development in all fields (Rahal, 2004, p. 10)

And out of this vision in achieving comprehensive development, and consideration women 's half of the society their participation balance occurred in various community issues, where women constitute half of the human resources in the community, one of the most important development resources and investment by major investments to build real development programs, Whether economic, social, or political, including the needs of all members of society, and excluding investment in women's energy, this means an imbalance that may lead to failure by 50% or more of the society.

The respondents also confirmed that the political participation of women contributes to the enactment of just and equitable laws, and the amendment of the previous ones to

meet the requirements of society and balance with its needs, which means access to accountability and transparency, and that the political participation of women helps to create broader international relations with countries and international human rights organizations.

Atiani believes that disrupting women's political participation necessarily means disrupting all resources in one way or another, which will negatively affect the community environment, the family, and decision-makers as well, because women are the most capable of describing laws, such as the penal code and the family protection law, and they are the most capable of delivering the message than Men, and the presence of a woman in parliament guarantees that societal complaints are raised without unfairness, and at the political level if we do not reach the stage of societal liberation, and the arrival of women in decision-making, we will not be politically liberated.

As Kamal, stressed that the neglect of women's political participation means the neglect of the needs of the class, and issues, because political participation related to e decision-making, and programs, and etc. plans that draw on the political levels of various of, whether the institutions of government of, or to a level of resolution The political, in the laws, and in all matters related to the citizen's life and women are the most aware of these needs.

In the context, Al-Qawasmi considered that a feminist understanding of issues differs from a male understanding. It is the closest to reality as a result of her contact with daily needs, which contributes to bringing about change and positive development in society, and Khroub agreed with her, who believed that the feminist view of women is more



comprehensive and more general than that of men and that women's political participation contributes to increasing competition between the sexes, which is in the interest of society, and strengthens Palestine's position among states, international organizations and human rights institutions.

Al-Araj explained that the actual participation of women in politics ensures that they discuss their issues, which are not only considered feminist, but rather societal and national issues, and that the state, in all its spectrums, must defend these issues, to reflect positively on society.

Aweidah focused on the idea that feminist needs are based on gender, and men cannot express them, and they do not care about the obstacles they face, and that investing in women's human resources ensures building comprehensive and realistic development programs that stem from the needs of society, this investment is one of the foundations of steadfastness and struggle.

Hawwash relied on the concept of citizenship and equality in rights and duties between men and women as citizens of society, and women's political participation achieves a developmental role that changes the reality of society and achieves equal opportunities, and disabling women necessarily means disrupting all resources.

As for Dakhallallah, she focused on the historical importance of women's political participation and involvement in political and military action, and her work in national, social, economic, and development struggle, but she was alerted to her lack of access to decision-making positions, which is reflected in the state's policies and legislation, and this contributed to the emergence of many prominent women in Various fields that have

contributed to the development of society, changing the intercultural environment for women, and departing from the stereotype, such as ministers, governorates, ambassadors, and others who contribute to changing the future.

Palestinian officials and academics did not differ in that, who emphasized that women are half of society, and the importance of women's political participation is the same as the importance of men's participation, which is one of the axioms, and a basic pillar in political and public life because political participation means participation in formulating a lifestyle and enacting laws. In dealing with the problems of society, as Abu Dahir showed, and this can only be achieved in its full form with the participation of women.

Shamekh was proud of Palestine's first experience at the state level in running a woman for the presidency, Samiha Khalil, in exchange for Yasser Arafat, which strengthened women's confidence, increased their willingness to run in political and national movements and increased political awareness that was represented by their appearance in ministries, embassies, and central committees.

Nasrallah considered that a woman is more capable of bringing about change than a man in political work, and she was previously a true partner in the struggle, but today she took a symbolic role in the parties and the government, and she does not have the decision, but if she is able to reach it she's able to change more than men.

Khairy attributed the importance of women's participation in political life due to her long experience in the Palestinian struggle, represented by participation in armed operations and struggle such as hijacking planes, participation in organizations,

mobilization, and support for families in the absence of a man because of arrest or martyrdom, and this outcome is enough to make her political participation today able To build an ideal society.

On the other hand, Jawabreh emphasized the importance of women in political upbringing, as they are the ones, who build the primary culture of the child and instill in him national and social values, and therefore her participation and political role is not limited to partisan participation or decision-making, but rather she is able to raise generations of their own. To change the political reality and this is another kind of planning in politics, and women are most capable of it.

As for Abu Shuraim, asserts that the importance of women and their political participation is among the axioms because they constitute 50% of the energy of society, and their marginalization means dispensing with 50% of the productive and fighting energy, and the impact must be fatal by all standards.

Abu Dhair indicated that political participation means formulating a pattern of life and enacting laws, and it is a basic pillar in the life of the citizen, male or female, and all government practices affect the citizen, men, and women without discrimination, and affect the course of their lives, their dealings, their social and economic relations, and define their fields of work. And solutions to their problems, and it is necessary to focus on the role of women in political participation, because women are a full partner of men in their lives, and therefore the political participation of women is an indispensable necessity, political life affects women as it affects men, it is the right of women to participate in Choosing rulers and legislators. she has the right to agree with government policies, disagrees with it, and express her position freely.

In addition to the impact of women's political participation on society, through their job position, social standing, and their role in instilling thought and culture among their children.

The social reforms have seen the impact of women's political participation through their role in development and production, as well as men, and establishing the principle of social equality regardless of gender and color, and the community also that relationship with the heritage of collective national resistance, and the role of women's historic Palestine in the march of national liberation. Her self-confidence is shaken by the association of the concept of her role in reproduction, education and housework, a societal stereotype that sticks to the mind of society, and is sometimes adopted by women themselves, which weakens her personality, and her chance to reach decision-making positions even if she has the necessary skills

### **Section Six: The Reality of Women's Political Participation in Palestine**

Palestinian women historically contributed to the political and military struggle, social and economical, and replaced the man replaced the secrets of a palace by the certificate, and the arrest, and by political activism, as already mentioned, have been subjected to arrest, testimony, and stood women side by side with men in the armed struggle, and despite the establishment of the Union Women's public year, charities, and feminist institutions, However, women's ambitions are still suppressed by political and economic conditions, and with the advent of power renewed hope for expanding political participation, but it did not allow only a few of them to participate in government work, which explains their wider and more effective participation. In institutions and non-governmental organizations, which helped the feminist movement to prove itself as a

factor in facing urgent challenges, as there are more than 3000 institutions, 15% of which contribute to improving the participation of women in society in general, and in political life in particular, despite this, the statistics indicate The presence of women at the grassroots levels without leadership, and their weak participation due to many factors (Abu Al-Ghayeb, Kronz, 2015, p.15)

The respondents agreed that women's political participation is still weak and does not rise to the level of their struggle history, and women are still placed in molds that limit their freedom of expression and prevent them from exploiting their experiences and competence in the service of the nation, and the trend stressed the need to highlight women's experiences and skills. To benefit from decision-making platforms, women possess the competence and experience necessary to occupy leadership positions and sit at decision-making tables.

Al-Araj believes that the political participation of women is less than what is required, and even the quota that guarantees the participation of 30% of women is being manipulated by men, so women are not chosen based on merit, but on the basis of lineage and family in order to control their decisions.

As for Aweidah, she emphasized that there is a development in terms of numbers, given the quota system, which ensured the participation of more women in political and leadership positions, but she did not guarantee effective participation for her, and she is usually marginalized, and she is prevented from deliberate night meetings or a curtain. Between the members and the female members, thus making them listeners only, but nevertheless, there is qualitative participation by many of those who arrived, especially at the party level and in some advanced positions in the country. However, these

successes are still related to some subjective factors such as the strength of personality and the support it receives from some influential people, or from parents and close people in particular.

Hawwash links the reality of women's political participation with the general reality, any regression thereof affects her participation negatively, this is evidenced by the fact that the only government in which there are seven women is the national unity government, today there are only 3, even this number is very small, political participation ranges up and down, the political field is the only field in which the presence of women constitutes 20% as members of the village councils, after pressure. The anti-settlement movements reached 21.2% in 2017, and pressured us to reach the quota system that ensured the descent of women on the list of the homeland and only 13%, i.e., 17, succeeded compared to 132, we raised the quota system as a minimum Allier 30% for all decision - making bodies and political.

Kanaan believes that women's political participation is an application of the quota system, not actual participation in political life, and although the system gave them the opportunity to be part of the political decision, this is weak; women must be supported to participate in higher positions, such as elections for legislative councils and municipalities.

Al-Khalili explained that the number of women in Palestine is greater than men, and that requires political participation, of which more than 51% and that women have extensive historical and struggle experience as a result of their involvement in the political struggle due to the absence of a man by testimony or arrest, and she stood to meet the needs of the family and society and surpassed men. In many areas, it led the

military operations against the occupation in many times, such as Dalal al-Maghribi. Nevertheless, the reality of women's political participation is not commensurate with their struggle and sacrifices, especially with regard to their access to decision-making positions in the government and political parties.

Al-Bazour believes that women's political participation is still insignificant compared to their ability to make decisions, in addition to the fact that they can present perspectives that can complement the other gender, which is male, and thus we get a full balance in the socio-political ground, and women may impose themselves through the quota system. However, this does not guarantee its influence if its political capabilities and capabilities are not strengthened.

The former director of the Youth Intercultural Center Mhasen Dawood<sup>31</sup> confirmed that Palestinian women participating in science and politics were not given the appropriate size for them, and despite the presence of decision-makers in the executive and central committees, men's perceptions continue to question their capacities for representation, which explains the percentage of their participation in the Legislative Council 5 % Which is very small.

As for Abu Dhair, he believes that women's participation in politics is still far from the required level and must be equal to the participation of men, especially in the field of political activities, candidacy, and election, in addition to the right to express political positions by the available means.

Section seven: the obstacles and challenges that political women face in Palestine

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<sup>31</sup> Mhasen Dawood Mahasen Dawood, Former Director of the Youth Cultural Center and one of earlier FATEH founder, 7/6/2020, 3:29 P.M, Nablus

Abu Al-Ghayeb (2015) revealed in her study on the reality of the political participation of Palestinian women that there are many factors that limit their participation, including those related to women's activities and the weak roles of women in building and establishing networks pressing for their participation in decision-making, and the lack of community awareness to the concept of political participation, in addition to the lack of understanding of women themselves to their roles, their limited interest in politics, the weakness of trust wavers themselves, as well as factors related to society and its customs and traditions such as culture of masculinity, and stereotype towards the role of women. The incidence of poverty and unemployment. It is also represented in adopting the male concept, in addition to giving priority to national programs over social programs (Abu El-Ghayeb, Kronz, 2015, p.16)

This formulation of the obstacles did not deviate from the opinions of the respondents who expressed a set of challenges and obstacles that they face, the most important of which is the societal culture that is based on the male view, patriarchy, and what follows that of the expected social role that it has in reproduction and education, and this on the one hand, and on the other hand those obstacles that are related Enacting unfair laws for them, in addition to the challenges associated with the existence of the Israeli occupation .

Kamal explained that her social role of caring for the family and the various issues that this role requires necessarily means that there is not enough time for it to participate in politics, and even those who managed to overcome this dilemma by organizing time, found another challenge represented in financial support, and political activity requires movement. Continuous moving between governorates, which is costly matters



financially, and needs to support her family to be able to do so, but the family and most of the time, prefer to support it financially in social rather than political matters .

As for Aweidah, in addition to the societal culture, she attributed the reason to the decline of the role of progressive political parties, especially the left-wing ones, and the growth of (Islamist) currents that call for limiting the roles of women and hostile to anyone who calls for the opposite, in addition to the occupation and the resulting harassment.

Al-Attireh emphasized that, through the Palestinian democratic experience in local elections, the male state dominates the scene, and it still dominates at the level of party leaderships and in social frameworks, and thus it is necessary to break the mantle of patriarchal domination, which is one of the most important obstacles that limit participation women 's political, in addition to the economic situation, laws, and the occupation that Gebha from platforms that can change the policies of them.

Al-Qawasmi also showed that politics is still managed according to Machiavelli's theory as she put it, and by that, she means the high subjectivity of individuals, not community participation, within the principle of the end justifying the means, and this applies to the male mentality that tries to create obstacles for women to thwart their political competition, in addition to power and hegemony that makes women even in decision-making positions subject to the male mentality.

Al-Araj emphasized that the lack of political will to enable women to participate in politics, in addition to the presence of people who possess decision-making positions and deliberately exclude women and youth, are among the most important obstacles and challenges that women face in addition to women's lack of awareness of their role and

rights, and many ambitious women work outside. They do not find the time and energy to participate in politics as a result of the imbalance in rights and duties between men and women.

As for the most dangerous aspect, Al-Araj says, it is the women who are present in formal decision-making positions, and some praise their delivery and empowerment, but the truth is that they are fronts of personal, partisan, and clan interests, and their influence is negligible as a result of the interference of the male mentality that does not realize all the needs as previously mentioned.

This was confirmed by Atiani, who revealed societal projections related to the participation of women in the political community, where family decision prevails, so the man chooses his wife in the municipal and village council, or choosing formal meetings at night, with the aim of male control, and that makes the participation of women formal, family, and not influential political.

Hawwash touched on the negative impact of the occupation on societal culture. The more tension increased, society tended to rule men, and women were prevented from political participation, as a result of fear for the first, and lack of confidence in their experience secondly, in return for the experience of men, and thirdly preference for their expected social role in childbearing, upbringing, and caring for. The family is in times of danger to political participation.

Dakhalallah confirmed that there is still a culture detract from the role of women, and consider them weak unable to receive positions of leadership, state institutions and

reduces women 's self - confidence and their role and ability, leading to the malfunction in forces within Palestinian society.

Abu Dhair says, " It is important to emphasize that women have the full capacity for political participation, and these capabilities should never be underestimated under the pretext that women should be spared the risks from political participation, or to say that the field of women's work is to take care of the family and children, or that their interests Far from politics, or that political participation is beyond its capacity, or other pretexts, absolutely.

Hawwash also explained that the legal environment represents one of the challenges related to women's political participation and decision-making as well, as it requires a legal environment based on equality in social roles, and it is true that political participation is broader than the concept of elections, which is a mechanism of political participation, but the law Elections as a legal environment based on gender, because it gives girls and boys equal right to run for and vote, and despite this, the law must be developed to raise the quota system for women.

Culture and law must move in the same direction to push towards better political participation of women, and this can only be achieved by addressing males before females and addressing decision-makers before political parties, which build an environment capable of embracing women in decision-making positions.

Dawood believes that the will of women, their ability and education, and their experience of engaging in social and political struggles are sufficient to face all challenges, so psychological preparation is the most important, and it is also an

obstacle, and many women have left political work after marriage under the pretext of being part-time.

As for political and academic men, they see that the living conditions, the nature of the family, and its needs do not allow the girl to participate in the struggle and political life, and this constitutes a burden that she cannot bear, even if she participates, resists and defends, whenever she enters her home, the duty to work at home will not be waived, but rather she will continue her work. At home and outside, which leaves her exhausted and depressed, and often makes her feel injustice.

Nasrallah emphasized that men put millions of obstacles to the political participation of women, although they are rich in democracy, but the matter does not apply to their household, and the parties also place obstacles to the effective participation of women and their assumption of leadership positions, all of which is a result of customs and traditions that are related to the culture of shame and forbidden , in addition to that persuasion women so often, unfortunately , at the beginning of the sixties and population samples were eyes of society for women better than now , despite the increase in the number of educated and uneducated, culture, internet and social networking spread that formed the awareness of the political, and access to information as quickly as possible, but underdevelopment intellectual increased under the political conditions and the accumulation of data occupation and as a result of corruption that exists in some organs , ministries , institutions and also civil society, so my personal opinion , what women are topped clearly taking their role in society remained , only fill the vacuum me back society like a democratic and civilized.

Abu Shraim summarized the obstacles faced by women with the male culture, and the negative perception that results from it for working and political women, and we can say that the intercultural obstacle is the customs, traditions, social issues, and the political obstacle in the leadership of the parties and state leaders that work to marginalize women, and the obstacle. Personal, which is represented by women's acceptance of society's standards, lack of confidence in themselves and their ability to influence and make decisions, while the economic obstacle is the lack of economic empowerment of women, especially in electoral campaigns, and it is known that women are economically dependent, which limits their role in decision-making.

Abu Dhair believes that the obstacles to women's participation in politics are many, including the political situation, which caused a state of slackness and retreat among all citizens, men, and women, and this resulted in indifference and a tendency not to participate in any political aspect, or even to express any political position.

As for the second reason, it is the masculine character of the society that gives men the right to income in women's activities and decisions and preventing them from political participation under the pretext of fear of them from the results of this participation, and of course, it goes without saying the influence of the intercultural aspect, where the idea prevails in society that politics is not a domain for women, A square dedicated to men, which instills in the subconscious of men and women the truth of this saying.

Salahat identified the obstacles and challenges facing women's political participation as follows:

1-Social barriers related to culture, gender, and understanding the traditional role of women and a different view of women from the center of a social last.

2-Constraints related to the ability of women, and empowerment for themselves in political participation and community Result of the weakness of the role of feminism movements and neutrality for its role and true mission in favor of the demands of the utilitarian of women within who are open-minded and accepted in the society in the feminist sector, while their are obedient under the system of male dominance.

These results, which are based on surveying women from decision-making positions, despite their long experience in political and social struggle, are confirmed by the male power over post-colonial feminism, which reveals the patriarchal (patriarchal) institutional system dominated by male domination, and deprives women of access to decision-making positions for societal reasons of male-female discrimination and the non-acceptance of women in decision-making positions

## **Chapter Four**

### **Second Topic**

#### **4.2. Participation of Women in Political Decision-Making**

##### **First Section: The Political Decision**

The basic features of the historical turns of societies are determined through political decisions that affect the present, change reality, and contribute to directing intercultural and social interactions, political modernization, and social change processes. The political decision acquires its importance through the broader political and social framework, which constitutes its essential parts, variables, and interactions (Al-Obeidi, B, 2006)

A political decision is defined as every action or decision taken by the government or its representative to intervene in the affairs of society and solve the problems facing the state internally and externally, it expresses a package of public policies on issues that require government intervention (Mahdid, 2016)

This definition is aligned with the definitions of the research respondents (sample) regarding the political decision being the best choice among the available alternatives, which are determined by an official body authorized to make the decision, as Majida Al-Masry, a member of the political bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, stated that political decision-making can only take place through official bodies to reach a Political position, these bodies are either a party, a government, or an

institution, such as civil society institutions, civil organizations. The political decision should be under everyone's umbrella (Nasouri, 2005, p: 268).

Aweidah also defined political decision-making with the ability to study a situation and find different alternatives to this situation, choose the appropriate ones, and be able to impose it on society and use it ( Al-Hanafi,2014,p: 47)

Nasrallah believes that the political decision is the best option among other available options, such as choosing between negotiations or an armed struggle, the decision is decisive and in line with the political stage and its requirements. Al-Khalili shows that the political decision-making process takes place by enacting a law that serves a specific group of society or addresses a specific issue.

Faddah<sup>32</sup> affirms that Palestinian society does not differ from other Arab societies in terms of women's participation in decision-making positions, despite the distinctive historical nature of Palestine, which was characterized by the active participation of women in political and social struggle, but women's participation in decision-making is not what it should be, and her presence at the top of the pyramid is completely absent.

Kharroub explained that making a political decision means taking all decisions related to the institution and the state in the administrative, economic, social and political aspects, and it ranges through stages that begin with participation in the general presidential and legislative elections, and then participation in the elections for local bodies, and expressing opinion in everything. It relates to government and state

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<sup>32</sup> Majedah Fida, works in Nabus Muncibilty and a former activist in a religious party



decisions interference, expressing opinion on laws, and its highest level is decision-makers' accountability.

Salahat believes that in a democracy, decision-making. The outputs of the political system represent the political demands and inputs. It is a method that expresses the response of the executive authority to the input of the political system and expresses the roles of the centers of power

The political decision is considered a mirror that reflects the philosophy and ideology, the objectives of the prevailing political system by proposing alternatives existing in the state, working on differentiation between them, and choosing the best of them up to the stage in which the decision reaches the stage of actual implementation in accordance with the provisions of domestic or international law (Al-Hanafi,2014) Therefore, the political decision-making process should take place based on the requirements and needs of society, as the decision-making process is broader and more comprehensive than political decision-making, because it is the outcome of the interactions of the activities of several parties up to the desired goal for which the decision is made(Al-Samarrai,2004). It is not limited to decision making; rather, it is a complex dynamic process in which a set of factors intertwine, and it includes in its various stages several interactions, to transform demands into decisions through a series of procedures and interactions between political roles and societal sub-systems (Nasuri ,p:269)

The power of political decision-making is considered as knowing the reality, taking decisions to protect the people, defending their identity and their homeland, then taking decisions by national and legislative councils that enact laws to achieve the supreme

interest, decision-making requires that the body authorized to take it be influential, as Tahreer Al-Araj explained: political decision-making needs in the first place for the decision-maker to be influential, and possess a clear and frank discourse, in addition to activity, experience, knowledge and commitment to human rights and feminist issues, and they must be an active participant in the process of presenting proposals discussion of the issue with its various aspects and its positive effects negative judgments, as Kamal Badaei emphasized that the political decision-making process needs information, data, knowledge, and experience.

As for Al-Qawasmi, she believes that decision-making needs first of a process of mobilizing public opinion, which generates the desire for social, intercultural or political change, and pushes towards the political issues to make appropriate political decision.

There are those who define the political decision as a comprehensive or partial economic, social, or intercultural planning process issued by the country's political leadership. The following characteristics should be present in the political decision (Makkawi, 2017, p: 11)

- 1- It is issued by the authorized political power bodies.
- 2- Compulsory Power, to obey and implement.
- 3- Public, it affects public affairs and collective needs

In general, the respondents asserted that the political decision has no value unless it stems from the requirements and needs of the people, because in this case it will not be binding on them, therefore the most important characteristic of the political decision,

which is the compulsory force to obey and implement, is contradicted, this is what goes to the lofty one who thinks that The decision-making process is complicated in Palestine, as a result of the absence of elections, in addition to the stubborn nature of the Palestinian people, who cannot adhere to political decisions they are not convinced of, such as stopping coordination, if the political decision is not implemented, it has no value.

Canaan emphasizes on the importance of having democracy in order to reach the political decision in which the people are the reference, this requires the use of scientific research tools to obtain the feedback from the people and their approval.

Hourani indicated that the election process represents the will of the people in choosing its leaders and representatives, and the Legislative Council is disrupted and misses the opportunity to take appropriate political decisions for the Palestinian people, except for that, Karada believes that the people are the most influential in the political decision because they are able to change the compass and change the political decision.

Sharbati<sup>33</sup> emphasized that the presence of women at the minimum in decision-making positions is a result of the quota and not based on social conviction, despite her great historical and militant role, which had a special imprint and for Palestine, but this did not constitute sufficient funds and support for her to reach decision-making positions. Asmaa emphasized that the presence of women at the minimum in decision-making positions is a result of the quota and not based on social conviction, despite her great historical and militant role, which had a special imprint and for Palestine, but this

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<sup>33</sup> Lecturer at Palestine polytechnic university

did not constitute sufficient funds and support for her to reach decision-making positions.

Abu hammad explained that the decision-making process is part of the authority of the executive authority in the state, which is the democratically elected authority, and this process is within the constitutional and legal framework, within the intercultural determinants prevailing in society, but rather the citizen's participation in political decision-making is through choosing the electoral program for candidates for the executive authority. The election of the program that the citizen deems appropriate, that is through the election of a democratic parliament that enacts laws, monitors the performance of the executive authority and its decisions, holds the executive authority accountable for those decisions and their results.

The citizen also participates in political decision-making through political pressure on the executive authority within the framework of party activity, association activity and political pressure forces in society, in addition to participation through freedom of expression of political opinion through the media and social media platforms, as well as through political activities such as conferences, Marches, and peaceful protests.

Abu Hamed believes that it is necessary to have consultants and researchers who provide the responsible authorities with information that serves specific directions, and accordingly there is a left to make this decision, as most political decisions do not meet the needs of the people but rather meet the requirements of an elite group, and therefore they do not take sufficient binding force to consider them as political decisions.

## **Section Two: The Importance of Palestinian Women's Participation in Political Decision-Making**

Many studies have focused on the importance of the developmental role that women play as they are half of society, and the importance of women's participation in development proceeds in two directions, the first being that they are primarily responsible for education and social and political upbringing within the family, thus raising generations who represent the fuel and future of society, the second direction is her active role in the social and political change represented in the activities that they carry out that contribute to the prosperity and development of society, enabling women to reach leadership positions, and making political decisions in the interest of society because they are the most knowledgeable of its needs, and the closest to its issues as a result of her social and effective nature with all members of society, This coincides with the feminist view that knowledge is socially present, and that marginalized groups (i.e. women here) are socially present in a way that makes them more aware of their own affairs so that they can question issues that are not raised by the non-marginalized. (Sweet, 2003), which makes women more able to take the appropriate decision for society, being the most aware of their affairs and needs. This What the respondents agreed upon like, Amal Jadu, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, finds that the participation of women in political decision-making is extremely important, because they represent half of the society, are the most knowledgeable of their needs, and are representative of it in all sectors of society, and must also be represented on the political side, even Political decisions become an expression of the pulse of the Palestinian street, its existence, in addition to its ability to better amend laws, because it is more familiar

with the laws. The society needs, as it is the mother, sister, wife and nanny, and it is present in all aspects of life.

Soha Al-Khatib, Director of the Department of Europe Affairs, believes that the participation of women in political decision-making, on the personal and social level, indicates the development of society, its democracy and its progress, and as for Dakhallah, she believes that the presence of women in decision-making positions will be reflected in the formulation of programs, plans and legislation in a manner that is appropriate for society in its entirety. And not just women's issues.

Hourani also finds that societies in which women participate in political decision-making always open a margin for change and expansion, and they are successful and advanced societies, interculturally, politically, socially, economically and industrially, and Palestine must follow in the footsteps of these societies by empowering women to make decisions

### **Section Three: the Reality of Women's Participation in Political Decision-Making**

Despite the importance of women's participation in political decision-making in Palestine in particular, due to its long history of struggle, and the political conditions due to which men are often absent from families and witnesses, and the long experience that coincides with that in political participation,( Ali, Abdel-Gawad,2013) the reality of women's participation in decision-making is not It is still weak and does not rise to the level of its historical struggle, and that is what the respondents agreed upon.

it coincide with the theory of bureaucracy that expresses the hierarchical form of the career hierarchy, and indicates that men sit behind government offices without women, holding power in their hands, the concept broadens to include institutions of all kinds, including political decision-making centers, in which the number of women decreases. At the base and it decreases as the pyramid goes up

Ms. Ola Awad, head of the Palestinian Statistics Center, confirmed that the percentage of women in decision-making centers is very low in Palestine, and does not exceed 20% at best at all levels, whether in decision-making or Participation in the labor market and elsewhere The numbers are still low, as women constitute 14% of cabinet members, 11 % of active ambassadors, and 14 % of civil service workers as a general manager and above (A4), And 20% of the members of the local bodies, and one woman governor center, and 5% of the Central Council, and 18% of the posts in the labor market, and based on these figures can be said that the Palestinian women's participation in decision - weak making, and do not live up with its role The escalating process of liberation and independence.

As for Kamal, it became clear that the process of women's participation in decision-making is developing little by little, but slowly due to the reluctance of women themselves to participate in the decision-making process, in addition to political parties that do not take serious measures to encourage women to make decisions, and as a result, the participation of women in decision-making did not exceed 15 % At the active political level, although the women's movement signed an honor agreement with political parties by committing to 30% for the position of women in political decision-making. As for the reality, the percentages still range from 20-25% in most parties, with

the exception of the Fada party that issued a decision. Previously ten years ago, the participation of women was required at 40%, and today the rates are close to that, ranging between 37% - 39%.

Atiani revealed that the factions did not commit to raising the percentage of representation as agreed upon in the announced honor agreement, as a result of the male, familial and tribal mentality, and political imposition, but the participation rate in political offices and central committees was recently raised, and the participation of women in Palestinian frameworks and their holding of seats has not been modified. It reaches decision-making, and there is still one woman, Hanan Ashrawi, among 19 factions. As for Zahira Kamal, she was not nominated in the quota, but rather is the former Secretary-General of the Fada Party, and she is the first woman to hold the position of Secretary-General, and the same is true for Dalal Salameh, and the minister's victory but women did not reach a third, but rather 1% of the representation.

Jadu showed that the curve of female participation increases at the base and decreases at the top, meaning that the number of women decreases as we go to the higher levels and leadership positions.

Women are present in the educational, health, legal, and all areas of life in abundance, but in the political and diplomatic system the presence of women is weak. The Central and Executive Committee of Fateh has one woman, and in the Legislative Council the percentage in the elections was 17%, and in the diplomatic representation the percentage of women is 11%, and despite the attempt to introduce more women, this depends on the higher levels and leadership positions, which is unfair because women It



has sufficient capabilities to obtain decision-making positions, and it is assumed that there are more than it is.

Shreim agreed with that, which made it clear that the participation of women and youth at the lower and middle levels is high, as represented by struggle and daily activities, and the percentage decreases as they rise in the pyramid, i.e. whenever they go to the leadership bodies. And it is almost non-existent at the higher levels, so it has not happened that the head of government is a woman, or the head of the authority is a woman, or the head of a legislative council is a woman, or a chief justice, and this is an apparent defect as a result of marginalization, and a defect, and this is the result of marginalization and exclusion.

As for Al-Araj, it indicated that the participation of women in decision-making does not exceed 5% in political parties, as for the development in the number in municipal and local councils due to the quota system, which is a formal development that does not express the struggle for her as a prisoner, a fighter and the wife of a prisoner or a martyr

Atiani wagered that women's actual participation in real decision-making does not go beyond the fingers of her hand, while the rest, who are a minority, also arrived through quotas, favoritism, and even recruitment processes that women cannot reach without an intermediary, let alone the senior positions as director general in the judiciary and in the constitutional courts, There is no woman as well, even though she represents a substitute for Parliament. Likewise, there is no representation of women in the suspended Legislative Council, and this is unfair for women compared to their historical struggle.

Dakhallah believes that despite Palestine's adoption of human rights conventions, and its basic system of equality, However, this has not been translated into reality with regard to their rights, and they have been subjected to a great prejudice to their rights, in addition to the attack on their achievements, especially from some fundamentalist groups, who fight any law that defends women, does justice to them, and achieves justice and protection for them, and these laws and procedures are considered contrary to religion Sharia, which is definitely not correct, and political parties have not faced this, nor have they seriously sought to include women in decision-making positions.

Dawood emphasized that there are many women who have proven themselves in the political field, despite men questioning their abilities, but many are not enough, in addition to their limited powers, and it goes back from the beginning to the Palestinian Authority, which assigned positions to men, and did not give adequate opportunities to women, and the matter remained. In a situation with little development as a result of pressure from feminist and human rights institutions

Kamal commented that the problem is not related to ratios and figures only, but to the extent of the effectiveness of the participation of women present in decision-making, whether in a political office, central committee, or area committee in the parties, or otherwise, their role should not be limited to attending meetings, as often happens and unfortunately, Rather, it must communicate with the local community, internally and externally, at the Arab and international levels, and it should have a footprint and initiatives in decision-making, and a serious role in management, and therefore it must possess leadership and communication skills, and the ethics of the profession that qualifies it to make decisions in proportion to With the higher interest, her presence in

this position should not be merely formalities or appearances, or the achievement of personal interests, or filling gaps to reach the required quota, and this point is more important than proportions, and this concept must reach all women before they reach leadership positions.

Aweidah attributed the reason for the lack of participation of women in decision-making positions to education, as girls in Palestine from the beginning are marchers and are not choices, and they do not make the simplest decisions in their lives, leading to preventing them from accessing decision-making positions under the pretext of societal culture and the wrong use of religious slogans, which is what It has isolated many women from real participation in decision-making, and even women who challenged reality and reached these centers now face challenges at greater levels from the family and society, and many of them face fierce male competition to marginalize them, or use them as a front to pass male decisions.

Shamikh believes that women deserve more due to their struggle history, while Hourani believes that the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making is reasonable compared to the surrounding Arab societies, but it is also not in the required form. Nasrallah describes this participation as shy despite the presence of courses, workshops, and conferences calling for women's rights. Her participation is still weak.

Khairy also believes that the right of women is partially undermined, because the Palestinian society still does not accept women in decision-making, because it is a rural society, and it is not used to women taking decisions on its behalf, and in many cases women reach higher levels and then retreat for the sake of their families. Society, and

the woman herself should ask herself about the possibility of her progress, the permanent, and her readiness for permanent confrontation from her family and her community before she stops in the middle of the road because she represents an example to others on the road.

Jawabreh looks with optimism at the reality of women, as they are present at all levels, whether administrative, professional or political, as now the Palestinian government has a minister, a member of parliament, and a mayor, and the law gives her her right, and the freedom to participate and express opinion, and it does not deny that she is still there. There is a need for support, because of the perception of women in the center of decision-making, but in general, women have started to advance and take their role, even in the judiciary and prosecution offices, they are actively participating and have a presence, and it is only necessary for women's groups to develop awareness of women in order to pressure decision centers to effectively participate in their legal level.

Abu Hamed believes that when there is real participation and a legal system that helps or gives space for the participation of women, of course, there will be a positive image towards promoting women's political, social and official activity. In fact, the Palestinian National Authority established and gave a space to integrate women into official life, and as I was the head of strategic studies for years, I delved into gender studies, and I see that the authority gave a room for women to take military ranks, and equaled them full equality with males through policies called gender integration. In national security, this would enhance the role of women in Palestine, just as the National Authority sought to integrate women and give them their rights. However, Palestinian women are not isolated from our lives, sometimes negatively affected, but

we can say that women had a role in the national liberation process. In reality, women's participation is not within the desired level, and this is due to the political, social and educational culture

Abu Zuhair also believes that events and challenges in Palestine hinder women's participation, especially in influencing their desire and willingness to participate, in addition to the prevailing culture and the authority of men, which are based on fear of women from the dangers of political work and political participation.

Salahat believes that the presence of women in the government does not necessarily express the participation of women in decision-making, as the goal is to integrate women into political life, decision-making, and the delivery of feminist issues to decision-making centers, as women may be present in the most dictatorial political systems, and the least representative of women's rights And issues of equality, and that does not give the required effect of their participation in decision-making.

He also believes that, compared to other Arab cases, Palestinian women have traditionally progressed in the process of political participation and struggle, but the role of women declined after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority despite the presence of many projects, most of which are internationally supported by donors, but this did not achieve a tangible impact on The societal and political role of women progress.

Awad emphasized that there is support and encouragement at the governmental and civil levels, over many years, in many programs that aimed to raise awareness and empower Palestinian women out of the conviction that women are a fundamental axis in

advancing social, political, and economic development, but they are not. She believes that there is a real policy of support for the participation of women in decision-making in institutions to this day, but there are many programs at the governmental and community levels.

#### **Section Four: Representation of Women in Decision-Making Positions in the PLO and the Palestinian National Authority**

Aweidah believes that the PLO has retreated a lot, and whoever decides today is the national authority, as the parties of the organization are represented in the Palestinian National Authority. Hawwash also believes that the weight of women in the national authority is weak and the PLO does not rise to the level of its struggle, and despite this it can be said that the weight of women is in the government more than in the organization.

The same applies to Dakhallah, who believes that the PLO's decisions are reflected in the institutions of government and authority, and the approach between them is the same, and in harmony with women's issues. The PLO adopted a decision that women's representation should not be less than 30%, in all organizational frameworks, and at the level of the Palestinian Authority, the election law that the participation rate of women is 20%, and accordingly the election law should be amended in line with the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Nevertheless, women's presence in decision-making positions is still weak and does not rise to the political, intercultural, and social role of women.

Atiani indicated that there is only one member in addition to Zahira Kamal, who represents her party, and the attendance of the General Union of Women, who is Comrade Khaled Jarrar, and she did not represent the membership of women, but rather a representative of the faction, and therefore we did not reach a stage of representation worthy of women, even the ministers represent a political decision. They belong to a political system, and they do not specifically represent women, so the minister and others are bound by government decisions.

Hourani asserted that the reason for women's political participation in power is greater than in the government, given that it includes many government jobs, as opposed to the PLO, which should renew itself, as women's representation in it is very weak.

Yasser believes that the National Authority has helped women hold many positions and effective participation, and it is like a miniature state in which women serves in all fields, whether education, health, or politics, and even universities, girls study and work and then influence decision-making, but the PLO has become unfortunately, a weak device does not represent an administrative system.

As for Salahat, he believes that there are no effective institutions for the Palestine Liberation Organization until the role of women in it is judged, especially after the organization's migration to power, but in the past and in the pre-establishment phase there. A criterion for women's participation, which is an expression of a national situation more advanced than the existing one.

Kharoob have another point of view that the Palestine Liberation Organization allowed women to assume political roles, but not authoritarianism, that is, they affect civil institutions, and their compatibility with Khalili's opinion, which indicates that the position of women in the Palestine Liberation Organization is better, and it is not related to the number. Because women in the Palestine Liberation Organization are gaining de facto leadership positions, however, in the PNA, there are many participants appointed to positions of leadership. The same applies to Shreim, who believes that the PLO brought women to the General Secretariat, such as Zahira Kamal, and this did not happen in the Palestinian National Authority, while secondary representation for other leadership positions is good due to the quota, but it is not sufficient.

Abu Dhair confirms that the presence of women is present in the two institutions, and this is due more to the Palestinian Authority, and the reason is that the Palestinian National Council and the institutions of the Palestine Liberation Organization are not based on either of the two parties, push women to these levels in most cases, but the institutions of the Palestinian Authority are based on Systems and laws that do not have a party personality, as is the case in the Palestine Liberation Organization, and society's rejection of constitutional legislation in the Authority is less severe than its rejection of the participation of women in party frameworks.



## **Section Five: Criteria for Palestinian Women's Participation in Political Decision-Making**

Awad believes that the issue of choosing women in decision-making positions is thorny, complex, and bears many repercussions, While many qualified and experienced women have reached self-actualization; The male domination and the patriarchal personality that characterizes the Palestinian society as a whole, which are influence decisions that make decisions in particular, which have made their way difficult, compared to the ease with others.

Hawash demonstrate that the standard of efficiency and professionalism are not the basis for the choice - making decision in Palestine in the presence of many men centers making the decision, those around him more women with higher efficiency than him, education, skill, and experience, and awareness of political issues, but they lack a strong personal ( Charisma) as a result of society's pressures, therefore it is imperative to reach a free democratic society based on equality and social justice, to lift all forms of discrimination against women, and enable them to reach the confidence required for decision-making, and to confront the deliberate exclusion of them, and my proof of this is in the negotiation committee. A woman, and the reconciliation sessions also did not have any women present, until two years ago, three women were formally included under actual pressure in the Cairo meeting

As for Al-Khalili, she revealed that there is an official scrutiny of competence, scientific certificates, culture, and skills when it comes to women, which are matters that are not subject to the man, who competes with her for the position of the same

decision, and therefore we needed a quota system, in order to get rid of societal intercultural segregations, patriarchal and masculine authority, Which makes society prefer to represent the man, even if he is incompetent, over an educated, qualified ,active woman, and has an impact on a good part of society.

Al-Qawasmi believes that high level transparency and justice should be the rule in choosing the decision-maker, in addition to thought and vision, belonging to the homeland, the ability to persuade others, strong will, and bearing difficulties, for women to be in decision-making positions, they need favorable conditions, to bear the political burdens. In addition to the burdens of her family, and the encouragement of her environment, it can be said that she will be able to have a fair competition with men. Otherwise, patriarchal culture remains the rule that determines the ceiling of her powers for women, which she faces in the decision centers themselves, where colleagues refrain from cooperating with her to thwart her, in some cases, or make decisions about it.

Al-Masry believes that the presence of women in the position of decision-making should be achieved through democratic elections, not criteria that can be manipulated, as many men in decision-making positions are incompetent and have been elected, but the matter exists in this way, if the decision-making position is in a political office, it should be considered. For national, struggle, and organizational competence, and if it is in a governmental position, professional competence, performance and ability to work should be considered, but competence is usually an excuse for some to exclude women from decision-making positions.

Aweidah believes that the main criterion is competence, and it is supposed to apply to men, but gender-based education creates a duality in standards, which casts a shadow over the quota, which is allocated to capable families or political parties regardless of competence, that's why it is important to raise the communal awareness for women.

Kharroub explains that favoritism still plays the biggest role in decision-making centers, while the quota has contributed to the increase in the number of women participating, but it surrounded it, and restricted it to gender and quantity, and it is known that the political party is the one that contributes to choosing women, and the party, like society, is subject to the male societal culture, usually What is chosen on the basis of family, or self-interest, as for scientific competence is not a criterion and it was not stipulated by laws, male dominance still dominates over selection.

This is confirmed by Dawood, who showed that in the past, qualifications were not considered , than struggle work, social culture, and reading were conceded, women participated in political work worthily without certificates, and it relied on intercultural and political seminars to create political awareness, and thus the ability to express and influence to reach Decision Center.

Karrada stressed the desire, work, volunteering, presence in the field, patience, enduring hardships, and creative initiatives that create the decision-maker and make her influential even if it is not within an organizational or governmental framework, and it qualifies a person to succeed in the elections, if they are held or reaching decision-makers with consultations and creative initiatives.

Kanaan stressed that competence and education do not provide adequate opportunities for women to make decisions, there must be regulations and laws that allow them to be among the decision-makers.

Shamikh believes that the student movements are the ones that make the leaderships, but the selection in decision-making centers is not based on scientific foundations, and sometimes the focus is on competence if it is a woman or by the intermediary if it is a man, or based on the family and the tribe.

As for Abu Dahir, he believes that there are two main factors in women's access to political decision-making positions. The first is the willingness of the woman herself, which is closely related to the prevailing culture, education and the authority of men. The second is the competence of the woman. Of course, we do not doubt at all the competence and capabilities of women, but reality limits the emergence of these competencies, or even access to them. The prevailing culture includes the idea that women cannot fulfill this role, and this matter is entrenched in the mindset of society, including among women who often doubt their abilities, at least on the political side.

Salahat does not believe that women need different standards from those owned by men in order to be effective in political life and in participation in decision-making, but what is required is that there be a broad and democratic base for political participation that constitutes and incubator a condition for women's participation.

## **Section Seven: The Obstacles that Prevent the Participation of Women and their Presence in Decision-Making Positions**

Palestinian women suffer from a number of obstacles and pressures that are related to customs, traditions and intercultural heritage (Qutb, 2013, p: 83), which interferes in all sectors in which women can effectively contribute, especially in the political field, where it is difficult for Palestinian society, as a result of the male mentality, to receive its decisions from a woman despite its actual recognition of her stature, ability, competence and struggle history. It weakens her opportunity to reach decision-making positions, as a result of shaking her self-confidence, and many studies have addressed the social, intercultural, political and economic obstacles that hinder women from reaching decision-making positions, the researcher wanted to show the obstacles facing the respondents based on their own experience. As following:

Awad indicated a number of obstacles that limit women's participation in decision-making, namely:

- Palestinian society is a patriarchal society, not very supportive of women.
- A woman's belief in herself and the importance of her role in society's development is weak.
- Customs and traditions that created an imbalance of balance.
- The women's orientation to education related to the humanities and social sciences such as education and health reinforced the stereotypical perception of Palestinian women in a way that reflects their maternal and family roles.

- The limited participation of women in the areas of leadership of influential ministries, such as foreign affairs, the internal affairs ministry, finance, and others, did not create an example that breaks the stereotype and barrier of leadership capabilities to prove that women are capable of that.

Awad touched on her personal experience and the obstacles she faced represented in reconciling the family and work, being a mother of two children, the professional responsibilities that fall on her, the requirements for self-realization, and reaching the ranks of decision-making, imposing a double effort on her to do so, and it has become very important to organize time and separate between Work, family life, in addition to patience, working hard, and having a solid will to achieve the goal, and prove that women are capable of making decisions, as Awad showed that no woman can succeed without having family support for her.

As for Jadu Furat, it is assumed that the number of women is greater than that in decision-making, but the real problem is the lack of willingness of qualified women to participate as a result of their fear of intermediaries that destroy opportunities for honest competition, returned the other obstacle to the lack of interest of women in politics, and the lack of encouragement of families For women working in the political and diplomatic field.

As for the khroob, she focused on the prevailing social perception and the stereotypical image of women as the biggest obstacle to their political participation, in addition to women's fear of practicing any new work, or new trends away from their usual role in society.

Al-Khalili talked about women's fear of competing with men due to the lack of full support for them, whether financially or morally, due to society's male mentality.

Al-Qawasmi attributed all the challenges to the societal culture, laws and legislation that did not allow women a suitable environment by eliminating all forms of discrimination against them, and giving them their full rights, in order to be able to make decisions.

As for Al-Attireh, it focused on the economic and social situation that increased the burden on women, in addition to the absence of the political horizon, and the intercultural and societal heritage that it was absent from the platforms from which it could change politics.

Al-Masry touched on the legal obstacle that does not constitute adequate protection for women under the domination of men, and Zakarneh demonstrated the male domination by replacing the woman who won the local council elections with her brother or husband, on the pretext that the man is more able to practice this work, and that the woman needs her in her home more than the political one.

The same is true for Zakarneh, who revealed that the percentage of women in government jobs does not exceed 15%, as a result of the legal obstacle. Kharroub also emphasized the patriarchal societal view and patriarchal authority as a deterrent to women's desire for political participation, and women's lack of awareness of their rights, in addition to the lack of will Political decision-makers to allow for a wider participation of women, and there are those who say that women do not support women, and this limits the presence of women in decision-making positions

Awaidah opinion was that societal culture excludes women from this role, the domination of men within parties, and the lack of democratic practices in them.

Hawwash stressed the political will, which is considered the biggest obstacle to the advancement of women in decision-making, while Karrada considered that the social aspect governed by customs and traditions is the biggest obstacle that makes men shy away from placing their women in decision-making positions.

As for Hourani, he revealed that some conservative societal concepts that do not accept the role of women outside their home impede the advancement of women in the political field, and prevent them from making their decisions even inside the home, so how at the state level, which is a prevailing social culture, consecrates the intelligent culture that gives priority to men at the expense of Women.

Nasrallah emphasized that the male still dominates the scene, whether in politics or in the family and this is due to the lack of economic sufficiency for women, and their permanent need for men, except in rare cases. She has an economic liberalization that increases her strength and participation in decision-making, at the level of the family and society.

### **Section Eight: Enabling the Participation of Palestinian Women in Decision-Making**

The respondents agreed that enabling the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making passes through three stages. The first phase relates to the woman herself, through increasing her willingness, confidence, belief in herself and her ability



to change and the second phase relates to changing the community culture through many awareness and educational activities. And the use of various media to convey conferences, initiatives and human rights activities to society, thus actively contributing to social change, allowing women in the first step to educate, choosing the specialization that they tend to have, and then work in the place that suits them, and thus reach creativity and liberation that opens the way for them to reach Decision-making centers.

As for the third stage, it concerns decision-makers, men and women, who must contribute to empowering women to reach leadership positions, and choose, based on education and competence, not kinship, or personal connections, because this thwarts great efforts and makes competition unfair, which reduces the productive value that Women may present to society.

The respondents focused on the importance of the quota as a first and basic step that pushes women to participate and strengthens their self-confidence, and forces leaders and officials, and society to accept women in decision-making positions, the respondents called for the need to create laws and legislation that guarantee women's rights and protect them.

Awad believes that the solutions lie in women's faith in themselves and their role and strong will, determination and persistence, and the role of women in the family and education should be strengthened, in addition to the role of schools and curricula, breaking the stereotypes of the disciplines to which girls go, and the application of the

women's quota system in various fields by at least 30% percent, will allow to expand the representation base.

Awad also indicated that the biggest challenge is the limited labor market, which does not provide opportunities for young men and women, which require focus on the advancement of the Palestinian economy towards investment in productive sectors.

Al-Khalili also called for empowering women interculturally, socially, economically, and then politically, to qualify for decision-making.

As for the attitude, women's belief in themselves more to demand their rights, including participation in decision-making, and this requires more advocacy campaigns for women, to influence parties, and the use of social media platforms and long-term lobbying programs to reach decision-making, and the legal framework must be developed through experts to ensure gender equality.

Al-Attireh indicated that perseverance and enhancement of intercultural capabilities, development of knowledge, skills, and scientific experience do not come on a golden plate, and women must develop themselves in these directions, and they need a struggle to gain experience and capabilities, which is what connects them to decision-making.

Al-Qawasmi stressed the principle of equality, eliminating all forms of discrimination, creating equal opportunities between men and women, creating a suitable environment for women that allow them to truly participate in society, in addition to a legal and administrative environment, an organizational regulation, and the application of quotas in all decision centers.

Al-Masry stressed the need to amend legislation, especially with regard to quotas, to ensure the practice and regularity of the democratic process, and it also requires parties to implement programs in their internal systems that address both sexes to raise awareness on both sides of the importance of women's participation, and they must be subject to modifications that truly enable women to make The decision, Al-Masry stressed also on the importance of education in the beginnings, educational curriculums, to consolidate the values of equality and democracy.

Zakarneh explained that there is a need for awareness-raising and conducting seminars, to reach people and their issues, and most importantly not to direct the message to one party only, and this is something that we have realized in the last five years. The principle is to target the entire society and educate it about the importance of the role of women in political, social and economic life.

Kharroub called for raising the quota of more than 30% in return for government institutions, and attention to women and urging them to participate in decision-making, civil society organizations must work to train an elite of women to participate in political participation so that they are qualified for any upcoming elections, while political parties must allow space For women to reach leadership positions.

Aweidah stressed the need to adopt a positive discrimination system for promotions in government institutions that witness a significant decline in the role of women in decision-making.

Hawwash touched on the importance of coordination between the institutions of women's movements, to increase women's awareness of their rights, their willingness

to political participation, and change the societal culture, which requires building strategies, activities, and projects based on women's needs, and pressuring decision-makers to take into account women's issues, to change laws, to ensure that Justice and equality

Al-Khatib showed that the signing of agreements constitutes a guarantee on the way to equality and justice, such as the CEDAW agreement, joining the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the approval of the Palestinian Central Council in 2015 to achieve equality and eliminate discrimination against women in the PLO, but these measures remain formal unless they are accompanied by implementation measures. Such as amending Palestinian laws to harmonize international laws, and amending the statute of PLO. Regarding the Central Council, this is in addition to changing the Palestinian society's awareness of accepting all of this, practicing it on the ground, and securing PLO control over social justice.

Dawood called for the use of the press and seminars to demand women's rights and educate new generations about their rights and duties. As for the laws, they may facilitate the way for women, but this requires initially willingness and support from parents, and awareness of religious legislation that preserves the rights of women, contrary to what some claim that it is restricted rather, it unleashed creativity for women, and like other men, they are held accountable, responsible, and demanding change.

And Dakhallah called for women to run in the unions, the federation, and political parties, which are the first link in improving the conditions of women, and you must

have social programs, with the aim of societal change, the stereotype, and the amendment of laws and legislation, and it is assumed that political parties combine social work with work. As for the political decision-makers, they must push political parties to adopt feminist programs and adopt women's issues, and that leads to women being present in all the issues on the table. Therefore, women must be present in the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Revolutionary Council, the region, And municipal and local councils, this will change the society's outlook and increase its confidence in her.

Atiani emphasized the necessity of undertaking a societal donation so that women take their right to representation, and forcing the percentages to have a representation rate of 50%, because this reverses the standards and helps women take the decision to change the penal code and approve the family and child protection laws, because there are Islamic forces that question the intentions of the feminist movements and it fights its achievements on the basis that it is in violation of the Sharia, such as signing the CEDAW agreement, for which there is a protocol that does not contradict some customs and traditions, and the Habbash declares that it does not contradict Islamic law, but any agreement or decision that is not published in the official gazette is not considered effective.

As for Karada, she thought of workshops and participation in women's festivals and conferences that discuss women's issues and their rights, to raise awareness and educate the sexes, in addition to the interest in education, which is the basis of the home, family and school, which should be brought up on the basis of equality and justice between the sexes, which gives girls the opportunity In the future to choose her specialization, which

matches her inclinations and excels in it, there is no doubt that there is a development in this field, as in the past specializations for girls were related to nursing, secretaries, kindergartens, and education, but today there are female doctors, engineers, journalists, artists, and lawyers, And many other disciplines that society needs, and it needs to be present in both male and female.

Jadu focused on the need to choose women in decision-making positions based on competence and ability, and to place the right woman in the right place, and not based on kinship and other personal contacts, because that undermines many of her abilities and wastes her rights that are based on equality and justice.

On the other hand, Shamekh believes that women are the ones who enhance their presence, with their willingness to participate, while civil society institutions are limited to raising awareness, educating and selecting qualified people for decision-making centers, and the Women Union Association plays a prominent role in this framework in addition to that it seeks to change many unjust laws For the right of women.

Nasrallah cautioned the need to restore women's self-confidence, and if it is necessary to use Palestinian regulations, laws, and legislations to ensure their right to equality, and at a later stage to increase society's awareness of the importance women role, and to consider political leaders who deal with women's role as formal.

As for Abu Dhair, he emphasized spreading the culture of respect for women, recognition their capabilities and competence, and of course, through the quota system. Likewise, by involving women in the political process through election and nomination, as well as political dialogue, and focusing on their right to express their opinion freely.

Hourani stresses the importance of the quota system as an important step, and creating other laws and legislations that guarantee the right of women in public office, and help in changing social concepts, by spreading a new culture in society that emphasizes the importance role of women in public and political life.

Salahat believes that the enabling women should be part of a process of development and modernization of society in general, and what it entails in terms of raising awareness, education, in addition to continuing to develop legislation and laws that promote social equality, the status of women in society and change the culture of political parties and their role in Women's liberation as part of national liberation.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Third Topic**

#### **4.3. The Role of Intercultural Communication in Enabling Palestinian Women in Political Decision-Making**

##### **First Section: The Effect of Intercultural Communication on Women's Political Participation in Decision-Making**

Women are considered half of society, influencing and being affected by it, and any activation of the role of Palestinian women is in the interest of society, given that she is most knowledgeable about the needs of society and its requirements as a result of her historical struggle experience, which qualifies her for political decision-making (Anna,2006)

This part of the study seeks to learn about the role of intercultural communication in empowering women in decision-making through gradual concepts related to intercultural communication, in the exchange of experiences and experiences, to present successful models in decision-making, and to formulate laws and legislations that ensure the right of women to participate in political work and its importance in society in general, and in empowering Palestinian women in decision-making in particular, and the relationship between them.

. Several studies have shown that the experience of women in the world is similar in terms of obstacles and societal points, which is what prompted the feminist movements in the world to invest in communication.



This part focused on the relationship between intercultural communication and male domination from the viewpoint of the respondents, as it is the first and main obstacle, as we mentioned earlier, in the face of any progress that women may make in society, and then identifying the mechanisms and methods of employing social communication to advance the reality of Palestinian women in political decision-making, from During the review of the most important women's experiences in intercultural communication and decision-making.

## **Section Two: the Relationship Between Intercultural Communication and Women's Empowerment**

The gender and the balance of power are shaped by the prevailing customs, traditions and culture. The roles of the gender are distributed based on the prevailing ideology which is a product of the inherited culture, and the more countries closed in to their culture, the stronger their stereotypical ideas and are reflected in their behaviors (Courage,2019) as Awad indicated, which emphasized that intercultural openness and intercultural communication with Societies in which women hold important positions, which will create a state of intercultural and behavioral change in terms of the human nature of development and the acquisition of new habits and new ideas characterized by high awareness and awareness based on living example, which will enhance the change of the intercultural structure of society for the better.

Ashrawi also linked intercultural communication with the role of women, as only closed and committed societies isolate women and oppress them and try to harden them from decision-making centers or take it, and influence in reality, and therefore there is a strong relationship between intercultural communication and the empowerment of

women, and it is noticeable that the woman who communicates with other cultures with an open mind, strong personality, and positivity that enables her to make decisions.

But the matter is not only related to women, as it is part of a global view of civilizations and cultures, but with the local community, because it has a strong influence on women, so the whole society must be open, because women's rights are universal and global, and closed cultures that refuse to openness, and deal with matters from a male perspective, and absolute concepts that oppress women and deny them their rights, especially their right to participate in decision-making. The relationship between intercultural communication and women's empowerment falls within an integrated concept of reality, whether it is within the Palestinian society, or in interaction with the international community and other cultures.

Abu Dhair believes that the impact of intercultural communication in Palestine is positive, because we now see women occupying high positions and actively participating in political decision-making, and that in conjunction with the efforts exerted nationally to enhance the status of women, the intercultural influence increases with the days, and with the openness to other cultures.

As for Abu Hamed, he showed that culture in Palestine does not allow women to participate in real decision-making, but as a result of globalization, repercussions emerged, and a mutual influence between cultures, and this was reflected in the Palestinian National Authority's civilian and military adoption of gender units, which is concerned with reducing differences between men and women. This provided an opportunity for women to reach leadership positions.

Salahat did not agree on the relationship of intercultural communication with the empowerment of women, because issues of women's emancipation start from the community itself, and the evocation of historical and religious components that empower women, such as the role of women in Islam, their participation in wars, the role of women in the Palestinian national culture, and the national struggle .

As for Dalal Salameh, she member of the Fatah Central Committee, she believes that intercultural communication has greatly contributed to enhancing women's self-confidence, and comparing themselves to others in other societies, which formed an incentive for her to go through the same experience, especially since the required skills and capabilities are available to her, and this matter brought out Many women who have found role models in other societies and cultures.

Kharroub indicated that intercultural communication expanded the horizons of women in Palestine, enabled them to know their rights and gave them the courage to demand these rights, and that intercultural communication between government institutions, popular organizations, youth workers, and all others affects the societal culture, changes the perception of women, and is supposed to affect their role In political participation and enables it to reach decision-making centers, similar to countries that empower women and give them all rights

Jadu explained, through her personal experience in Italy, which greatly supports the role of women through the United Nations networks to support women working in the political and diplomatic field, that intercultural communication contributes to empowering women and displays experiences and experiences, and is useful in advancing the status of women, combating violence against women, and enhancing the

role For her economics, and getting acquainted with the experiences of other countries such as Norway, Sweden and Denmark, it increases the faith of Palestinian women in themselves. In Sweden, for example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Margaret Strum, is a great advocate for the State of Palestine and an actor in the field of women's rights, and Norway there are women who support women, and the Italian Foreign Minister has created A shelter for battered women, and supports the rights of women, and it is one of the models that expand horizons and increase experiences and skills to advance the reality of Palestinian women, with an emphasis on the importance of taking what suits us from the cultures of goodness, because our intercultural heritage is distinctive, but not exploited, because the true religion encourages women, and orders With her honor, but there are those who exploit religion and a culture of shame to prevent women from reaching leadership positions.

Khatib stressed that intercultural communication contributes to Palestinian women support the claim and emphasize their participation in decision - making, and the use of the experiences of countries serve to increase community awareness of the Tunisian Kaltejbh may benefit greatly in Palestinian society if found suitable ground for the Palestinian central male - dominated society , where the Palestinian women's openness and knowledge of countries' experiences in the field of women may motivate and encourage them to demand and truly engage in the decision-making process.

On the other hand, Dawood indicated that the true culture that guarantees women justice and equality in Islamic culture, and the West and other societies did not come out of darkness until after they had emptied from this culture, and today they imitate us in science, and we imitate them in negative openness, and therefore they have reached

what they are from Development, and we went back a lot, and it is the will of the Palestinian Muslim woman that shapes the desire to reach a decision and endure the difficulties.

Karrada also indicated that intercultural communication cannot benefit anything if the woman is not convinced of the importance of her role in decision-making, and if she does not have sufficient willingness to go through the experience and struggle to reach it.

Kamal revealed that intercultural communication provides an opportunity to get acquainted with human rights institutions and gender, and to learn from their experiences, and their positive reflection on Palestinian feminist movements, and intercultural communication facilitates knowledge of the summary of experiences and experiences that lasted for two hours, and identifying obstacles, challenges and how to face them, which can be used. One of them is given that the societal points are similar, and intercultural communication does not mean that we apply the experiences of other countries literally, for each country has its own peculiarities, and we cannot apply the Sudanese experience, for example in Palestine, but the Italian experience can be applied in empowering women to make decisions.

Al-Masry confirmed that intercultural communication enhanced the opportunity for dialogue and discussion on sensitive and important issues that society refuses to engage with, as a result of its wrong beliefs, which contributes to raising awareness of humanitarian issues and addressing issues related to them. As for feminist issues, the Palestinian woman broadcast her culture to the other, she was A pioneer and leader in

the struggle, but was unable to reach decision-making, and intercultural communication enabled us to identify the path that could lead us to political decision-making.

Zakarneh indicated that intercultural communication enabled the General Union of Women to create partnerships, such as the Arab and International Women's Union, which communicates our problems to the world, and this had a positive impact on the Palestinian experience, whether in amending laws or bringing about social changes that are appropriate for our circumstances.

### **Section three: the degree of intercultural communication in Palestine and its ability to effect and create change**

The degree of intercultural communication in Palestine is considered insufficient, due to the occupation, and the consequent decline in intellectual and intercultural interaction with the world, despite the existence of intercultural contact with international universities, intercultural artistic and intellectual literary institutions, museums, and a large legacy of writing, but we could not reach in the manner. Imposed, Ashrawi asserts, explaining that the situation is still difficult with regard to Palestinian women inside and outside the country who is trying and acquainted with feminist and human rights ideas, but the issue of women is not the responsibility of women alone. It is the issue of the entire society. The homeland and the exclusion of women from decision-making and political participation is a weakening of the Palestinian reality and the decision-making process, and we cannot make a decision without the participation of half of the society, and there must be active participation, not a formal one.

Al-Khalili believes that intercultural communication can contribute to empowering women by 20%, which is insufficient, because the application of experiences requires a well-studied methodology and the selection of influencers.

Zahira believes that intercultural communication can be a guarantor of empowering women in decision-making, if we are able to transfer experiences and localize them in proportion to our political conditions, and that legal amendments in Arab countries cast a shadow over Palestine, due to their participation in the Arab Women's Union.

It also requires conducting intercultural and political dialogues, exchanging views and agreeing on a specific thing, as Al-Qawasmi emphasized that reaching an intellectual intercultural vision contributes to the abolition of misconceptions in society, acceptance of ideas, which is what makes societal change happen, as the size of the challenges facing the Palestinian people must be To be the most impetus for intellectual development, and to change the method of education from indoctrination to thinking, because the idea is what makes the change, and it does not come from one mind but rather is a complete societal product, and it may come as a result of certain ideas but isolation will keep ideas, and therefore intercultural communication is considered a part Important in developing the societal vision through the development of culture, and an intellectual vision based on benefiting from everything that exists and not limiting it to a specific angle.

Al-Attireh confirms that the degree of intercultural communication in Palestine is capable of change, but it is not sufficient, so many women are not allowed to participate regionally and globally, the more participation, the greater the possibility of change, but at the same time the virtual world helped a lot in promoting intercultural

communication, but the real experience The snake remains better at studying the experiences of others.

Zakarneh believes that intercultural communication has contributed to changing daily practices and societal perceptions, so it is no longer desirable for people to engage women in political work, and this has been reflected positively on the increase in the number of elected believers in the role of women.

Kharroub believes that Palestine communicates with most countries of the world, international organizations, human rights institutions and liberation movements, and is still in the stage of drafting laws and amending previous laws, and this cannot but affect the state's laws, especially if it takes what suits it, and it will contribute to its development and advancement for the better.

#### **Section Four: The Impact of Intercultural Communication on Societal Culture Related to the Male Mentality**

Palestinian society is considered masculine, especially in issues related to customs and traditions, in addition to the use of religion as a means or justification for the oppression of women, and not allowing them to participate in politics, and all of what the Palestinian people are going through in terms of attacks on the Palestinian identity, as Ashrawi sees in the human and geographical dimension. And the human and formative nature of Palestine, as this affected women and weakened them, as well as weakened the Palestinian people, who if they had the right to develop, build and sovereignty over their land and resources like the rest of the countries, would have become advanced, but this impeded its progress and interaction with the world, and we



would turn half of it into refugees, and the other He lives under occupation, and thus society has become more closed to protect itself, and traditions have become a parental protection, for example in the uprising and uprising, the incidence of early marriage and domestic violence increases.

As for intercultural communication, it is sufficient to change the societal culture, but it takes many years of peace, and future generations may feel the impact of intercultural communication if Palestine is not exposed to other wars with the occupation, so in the war there is no room for intercultural communication, and the main task for the family is protection and closure.

Abu Hamed believes that intercultural communication contributes to the generalization of modern foundations, reducing the differences between the two genders, which accelerate the process of social and political change, and the problem of existing culture is based primarily on discrimination.

Shreim stresses that there is a historical inevitability for development, as the Arab society began to infanticide girls, as a result of feeling ashamed of them, and today there are women occupying leadership positions, and there is a correlation between development and the role of women, and intercultural communication is one of the most important areas in which we must develop because the male derives his ideas from culture Prevalent in society, which may develop positively over time due to intercultural communication and this has been translated through pro-women laws

Abu Dhair wondered what if intercultural communication with authoritarian states with a male culture, then there are negative aspects in intercultural communication, as

communicating with countries does not allow women to access decision-making positions, but rather strengthens the masculine character of society, negatively affecting the prevailing culture in the homeland, and the will Political, and society's view of the political participation of women. Intercultural communication, its impact depends on choosing countries that are ahead of us in this field.

Salahat also believes that the solution is education, awareness, and non-male education that women practice while raising their children, and although intercultural communication is important in social change, it may create an adverse reaction, with conservative societies' fear of openness, Shamekh also believes that intercultural communication forced society to accept women formally and personally, and in the Interior Directorate in Nablus, 70% of the employees are women, including managers and officials, and this dictates that we take their opinion in every big and small.

As for Al-Hourani: He believes that the inherited social culture consecrates male culture, and change in it is difficult, but not impossible, and intercultural communication actually helps in change, but slowly, and intercultural change requires several generations, and an observation of societal and educational concepts.

As for Jawabreh, he believes that the male influence began to decline, and women began to take their role almost everywhere, recording wonderful success stories, and intercultural communication is not a requirement that it be between countries and states, but between the two genders, between families, and between institutions and individuals, and that in its entirety is in favor of The woman who began to come out freely and wrote amazing stories about creativity, but politically it is still difficult for the Palestinian society to accept the decision from women. It is not a defect in them, but

because it is accustomed to men from the beginning, and it has not been tried to be ruled by a woman. the fear.

As for Jadu, she found that intercultural communication is the only treatment for male culture, because it first affects women to enhance their strength, self-confidence, skills, and capabilities, which increases their ability to challenge male domination and prove their worth on the one hand, and on the other hand increases intercultural communication. The opportunity for a man to feel the desire for his daughter, wife or sister to reach leadership positions such as the model woman he has seen in other cultures and is convinced of her potential and her position, and this opportunity remains a possibility in the presence of men who have an inherent negative thought.

In general, intercultural communication provides positive and successful examples of giving, which make citizens who are not accustomed to seeing women in leadership positions provide support, and feel proud and satisfied, because we are under occupation and we ultimately need a strong voice that expresses in the interest of Palestine regardless of a man or woman, the important thing is to contribute to alleviating injustice. Restore rights to its people.

Al-Araj indicated that intercultural communication increases the opportunity for feminist solidarity, which creates strong, conscious women who are able to change and face male oppression.

As for Hawwash, she asserts that knowledge is the basis of change, and intercultural communication guarantees knowledge, and intercultural communication must take place between the two genders as well, and the feminist movement has historically erred in

targeting women only, but the other half is the most important one that carries the male mentality, and it must be targeted interculturally and implanting new concepts. In it, in order not to create a gap and a contradiction between the two genders, in this way it is possible for us to benefit from intercultural communication in eliminating the male mentality and intercultural heritage associated with customs and traditions, and then communicating with other cultures, and benefiting from their experiences in a way that suits us.

I wondered how intercultural communication can affect those who do not believe in women's issues. It requires laws and legislation, and these laws are derived from intercultural communication, the experiences of other nations, and international agreements related to social justice, and on the correct basis that the true religion of Islam guarantees us justice and equality. But the wrong understanding and application of it, and even the exploitation of some of the legal connotations to pass a culture of shame and forbidden by human standards is what weakened the effect of religion on societal change, and we needed mandatory force represented in the laws in order to protect women's rights and enable them to make decisions.

She supported her in that al-Khalili, who saw that the force of law governs and changes the mindset, direction, and mentality of society, and increases the courage of women to demand their rights, and the male culture is present in all countries of the world, even civilized ones, and therefore the global CEDAW agreement emerged, which is considered one of the outputs of global intercultural communication. Between peoples, and built on the basis of women's global needs, not for a specific region or country .

As for Kamal, she emphasized the importance of intercultural communication in the face of male culture, on the one hand promoting women, and on the other hand forcing men to accept women in decision-making positions, forcing the political will that was forced and finally to adopt gender in its institutions, and to introduce new concepts.

Al-Masry believes that the political will today and the act of intercultural communication, and its forced to deal with the countries of the world as a whole, has become embarrassed by the absence of women, even if the number is small, because the world has begun to open up to concepts of gender and women's rights, and their participation in political action.

As for Al-Qawasmi, she affirms that the differences create a kind of enrichment and fruitful diversity, from which everyone can be picked up according to what suits him, and intercultural communication within that, because you are not bound by what other cultures offer, but it opens the mind to new horizons, and cultures in the end nurture each other. With regard to male dominance, it is possible for this fruitful diversity to cast a shadow over the male mentality over time, if done in a deliberate manner.

### **Section Five: Palestinian Experiences in Intercultural Communication and their Impact on Empowering Women in Political Decision-Making**

The Palestinian experience in intercultural communication is one of the distinctive experiences that produced role models and contributed to social and political change, and these models cannot be limited to one study, and the researcher found the need to comment on the experience of decision makers and decision makers, politicians and politicians, and the researcher found the need to present these experiences To emphasize

the importance and role of intercultural communication in social and political change, and in empowering women in political decision-making.

### **First: Hanan Ashrawi and the Impact of Intercultural Communication on Palestinian Decision-Making**

Historically, Palestinian society is open geographically, intercultural, and intellectually, and it interacts with others, and is not strict, closed or rejecting the other, and this interaction with the world helped present the Palestinian narrative in a way that calls for positive intervention in the Palestinian reality, because the world powers interfered in a negative way with The Palestinian reality by adopting the Zionist movement and absolute support, and intercultural communication paved the way for Palestine to network with the world in a positive way and formulate common concepts and values, so that the world could understand the Palestinian reality and narrative, and the Palestinian right, and the more intercultural communication with other societies, the positive impact on society and the cause. The Palestinian Authority, which made us obtain the title of an unattended member in the United Nations after the withdrawal of recognition by many countries, which is the result of long years intercultural contact, and there are economic, social and scientific relations with the world that have contributed to an educational renaissance in Palestine, in addition to strengthening The concepts of social justice, equality, and the right to expression and education have led to the exclusion of many Palestinian rights internationally, the most important of which is the right to self-determination.

## **Second: Zahira Kamal and the Russian Experience**

Zahira Kamal revealed her struggle experience that she gained through her intercultural contact with various parties in the world, and international women's organizations and movements. Since 1996, she has rushed to the struggle to implement the quota system, as she found, through her intercultural experience and communication with the Soviet Union, that women would not arrive without the quota. The percentage in the Soviet Union was 50%, because equality issues were on the table for them, and as soon as the Soviet Union collapsed, the percentage of women fell dramatically and reached 17%, while European countries left room for competition, and in Scandinavia, the quota has 40%, and women benefit from them. In the first place, and the experiment began to the rest of the European countries, and Tunisia as well, and the election base began on the basis of a man and a woman, but it did not reach half, within the limits of 30%, because the top of the list is a man.

Zahira's experience in intercultural communication later enabled her to include gender in government work.

## **Third: Farid Abu Dhair and the British experience**

Abu Dhair stated that his studies abroad established a conviction in the importance of freedoms, democracy and political participation, and the promotion of the status of women in this field, and informed him of women's experiences in political work and decision-making without any hindrances, which was reflected in his experience in education at An-Najah National University. Paying attention to women's issues and directing students to pay attention to them as well.

**Fourth: Areej al-Khalili and the Norwegian experience**

Al-Khalili indicated that the Norwegian experience contributed to influencing her on a personal level, as the experience of Norwegian women had a great role in obtaining political expertise, learning how to participate in parties, parliament, and empowering women through joint programs between us, and we were able to empower women in the regions. Organizational, educating and supporting them in party elections to reach membership in organizational regions, and to familiarize them with laws, regulations and internal regulations in political parties.

It is worth noting that Norwegian women went to higher studies more than men, which affected their presence in decision-making positions over time, and men's demand for political quotas.

Another experience of al-Khalili was through her membership in the Arab Women Organization of the League of Arab States, and periodic meetings, and she got to know how the faction was represented for the first time by a colleague in Egypt in this organization, and in 2012 she became a Fatah representative to the Central Elections Committee, and it was the first time that a woman represented a faction in Palestine.

In addition to intercultural contact with Spaniards and Canadians in the field of electoral campaign leadership, which I underwent a training that ultimately enabled me to prepare an electoral program, and these experiences brought me to a leadership position as a member of the Revolutionary Council in Palestine.



### **Dalal Salameh and International Experiences**

Salameh explained the importance of intercultural communication with Norway in conveying the suffering of Palestinian children to Norwegian children who live different lives, so that institutions can understand the suffering, and obtain the required solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

In the first intifada, in terms of intercultural communication, an initiative by Italian children to help Palestinian children emerged, which was based on understanding the reality and the impact on Italian society for the benefit of the Palestinian cause.

Our knowledge of the Scandinavian experience also contributed to the development of women's political participation and the challenge of economic obstacles, which we thought were the biggest obstacles, and intercultural communication made us realize that intercultural heritage is the biggest challenge to empower women in political participation and decision-making.

Salameh also indicated that the periodic meetings with women's delegations in France, Sweden, and Beijing helped me refine my personality on the personal level, and increase motivation in the political field, which made me later a member in the Legislative Council, and today in the Central Committee.

### **Sahar Qawasmi**

Al-Qawasmi moved in her studies from Russia to Jordan to America, which created a desire to communicate with other cultures, and this matter helped Qawasmi to break barriers, the ability to make change and make decisions, and in 2013 Al-Qawasmi became involved with sustainable development programs in the Arab world and

participated in the Addis Ababa Conference and the Conference of Istanbul , which put its final recommendations against early marriage, and become part of all the recommendations, in addition to budgeting 5% minimum for the Ministry of Health , this percentage applied to the ministries of health in the world.

Al-Qawasmi finalized in the regional conference in the Arab world its recommendations for women's rights and equality in the final statement, and indicated that the occupation is an obstacle to achieving development goals.

### **Annan Alterh**

The experiences of other revolutions, the experiences of Algeria and Tunisia, and the experiences of free peoples who were under occupation and suffering from occupation, like the experience of South Africa, affected the tempers, as they worked with their unions that were the basis of the process of change and lived there a period that made them get acquainted with the struggle of the Tunisian and Algerian people, which is what Today, the pace enabled change and some policies.

### **Magda Al-Masry and the Euro-Mediterranean Network**

Al-Masry revealed that she is a member of the "Euro-Mediterranean" network, which enabled it to benefit from other experiences, in the quota, in the mechanisms of training and decision-making, and in developing strategies, and organizing work, and that the thought carried by the Egyptian is derived from international intellectual cultures, which cast a shadow. Based on the nature of its political activity, such as establishing or participating in international campaigns such as the BDS movement, the international

campaigns enabled Al-Masry to penetrate the world and deliver the message of the Palestinian people to him, and this gives a positive dimension to the Palestinian cause.

Al-Masry also confirmed that intercultural communication contributed to enhancing the participation of youth and women in public and political life, and contributed to the spread of the quota system among countries, and the development of education and curricula, as intercultural communication is a political phenomenon that allows countries the opportunity to learn about the experiences of others, and broadcast issues for others to work on, and that is definitely It raises women's awareness and competence with their culture and confidence, by looking at the experiences of women, whether militants or creators, in various fields, which constitutes the incentive to participate in decision-making.

### **Wafa Zakarneh and the Socialist Parties**

Zakarneh emphasized that the relationship with the Norwegian and Swedish socialist parties greatly affected the involvement of women and young people because they are the minority in decision-making positions, and he took experiences from them.

### **Asma Khroub and Azerbaijan**

The visit of the State of Azerbaijan in July 2018 with a delegation headed by the Undersecretary for the purpose of learning about the role of Azerbaijani women in the local government sector and the political participation of women in Azerbaijan contributed to the empowerment of women to a percentage of more than 36% in the elections of local bodies, and many of them held positions as mayor and deputy mayor In addition to its active membership in municipal decisions and policies, this also

contributed to persuading decision-makers in the Ministry of Local Government in their direction to amend the Local Authority Elections Law and recommend raising the women's quota from 20% to 30%.

### **Maysar Atiyani and the American Experience**

Atiyani confirmed that successful models of struggle such as Jamila Bouhared who succeeded in her political and societal existence, and contributed to the encouragement of women and women's community experiences, encouraged Rabab Abdul Hadi to adopt intercultural communication between the United States and the students of An-Najah National University to obtain successful experiences and empower them socially and interculturally. Visits to African-American delegations that have expressed their struggle experience in several seminars at An-Najah National University.

### **Amal Jadu and the Middle East Women's Network**

Jadu revealed her unique experience in intercultural communication that was embodied in a network mediator Which takes a feminist character and international mediation, as this network includes women from all continents of the world under the auspices of the United Nations, and it was launched last September 9 at the United Nations in New York in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and a large number of ministers and foreign ministers in the world, what It gave an impetus to learn from this experience, through our presence in the Middle East Women's Network, which includes a number of women from Europe and the Arab world, which reflected its shadow on our distinguished performance on the issue of women, as the Nordic countries have a very valuable experience and the number of women more than the

number of men In managing countries they have, and we see distinct models of foreign and defense ministers, we learn from them and meet with them and talk about their personal and professional experience, and this gives self-confidence as a woman that she can do more and work in political fields, and it also gives experience to the presence of people who can be consulted to overcome problems without going into details Because each country has a specificity.

The United Nations has many resources to support and strengthen women in the political and diplomatic field, in addition to the experience with Arab women within the framework of the Arab League, although it needs greater development, but the Palestinian civil society organizations that deal with women's issues, in which women are pioneering women In the Arab region, their experience is very rich, and just meeting with them gives the impetus to political participation, such as Mrs. Hanan Ashrawi, who is an honorable model and a reference that can be used at any time. Zahira Kamal, Amal Khreish, and women in the private sector support women in general, and academies such as Dalal Erekat and Khawla Al Azraq In the social work committees are very supportive and always push in the right direction, and also the vice president of the Revolutionary Council, these are models and many others that have become distinguished due to the intercultural communication that has cast a shadow over their long experience in supporting women, and therefore I encourage the development of intercultural communication in Palestine, and its thoughtful increase.

### **Tahreer Al-a'raj and Brazil**

The Brazilian experience contributed to the participation of Al-Araj in the road campaign, which is a coalition of 150 social movements working for community issues,

international monetary policies, and justice in empowering farmers and the poor in the world, and Palestine joined in 2005, and this experience contributed to knowing Al-Araj in ways to empower minorities, the poor, and their potential. On changing global policies, which was an inspiration for the lame to launch in the defense of women.

It also participated in the OI Alliance in Basque and Catalonia, which aims to mobilize the people to advocate for the issues of political detainees, issues of justice, and issues of women's defense, on an international and regional level, and these experiences that Al-Araj went through contributed to refining her personality and enhancing her self-confidence after she saw Palestine is not alone in the world that suffers from networked issues, and it is imperative to benefit from the world's experiences in overcoming and resolving these issues.

#### **Sama Aweidah and the Arab Women's Forum (Aisha)**

As a Palestinian feminist organization, it had a great role in establishing the Arab Women Forum (Aisha), which is a network of feminist organizations from eight Arab countries, and Samma was the general coordinator of this forum for eight years, and through it Samma learned to exchange different experiences of women's participation in political life, with the world, Through advocacy programs for many women in different Arab countries, Sama was able to transfer the national experience to women in other Arab countries.

#### **Soha Al-Khatib and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees**

Al-Khatib went through the experience of intercultural communication by participating in the meetings of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees in Rabat, Morocco, and this

experience cast a shadow over the motive formed by Al-Khatib to transfer the Tunisian experience in advocating for women to Palestine.

### **Samar Hawash and Regional and International Coalitions**

Samar Hawash's intercultural communication experience, through her participation in coalitions at the regional and international levels, helped present the Palestinian reality in general, and the reality of women in Palestine in particular, the last of which was the participation in an electronic meeting at the level of the Arab world, in which women spoke in Palestine, Algeria, and Morocco, In Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and others, the reality of women in light of the Corona pandemic was discussed.

These experiences in intercultural communication contributed to diagnosing the reality of women, and revealing common obstacles between countries of the world, which are represented in the political will that follows the policy of exclusion of women in the political field, and how to deal with that.

Hawwash also learned about the Tunisian experience, which has gone a long way in institutionalizing gender issues in the country, and that pushed the Palestinian women to establish the CEDAW coalition that includes women from Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza. Hawwash indicated that intercultural communication contributes to monitoring common issues, whether through political participation, and finding mechanisms from For pressure to change reality.

### **Shiraz Al-Bazour and Student Council**

Al-Bazour indicated that her experience in intercultural communication with a student youth movement with a Swedish school and the president of the Federation of European

Universities Council greatly influenced the transfer of experience to her, and the expansion of her participation horizon, which brought her to a decision-making center in the administration of the Student Council in Birzeit.

### **Muna Dakhallah**

She indicated that intercultural communication contributed to the establishment of the General Arab Women's Union by bringing together all Arab women's federations, which formulates joint plans and a common vision, in which issues become unified and work on them, in addition to the establishment of the International Democratic Women's Union that brought together European, African and Asian countries, America. Latin, Arab countries, and thus issues and experiences are raised and circulated among all countries, and this contributed to supporting women's rights issues in the State of Palestine, which are presented from the perspective of establishing Palestinian society, and we discuss the issue of political participation, economic and human rights participation, laws and legislation, and all the issues that It strengthens the structure of the Palestinian society, and the steadfastness of the Palestinian people under occupation

### **Mai Karrada and China**

Karrada's experience of intercultural communication with the Communist Party in China contributed to the transfer of the Chinese experience in liberation and struggle, and the political participation of women within the executive frameworks and decision-makers, in addition to simple feminist initiatives such as the establishment of a complex for the entertainment of the elderly, the proceeds of which would return to their care.



The Swedish experience in elections revealed to Karrada the importance of honest competition and respect for others, which prompted Karrada to return to political action with great motivation, without paying attention to the social and political obstacles that she may face, so she established a camp that includes 130 girls, whose ages range from 16-17, with which the values of belonging were strengthened. They have commitment and discipline, and have contributed to creating future leaders.

### **Majedah Fedah and studying Abroad Experience**

Fadha indicated that as a woman, she was open to political, economic, and social sciences, which contributed to strengthening her personality and making her participation in society inevitable. She also explained that most of the women in decision-making centers have learned about other cultures, traveled, and attended international and educational courses that have contributed to refining their personalities.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Findings and recommendation**

- 5.1 Conclusion
- 5.2 Result
- 5.3 Recommendation

## **Chapter Five**

### **Findings and Recommendations**

Despite the importance of women's political participation, which is represented in expanding the legitimacy base for the representative and executive institutions of the political system, thus strengthening the principle of citizenship in its two parts Rights and duties, and the promotion of belonging to the homeland, however, statistics indicate the presence of women at the general levels without leadership. Women are still placed in molds that limit their freedom of expression and prevent them from exploiting their experiences and competence in the nation's service.

These stereotypes and obstacles are represented in the lack of community awareness of the concept of political participation and women's lack of understanding of their roles, their limited interest in politics, and their low self-confidence.

Moreover, the factors related to society, customs and traditions, male culture, and the stereotype about the social role of women related to childbearing, and education based on the theory of the social role, and in the second degree the political parties that adopt the macho concept in their various activities. In addition to the spread of poverty, unemployment, and the obstacles that they are related to the enactment of unfair laws for them, the set of challenges accompanying the existence of the Israeli occupation, and the resulting restriction of political participation for women under the pretext of fear for them, or lack of confidence in their ability to confront the occupation and participate in politics at the same time.

These compulsory and fabricated obstacles to impede women's political participation, as a result, weaken the opportunity for women to reach positions of political decision-making, even though enabling women to reach leadership positions and making political decisions is in the interest of society because they are more aware of their needs, and are closest to their issues as a result. Its social nature is active with all members of society. It must be represented by it on the political side as well so that political decisions become an expression of the pulse of the Palestinian street.

Statistics show that the percentage of women in decision-making positions is very low in Palestine, and does not exceed at best 20% at all levels. Women constitute 14% of cabinet members, 11% of active ambassadors, and 14% of civil service workers. As a general manager and above (A4), 20% of the members of local bodies, one woman in a conservative position, 5% of the central council, and 18% of the participation in the labor market, which indicates that the participation of women in decision-making is formal.

This is a result of the male mentality and intercultural heritage, especially in the political sphere, as it is difficult for Palestinian society, as a result of the male mentality, to receive its decisions from a woman despite its actual recognition of her status, ability, competence and struggle history, "which weakens her opportunity to reach decision-making positions.

Many studies have shown that the political experience of women in the world is similar, in terms of obstacles and some societal points; which prompted the feminist movements in the world to invest intercultural communication in exchanging experiences and experiences, presenting successful models in decision-making, and

drafting laws and legislations that guarantee the right of women to participate in political decision making.

The respondents were unanimously agreed on the importance of intercultural communication in Palestine, as it allows the way to communicate with other peoples and introduce the Palestinian cause.

The injustice that occurred against the Palestinian, which led to the finding of new supporters for the Palestinian cause and the de-recognition of the State of Palestine in August 2018, as a result of long efforts in intercultural communication with these countries, as well as intercultural communication contributed to the introduction of scientific and practical experiences that played an important role in political and social change, albeit slowly.

The respondents adopted the theory of belief in common human needs, despite intercultural and linguistic differences, but this helped obtain experiences and knowledge, which other countries required many years of struggle to reach.

The male and female respondents emphasized that being open to and interacting with other cultures increases knowledge, which is the basis for self-empowerment. Not isolated from each other, the civilization that was formed in Palestine interacted with other cultures and provided to the whole world, this interaction and communication between cultures provides a kind of intellectual, human, and creative dimension, and that inevitably affects the entire society positively.

This applies to the relationship between intercultural communication and the empowerment of women, where the gender and the balance of power are shaped by the prevailing customs, traditions and culture. The roles of the gender are distributed according to the prevailing ideology which is a product of the inherited culture, the

more countries closed in on their culture, the stronger their stereotypes are reflected in their behaviors. Intercultural contact with societies in which women hold important positions, will create a state of intercultural and behavioral change, which will promote a change in the intercultural structure of society for the better, just as closed and committed societies are the only ones that isolate and oppress women and try to harden them from decision-making or decision-making positions, and influence reality.

The study showed that the degree of intercultural communication in Palestine is insufficient, due to the occupation, despite the existence of intercultural contact with international universities, intercultural artistic and intellectual institutions, and museums, but it was not able to reach the imposed method, so the situation is still difficult with regard to Palestinian women at home and abroad trying to get out On feminist and human rights ideas, but the issue of women is not the sole responsibility of women, it is the issue of society as a whole.

In addition, all of what the Palestinian people go through in terms of attacks on the Palestinian identity, on the human, geographical, human and formative dimensions of Palestine, affected women and weakened them, as the Palestinian people weakened, and turned half of them into refugees, and the other lived under occupation, and thus society became more Closed to protect oneself, and traditions have become parental protection, which makes the impact of intercultural communication in Palestine slow in changing the societal culture.

In spite of this, intercultural communication presented positive and successful models for giving, which make citizens unaccustomed to seeing women in leadership positions provide support, because these models contribute to social and political change even in a small way, and among these experiences is Zahira Kamal's experience in Russia,

which is the first spark in the application of The quota system in Palestine, and the inclusion of gender in government institutions. As for Al-Khalili's experience in Norway, it contributed to obtaining political expertise, learning how to participate in parties and parliament, and empowering women through joint programs between Norway and Palestine.

As for Dalal Salameh, the experience of intercultural communication contributed With Norway in transmitting the suffering of Palestinian children to Norwegian children who live a different life, with the aim of obtaining the required solidarity with the Palestinian cause, and intercultural communication in the Scandinavian countries, and periodic meetings with women delegations in France and Sweden, and Beijing contributed to the refinement of Salameh's personality, which is what He later made her a member of the Legislative Council, and today in the Central Committee.

Al-Qawasmi's experience in intercultural communication helped bring about political and social change, as the final recommendations were drawn up at the Addis Ababa conference against early marriage, and they became part of all recommendations, in addition to setting a minimum budget of 5% for the Ministry of Health, and this percentage was applied to ministries of health in the world. The final version of the regional conference in the Arab world made its recommendations for women's rights and equality in the final statement, and indicated that the occupation is an obstacle to achieving development goals.

The Algerian, Tunisian and South African experiences reflected on the thinking of Alatira, which today enabled it to effect change and set some policies. As for Magda Al-Masry, a member of the Euro-Mediterranean Network Her intercultural communication experience contributed to benefiting from other experiences, in the quota system, in

training and decision-making mechanisms, developing strategies, organizing work, and participating in international campaigns such as the BDS movement, and these campaigns contributed to conveying the message of the Palestinian people to the world.

As for Zakarneh's experience with the Norwegian and Swedish socialist parties, it greatly influenced the involvement of women and youth because they are the minority in decision-making positions, and he took experiences from them, and the experience of Kharroub in intercultural communication with Azerbaijan cast a shadow over convincing decision-makers in the Ministry of Local Government in their direction to amend the election law Local bodies and recommendations to raise the women's quota from 20% to 30%.

Jadu's distinguished experience in the mediator network reflected her self-confidence as a woman who could provide more in political fields. The Brazilian experience in liberating al-A'raj contributed to her knowledge of ways to empower minorities and the poor, and their ability to change global policies, which was inspiring the lame to take off in the defense of women.

Sama learned through the exchange of different experiences of the participation of women in political life, the transfer of the Palestinian national experience to women in other Arab countries, and the experience of intercultural communication with Samar Hawash through her participation in coalitions at the regional and international level helped to present the Palestinian reality in general, and the reality Women in Palestine in particular, and the Al-Bazour experience in intercultural communication with a student youth movement with a Swedish school, and the president of the European Universities Union Council, contributed to transferring experience to her and expanding



her horizon of participation, which brought her to a decision-making center in the administration of the Birzeit Student Council.

Dakhallah indicated that intercultural communication contributed to the establishment of the General Arab Women's Union by bringing together all Arab women's federations, which draws up joint plans and a common vision, in which issues become unified and work on them, in addition to the establishment of the International Democratic Women's Union, which contributed to supporting women's human rights issues in the country. Palestine, and all the issues that strengthen the structure of the Palestinian society, and the steadfastness of the Palestinian people under occupation.

All these experiences revealed the role of intercultural communication in empowering women to make decisions, and the relationship between intercultural communication and male domination as the first and main obstacle, as we mentioned previously, in the face of any progress that women may make in society, and then identifying the mechanisms and methods of employing social communication to advance the reality of Palestinian women. In political decision-making, which the respondents agreed that it passes through three stages, the first: related to the woman herself, through increasing her willingness, confidence, and belief in herself, and her ability to change, and the second phase is related to changing the societal culture through many awareness and educational activities, and the use of the media. The various conferences, initiatives and human rights activities for the community, and thus the actual contribution to social change, allowing women in the first step to educate, choose the specialization that they tend to have, and then work in the place that suits them, and thus reach creativity and liberation that opens the way for them to reach decision-making centers .

As for the third stage, it concerns decision-makers, men and women, who must contribute to empowering women to reach leadership positions, and choose based on education and competence, not kinship, or mediation, because this frustrates great efforts and makes competition unfair, which reduces the productive value that Women may present to society.

The respondents focused on the importance of the quota as a first and basic step that pushes women to participate and strengthens their self-confidence, and forces leaders and officials, and society to accept women in decision-making positions, and the respondents called for the necessity of creating laws and legislation that guarantee and protect women's rights.

The fourth and final stage is intercultural communication, which constitutes the guarantee for the previous three stages by increasing women's confidence and belief in themselves, and changing societal culture, as a result of the overlap of cultures and their reflection on each other, in addition to embarrassing decision-makers in keeping pace with development in the world by enabling women to access decision-making positions.

## Results

- ❖ Intercultural communication contributes to empowering Palestinian women to participate in political decision-making.
- ❖ The weak presence of women in Palestine's decision-making centers and their exposure to the obstacles and challenges associated with the male culture.
- ❖ Intercultural communication provides successful models for women in decision-making positions, encouraging women in Palestine to follow their example.
- ❖ Intercultural communication experiences contribute to developing women's skills and experiences in political work and decision-making.
- ❖ Intercultural communication helps increase society's acceptance of women in political decision-making due to its direct

## Recommendations

- ❖ implement awareness-raising programs to change the stereotypical image which patriarchal culture implements in women's roles by governments and political parties
- ❖ Enabling the participation of women in public affairs, social and political service, and the official level.
- ❖ Strengthening mechanisms of dialogue between men and women, and integrating women's issues to reduce the gap between the two parties.
- ❖ Raising awareness of Palestinian women about the importance of their political role and capabilities

- ❖ Enacting laws and legislation that aims to protect women and enable them to obtain their rights without detraction or exclusion.
- ❖ Increasing opportunities for intercultural communication and being open to other cultures' experiences to benefit from their political experiences.
- ❖ Setting systematic plans to employ intercultural communication in preparing women's leaders
- ❖ Carrying out independent studies related to intercultural communication and its impact on male culture
- ❖ increase the presence of women in political parties and political activity
- ❖ shed the light on a positive model women by spreading their experience in the political field to enhance motivation

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## Interviews

- 1- Asmaa Kharob, Director of the gender unit in Fatah, call interview, 8/7/2020, 1:18 P.M , Ramallah .Palestine.
- 2- Anan Al-Ateera, Deputy Governor of Nablus, personal interview, 14/7/2020, 434 P.M, Nablus.Palestine..
- 3- **Azzam AL-Ahmad:** Head of the Arab and Parliamentary Affairs Department in the PLO,Ramallah.Palestine.
- 4- Amal Jadoo, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ramallah, call interview, 18/7/2020, 11:00 A.M. Ramallah. Palestine
- 5- Ahmad Shameskh, Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Intercultural Center, personal interview, 18/3/2020,1:30 P.M, Nablus. Palestine.
- 6- Areej Al-Khaleeli, Member of the Revolutionary Council, personal interview, 4/6/2020, 11:12 A.M. Nablus Palestine.
- 7- Dalal Salameh, Member of FATEH Central Committee, Personal interview, 11/6/2020, 12:25 P.M, Nablus.Palestine.
- 8- Farid abu Dhair, Lecturer at An-Najah University / Media Faculty, call interview,13/4/2020,12:24 P.M .Nablus, Palestine
- 9- Hanan Ashrawi, Head of Diplomacy and Public Policy Department in the PLO,personal interview, 14/7/2020, 14:05 P.M , Ramallah. Palestine.
- 10- Othman Othman, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences, call interview,4/4/2020, 4:30 P.M, Nablus. Palestine.

- 11- Rafee Jawabreh, Governor of Qalqilya Governorate, call interview, 21/7/2020, 4:20 P.M, Qalqilya, Palestine
- 12- Reyaad Shraim, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences, call interview, 9/7/2020, 12:45 P.M , Jericho , Palestine
- 13- Sahar Al-Qwasmi, Deputy in the Legislative Council for Fatah, call interview, 1/7/2020, 6:00 P.M, Hebron, Palestine.
- 14- Sama Awaidah, Director of the Center for Palestinian Women's Studies, call interview, 8/7/2020, 1:18 P.M, Nablus, Palestine.
- 15- Samar Hawwash, President of the Palestinian Women's Association, Personal interview, 6/7/2020, 1:59 P.M , Nablus. Palestine.
- 16- Sheraaz al bzoor, Director of the Student Council in Al-Khadouri, call interview, 30/6/2020, 3:30 P.M, Toolkarem, Palestine .
- 17- Tahreer Al-Aarraj, Executive Director of MIFTAH Foundation, personal interview, 8/6/2020, 1:30 P.M Ramallah, Palestine
- 18- Tayseer Nasrallah, Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Intercultural Center, Personal interview, 13/7/2020, 12:40 P.M, Balata Camp, Nablus. Palestine..
- 19- Taseer Khaire, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, call interview, 10/4/2020, 1:30 P.M , Nablus , Palestine.
- 20- Mjedah Masri, Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Personal interview, 10/6/2020, 1:30 P.M , Nablus, Palestine.
- 21- Nizzam Salahat, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Law, call interview, 17/7/2020, 3:32 P.M, Jericho, Palestine

- 22- Ola Awad, President of the Palestinian Statistics Center, call interview, 23/6/2020, 12:43 P.M, Ramallah. Palestine.
- 23- Zaheera Kamal, Former Minister of Women ministry, former representative of the Feda Party, and founder of the Union of Palestinian Feminist Action Committees, call interview, 16/7/2020, 11:12 P.M , Nasreh. Palestine.
- 24- Mohmad Al-Howrani, Member of Fatah Revolutionary Council / political analyst, call interview, 12/6/2020, 11:21, Jenin. Palestine.
- 25- Nehaya Jarar, Khaeeda Jarar , Famous Palestinian activist and current prisoner ‘sister , call interview, 6/7/2020, 3:20 P.M, Ramallah. Palestine.
- 26- Muna Daklallah, Director of the General Union of Palestinian Women Branch, call interview, 6/7/2020, 3:20 P.M. Ramallah. Palestine.
- 27- Myassar Atyanee, Secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Women, member of the National Council of the PLO, call interview, 30/6/2020, 10:30 P.M, Tunisia.
- 28- Mahasen Dawood, Former Director of the Youth Intercultural Center and one of earlier FATEH founder, 7/6/2020, 3:29 P.M , Nablus. Palestine.
- 29- Suha Khateeb, Director of the European Affairs Department, Palestine Liberation Organization - , call interview, 13/6/2020, 11:30 A.M, Palestine – Ramallah. Palestine..
- 30- **Leena Al-Jarbooni**: Activist and former prisoner. Jerusalem. Palestine.
- 31- **Nasser Abo Jaish**: Coordinator of the factional coordination committee in Nablus, Palestine.
- 32- Raed Na'irat, lecturer in the Department of Political Science at An-Najah National University. Nablus. Palestine.

- 33- Samah Saleh, former head of the sociology department at An-Najah University, Nablus. Palestine.
- 34- Yasser Abo Hamad, Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences , call interview, 9/7/2020, 1:00 P.M, Jarecho, Palestine
- 35- Wafa Zakaneh, Member of the Revolutionary Council, call interview, 11/7/2020, 7:21 P.M, Jenin. Palestine.
- 36- Majedah Fedah, Member of Nablus Miscibility and a former activist in a religious party, Call interview 22/10/2020 14;21 P.M. Nablus. Palestine.
- 37- Asmaa Sharbati, Lecturer At Palestine Polytechnic university, Call interview 24/10/2020 11;21 A.M. Hebron. Palestine

## الملخص:

### دور التواصل الثقافي في تمكين المرأة الفلسطينية من المشاركة في صنع القرار السياسي

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد دور التواصل بين الثقافات في تمكين المرأة من المشاركة في صنع القرار السياسي، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار أن التواصل بين الثقافات المختلفة يمكن أن يقلل من تأثير الثقافة السائدة للذكور، ويشجع المجتمعات المغلقة والمحافظة على الخوض في التجارب الثقافية الأخرى في تمكين المرأة من المشاركة في صنع القرار السياسي.

ولجأت الباحثة إلى المقابلة كأداة للتعرف على أهم المعوقات التي تواجه المرأة في الوصول إلى مواقع صنع القرار السياسي، بالإضافة إلى تأثير تجربتها في التواصل بين الثقافات على هذه المعوقات، مما أدى إلى تمكينها من الوصول إلى مناصب قيادية. وأجرت الباحثة مقابلات فردية مع عينة قوامها (23) سيدة قيادية في فلسطين موزعة في مناصب عليا في مؤسسات حكومية وأهلية مختلفة، و (13) سياسي وأكاديمي من فلسطين.

توصلت الدراسة إلى عدة نتائج أهمها: أن التجارب النسوية في التواصل بين الثقافات ساهمت بالفعل في تمكين المرأة الفلسطينية ووصولها إلى المناصب القيادية في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية والسلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية، حيث أثرت هذه التجارب على تجربتهن. وكفأتهن ونظرتهم للعمل السياسي، زادت ثقتهم بأنفسهم. من ناحية، تعزيز دافعهم واستعدادهم للانغماس في المجال السياسي نتيجة التعرف على الأمثلة الناجحة من الثقافات الأخرى.

أما المنفعة الأخرى التي ساعدت في تمكين المرأة من الوصول إلى صنع القرار، فهي تأثير التواصل بين الثقافات على الثقافة الذكورية. وقد أتاح الفرصة للمجتمع لقبول وجود المرأة في مناصب صنع القرار على مستوى المجتمع. لكن على المستوى الرسمي، أصبح من المحرج الظهور في الوفود الرسمية دون وجود النساء، الأمر الذي دفع مؤسسات السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية إلى إدراج الوحدات الجندرية في نظامها.

تاريخياً، ساهم التواصل بين الثقافات في تمكين الحركة النسوية من تعديل القوانين والتشريعات المتعلقة بتمكين المرأة وحمايتها، من خلال استفادتها من القوانين الدولية والعربية، وخاصة التجربة التونسية، بالإضافة إلى نقلها لتجربة الكوتا بعد التعرف عليها. في التجربة الروسية والنرويجية. وعليه، ازداد تمثيل المرأة في القيادة والأطر التنظيمية.

وبناء على هذه النتائج أوصت الدراسة بتوظيف خبرات التواصل بين الثقافات لتمكين المرأة من الوصول إلى مواقع صنع القرار السياسي ووضع خطط منهجية ومدرسة في هذا المجال.

## Attachments

الملاحق

**First: female participant in political decision-making**

N0	Name	Position	date	Time	Place
1	Hanan Ashrawi	Head of Diplomacy and Public Policy Department in the PLO.	14/7/2020	14:05 P:M	Ramallah-Palestine
2	Suha Khateeb	Director of the European Affairs Department, Palestine Liberation Organization	13/6/2020	11:30 A.M	Ramallah-Palestine
3	Ola Awad	President of the Palestinian Statistics Center	23/6/2020	12:43 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine
4	Mjedah Masri	Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	10/6/2020	1:30 P.M	Nablus-Palestine
6	Dalal Salameh	Member of FATEH Central Committee	11/6/2020	12:25 P.M	Nablus-Palestine
7	Zaheera kamal	Former Minister of Women ministry, former representative of the Feda Party, and founder of the Union of Palestinian Feminist Action Committees	16/7/2020	6:00 P.M	Nasreh-Palestine
8	Areej Al-Khaleeli	Member of the Revolutionary Council	4/6/2020	11:12 P.M	Nablus-Palestine
10	Sahar Al-Qwasmi	Deputy in the Legislative Council for Fatah	1/7/2020	6:00 P.M	Hebron-Palestine

11	Sheraaz al bzoor	Director of the Student Council in Al-Khadouri	30/6/2020	3:30 P.M	Toolkarem-Palestine
12	Tahreer Al-Aarraj	Executive Director of MIFTAH Foundation	8/6/2020	1:30 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine
13	Asmaa Kharob	Director of the gender unit in Fatah	12/7/2020	12:39 P.M	Ramallah-



					Palestine
14	Samar Hawwash	President of the Palestinian Women's Association	7/6/2020	1:59 P.M	Nablus-Palestine .
15	Sama Awaidah	Director of the Center for Palestinian Women's Studies	8/7/2020	1:18 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine
16	Amal Jadoo	Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ramallah	18/9/2020	11: A.M	Ramallah-Palestine
17	Anan Al-Ateera	Deputy Governor of Nablus	14/7/2020	4:34 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
18	Mahasen Dawood	Former Director of the Youth Intercultural Center and one of earlier FATEH founder	7/6/2020	3:29 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
19	Mai Qaradee	A member of the Nablus region in the Fatah movement	31/5/2020	11:14 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
20	Wafa Zakaneh	Member of the Revolutionary Council	11/7/2020	7:21 P.M	Jenin-Palestine.
21	Myassar Atyanee	Secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Women, member of the National Council of the PLO	30/6/2020	10:30 P.M	Tunisia
22	Muna Daklallah	Director of the General Union of Palestinian Women Branch	8/7/2020	5:00 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine.
23	Leena Al-Jarbooni	Activist and former prisoner	10/3/2020	2:00 P.M	Jerusalem -Palestine
24	Nehaya Jarar	Khaeeda Jarar , Famous Palestinian activist and current prisoner 'sister	6/7/2020	3:20 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine .
25	Majedah Fedah	Nablus Muncibilty	22/11/2020	14;30	Nablus-Palestine.

### Third: male participant in decision-making

No	Name	Position	Date	Time	place
1	Azzam AL-ahmad	Head of the Arab and Parliamentary Affairs Department in the PLO.	19/7/2020	3:44 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine .

2	Taseer Khayree	Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.	10/4/2020	1:30 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
3	Rafee Jawabreh	Governor of Qalqilya Governorate	21/7/2020	4:20 P.M	Qalqelya-Palestine
4	Ahmad Shameskh	Director of the Ministry of Interior office in Nablus	18/3/2020	1:30 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
5	Tayseer Nasraah	Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council and director of the Jaffa Intercultural Center	13/7/2020	12:40 P.M	Nablus-Palestine.
6	Mohmad Al-Howrani	Member of Fatah Revolutionary Council / political analyst	12/3/2020	11:21 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine .
7	Nasser Abou Jaish	Coordinator of the factional coordination committee in Nablus	12/3/2020	10:30 P.M	Ramallah-Palestine .

### Professors in the Palestinian university

No	Name	Position			
1	Yasser Abo Hamad	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences	9/7/2020	1:00 P.M	Jericho
2	Farid abu Dhair	Lecturer at An-Najah University / Media Faculty	13/4/2010	12:24 P.M	Nablus
3	Nizzam Salahat	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Law	17/7/2020	3:32 P.M	Jericho
4	Reyaad Shraim	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences	9/7/2020	12:45 P.M	Jericho
5	Othman Othman	Lecturer at Al-Istiqlal University / Political Sciences	4/4/2020	4:30 P.M	Nablus
6	Asma Sharbati	Lecturer at Palestine polytechnic University.	24/11/2020	11:12 A.M	Hebron



جامعة العربية الأمريكية

كلية العلوم الإنسانية

قسم الأدب والتواصل بين الثقافات

دراسة ماجستير بعنوان

**دور التواصل الثقافي في تمكين المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار السياسي  
في السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية في الضفة الغربية - فلسطين منذ عام 1994-2019**

السادة الكرام المحترمين ...

تحية طيبة وبعد؛

أنا الطالبة سوسن أحمد محمد مراحيل أقوم بعمل أطروحة عن تمكين المرأة الفلسطينية في صنع القرار السياسي بعنوان " دور التواصل الثقافي في تمكين المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار السياسي في السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية في الضفة الغربية في فلسطين منذ عام 1994-2019"، بإشراف الدكتور أيمن نزال؛ استكمالاً لمتطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير في الأدب والتواصل بين الثقافات بكلية الدراسات العليا في الجامعة العربية الأمريكية، فلسطين.

نرجو من حضراتكم التكرم بالإجابة عن أسئلة الاستمارة بكل صدق وموضوعية، علماً أن المعلومات التي سيتم الحصول عليها، ستستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط، وسيتم المحافظة على سرية المعلومات كافة.

## القسم الأول : معلومات العامة

يرجى الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية:

1- الاسم : .....

2- العمر: .....

3- المؤهل العلمي: .....

4- المسمى الوظيفي: .....

5- الوصف الوظيفي: .....

6- سنوات الخبرة : .....

7- إسم المؤسسة: .....

## القسم الثاني : المشاركة السياسية

1- ما رأيك بمشاركة الشعب الفلسطيني بشكل عام في الحياة السياسية؟

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.....

2- هل هنالك عزوف عن المشاركة السياسية وخاصة في فئة الشباب والنساء بالمجتمع اذا كانت الإجابة نعم ، لماذا برأيك؟

.....  
.....

3- ما أهمية مشاركة المرأة في المشاركة السياسية في فلسطين؟

.....  
.....

4- ما رأيك بواقع بمشاركة المرأة السياسية في فلسطين؟

.....  
.....

5- ما هي المعوقات التي تحول دون مشاركة المرأة السياسية في فلسطين ؟

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.....

## القسم الثاني : صنع القرار

6- ماذا نعني بعملية اتخاذ القرار السياسي وما مراحل المشاركة السياسية للمواطن؟

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7- ما رأيك بواقع مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار في فلسطين؟

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8- ما هي معايير وأسس اختيار المرأة في مراكز صنع القرار؟

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.....

9- هل تعتبر الكفاءة والتعليم المعيار الأساسي لاختيار المرأة في المناصب ام يوجد تأثير للهيمنة الذكورية والثقافة الابوية على الاختيار ؟

.....  
.....

10- هل ثقل النساء في صنع القرار موجود اكثر في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية؟ ام في السلطة الوطنية ؟ وما سبب ذلك؟

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.....

11- ما رأيك في وضع المرأة الفلسطينية بشكل عام من حيث المشاركة وتواجدها بمراكز صنع القرار نظرا لتاريخها وكفاءتها ؟

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.....

12- ما رأيك بنظام الكوتا النسائي ؟

.....  
.....

13- ما هي المعوقات التي تحول من مشاركة المرأة وتواجدها في مراكز صنع القرار ؟

.....  
.....

14- كيف يمكن تعزيز مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في صنع القرار في فلسطين؟

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 .....

القسم الثالث: أثر التواصل الثقافي في تمكين المرأة في المشاركة السياسية في صنع القرار ؟

15- كيف يمكن للتواصل الثقافي التأثير في مشاركة المرأة السياسية في صنع القرار؟ وما العلاقة بينهما؟

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 .....

16- هل يوجد تجارب ثقافية خارجية مررت بها في عمليات التطوير السياسي وكيف اثرت على التجربة الفلسطينية ؟

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 .....

17- هل من الممكن أن يؤثر التواصل الثقافي على الهيمنة الذكورية في صنع القرار السياسي ؟ وكيف ذلك ؟

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 .....

18- برأيك .. ما هو أثر التواصل الثقافي في تمكين المرأة في المشاركة السياسي في صنع القرار في فلسطين؟

.....  
 .....

19- هل ترى أن درجة التواصل الثقافي في فلسطين كفيلة بتعزيز المشاركة السياسية للمرأة في صنع القرار ؟ وكيف ذلك؟

.....  
 .....

20- كيف يمكن النهوض بواقع المرأة في صنع القرار السياسي في فلسطين ؟

.....  
 .....

• هل يوجد ما تودون اضافته او التحدث عنه وشكرا لكم ؟

.....

شكراً لتعاونكم