



Arab American University

Faculty of Graduate studies

**Impact of foreign financing policies on promoting women's
participation in decision-making.**

By

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**This Thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master's degree in Intercultural Communication and
Literature**

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Declaration

“I, (Thuraya Sami Abd Alrahman Hejja), declare that this thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the graduation requirements for master degree in Intercultural Communication and Literature/ Arab American University, Ramallah campus/Palestine. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where indicated, this thesis is a conclusion of my own work”

Student Name:

Signature:

Date:

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Dedication

*I would like to thank my family
and friends the support and this
thesis will be present to my family
and friends*

To my number one, idol, and beloved father whom am honored to hold his name may his soul rest in peace. To my husband who supported me and always had my back throughout this journey to my mother whom always gave me the strength to continue to my support system my brothers, to my lovely daughters whom I would love to see in this same position one day and much better, to all teachers and instructors

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Abstract

The study aimed to identify the impact of foreign financing policies on the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making, by knowing the impact of these policies on their political participation and their role in decision-making in the Palestinian case, in addition to identifying the reality of external financing policies for the Palestinian women sector and the levels of women's participation politically and in decision-making. In order to achieve the goal of the study, the researcher relied on the descriptive approach. About 18 years old until year (2021), approximately (211,678), according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, where it was directed to male and female workers in government institutions, the private sector and civil society institutions related to women's work, as well as academics and Palestinian university students among them. On this sample, a percentage of (80.3%) was recovered. The researcher also conducted interviews with 5 senior government officials, academics and leaders in the work of Palestinian women, in addition to reviewing reports and statistics related to women's participation in decision-making. The researcher analyzed the study tool and the answers to the interview questions, through statistical analysis using SPSS and content analysis of the interviews. The study determined several results, the most important of which are: Foreign funding affects the levels of women's political participation and participation in decision-making, but this effect is not significant and does not mean that they are unable to participate in decision-making in the absence of foreign funding, and foreign funding for the women's sector, Particularly with regard to programs of participatory decision-making, it is moderate, and although approved for decision-making purposes, it is redirected to secondary issues of less importance. The study suggested several recommendations at the governmental level, the most

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important of which are: Work to draft updates to the laws and legislation in force in line with the requirements and needs of Palestinian women.

Keywords: Palestinian women, political participation, decision-making, foreign funding.

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Chapter 1

General Framework of The Study

1.1 Introduction

International attention is growing every day on women's issues and gender equality. In the United Nations permitted a sustainable development goal regard empowering women, equally empowering women and men, and their rights. However, this goal achieves an indicator of the development of States and, societies; emphasize that the goal for women in any country is linked to all sustainable development goals in accordance with agenda 2030 (usaids, 2020).

Despite this interest in women's issues, equality, reducing violence against women and combating gender-based discrimination. The problem of women's participation in decision-making in various areas of life within society. However, both are in the same level of civil society institutions, remains an issue that recommends a lot of study. From an issue in dealing with the allocation of women's participation and representation in legislative, and parliamentary councils, government institutions and civil society, to an issue dealing with women's right to political, economic and social participation. Both, are allowed to reach the level of participation and all areas of the State and civil society.

The perception of women's participation in political, economic or social spheres has no longer merely quantitative and measured by the number of women. Thus, it raises in developed countries that have begun to apply laws and legislation that promote women's qualitative participation in decision-making and policy-making, and community policy-making. Likewise, Palestinian women throughout the years of struggling and resistance to occupation. They have proved to be an epic existence, taking on many roles alongside men, and Palestinian history

prior to the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, which is full of many events and stories that confirms the role of women at all stages of the struggle (T.Miranda, 2005).

Every person has the right to participate within the decisions that define her / his life. In this way its exact foundation of the ideal of equal participation in decision-making among women and men. That means it argues that since women know their situation best, they should participate equally with men to have their perspective effectively incorporated at all levels of decision-making, from the private to the public spheres of their lives, from the local to the global. The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, identifying this key condition for women's empowerment, where it is required for democratic governance, identified as one of twelve critical areas of concern in its Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), Women in Power and Decision-making. In this problem, the platform praises two main strategies: First, in order to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making. Second, is to increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.” Both strategies are anticipated by “Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions” (T.Miranda, 2005).

The political participation is the main important point in leading the voters and influencing their electoral choices, on the other hand, elections, pluralism, and formal partisanship may lead to dominant the traditional division of governance systems. The main concept of political participation is one of the main important approaches that has a special position entangled with many other concepts, and democracy cannot be explained without being visible to political participation through the mechanisms that acclimate the votes of the voters to the corresponding parliamentary seats according to certain mathematical methods, bearing in mind that the

electoral systems are not compatible with all political systems (Hamzah, 2021).

Participation of women in public life main focus is to build strong, vibrant democracies. Besides, the meaningful participation of women in national, local and community leadership roles has become an important focus of global development policy. Women's participation in politics helps advance gender equality and affects both the range of policy issues that get measured and the types of solutions that are anticipated. Usually, many researches show whether a legislator is male / female has a distinct impact on their policy priorities, making it critical that women are present in politics to represent the concerns of women and other marginalized voters and help improve the responsiveness of policy making and governance. According to NDI shows that there is a strong evidence that as more women are elected to office, there is also a corollary increase in policy making that emphasizes quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities. Moreover, Women's political participation has profound positive and democratic impacts on communities, legislatures, political parties, and citizen's lives, and helps democracy deliver (NDI, 2013).

This policy shows the data on bilateral allocable ODA dedicated to gender equality and women's empowerment as a principal policy objective and ODA that integrates gender equality as a significant (secondary, mainstreamed) objective, using data collected in the OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS) screened against the DAC gender equality policy marker. The analytical analysis discovers how ODA to implement the commitments made in Beijing, and gender-focused development programs and investments have evolved over time, and what the picture looks like today (OECD, 2020).

Under the PLO after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, Palestinian women had a role in political participation. Moreover, the objective policy ensured the preservation of

their rights, the right to men's participation in different areas in: (political, social and economic life). Their participation was limited, the existence of international support foreign funding and grants that made the Oslo Agreement from its signing to the date of the letter's preparation; were often aimed at the development of Palestinian society and the empowerment of all segments of Palestinian society in society. Usually women and young people, nearly a quarter of a century after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority; women's participation at the quantitative level still limited, and their qualitative participation in decision-making is virtually non-existent. This makes a huge effect in reality and should be studied. In fact, the Palestinian women usually are involved in the decision-making process, in addition in trying to establish a relationship with foreign funding for many sectors and areas of Palestinian society (OECD, 2020).

1.2 Study Problem

According to data provided by the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR), which was established by the Palestinian National Authority to manage international aid and external funding from donors. From 1994 until the end of 2017, international aid and foreign financing gained \$36.5 billion, \$1.06 billion went in loans, and \$35.4 billion in grants (Palestine Economy Portal, 2020).

Although foreign funding and international assistance to the Palestinian people give an image that their goal is to develop the Palestinian society in all fields, official statistics show us that the political participation of Palestinian women and their role in decision-making comes at a low rate, which contradicts the goals of sustainable development 2030. Furthermore, the fifth goal of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is that women and girls should have equal rights and opportunities.

So, women's equality and empowerment are among the sustainable development goals. But all sustainable development goals depend on achieving this goal and resolving the issue of women's equality and rights.

This study sheds light on a research problem represented in the relationship of foreign funding to the Palestinian people and its impact on women's empowerment, equality with men and their right to participate in decision-making, which is represented in a research question: What is the impact of foreign funding policies on enhancing women's participation in decision-making?

1.3 Justification of This Study

This study is based on the importance of its presentation of a topic concerning Palestinian women, and the reality of their participation in decision-making in all sectors of society. The main focus in light of foreign funding, that declares its support for the development of Palestinian society in all groups, including women, which have been singled out by international sustainable development plans for one of the goals. By this way it gives real importance to the role of women in decision-making and decision-making in important sectors of society in parallel with men.

The main focus in this study to show the importance of discussing the status of Palestinian women and the reality of their participation in decision-making, and to show the facts in international communities to women's issues that related to political issue with adding the economic and social. Many studies show the problem that women struggle and shows their protection from many scourges and social crimes, however few of them focused towards the role of women in participation in decision-making in the social, political and economic sectors and this the main reason why we are focusing in this issue.

1.4 Study Objectives

The aims of this study to achieve the main objective: to know the impact of foreign financing policies on promoting women's participation in decision-making.

In order to reach this main objective, several objectives must be achieved:

1. Identifying the reality of external financing policies for the Palestinian women sector.
2. Identifying the level of Palestinian women's participation in the fields of (political participation and decision-making).
3. Identifying the relationship between foreign financing policies and Palestinian women's participation in decision-making.

1.5 Study Questions

This study answers the main question: What impact do foreign funding policies have on promoting women's participation in decision-making?

In addition to answering the following questions:

1. What is the reality of external financing policies for the Palestinian women sector?
2. What is the level of Palestinian women's participation in the fields of (political participation and decision-making)?
3. Is there an any relationship between foreign financing policies and the participation of Palestinian women in the decision-making process?

1.6 Study Hypotheses

H0-1: There is no relationship between foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector in the areas of development (economic, social, and political), and the promotion of women's participation in decision-making in areas (economic, social and political).

1.7 Study Limits

- **Time limits:** The study was conducted in 2021-2022, and sheds light on the period that witnessed the provision of international aid and foreign funding to the Palestinian sectors since the formation of the National Authority in 1993 until the year 2021, in order to determine the impact of this aid and foreign funding on the Palestinian women sector.
- **Spatial limits:** The study was conducted in Ramallah and Al-Bireh governorate, on national and governmental institutions operating in the governorate, Palestinian universities and women's institutions in them. The governorate was chosen as it represents the political capital of the Palestinian National Authority.
- **Human limits:** The study targeted women working in governmental and non-governmental institutions, women working in the field of women's empowerment and development in women's and national institutions, women beneficiaries of programs and projects that empower Palestinian women, in addition to Palestinian academics.
- **Objective limits:** The study sheds light on the reality of foreign funding and its impact on the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The main concept of this study is to show the importance of its presentation of a topic concerning Palestinian women, and the reality of their participation in decision-making in all sectors of society.

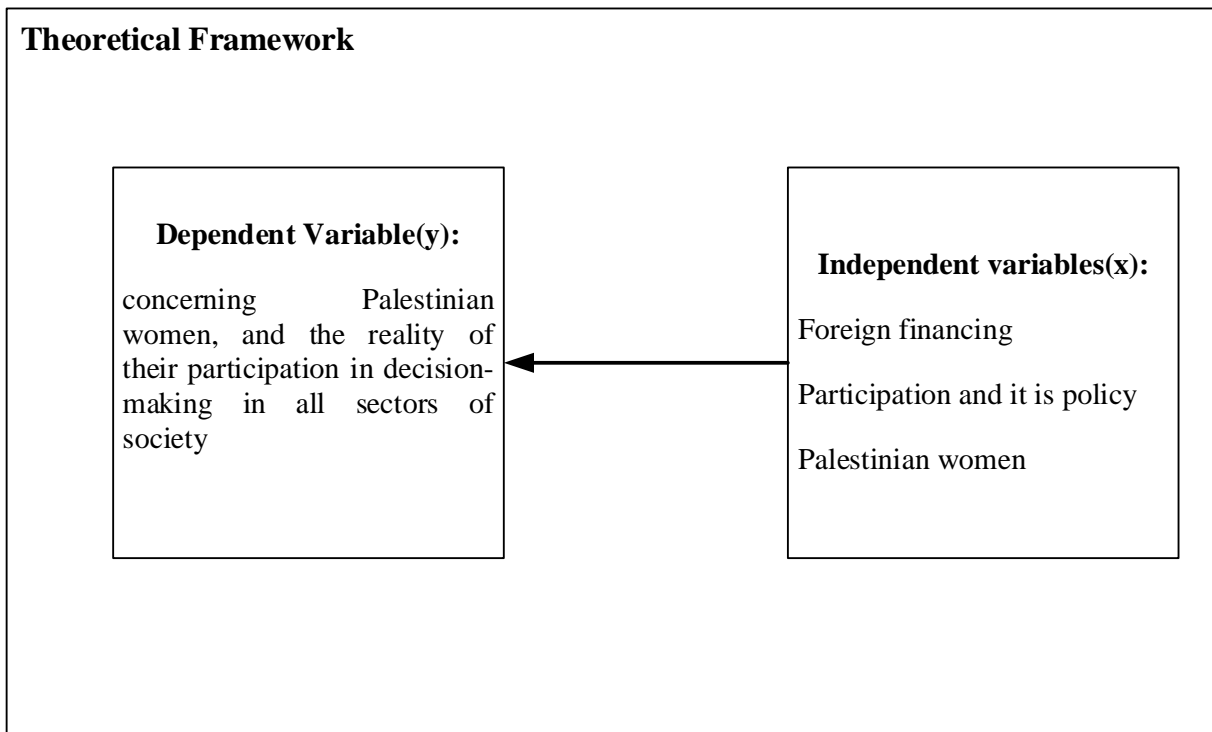


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework (source: Prepared by the researcher)

2 Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter shows the most prominent content of books, references and theoretical literature on external financing. According to this concept, sources, the most prominent international institutions of finance, and the state of external financing in Palestine before and after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, as well as participation and participation in decision-making with regard to women. Last, this chapter is the most important Arab and foreign studies that dealt with research and analysis of the current study topics and variables.

2.1 Foreign financing

Many countries usually should look forward for sources to finance their projects and activities. However, usually the case in private companies, perhaps the most prominent of which is external financing through lending institutions, corporate financial institutions, and international external financing at the state level.

The beginnings of mutual financing and international assistance during the 1940s, after the second World War and the human, material and economic destruction that left, opportunities began to take shape to bring peace and protection through international cooperation between the Allies. On the continent of Europe, at this stage the multilateral assistance system is formed (Browne, 1997).

During the Cold War in 1946, there were strong competition over the financing and assistance of states to each other. For example, general George Marshall's 1948 plan, in which the plan

provided US\$13 billion in U.S. Aid funding to Europe over four years, the main objective of which was to counter communist advances in Europe by helping states enrich themselves, expanding the cycle of countering communist advances afterwards to include the Asian arena and the length of the ring with the Soviet Union at the time. The military effort of the United States of America at that time cost four times as much as the Marshall Plan, which established a new framework for U.S. external financing by linking it to its military and political security, which has remained in place to this day (Browne, 1997).

Financing is to provide funds for investment and fixed capital formation with the aim of increasing production and consumption. Finance is also a concept that reflects the foundations and realities of managing funds and ways of using them, whether they are for individuals, organizations or government sectors (Ben Saniyah & Mustayfi, 2014).

Foreign financing occurs in the form of financial flows through which capital is transferred from countries with relative surplus to the countries in need. According to specific objectives and objectives, resulting in the transfer of purchasing power that has not been allocated for consumption from one state to another; such as the transfer of cash capital from individuals and enterprises from one state to other (AL-Ghaish, 2019).

Abdul Hadi (2013) states the Economist Strick's clarification of the concept of international finance as "the flow of economic resources beyond the borders of the country with those resources, including: aid, loans, FDI, and donors may be individuals or banking or financial institutions," which refers to the types of external financing of states and the types of financiers.

Foreign financing is an important source of financing for budget deficits in poor and developing countries, which suffer from low-income rates, high levels of unemployment and poverty; and foreign funding here has a direct impact on supporting the development of economic, social and

human capital. However, in return may be a source of high levels of public debt and increased poverty. Most loans and grants provided by States and international financial institutions are granted in accordance with certain political, economic, social requirements, and sometimes these loans have Grants are undeclared targets (Al-Futlawi, 2020).

To conclude, foreign financing is an important tool in the economies of developing countries, including in the stability of their social and economic situations. The most important sources of funding for their budget deficits, and their direct impact on development in all areas. But this does not deny their role in being a weapon directed by donor countries to impose their policies and dominance on many countries for multiple objectives, and this doesn't exempt them from being a tool for political, economic, and social dependency for powerful countries.

2.1.1 Sources of Foreign Funding:

As Abdul Hadi (2013), definite in his overall clarification of the concept of foreign financing from sources of foreign finance, theoretical literature. Studies agreed that the most prominent sources of foreign funding legally available at the international level are (Al-khader, 2010):

1. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and regional banks.
2. Loans from foreign governments and commercial banks.
3. Aid and grants from rich countries to many countries of the world, particularly developing countries, or assistance to deal with severe economic crises or natural disasters, or assistance to countries that are unable to sustain their debt services because of their large indebtedness.

In the following, a full explanation of these sources will be provided.

International financial institutions justify their presence in assisting developing countries with economic problems and imbalances in their economic structures, and claim that they aspire to economic growth through loan policies conditional on economic reforms by borrowing countries, international financial institutions established by two or more States, subject to international law, defined as enterprises or institutions with financial assets including loans and financial securities and also financial liabilities such as savings and deposits of all kinds (Al-Qaoud & Shalgum, 2020).

IFIs can be defined as "international institutions that have been established or chartered by two or more States, subject to international law, and whose body of participants or owners is made up of national governments." (Mansour, et al., 2018, p. 31).

Some of the most prominent international financial institutions include:

2.1.1.1 International Monetary Fund IMF:

The IMF was one of the most important outcomes of the 1944 meeting in Bretton Woods, USA, a period when the world was suffering from problems caused by the Great Depression and the Two Wars: The First and Second World Wars, which destroyed many Western economies, as well as the collapse of many gold-dependent monetary systems, and as a result countries acknowledged their need for an international financial organization that could provide technical and financial support, assistance and signals. On the exchange rate, addressing the financial crises operating (Muhumed & Gaas, 2016).

The International Fund was established in 1945 and began operation in March 1947, requiring countries wishing to join it to cooperate and conform to its objectives (Al-Saadi, 2020).

The IMF's role in terms of financing is focused on providing medium- and short-term loans to its Member States, in order to help to balance-of-payments deficits or to schedule its external debt, that is borrowed from the International Monetary Fund. Which is usually shows detailed policies to be adopted, which usually include (Al-khader, 2010):

- Implement deflationary policies to reduce inflation, reduce public spending, and eliminate subsidies on some major commodities.
- Minimize the minimum possible bank credit and raise interest rates on sharks.
- Install customs duties on imported and exported goods at certain conditions.
- Liberalization of the foreign exchange rate and devaluation of the national currency.

The aim of these policies is to ensure that the borrowing State is able to meet its loan repayment obligations, improve the economic situation and address the balance of payments imbalance.

2.1.1.2 World Bank:

In 1944, World Bank was founded; main objective was construction and reconstruction, taking the name of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development IBRD. It took it upon itself to provide a financial mechanism for rebuilding Europe after World War II, after which the World Bank became focused on the development of developing countries in general by providing financial and technical assistance to their development, and financially the World Bank provides low-level loans (Muhumed & Gaas, 2016)

The World Bank nowadays are the leading source of funds, ideas and expertise for development around the world. They focused on sustainability goals, eradicating extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity. The World Bank was raising funds for the International Development Association (IDA) through the regular assistance, grants and donations provided

by rich countries. Also, it determines the extent to which states contribute to the World Bank and its International Development Foundation. In addition to the level of influence on the world bank and its International Development Foundation. Administrative and development policies and how money is spent in poor countries, and the United States of America, as the World Bank's largest donor, dominates and influences the Bank's strategies and policies. (Akyuz, 2015)

2.1.1.3 Arab Fund Embodiment of Joint Arab Action:

It is an Arab regional financial institution, whose membership includes all Arab countries, and was based on economic and social development. The Fund works toward finance economic, and social development projects through the financing of public and private investment projects, the provision of expertise and technical aid, and a model of Arab cooperation and integration and the embodiment of joint Arab action. Which provides soft loans to Arab countries to provide the necessary funding in the implementation of their development plans, where the reduced interest on loans to low-income Arab countries. The interest on loans to other Arab countries about (2.5%), in addition to the fund's increased grace and repayment periods ranging from 22 to 30 years. In addition to providing non-refundable aid and grants that contribute to various areas such as research, studies, institutional support and training, and provides support for the emergency conditions and conditions experienced by some Member States (arabfund, 2021).

2.1.1.4 Loans from Foreign Governments and Commercial Banks:

Governments, rich and developed countries, and commercial and regional banks, provides short, medium and long-term loans to governments in developing countries. They provide such loans on conditions not less than those of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and

some countries and banks even require that loans be provided to any country certified by these two international institutions on borrowing countries and their status, in order to ensure repayment of loans, and the World Bank and the Imf have developed several principles that represent a general trend of the group of states. Advanced capitalism on international finance, including (Al-khader, 2010):

1. Developing countries in the world should pursue comprehensive economic reforms aimed at raising growth rates and reducing inflation and deficits.
2. The World Bank and the Development Bank of The United States have increased their loans to these countries by 50% in three years.
3. Commercial banks grant new loans to these countries over the three years amounting to \$20 billion.

These principles are usually required increasing reliance on market policies, liberalization of exchange rates and raging prices, encouragement of the private sector, promotion of attracting and providing a suitable environment for private foreign investment, tax reforms and action to stop capital flight abroad.

External loans are loans obtained by the State from a natural or legal person residing abroad or from the governments of foreign states, and State's resort to such loans when they need capital, inadequate domestic revenues and national savings, or the need for foreign exchange to cover the balance of payments deficit or support the national currency (Al-khatib & Shamiyah, 2007).

2.1.1.5 Aid and Grants from Rich Countries:

The OECD Development Assistance Committee defines foreign aid as financial flows, technical assistance and goods from official governments or their agencies to or for

developing countries aimed at promoting economic development and social welfare. Their main objective, in the form of subsidized grants or loans The main reason why showing these assistance in other country is to show how they political, social and economic issues

(Samarh, 2013, p. 29).

Based on historical evidence, donor countries provide such assistance, grants and aid in order to obtain political, economic, military or other benefits, the researcher said.

The motives for providing assistance and aid to developing countries can be summarized as follows (Abu Ali & Hamzah, 2016):

1. Political motives: One of the most important motivations for grant-making states that provide grants are usually provided to allied, with the aim of strengthening their stability, political systems and expanding the influence of donor countries.
2. Economic motives: Donor countries reap economic benefits in return for providing assistance to developing countries, creating raw resources and an appropriate atmosphere for their foreign investments. Some assistance requires the purchase of goods and materials needed by donor countries.
3. Humanitarian and social motives: Some assistance and grants are provided to ensure respect for fundamental human rights, which usually raise the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality.

2.1.2 Forms of International Assistance and Grants:

Assistance and grants are usually in accordance with special arrangements between donor and recipient countries, and in general these arrangements for such assistance and grants cannot go beyond (AL-Momani & Shibly, 2021):

1. **Bilateral assistance:** was provided in the form of soft loans, grants and time financial assistance under a bilateral agreement, usually between two states as a result of the lack of conditions for the borrowing state that qualifies it to borrow from international and commercial institutions.
2. **Multilateral assistance:** Through multilateral, regional or international institutions providing assistance to developing countries, which is done in two ways:
 - a) **Assistance through the United Nations:** provided in the context of broad international participation between donors and recipients.
 - b) **Assistance through regional cooperation arrangements:** the method of providing assistance in accordance with cooperation and participation between several countries located in a particular geographical region.

The researcher deliberates that international assistance and grants are an entry point for donor countries to control the mechanisms, purposes of the disbursement of these grants and assistance, exert political and economic pressure, bargaining on recipient countries, and return recipient countries. This may carry out some practices that force donor countries to increase the amount of assistance provided to them, such as exposing the interests of the donor state or threatening to seek assistance from other countries that contradict the state. donor politically or militarily.

2.1.3 Foreign Aid and Grants to Palestine

Prior to the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, foreign investment and external financing were insignificant. As the Palestinian territories were occupied territories and were under Israeli occupation, whose policies impeded any Palestinian investment or projects in all economic, political and social sectors.

Therefore, the money that have been entered to Palestine prior to the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority took the form of humanitarian and emergency assistance, and the following is what we will review before the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority:

2.1.3.1 Aid Through the PLO:

The only real bore of the Palestinian people, the PLO was funding the political and social needs of the Palestinian people, relying on assistance approved by the Arab and Islamic summits and non-aligned countries. Moreover, the support department provided by the Soviet Union, and through this assistance the organization funded schools, hospitals, orphanages, revolutionary media and families of martyrs and prisoners, up to \$220 million a year (Haddad, 2017).

In addition to the assistance received by the PLO, it was collected taxes ranging from 5-7.5% of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians working in the Arab Gulf states and other foreign countries. Which some of them based on understandings with the PLO, were directly deducted from Palestinians working on its territory and was transferred to the PLO National Fund, which was established in 1964 to assume financial, administrative and supervisory responsibility in the PLO (Palestinian Affairs Journal, 2020).

The organization received annual donations and grants from some Arab countries, for example Saudi Arabia was making an annual donation of US\$75 million, as did Kuwait and the United

Arab Emirates, which provided direct support to the occupied Palestinian territories and also provided support to the PLO (Kokali, 1990).

2.1.3.2 Assistance through the UN Agency:

UN agency has been established in 1949 and launched in 1950, UNRWA has launched work in 1950, with the aim of providing emergency and urgent assistance to Palestinian refugees who lost their land and housing in the wake of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. UNRWA has undertaken numerous initiatives and programs aimed at protecting and assisting refugees in the occupied areas. The social safety net and community support, improves the conditions and infrastructure of Palestinian camps, and provides small lending programs and emergency response in times of armed conflict (Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, 2010).

UNRWA relies on many countries and international bodies, and the United States of America has been the largest donor to UNRWA has funded the Agency from 1950 to 2018 with \$6.25 billion, peaking in 2018. In 2014, when the United States donated \$400 million. The lowest level of its donation to the Agency in 2018 was \$65 million. In 2019, there was no donation was made to the Agency as a result of the decision. In August 2018, UNRWA funding was suspended by the United States of America on the grounds that America was unwilling to bear the disproportionate share of the cost of UNRWA funding. The reason why everyone knows about this decision? was a political reason with distinction aimed at ending the agency's existence and thereby ending the existence of the Palestinian refugee's name (MAS, 2019).

2.1.3.3 Assistance through Voluntary and Private Associations:

During the period of Israeli occupation; the rule of the Israeli Civil Administration of the Palestinian territories, voluntary associations and organizations in the Palestinian territories

received assistance and grants from individuals and institutions as well as from foreign governments. Norway and Switzerland were beginning with official assistance and special donations in the occupied Palestinian territories, emerged as a major donor in the pre-Oslo period. The European Economic Community was working directly or through European voluntary organizations to finance projects in the occupied Palestinian territories (UNCTAD, 1988).

Many voluntary organizations have provided good levels of funding for the Palestinian territories, such as U.S. Aid for Refugees in the Near East, the Near East Foundation, the Middle East Council of Churches, the Christian Mission of the Holy Land, the United Palestinian Appeal, the American Middle East Educational and Training Services Organization, the Cooperation Foundation and other relief institutions and organizations. Their area of concern has been humanitarian, social welfare and development, through land reclamation projects. Construction loans, support for higher education institutions, small business operating projects, hospital expansion, natural equipment, community water projects and health programs for maternity and child care, assistance, grants and relief were provided political and development views of the countries of these associations (UNCTAD, 1988).

Nevertheless, the researcher replicates that grants and assistance have been influenced by political and economic circumstances. Sometimes differences of views between the Palestinian leadership and many governments around the world.

Foreign aid and grants after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority:

After signing of the Declaration of Principles agreement between the Palestinian and Israeli sides in Oslo in 1993, international aid and grants began to flow into Palestine. The main objective of this assistance was to strengthen the peace process through the implementation of

the terms of the Oslo Agreement, that was aimed at three directions among the Palestinians including the following (Haddad, 2017):

- Assistance to strengthen governance and institutions in Palestine.
- Assistance to promote development and access to economic prosperity.
- Assistance to support peace and its implementation on the ground.

To ensure that assistance enters Palestine through the Palestinian National Authority, whose legal form in accordance with the peace agreement that doesn't qualify. It needs to receive assistance from many countries as an authority rather than a sovereign state, the Palestinian National Authority established the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (Bakdar year?). This mission is to manage donor assistance. Several funds have emerged aimed at providing assistance for the development of many sectors of the Palestinian territories. Such as, the John Holst Fund and the Technical Assistance with a balance of (22) million Dollars, emergency rehabilitation program (1.2), job creation program was established in 1996. Moreover, to counter Israel's repeated closure policies against Palestinian workers, and many funds and programs aimed helping build Palestinian National Authority institutions and ministries, and the rehabilitation of the education and health sectors, had managed by the World Bank, donor countries and the Palestinian Economic Council in Adar as a representative of the Palestinian National Authority (Ali, 2011).

According to statistics from the Palestinian Economic Council (Bakdar), the volume of foreign aid granted to Palestine from 1994 to the end of 2017 amounted approximately US\$36.6 billion. Which \$35.4 million was in non-refundable grants. The most prominent donors were the European Commission, followed by the United States of America and Saudi Arabia (Palestinian Economic Council, 2018).

UNRWA in Palestine received nearly US\$16.5 billion from 1994 till end 2017. The most prominent of those providing such assistance within UNRWA, the United States of America and the European Commission (Palestinian Economic Council, 2018).

Although there are differing views on the assistance that flowed to the Palestinian National Authority after the Oslo Accords. Although it covered and acted on important aspects of Palestinian life such as health, education, shelter and government budget support. Some believe that such assistance releases Israel of the responsibility it had as a state occupying another state, international humanitarian law stipulates that Israel as an occupying power has full responsibility for ensuring the life and well-being of the occupied population (Hever, 2015).

The researcher tried to trace the impact of this international aid and grants that entered the Palestinian territories from 1994 until before the outbreak of the Corona pandemic in 2019. According to data from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the deficit was inherent to the Palestinian trade balance since 1996. The deficit in that year was approximately US\$1,676 million, reaching approximately US\$5,383 million at the end of 2018 (PCBs, 2020).

The view that assistance served the occupation more than it served the Palestinian people, at the same time, it releases from a moral and legal responsibility towards the population living under occupation. On the other hand, a large amount of assistance was spent on the rebuilding and securing of shelters for those who lost their homes besides, repairing the infrastructure left by the occupation. As a result of its occasional shelling and destruction of Palestinian areas, which benefits the occupation economically greatly as it is the one that will sell The Palestinians need to build and repair the infrastructure. Israel is the one who sells building materials and reconstruction needs to the Palestinian side, that will meet customs duties to enter the required materials from abroad (Hever, 2015).

2.1.4 External Financing Definition:

According to Kenneth H. Kang and Johannes Wiegand defines external financing as Project financing from larger creditors is currently in place however, budget financing from creditors remains uncertain (Kang & Wiegand, 2018).

According to Espen Eckbo defined external financing as A firm is held to follow a pecking order if it prefers internal to external financing and debt to equity if external financing have been used. Most firms hold some internal funds (cash and short-term investments) even after they are raising outside funds. This can be so obvious that it is rarely considered in tests of the pecking order. It is implicitly assumed that these funds are held for reasons that are outside the concept. accordingly, almost all discussions maintain some version of an “other things equal” interpretation of the relative use of internal external funds (ECKBO, 2008).

According to Brown, Maureen Burton and Bruce defined External financing: the financing of spending that exceeds current receipt by expanding either debt or equity (Burton & Brown , 2009).

According to Adam Nalepka, Anna Ujwary Gil defined External Financing as a surplus of capital financial or material coming from outside of the corporation lent or given into the possession of this company for a definite or indefinite period (Nalepka & Gil, 2018).

2.2 Policy to Stabilize External Financing

Hedge financing profiles for developing countries

According to the perspective of Minsky's balance sheet approach, financial fragility may be decreased by measures that make sure that firms maintain hedge financing profiles by financial

management that ensures that exogenous changes in cash commitments are matched by changes in cash inflows to satisfy them (Kregel, 2004) (Dayé, Houssa, & Reding, 2015)

Preventing a speculative profile from becoming a Ponzi profile ñ matching inflows and outflows:

Ensure that countries that are hit by external shocks that transform their financing profiles besides being transformed into Ponzi financing. The provision of temporary liquidity is very important, as the necessity to verify that external shocks do not have an asymmetric impact on cash flows and debt payment commitments. This include the specification of financial liabilities that are linked through a derivative contract to cash inflows (Kregel, 2004) (Dayé, Houssa, & Reding, 2015).

International financial stability, positive resource flows and free international capital flows: there are two main important to offer stability within the international financial system by ensuring hedge financing profiles or providing liquidity to tempo-ray speculative profiles. First of all, they should to suffer from the identical of composition that Keynes struggled to eliminate through his proposal for automatic liquidity through the Clearing Union ñ not all countries can simultaneously attain hedge, or maybe speculative profiles. Second of all, imposing hedge or speculative profiles on developing countries implicitly avoids the world increase in welfare that's presumed to result from free mobility of international capital and therefore the use of net resource transfers from developed-to-developed countries in simultaneous support of both global growth and development (Kregel, 2004) (Dayé, Houssa, & Reding, 2015)

2.3 Definition of Participation

Participation comes from a broad spectrum of those concerned with the development and for a wide variety of reasons. Participation and empowerment depend on the reasons why development actors incorporate these elements into their work (Vorhölter, 2009).

According to Geraint Parry, George Moyser, Neil Day Definition of political participation as taking part in the processes of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. It is concerns with action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decisions which are in most cases ultimately taken by public representatives and officials (Parry, Moyser, & Day, 2011).

According to Ergun Ozbudun defined Political participation as the element of will or intent. Weiner (1971) restricts his definition to voluntary action. Verba and Nie (1972) seem to stress the intention of the actor by defining political participation as those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and / or the actions they take (Ozbudun, 2015).

According to Lam Wai-man defines as political participation: there are two forms for political participation can be defines. Minimal political participation is reasonably self-explanatory the utilitarian political participation claim is reasonably self-explanatory, the utilitarian political claim is understood to connote the characterization of political participation in Hong Kong as having been guided by instrumental, materialistic personal or familial concerns (Wai-man, 2004).

According to Amina Easat-Daas defined as Muslim women political participation along with the potential ramifications of the disclosure of illegal political activity, this work focuses exclusively on legal political participation. Participation tends to focus on active participation

within the mainstream, formal political structures and thus often fail to fully recognize the diverse nature of participation and spaces within this takes place (Easat-Daas, 2020).

2.3.1 Aspects of Social and Political Participation:

These group into five different types, as follows:

1. **Conventional Political Participation:** are the percentages of respondents in each country said that they divided into seven following activities: voting; involvement in political campaigns; contacting political and government officials; joining, working for, and giving money to political organizations; being involved in politics; and discussing politics (Kenneth & Heiko, 2008) (Logan, 2021).
2. **Unconventional (protest) Political Behavior:** in this study focus about the taking any one of four forms in this part in protest activity; lawful demonstrations, signing a petition, boycotting products, and buying some products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons. Besides, Legal protest behavior of this kind has become part of the variety of western politics in recent decades, though only a minority engage in it in most Western states. Illegal protest behavior decreases in common but by no means negligible Participation in voluntary associations: there are eleven different kinds of voluntary associations (business, consumer, cultural, environmental, humanitarian, political, religious, science, social, sport, and trade union) (Kenneth & Heiko, 2008) (Logan, 2021).
3. **Informal Social Participation:** is defined as a measure of social are socially. It also differs from involvement in voluntary associations therein worries individual and group participation, not that of organizations and associations (Kenneth & Heiko, 2008) (Logan, 2021).

4. **Informal Helping Behavior:** is the measure of helping behavior, stating that they have actively provided help for others (Kenneth & Heiko, 2008) (Logan, 2021).

2.3.2 Concept of Political Participation:

There are some concepts related to political participation due to the following (HAMZAH, 2021):

- **Concept of Public Opinion:** consist of a great reputation in democratic societies and is the basis of all political practices. The main concept of political participation, that political participation plays an enormous role in elections and interest groups because elections aren't just about a mechanism for the selection of rulers by the people, but also influencing public opinion without losing sight of its contribution to political participation and monitoring and public accountability of the authority.
- **Political Parties:** may be defined as well-organized gathering of people to show their opinions and interests and announce them to implement the reform program by participating in political life through complementary activities.
- **Political Culture:** defined as a certain distribution connected to the functions and characteristics of members of the state who have political trends and values and could also be defined as all that relays to the attitudes of people towards the political system and its associated sub-systems or different institutions and organizations. Forms of political participation:

The Diagnosis and the Cure Form

A Crisis of Traditional Form of Collective Participation Considering the crucial role of political parties in representative regimes. Before 20 years ago, throughout Experiences shows that it's

unlikely that selective incentives or blurring the boundaries of membership going to be enough to bring people back in. We should always grate the languages of organization that are available to participants after they think and discuss about their involvement in politics. It shouldn't be a shock that respondents invited to talk about individual reasons to mobilize or about individual actions tend to reply in terms of individualism and individualized practices at the expense of collective forms of political participation. Moreover, the new social movements of the 1970s and 1980s challenged the professionalization and bureaucratization of party politics and demanded more deliberation and more participation. Besides, within the US, citizen's readiness to contribute financially favors groups for whom the problem of participation isn't relevant, because they're content to mobilize supporters financially. The international market in consultants has contributed to a dominant approach to public administration reforms (Saint-Martin, 2001), the circulation of political advisors is predictable to have played a role within the homogenization of party reforms (Faucher, 2014) (Morales & Santaolalla, 2017).

2.3.3 Barriers to Political Participation:

There are some barriers to political participation that people may face are same on the barriers due to the following (Khasnabis, Heinicke , & Achu , 2010):

- **Poverty:** poor people are mostly attentive on survival activities; their basic needs must be met first before they'll participate, they have limited time or interest.
- **Education:** without information and knowledge, meaningful participation in politics are difficult.
- **Social Isolation:** usually there's a limited network to support and encourage political participation.
- **Personal Factors:** people may have limited confidence or motivation to participate.

- **Stigma and Discrimination:** are the majority groups may have prejudices, fears and discomfort towards people with disabilities then might not support their participation.
- **Lack of Disability-Friendly Processes:** can make it difficult for people with disabilities to participate.
- **Lack of Role Models:** many countries there are few examples of people with disabilities in a very high-profile political position.
- **Legal Barriers:** many countries people with disabilities are not permitted to vote.

2.3.4 Dimensions of Political Participation:

Political participation may be classified into three main categories (Kelty, Panofsky, & Currie, 2015):

First of all, voting participation knowledge of politicians has a great influence. Usually, within the participation of election related activities, knowledge of politicians has a higher influence. Second of all, within the participation of election correlated to activities, knowledge of institutions has a higher influence. Third of all, according to unconventional political participation, knowledge of policies and issues has a higher influence.

2.4 Women in Decision-Making

The strong arguments in favor in increasing female participation in politics, women are still understated in political decision-making around the world, and these arguments include (Democracy, 2019):

Equality: lies at the very core of democracy. Consequently, fundamental to confirm women and men have the identical opportunities to participate in decision-making.

Prosperity & Stability: if there was more female decision-makers is sound good for everybody, not just for women. There are research paper discuss about the society that becomes more secure and economically prosperous as gender equality improves (World Economic Forum, 2017).

Better Policy: there are some argue women bring different qualities, values and priorities to the political field, and then make policymaking processes more holistic and effective. Women bring different perspectives to decision-making that improves the inclusivity of policies.

Party Support: shows a growth in female leadership also benefits men, and male politicians in particularly. Increasing gender parity in political parties attracts more female votes and party membership. Also, women's wings can attract increased earmarked public party funding yet as international support within the procedure of training and mentoring

2.5 The Palestinian Woman:

In 1981, the Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development (PWWSD) have been recognized. Palestinian women's, mass, developmental, learning human rights organization that donates to developing the feminist fight within national, social, and developmental dimensions. The society usually trusts liberating women in connected directly with ending the occupation and establishing a full Palestinian democratic sovereign civil state. PWWSD is one among the references for women and each individual anticipate for women's issues. PWWSD is member in West Bank and Gaza Strip and a member in different several local, regional, and global networks and coalitions, for example the Palestinian NGO Network, the Arab Women Network (Aisha), the International Union for Workers Education (pwwsd, 2019). PWWSD tactics women rights is an integral a part of human rights, following several national and international conventions and agreements are the following: The Palestinian Declaration of Independence in 1988, Palestinian Basic Law, Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

CEDAW and International Humanitarian Law, and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 regarding protection and security of women and their participation in conflict resolution (pwwsd, 2019).

One of awareness that women's issues are largely socio, economic and political is PWWS. Thus, achieving independence for women including social, economic, and democratic progress at the community level is rejected then there's a very clear political will to get rid of all methods of discrimination; gender equality within the daily life of the community (pwwsd, 2019).

2.5.1 Roles of Palestinian Women in this Society:

The main role for Social Change Association (ADWAR); is a project where you can build the capacity of women's committees that have been developed in Hebron to maintain the needs of marginalized women, advocate for their economic empowerment, enhance their effective participation in peacebuilding and offer them with a legal and psychosocial support (wphfund, 2020).

However, there are some different projects have been done:

Arab Education Initiative (AEI) cooperation with the Women's Activity Association (Hebron) shows the most issue is to develop and implement an early warning system supported by a mediator system, composed of local women from various ages and backgrounds. Besides, Women participants should grow their capacity to develop and apply the initial warning system and develop effective community responses to conflict (wphfund, 2020).

The Palestinian Association for Empowerment and Local Development (REFORM) cooperation with the Rural Women's Development Society (RWDS) shows how to raise women's participation in decision-making processes and promote the roles of both women and

men building safe and secure communities through the establishment of early warning and response systems to gather information, process. Also, in order to analyze information about potential conflict situations, including domestic violence, political conflicts (settlements), social conflicts (tribal/hamulaat), favoritism (in regards to lack of access to services) and neighboring (wphfund, 2020).

Union of Agricultural Work Committee (UAWC) is to count down the barriers preventing women from fully participating in their community's political and economic life. The objective of this project is to care women from demoted communities by raising awareness of their rights and how they can be actors of change in their communities through the establishment of an online participatory platform where women will exchange their experience on local political, social, economic, and gender issues (wphfund, 2020).

YMCA East Jerusalem (YMCA): the main focus in this project is to increase the resilience of women with disabilities and accelerate their socio-economic recovery by showing them the equitable employment opportunities. This project recognizes the grassroots community-based organizations (CBOs) in order to grow women with disabilities (WWDs)' awareness of their rights through trainings as well as increase local communities' awareness of their needs (wphfund, 2020).

YWCA of Palestine (YWCA): the main objective of this project is to increase the resilience and participation of young women, building the capacity of local women CBOs in different disadvantages areas in Hebron, that their main goal is to increase involve with young women within their structures. Moreover, their main goal is also to show them the income producing opportunities in order to improve their economic and social status. Lastly, Participants will be

focused and well trained on business management and encouraged to create joint income-generating projects that will be supported by sub-grants through the project (wphfund, 2020).

Juzoor for Health and Social Development (JUZOOR) among with the Palestinian Food Industries Union and Al Haram Women's Association. Their main goal in this project to enhance women's participation in peacebuilding through empowering them economically and politically by building their leadership capacities (The previous reference).

Palestinian Vision (Pal-Vision): the main role is to improve women's participation in peacebuilding efforts in Hebron by increasing their contributions to their community's economic life. This project discusses the most vulnerable and marginalized women in the region with business coaching and trainings on management, marketing, and product diversification, as well as offer financial and organizational support to women with new micro-business projects and initiatives (The previous reference).

Psycho-social Counselling Center for Women (PSCCW) cooperation with the Psycho-social counselling center for women, Al Aroub Women's Center, Al Kamel Women's Center, and the Women's Association in Yatta and Sharek Community Center in Hebron H2. This project main goal is to support young women's resilience, figure their capacities, and reduce poverty among female-headed households. Also, this project will train their local community-based organizations' members and groups of young activist women on the use of social media as a tool to advocate for women's rights, as well as increase their knowledge of gender equality, women's economic empowerment, and women's participation in decision-making (wphfund, 2020).

WPHF COVID-19 ERW Partners: Responding to and Surviving COVID-19 in Crisis Settings. The project is to provide women and girls, including women and girls with disabilities, with a

full package of SRHR services. Besides Mother's School Society on a project is to help women business owners who are economically affected by the COVID-19 crisis to maintain their activities by providing them with cash grants, scheduling one-on-one counseling sessions and organizing trainings on management, accounting and online-selling (The previous reference).

Women's Affairs Center (WAC) cooperation with Union of Health Work Committees-Gaza Strip (UHCWS). The main point to focus in this project is to figure out the capacities of community-based organizations in COVID-19 protective dealings in the detection, treatment and referral of vulnerable women and girls. This project discusses the awareness of Palestinian women on the key role they can play in COVID-19 response and beyond by telling them with Palestine's COVID-19 response plan and the WPS agenda. Also, this project helps women's and girls' access to key emergency health services, particularly through the distribution of dignity kits and home visits, provides them with economic support (The previous reference).

2.5.2 Policies Discrimination Against Women:

To strengthen law enforcement and develop fair legislation and policies that are responsive to issues of gender equality, in workplaces that prohibit discrimination against women, Partners from government institutions, civil society, and with the support of international organizations have completed the first draft of harmonizing labor legislation from a gender perspective in line with the international agreements signed by Palestine. The amendments included the following main issues (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2019):

1. Expand the scope of application of the law in terms of its coverage of all categories of male and female workers and the abolition of exceptions.
2. Violence against women in the workplace, especially sexual harassment, where a database on sexual harassment has been created.

3. Equality and equal opportunity. This guarantees equal pay for work of equal value.
4. Maternity protection in line with the International Convention in terms of maternity leave, childcare and flexible working arrangements and partial.
5. Expediting urgent labor cases, including setting a legal time limit for deciding them, in addition to determining attorney fees So that it does not exceed 10% of the value of the amounts collected and the value of the interest added to the employer in the event of payment for the amounts judged in instalments.
6. Amending labor legislation to include provisions on sexual harassment at work, so that harassment in the workplace becomes a violation Legal allowing labor inspector to intervene and sue the concerned employer, even if the worker refrains from submitting a complaint to the authorities v competent. Create a database on sexual harassment.
7. Review and amend the penalties stipulated in the Labour Law, so that they are deterrent and include all legal articles related to.

To fulfil the duties of the employer, and to give labor cases a state of urgency with setting a time limit, not exceeding one year, for deciding them.

For UN Women mostly particularly women's organizations, plays an important role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. In the occupied Palestinian territory, Palestinian civil society has an exclusive and vibrant history that is essentially related with state-building and women's organizations have long played a fundamental role. When the UN Women Palestine Civil Society Advisory Group (CSAG) in 2012, UN Women has clearly known the need for a strong and dynamic partnership with civil society in achieving goals and the importance of incorporating its voices into policies, programmers and initiatives. UN Women also depends on heavily on civil society organizations, especially women's

organizations, in the implementation of many of its activities. Lastly, UN Women's partnership with the help of Palestinian civil society organizations focuses more on the collaborative work among women's organizations and gender advocates, particularly through unions, coalitions and networks, as well as academia and specialized research centers for monitoring and analyzing the impact of policies (UN women Palestine, 2015).

2.6 Indicators of Women's Participation in Decision-Making in Palestine

While talking about the Palestinian data and statistics issue, the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, Palestinian women have had a weak participation in the decision-making role in Palestinian public life, the following is a review of these data and indicators:

2.6.1 Participation in the Palestinian Government:

The participation of Palestinian women in the first government was established in 1994. It began with the participation of Mrs. Intisar Al-Wazir, as Minister of Social Affairs, out of 18 ministerial portfolios. Mrs. Intisar Al-Wazir also remained in the next government in 1996, and Mrs. Hanan Ashrawi assumed the portfolio of higher education (The national team to build the national database, 2014) .

What can be observed during this short period is that the participation of women in the newly formed government in the new political system was a timid participation, not exceeding (0.5%).

In 1998 the third Palestinian government was formed, and despite the presence of women in this government with one ministerial portfolio, their representation decreased, as this portfolio was compared to 30 ministerial portfolios headed by men. The representation of women in the Palestinian government remained with one portfolio until the seventh government established

in 2003, which was a first-class men's government, in which women were not represented by any ministerial portfolio.

On 11/12/2003, the eighth government was formed, in which the Ministry of Women's Affairs was included for the first time, which was run by Mrs. Zahira Kamal, and she was the only minister in this government. In the ninth government, women received two ministerial portfolios out of 25 ministerial portfolios (The national team to build the national database, 2014).

This means that the percentage of women's representation in Palestinian governments remains the same and weak in all the former government until 2006, the year that Hamas won in the legislative elections and formed the tenth government unilaterally, and it was no better in terms of women's representation than those governments that were formed before That is, as she retained one Minister for Women's Affairs in her cabinet.

In 2007, with the formation of the twelfth government, headed by Mr. Salam Fayyad, the representation of women in the government increased, as women held 4 ministerial portfolios in this government, there are 22 ministerial portfolios, or 18%, and in 2012 the fourteen government was formed. Tenth, the representation of women in the government formation increased, as women held 6 ministerial portfolios out of 23 ministerial portfolios in this government, with a representation rate of 26% (Wafa, 2019).

Until the eighteenth government, which was formed in 2019, the representation of women maintained the same pace, as they represented no more than 4 ministerial portfolios in successive Palestinian governments.

The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics determines the gender gap in ministerial positions at (72%), as the device shows that since the establishment of the first government of the

Palestinian National Authority, the representation of women in it was (5.5%) with the representation of one minister, while this percentage increased to (13.6%). With the representation of three women ministers in the eighteenth government, which makes Palestine at a very low level compared to the global level in which the percentage of women's representation reached (64%) in Spain, and ranked third in the Arab world (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020).

The following graph shows the percentage of women ministers in Arab countries in 2019:

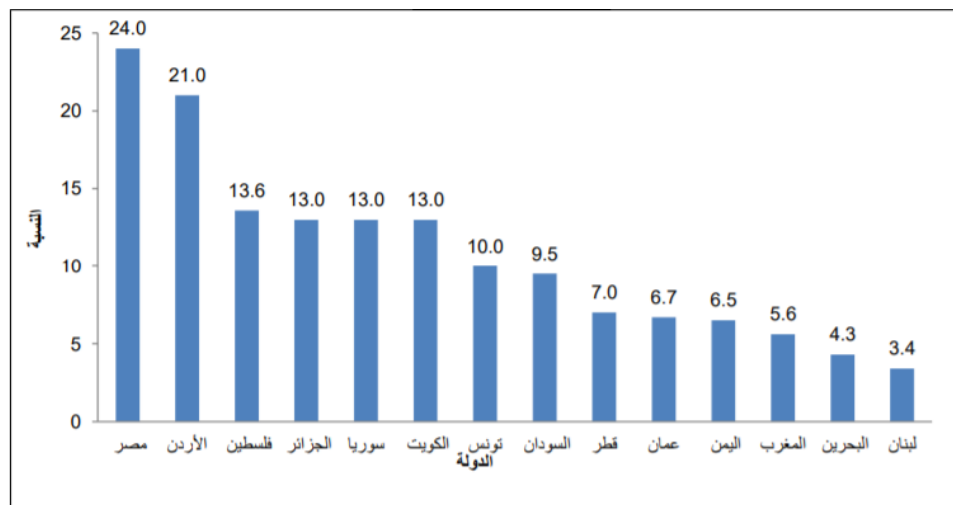


Figure 2: Percentage of women ministers in Arab countries 2019 (PCPs (2020): Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, P:116, Ramallah)

2.6.2 Women's Participation in the Public Service:

As for the participation of Palestinian women in the public service, the gender gap (general manager and above) in this field is (74%), as the percentage of women working in government jobs reached (44.4%) in 2019, a slight increase over the previous years. In the previous year, this percentage amounted to (45.7%) in 2021, which means a slow trend in closing the gap in this field. The following table shows these percentages (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, 2021):

The decrease in the percentage of women's participation in the public service has implications and impact on the mission and community service and its impact on both sexes, and one of its effects is that it expands the lower base for women at the expense of the higher base, which affects women's incomes (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, 2021).

2.6.3 Participation of Women in the Position of Governors:

In the year 2009, Mrs. Laila Ghannam was appointed as the deputy governor of Ramallah governorate, and in 2010, she was sworn in as the first woman to hold the position of governor in the Palestinian National Authority. Until the date of preparing this study, she still maintains this position and maintains the very weak percentage of women's representation in the Palestinian Authority. Conservative position. According to this percentage, the gender gap in the positions of governors reached (88%) (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020).

**Table 1: Number of women working in the public service until 03/2021
(PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020)**

Job Title	SEX الجنس			المسمى الوظيفي
	إناث Females	ذكور Males	كلا الجنسين Both Sexes	
Deputy Minister (A1)	7	49	56	وكيل وزارة (A1)
Undersecretary Assistant (A2)	8	68	76	وكيل مساعد (A2)
Director General (A3)	16	92	108	مدير عام (A3)
Director General (A4)	84	513	597	مدير عام (A4)
Director (Grade C to A)	1,503	4,048	5,551	مدير (الدرجة من C إلى A)
Employee (Grade 1 to 10)	37,338	41,200	78,538	موظف (الدرجة من 1 إلى 10)
Not Stated	115	445	560	غير محدد
Total	39,071	46,415	85,486	المجموع

* يشمل الموظفون المدنيون فقط حسب ديوان الموظفين العام حتى تاريخ 2021/03/19.

* Data include only civil employees according to General Personnel Council until 19/3/2021

2.6.4 Women's Participation in Diplomatic Work:

The percentage of women holding the position of ambassador outside Palestine until the year 2020, (10.8%), compared to (89.2%) of the male ambassadors, while women represent (30.6%) of the female workers in the Palestinian diplomatic corps, according to the same year (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, 2021).

In 2019, the gender gap in this area reached (78%), which means that a lot of efforts and work are needed to bridge and mitigate this gap. The percentage of women's representation in diplomatic work affects the Palestinian foreign policy, and the implementation of this policy, especially in Relates to women and enhances their participation in politics and decision-making (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020).

The following figure shows the percentage of women's representation in the position of ambassadors (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, 2021):

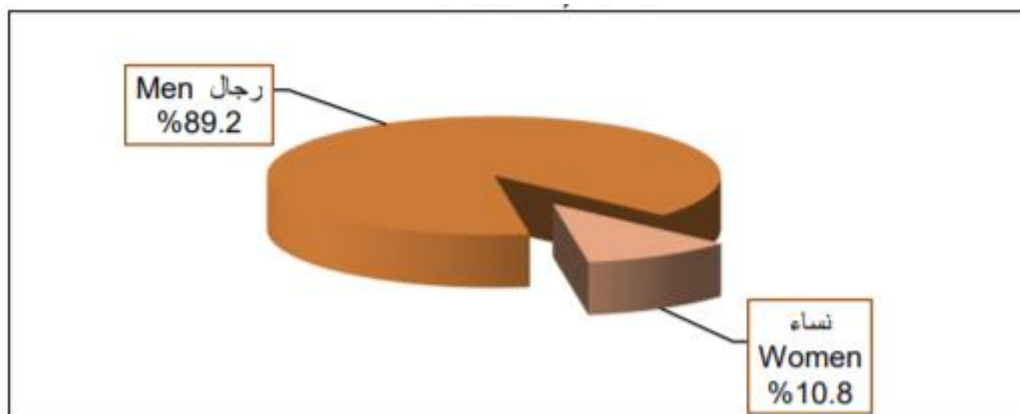


Figure 3 : The percentage of women's representation in the position of ambassadors until 2020 (PCPs (2021): Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, P:64, Ramallah)

2.6.5 Representation of Women in the Judiciary:

With regard to the judiciary, 19.2% of judges in Palestine are women. The percentage of women in the judiciary in the West Bank until the year 2020 was (20.3%), compared to (12.1%) in the Gaza Strip. It is as shown in the following figure:

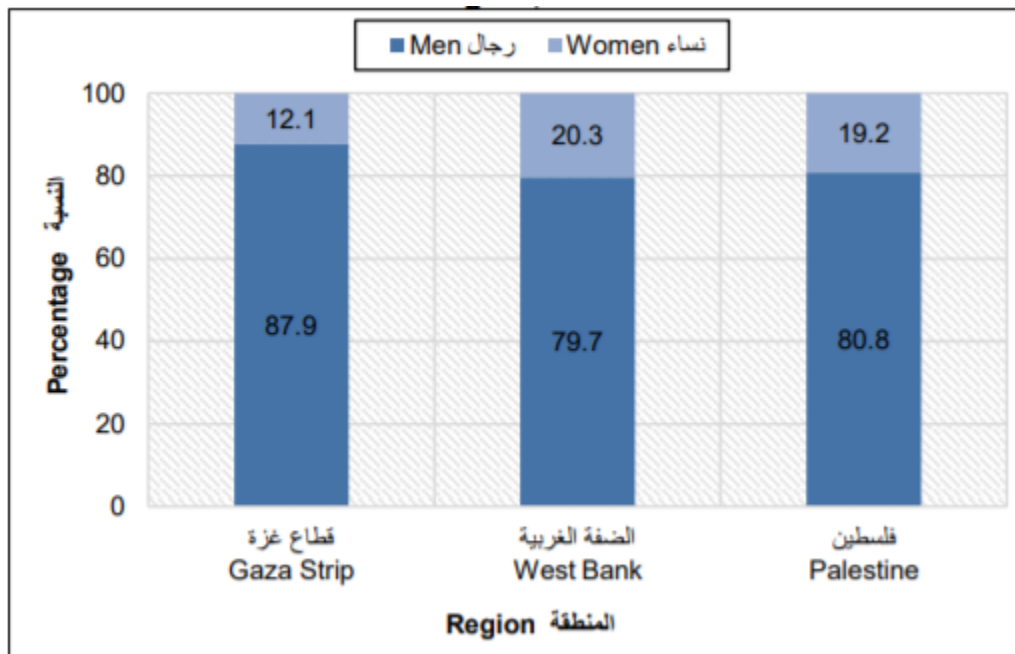


Figure 4 :The percentage of Palestinian women representation in the judiciary (PCPs (2021): Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2021, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, P:69, Ramallah)

The weak representation of women in the judiciary affects the status of women in terms of their attainment of their rights in society, especially with regard to issues of inheritance, divorce and civil status.

2.6.6 Women's Participation in Local Councils:

Through the data, the representation of women in local councils in Palestine is considered weak, especially when we find that until 2019 there were no women in Palestine holding the position of mayor in areas classified as A & B, and there is only one woman in the position of mayor in

Areas classified C, also when we find only 3 women in the position of village council head, out of 285 village councils (PCPs, Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020).

The gender gap for members of local councils in 2019 amounted to (60%), which is a large percentage when compared to neighboring countries, especially Arab countries, where Palestine ranked seventh in terms of the percentage of women representation in local councils in Arab countries for the year 2019. The following figure shows:

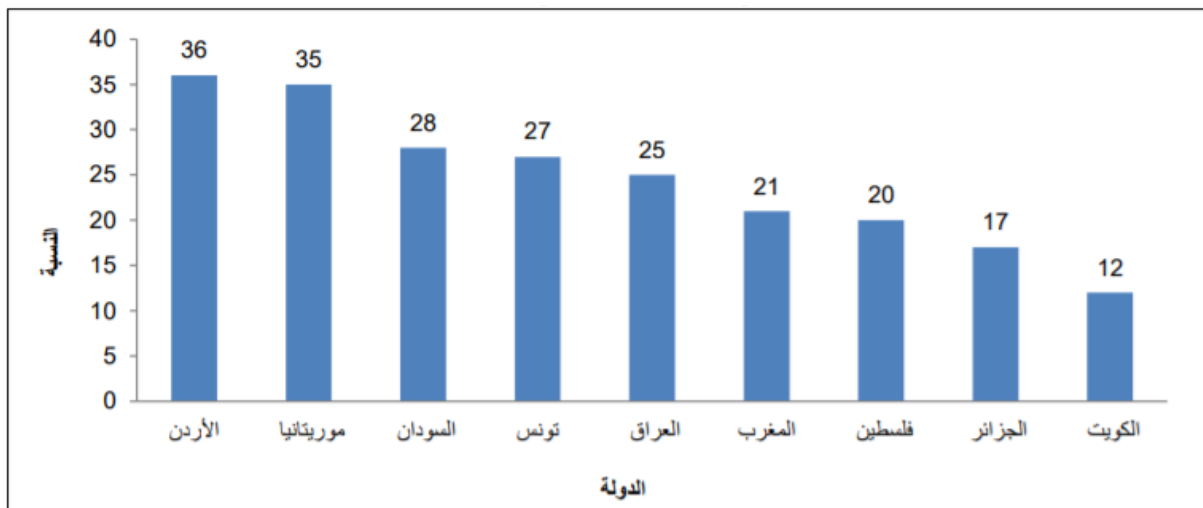


Figure 5: Representation of women in local councils in Arab countries for the year 2019 (PCPs (2020): Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics, 2020, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, P:120, Ramallah)

2.6.7 Representation of Women in the Legislature:

The number of members of the Palestinian Legislative Council is 124, and in its last session it included 14 women, who were chosen through free elections.

Despite the women's quota, women's representation in the Legislative Council is low compared to other Arab countries such as Tunisia and Algeria, where women's representation in their legislative councils is 26%-36% (PCBs, 2020).

In 2018, the Palestinian Constitutional Court issued a decision to dissolve the Legislative Council elected in 2006 and consider it dissolved from the date of publication of this decision (WAFA, 2018).

2.6.8 Representation of Women in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO):

The Palestine Liberation Organization is the historical political reference for the Palestinian people in all their places of existence, and throughout history, the participation of women in the joints, organs and structures of the organization has been timid.

Below we review the representation of women in the structures of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

Palestinian National Council:

Out of the 730 members of the Palestinian National Council in its 1996 session, women represented (7.5%) of the composition of the Palestinian National Council, as there were 56 women in this Council for the mentioned session.

In the session held in Ramallah in 2018, the percentage of women's representation in the Palestinian National Council increased, as women constituted (10.6%) of the council's members, compared to (89.4%) of men (PCPs, Women in decision-making positions, 2020).

Through the previous figures, the representation of women in the National Assembly as one of the PLO structures is very weak, which means a weak opinion of women at the national level.

Palestinian Central Council:

In the Central Council, the percentage of women's representation was (5.4%) compared to (94.6%) of men, which is a weak percentage and does not correspond to all the leadership statements calling for strengthening the role of women and enabling their political participation in Palestinian decision-making (PCPs, Women in decision-making positions, 2020).

Executive Committee:

The representation of women in the Executive Committee was also weak, as women constituted (6.7%) compared to (93.3%) of the composition of the Executive Committee, which confirms the lack of seriousness on the part of the Palestinian leaders in enhancing the participation of Palestinian women and their role in decision-making (PCPs, Women in decision-making positions, 2020).

By reviewing some of the previous indicators related to the representation of Palestinian women in public and community life, we find that we are talking about a significantly low level of participation in all national institutions, which contradicts all voices calling for strengthening the role of women and raising the levels of their participation in all fields. The figures reflect that What is happening on the ground is nothing but slogans that cannot be implemented.

Solving Obstacles to Women's Political Participation Issue:

The political and societal woman, which stands on top of the patriarchal customs, traditions and culture, through the formulation of a national strategy that combats discrimination and male domination and is implemented by all actors with responsibility. as he's on Official and civil bodies carry out large-scale campaigns to educate and raise awareness of the importance of women's political participation in the community Paying attention to the inclusion of men and

working with them, especially young men and women, clerics and influential figures in gatherings local and national. Moreover, adding campaigns to promote women's rights in general and political in particular, towards amending or changing laws. Another part aims to combat inequality, discrimination, customs and traditions that negatively affect women, including raising the quota. Interpreting the Palestinian Women's Rights Document and CEDAW into national laws. Develop programs and campaigns for women and encourage them to Election and candidacy in all official and unofficial bodies (Odeh, 2014) (womendeliver, 2016)

The Importance of Women's Political Participation:

Participation in the formulation of public affairs is a civilized method to reduce political conflicts. The process of women's participation in political life has become a requirement in order to achieve the goals of the political system, so that the right to participate is not limited to men, but rather Participation includes both women and men. It usually helps the society, including women to expand the base of legitimacy of the representative and executive institutions of the political system, giving it representative power stemming from choice. Therefore, Democracy is one of the first premises and most important for women's participation is the recognition that they usually enjoy full citizenship in all its manifestations and in full equality before the law without any discrimination. By expanding the base of participation enhances the principle of citizenship, with both rights and duties, and thus it enhances the principle of belonging and alignment with the interest of the nation as a whole, and enhances the position of women in society. In the formal aspect, development needs the energies and efforts of all segments of society, including women Permanent provision to allow women to have access to education, work, etc. Also, to identify that development in its concept Inclusive

and sustainable cannot be achieved without the contribution of women in a country that depends primarily on its resource's humankind, and this way is to donate to the development efforts politically, economically, socially and culturally. Last, political participation is a public affair that no individual can have influence or participation or an actor in it unless he recognizes his role in public life and his right to exercise this role without any restrictions discriminatory character (Rahhal, 2016).

2.7 Literature Review

The researcher reviewed a number of Arab and foreign studies related to the topic of the current study, and the following is an overview of these studies:

2.7.1 Arab Studies:

- 1. Al-Naimat, Rasha. (2021): The Jordanian Women Participation in the Political Life and the Obstacle and Solution Methods (1954-2020) . Jordan.**

The study examined the reality of women's political participation in Jordan during the period from 1954 to 2020, The historical and inductive approach was used to collect as much information as possible that documented the path of Jordanian women within the context of their historical, political and social reading. The researcher also used a simple form to elicit the opinions of 20 respondents from an intended sample of women and men who have completed postgraduate studies to support the hypothesis of the existence of obstacles that mostly take on a cultural character and heritage, some legal obstacles, and obstacles related to educational curricula and educational paths for females and the employment of religious texts commensurate with the public mood.

The study found that legal obstacles were less effective in hindering Jordanian women from political participation than the socio-cultural heritage and from the influence of school curricula that turn a blind eye to women because they are in decision-making positions and reflect their image as a subordinate to men, as well as the influence of selective religious heritage transmitted from generation to generation. Another with uncritical interpretations of its validity and in line with the inferior social view of women is one of the most important obstacles to women's political participation and their presence in decision-making positions.

2. Al-Qahtani & et al. (2020): The Role of the Academic and Political Empowerment of Women in Economic, Social and Managerial Empowerment: The Case of Saudi Arabia

This study shows that women may be considered to have hidden, unutilized potential for the economy and society, if not utilized at their full capacity such as., effective educational, social and political policies. Besides, allowing women to participate fully in an economy may contribute to the sustainable development of the country in question. The empowerment of women may be accelerated if women are educated for this purpose. This study shows the political authorities in Saudi Arabia have proposed a comprehensive framework to empower women. The empowerment of women is essential in the academic sector where as they] develop educational policies for women's capacity-building. Moreover, the empowerment of women in the political process is also very important, so they can suggest appropriate policies, rules and laws that favor the empowerment of women in all sectors of the economy and society. Many researchers in future may shows the aims at testing the effects of academic and political empowerment on the economic, social and managerial empowerment of women, and opens a new horizon of debate in the practical and theoretical domain of female empowerment in Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, political empowerment has a positive direct effect on academic

empowerment, which has positive effects on economic, social and managerial female empowerment.

3. Jafare, (2012): The Support of United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women to Gender Development Priorities in Governmental Sector in Post Oslo.

This research shows the problems of the nature of gender priorities in governmental sector post Oslo. This study observes if those priorities implemented by governmental sector and funded by UN women are kind like the gender priorities in post conflict and state building despite the continuity of the Israeli occupation to the Palestinian Occupied Territories (OPT). This study pursues to answer the following question: “are gender priorities implemented by governmental and funded by UN women similar to gender priorities of post conflict and state building?” The research examines how gender priorities of both Palestinian governmental sector and UN women have aligned or not. Furthermore, this study investigates into the impact of political conditions including the establishment of Palestinian National Authority, the emergence of the second Intifada and winning of Hamas of the elections in 2006 on changing the nature of gender priorities and continuity of delivering assistance by UN women to Palestinian governmental sector.

4. Alqutub (2010): The role of women in decision-making in Palestinian government institutions (1995-2010).

The study shows the role of women in decision-making in Palestinian government institutions. their assumption of higher decision-making positions, by studying the factors that surrounds Palestinian women within the government sector. This research reviewed the historical

development of working women, and therefore the reasons that motivate them to work. This study also distributes the most important laws pertaining to working women in government institutions, and study their legal equality with men. This study identifies different things: 1 - Palestinian women have a major role in sustainable development, as they constitute half of society, and they are an educator. 2- Obstacles faced by women in their access to decision-making positions that affect the structure of society Palestinian women, and affect the role of Palestinian women. 3- Internal and external political factors, social, subjective and cultural factors played on Highlighting leading women who have been able to overcome these factors and pave the way to success, examples of Najat Abu Bakr, Magda Al-Masry, Dalal Salama, and Zahira Kamal. 4- The local presidential and legislative elections formed a true picture of the participation of Palestinian women. And its quest to reach decision-making positions, even if its results are unfair to women. 5- The percentage of women in service jobs, such as health and education, is the most prevalent. 6- The presence of Palestinian women in decision-making positions, and in senior governmental positions is still present week, which hinders the integration of women into the development process, and hinders the possibility of influencing the drawing of Policies, and prevents amendments to existing legislation.

2.7.2 Foreign Studies:

1. Tirado (2020): Strategies to Enhance Women's Leadership to Address Food and Nutrition Security Under a Changing Climate

In this study focused about women serve as agents of social change and development, through their unique roles in the family and child care, agricultural labor, food and nutrition security, health and disaster risk reduction. The promotion of their engagement and leadership is part of critical to addressing climate change in equitable, healthy, and maintainable ways. Integrating

women's empowerment as well as food and nutrition security and health in adaptation strategies is urgently needed to ensure the well-being of communities under a changing climate. Stakeholders in the different fields have known successful strategies for addressing the challenges that climate change pose to food and nutrition security and health and gender equality. However, there is a tendency to solve these problems through siloed approaches, which decreases their effectiveness and impact. Current climate change policies and strategies tend to inadequately address the needs of women and children, particularly in the contexts of nutrition, food security and health. Moreover, Women are also poorly represented in consultation and decision-making processes for the development of climate change adaptation strategies in local, and national and global levels. This study discriminates successful strategies for showing the challenges that climate change poses to food and nutrition security and health, and to promote women's engagement and leadership in climate adaptation planning and decision-making to ensure that these are gender, as well as nutrition and health sensitive

2. Usaid (2020): GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT 2020 POLICY

In this study shows the vision is of a prosperous and peaceful world in which women, girls, men, and boys enjoy equal economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights and are equally empowered to secure better lives for themselves, their families, their communities, and their countries. Women and girls can reach their full potential in society is critical not only to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, but also to meet sustainable development outcomes. In this study identify five main strategic objectives that reflect the spectrum of activities we undertake across all sectors and fields to advance this Policy's vision and increase self-reliance: first, reducing disparities between women and men in admission to, control over,

and benefit from economic, social, political, educational, and cultural resources, as well as wealth, opportunities, and services. Second, it struggles to eliminate gender-based violence (GBV), which affects women's abilities to thrive and succeed. Third, increase the capability of women and girls to exercise their basic and legal rights fully, determine their life outcomes, assume leadership roles, and influence decision-making in households, communities, and societies. Fourth, Support strategies and activities that secure private-property rights and land tenure for women. Last, improve the access of women and girls to education, including opportunities for higher education and workforce development.

3. Pimkina & Flor (2020) : Promoting Female Labor Force Participation

In this study talks about women comprise half of the world's adults, and so half of its labor force. Their participation within the labor force is critical to realizing gender equality, sustainable economic growth, and household welfare. this paper centers on female labor force participation (FLFP, women who are either employed or training for employment). This paper explores the specific constraints women face to entering and remaining in the labor force, and how they can be effectively addressed by policymakers. In this study categorize some barriers around female labor force participation into the following: First, they examine how constraints in endowments such as time, education, financial and social capital limit women's participation within the labor force. Women's time is split between paid labor, leisure, and domestic production (unpaid labor) including housework, childcare, and elderly care responsibilities. Second, they review evidence on the role of preferences, aspirations, norms and beliefs of the labor market on FLFP as internal factors. Third, they discuss how external constraints like income shocks and demand-side factors inhibit active engagement within the labor market.

4. Knoote & Consultancy (2019): MAINTAINING A ROLE FOR WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE

In this study focused about International Financial Institutions (IFIs), that have rising in gender equality is a precondition to sustainability and poverty reduction and that they need to increase efforts to show the gender gap through development lending, investment projects and research. Before few years, most IFIs have set the policies and strategies to address gender inequality at global, regional and national levels, which could potentially have great impact on priorities in individual countries through their cooperation mechanisms. This study has been shown to impact women's (rights) organizations disproportionately, demonstrated by security as well as financial concerns the latter demonstrated by decreasing financial operating space of organizations due to CSO laws and countering the financing of terrorism (CFT) regulations.

5. Commission, (2017): RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AS CANDIDATES IN ELECTIONS

The research study on women's participation as candidates in elections from 2005-2015 was commissioned by the National Elections Commission in 2016 to determine a final analysis data on the status of women and men as candidates within the elections conducted between 2005 and 2015 and in elected offices. The outcome of this study was meant to tell key stakeholders like political parties, government, CSOs, development partners on the reality on the bottom as they promote gender equality and increased women participation within the 2017 elections. The research report has been ready at the perfect time as processes for candidate nominations are about to start. It is a very useful and relevant document to all stakeholders involved in the election processes. In addition, Female aspirants and applicants, political parties, CSOs, government entities, UN Agencies and development partners and other stakeholders are

encouraged to read and use the information provided to improve on the strategies that gear towards increasing women's participation as aspirants, candidates, and voters and as election workers in the 2017 elections.

6. Murage (2017): The Contribution of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Advancing Women's Political Participation and Effectiveness: A Case of the Mon Women Movement in Myanmar

In this study shows that after decades of oppressive military rule, Myanmar is making strides towards a more inclusive democratic society. However, there are many challenges which require to be secure unprejudiced inclusion of all segments of Myanmar society. Women, who represent marginally more than fifty percent of the population, have been missing a seat at the decision-making table. Civil Society Organizations are active in trying to increase women's participation in politics and governance, as well as push for gender equity. A women movement, has grown out of these efforts. It also aspects shortcomings which stunts its potential. This research discloses a need for the government to embrace the movement and act accordingly as the guardian of democracy to secure women's political effectiveness.

7. Williams (2016): Gender and Finance: Coming Out of the Margins

In this study focused about the financing of climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies in developing countries is one of the core issues at the heart of the political debate over the improved global climate protection policy architecture. Besides, this study discuss about climate financing is a critical lever for the transformation to low carbon development pathways and for undertaking mitigation actions to decrease anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions. This have been known by climate scientists as the key culprit behind global warming. At the same time, financing climate change mitigation and adaptation actions in developing countries. Also, they

required if it is not managed well, it will compete for the scarce overseas development assistance (ODA) funds as well as for domestic funding that are important for realizing poverty eradication, social development and gender justice in developing countries. Furthermore, climate finance must be managed at the global, regional and national levels to ensure and promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as key actors, both in climate protection and sustainable development efforts. Besides, climate change impacts at the household and community levels will conclusively add to women's and girls' time burden, impacting their overall well-being. Though, it should give attention on climate-induced shifts in time-use patterns in men's and women's care activities.

8. Ahern, Nuti, & Masterson (2016): Women's Paths to Political Participation and Decision making

In this study focus to the problems that are surrounding governance and civil society; the PROWID projects pointed to various ways in which women can be integrated into the democratization process. The first section of this study shows the framework in which this can be achieved, including discussions of several elements organized under three central topics: political culture, civil society, and government institutions. A democratic political culture functions and is critical to the advancement of women, primarily because it encourages political consciousness and action is also discussed in this study. Therefore, as political alliances are formed and information have been shared, power relations within society and the political arena shift, allowing earlier marginalized groups (such as women) to set their goals. In addition, they also focused on the civil society actors, in particular politically conscious organizations and individuals, also contribute to the development of political skills on the part of constituents, a necessary component if citizen participation is to be firmly established and remain a consistent

factor in political life. Lastly, the nature of political culture and the role of civil society determined in part by government institutions. The PROWID projects that shows the channels that are available to women pursuing political involvement.

9. TEMBA, (2016): CONTRIBUTION OF MICROFINANCE ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SOLIDARITY LOANS AT AKIBA COMMERCIAL BANK PLC, BUGURUNI BRANCH

This research expected at examining the factors that have impact upon women economic empowerment. This study shows the extent to which microfinance has influenced women 's economic empowerment. The study was shown at Akiba Commercial Bank Plc, Buguruni Branch. Although it's been difficult to establish why in similar situations some entrepreneurs fail while others succeed, it is through their main focus on entrepreneurial competencies offers a practical means of addressing the phenomenon. Tanzanian women are still faced with lack of appropriate business knowledge and skills, limited access to finance, dependency on poor and obsolete technology. They also show the contentious academic debates on the validity of Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs) impacting women 's empowerment positively. Some empirical findings have revealed that micro-finance services act as a panacea toward empowering women. However, there has been sharp criticism from some economic specialists on the notion that micro-finance can aid women 's empowerment. The data of this study has been analysed quantitatively, whereas the results of this study show a significant improvement within the household well-being, income, and women 's empowerment, as a result of participating in micro-finance programs. However, all the respondents shows that there are high interest rates being charged by the MFIs.

10. OSCE (2014): Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties

In this study discussed about Gender equality, including the equal participation of women and men in all aspects of political and public life, is a cornerstone principle to which all OSCE participating States have subscribed. Besides, the extent of women's representation in elected office in any given country is distinguish a wide range of factors, including the general progress towards achieving equality of rights and opportunities among women and men in public and private spheres, the choice of political and electoral systems, and the level of institutionalization of and transparency in decision-making processes within political parties. Nevertheless, within this complex set of factors, political parties are often referred to as the gatekeepers of women's political participation

11. Dersnah (2012): Women in Political and Public Life

This research focus on the knowledgeable on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice, within the realm of political and public life. It also examines problem with women's equality and empowerment in relation to their status as full and equal citizens in several political systems, and with different national, regional, global contexts. Moreover, it discovers new developments and trends in women's political participation, in terms of representation, participation and influencing the agenda. This research also focusses new political arenas for women's political empowerment, like ICTs and therefore the use of the Internet. This research main concentration on the way women's public and political life is impacted during times of political transition with analysis of the opportunities and challenges that transitions present for empowering women. This research offers insight into the intersections between the formal and informal, highlighting how state-society relations can

create opportunities for progressing gender equality goals, and emphasizing these new ways of thinking about political and public life.

12. Kiev, (2011): Women's Participation in Politics and Decision-Making in Ukraine: Strategy Paper

In this study talks about the gender equality in political participation is defined as a fundamental aspect of recent democratic governance. Under international standards, both men and women should have equal rights and opportunities to participate fully has all aspects and at all levels of political processes. However, it's often more challenging for women to access and exercise these rights. The scope of this study is to analyze the current levels of women's political participation in Ukraine, to focus to the main challenges that women face in accessing political structures, and to suggest strategies for overcoming these challenges. This research has been drafted on the source of sociological studies, statistical data, and findings of domestic and international research. The purpose of this study is to identify appropriate strategies to promote gender equality in the political life and decision-making in Ukraine.

13. Hoare & Gell (2009): Women's leadership and participation

In this study focus about both the developing and the developed world, women carry a disproportionately high burden of poverty. Usually, this poverty is knowledgeable not just as material deprivation, but also as marginalization, this means that those living in poverty often have no, or little opportunity to influence the political, economic, and social processes and organizations control and shape their lives and keep them trapped in a cycle of poverty. Related to poor women, this experience of marginalization is high effective to them: not only they belong to communities that exist 'on the edges of society', but they are also often decreased a voice

within the states, markets, communities, and households in order they live, dominated as they are by men and male interests.

14. Sidhu & Meena (2007): Electoral Financing to Advance Women's Political Participation: A Guide for UNDP Support

In this study includes five primers being produced on different aspects of gender and democratic governance by the United Nations Development Program Bureau for Development Policy. The aim of this study is to support UNDP/BDP Democratic Governance Group staff and networks in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment through their program and policy advice. UNDP intends for these primers to donate to the empowerment of women and the advancement of gender equality through democratic governance.

2.7.3 Discussing Related Studies:

By reviewing the Arab and foreign study related to the subject of the current study, we find that the current study differs in terms of objective with previous studies. The current study aims to know the impact of foreign funding on the participation of Palestinian women in decision-making, while the other study was such as the Naimat study (2021), which aimed to identify the reality of women's political participation in Jordan and study the obstacles to this participation. As well as the study of Al-Qahtani & et al. (2020), which aimed to know the role of political and academic empowerment of women in economic, social and administrative empowerment, while the study of Tirado (2020) aimed to identify the role of women as an agent of social change and development, and focus on possible strategies to enhance women's leadership to address food security in light of climate change, While Pimkina & Flor (2020) study focuses on female participation in the labor force, and aims to know the constraints and determinants that women face in entering and staying in the labor force, while Murage (2017) study aims to study

the contribution of civil society organizations in promoting women's political participation, from A case study of the women's movement in Myanmar, Dersnah study (2012) focused on the issue of discrimination against women in law and practice in public political life, and the empowerment of women, as well as the study of Hoare & Gell (2009), which focused on the role of women in developing and developed countries, and their role in the problems facing their societies.

As for the studies that were close in terms of the goal with the current study, it is Jaafar's study (2012), which aimed to find out whether gender priorities are implemented by the government and funded by the United Nations for Women similar to gender priorities in the post-conflict and state-building phases. Also Al-Qutb study (2010), which aimed to know the role of women in decision-making in Palestinian government institutions in the period (1995-2010), While the study of Williams (2016), which aimed to study the financing of adaptation to climate change and mitigation strategies in developing countries, and the focus on this financing through gender and its ability to achieve all goals, As well as the study of Ahern, Nuti, & Masterson (2016), which aimed to determine the paths of women's political participation and decision-making, and the problems surrounding this in the field of governance and civil society, and the study of TEMBA (2016), which shed light on the contribution of microfinance to women's economic empowerment, and the study of Kiev (2011) has been interested in studying women's political participation and decision-making in Ukraine.

2.7.4 Research Gap:

This study comes as a specialized study on the impact of foreign funding on the role of women in decision-making and political participation, due to the specificity of the Palestinian case in this field, as a result of the lack of studies that link foreign funding and foreign aid towards

achieving the goals of equality and gender, and also that Palestine is an occupied country. It is linked to international agreements, and depends mainly on foreign aid and foreign funding in achieving political development goals in general and in the women's sector in particular.

Where the current study is distinguished from other previous studies, in linking foreign funding and its objectives with women achieving the status that makes them able to participate in political decision-making in the Palestinian case, and this study will work to identify weaknesses and strengths in the field of women's political empowerment, especially in field of decision-making.

3 Chapter 3

Research Procedures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter shows the description of the study's methodology and procedures, study design and tools, the study's limits, limitations and obstacles, study variables, the study population with its sample, and the statistical treatments that have been used in this study.

3.2 Study Methodology

To achieve the objectives of the study, the descriptive-analytical approach was used, which aims to collect facts and data about a particular phenomenon or situation, with an attempt to explain these facts in an appropriate manner, in proportion to the nature of the study that needs to collect data from the study community, categorize, analyze and interpret it to extract indicators and reach its results. And to identify the existence, degree and direction of the relationship. The use of the quantitative method in research, which is the method through which quantitative measurement tools are developed and subject to conditions of validity and reliability, and its data is statistically processed, and its results can be generalized to the original population. This is done by determining the impact of foreign financing policies on enhancing women's participation in decision-making.

3.3 Data Collection

The questionnaire had been used a tool for data collection, through a set of paragraphs related to each other in order to achieve the objectives of the study. The questionnaire was chosen as a

tool for data collection as it encourages frank and free answers from the respondents in addition to that, through the similarity and unification of questions, leads to the speed of collecting information for the study.

There are some interviews were conducted with a number of specialists in the fields of women's work and women's participation in political activities, Palestinian academics and public servants in the Palestinian National Authority, and the current study questions were asked to them as questions of the interview, and the content of the answers was analyzed by the researcher and linked to the results of the analysis of the questions and hypotheses of the study.

In addition, a thorough review of relevant studies, books, scientific references and theses that dealt with the independent and dependent variables in their topics.

The questionnaire was developed as shown in Appendix No. 2, where the questionnaire consisted of the following parts:

- **Demographic Factors:** These factors and general data on respondents include: gender, age group, educational rehabilitation, the labor sector, development programs in community participation, membership of women's working committees and women's work activity.
- **Dimensions of the Study:** It consisted of:
 - The reality of foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector
 - Level of women's participation in decision-making.

And the table No. (3.1) shows the order of the questionnaire items according to the dimensions and axes of the study:

Table 3.1: Distribution of the questionnaire items according to the axes

<i>Item</i>	<i>Total</i>
Part One	
demographic factors	7
Part Two	

<i>Item</i>	<i>Total</i>
The reality of foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector	15
Part Three	
Level of political participation of Palestinian women	8
Level of women's participation in decision-making	14
<i>The total number of the paragraphs of the questionnaire</i>	44

Using the statistical package program (SPSS V.26) and IBM SPSS Amos, the study tool was analyzed through the use of several tests provided by this program, which are:

- Factor Analysis Test: used to measure the relationship between a set of factors, as it is calculated by applying a set of tests to a number of examinees, and through the correlation coefficient between the tests, the result of the validity of the tool is determined (Dwedery , 2000).
- Reliability Analysis (Alpha): is a measure of the degree of stability or internal consistency of items or variables in a composite index that was put on the summation scale, and it is generally used to measure the degree of stability of multiple item measures, and the item tool is internally divided, where Alpha measures this internal consistency.
- Standard regression coefficient test: is a test based on a mathematical method to estimate the relationship between two or more variables, in terms of the units of measurement for the dependent (dependent) variables in the relationship. These relationships are called regression models.
- One-way ANOVA test: depends on calculating the variance between samples and the variance within all samples combined. It is used to find the differences between more than two groups, provided that the statistical parametric characteristics are available. The significance of the differences in this scale is measured through the value of (F).

3.3.1 The Validity of the Study Tool:

The logical validity of the tool was verified by presenting the questionnaire to (10) specialized arbitrators whose names are attached in Appendix No. (1), in order to ensure that the

questionnaire is suitable for what it was prepared for, the integrity of the wording of the paragraphs and the affiliation of each of them to the field in which it was placed. Making a matrix for all the paragraphs of the questionnaire with the arbitrators' responses and their approach, and taking many of the amendments that were recommended by them. Which is a major role in improving the formulation of the paragraphs and their suitability to the objectives of the study.

In addition, the tool's validity was measured statistically by distributing the questionnaire to an exploratory sample of the study population whose size was (30) research subjects, and they were subsequently excluded from the total sample of the study on which statistical analysis was conducted, questions answered and hypotheses verified.

Through the exploratory sample, a factor analysis test was conducted for the study tool items, as shown in the table (3.2):

Table 3.2: The results of the factorial analysis test for the study questionnaire items

<i>No.</i>	<i>Extraction</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Extraction</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Extraction</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Extraction</i>
1	.910	11	.694	21	.748	31	.808
2	.739	12	.750	22	.729	32	.873
3	.747	13	.696	23	.783	33	.820
4	.695	14	.887	24	.726	34	.790
5	.749	15	.828	25	.841	35	.890
6	.655	16	.876	26	.772	36	.876
7	.788	17	.871	27	.629	37	.832
8	.671	18	.859	28	.773		
9	.667	19	.874	29	.730		
10	.665	20	.861	30	.800		

From previous findings in table (3.2), it is clear that all the results of the working analysis of paragraphs from the study tool are linked to the impact of foreign funding politics on women's participation in decision-making, and that they have a high degree of saturation, all of which

were higher than (60%), and therefore can be said to share together the measurement of what they have been developed for and that they are consistent with each other.

3.3.2 Reliability:

For the purpose of verifying the reliability of the study tool, the internal consistency coefficient (Cronbach Alpha) was calculated for the paragraphs of the axes of the questionnaire, and the following table (3.3) shows the results of that.

Table 3.3: Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the questionnaire axes

<i>Item</i>	<i>N of Item</i>	<i>Alpha</i>
Reliability of the paragraphs of the Foreign financing policies axis	15	.876
Reliability of the paragraphs of the women's participation axis	22	.871
<i>Total Reliability for the Questioner</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>.892</i>

According to the foregoing, the total reliability value of the study tool with all its axes was (0.892), and therefore the questionnaire has a high degree of reliability, and this means confidence in its results by the degree of its reliability value.

3.4 Study Population and Sample

The study community consists of citizens in Ramallah and Al-Bireh governorate, with an estimated (211,678) people over the age of 18 until (2021), according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS, 2021).

A random sample from the study community will be taken to include workers in public and private sector institutions, Palestinian university students in the province, academics working at Palestinian universities in the province, and workers in civil society and women's institutions in

the province, and the sample size (382) according to Stephen Thompson's equation, to answer the study's questionnaire (Thompson, 2012).

In addition, the researcher selected a sample of the study community of 14 research vocabulary, consisting of a group of senior government employees, academics and leaders in Palestinian women's work, for interviews.

This type of sample was chosen to be representative of the study community, especially in the study axes. The result of the effects of the Corona pandemic and the declaration of a state of emergency in the Palestinian territories since March 2020 until the date of the completion of this study. Besides, the study tool was converted into an electronic questionnaire, and it was distributed electronically to the study sample randomly in cooperation with government institutions, organizations, and the Student Affairs Department in Palestinian universities in Ramallah and Al-Bireh governorate. The questionnaire began to be distributed to sample members on 24/11/2021 and closed on 10/12/2021 after making sure that a sufficient number of answers was obtained. The analyses included (307) questionnaires, and the response rate was (80.3%), and this rate was acceptable for study methodology.

3.5 Sample Properties

The characteristics of the study sample according to demographic factors were as follows:

- **Gender:**

By gender, the highest percentage of females in the study sample was (72.0 %), while the percentage of males in the study sample was (28.0 %), which is shown in the following table (3.5):

Table 3.4: Characteristics of the study sample according to the gender factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Sex	Male	86	28.0%
	Female	221	72.0%
	Total	307	100%

- **Age Group:**

According to the age group, the highest percentage of the study sample was for persons in the age group (25-less than 40), and their percentage of the study sample was (56.0%), while the lowest group was the age group (55 and above) and it constituted (2.9 %) of the study sample., which is shown in the following table (3.7):

Table 3.5: Characteristics of the study sample according to the Age Group factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Age Group	18- less than 25	54	17.6 %
	25- less than 40	172	56.0 %
	40-less than 55	72	23.5 %
	55 and above	9	2.9 %
	Total	307	100%

- **Education:**

According to education, the highest percentage of the study sample was from holders of a bachelor's degree, where they constituted (53.7%) of the study sample, while the lowest percentage was for diploma holders or less, at a rate of (7.2%), which is shown in the following table (3.8):

Table 3.6: Characteristics of the study sample according to the Education factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Education	Diploma or less	22	7.2 %
	Bachelor	165	53.7 %
	Master or above	120	39.1 %
	Total	307	100%

- **Work Sector:**

By Work Sector, the highest percentage of the sample of those who worked in Government sector was (45.9 %) of the total sample size, while the lowest percentage of those who worked in civil society organization was (7.8 %), which is shown in the following table ():

Table 3.7: Characteristics of the study sample according to the work sector factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Work Sector	Private Sector	64	20.8 %
	Government	141	45.9 %
	civil society organizations	24	7.8 %
	Free work	31	10.1 %
	Not working	47	15.3 %
Total		307	100%

- **Take Advantage of Development Programs:**

The highest percentage was for those whose answers were (no) to the question of benefiting from development programs in the field of community and political participation, reaching (61.9%), while the lowest percentage of those whose answers were (yes) was (38.1 %), which is shown in the following table (3.8):

Table 3.8: Characteristics of the study sample according the the Take advantage of development programs factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Take advantage of development programs	yes	117	38.1 %
	no	190	61.9 %
	Total	307	100%

- **Participation in the membership of committees related to women's work:**

The highest percentage was for those whose answers were (no) to the question of Participation in the membership of committees related to women's work, reaching

(72.3%), while the lowest percentage of those whose answers were (yes) was (27.7%), which is shown in the following table (3.8):

Table 3.9: Characteristics of the study sample according to Participation in the membership of committees related to women's work factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Participation in the membership of committees related to women's work	yes	85	27.7 %
	no	222	72.3 %
	Total	307	100%

- **Activity in the Field of Women's Work:**

The highest percentage was for those whose answers were (no) to the question of Activity in the field of women's work, reaching (72.3%), while the lowest percentage of those whose answers were (yes) was (27.7%), which is shown in the following table (3.8):

Table 3.10: Characteristics of the study sample according to Activity in the field of women's work factor

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Activity in the field of women's work	yes	87	28.3%
	no	220	71.7%
	Total	307	100%

4 Chapter 4

Discuss the results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter includes the results of the study, that shows the factors affecting customer satisfaction in Islamic banks in Palestine. (Likert) quintuple used in the study, by calculating the range and length of the category, whose value was (0.80), as shown in the following table (4.1) (Abu Saleh, 2001):

Table 4.1: Weighted Mean

<i>Range Value</i>	<i>Likert Scale</i>	<i>Verbal Interpretation</i>	<i>Shortcut Degree</i>
1.00-1.49	Strongly Disagree	Very low	V. L
1.50-2.49	Disagree	low	L
2.50-3.49	Neutral	Moderate	M
3.50-4.49	Agree	High	H
4.50-5.00	Strongly Agree	Very high	V. H

4.2 Results of the Study Questions

RQ1: What are the Realities of Foreign Financing Policies for the Palestinian Women's Sector?

The means and standard deviations of the responses of the study sample were extracted for each of the paragraphs that measure the realities of foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector, and the results were as in the following table (4.2):

Table 4.2: Mean and std deviations of the answers of the study sample on the items related to the social and physical environment

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
1.	Foreign bodies finance workshops that will develop the political capacity of Palestinian women.	3.66	.902	73.2%	H
2.	Foreign bodies often use funding for the Palestinian Authority as leverage with the aim of increasing the rates of Palestinian women's participation in political life.	3.64	.941	72.8%	H
3.	Foreign aid is given to political parties whose leadership is women.	3.27	.965	65.4%	M
4.	Foreign funding policies target women in the Palestinian political field.	3.31	.903	66.2%	M
5.	Foreign funding policies are concerned with providing training and women's political development projects.	3.63	.835	72.6%	H
6.	Foreign funding policies seek to improve women's access to information.	3.66	.790	73.2%	H
7.	Foreign funding policies provide opportunities to support feminist collective action in the Palestinian territories.	3.68	.811	73.6%	H
8.	Foreign funding policies seek through advice and support to create feminist lobby groups.	3.56	.928	71.2%	H
9.	Foreign bodies fund academic programs in Palestinian universities aimed at providing scholarships and research grants for women in political fields.	3.30	.951	66.0%	M
10.	Workshops and seminars that seek to educate and educate women politically.	3.56	.907	71.2%	H
11.	The level of foreign funding for women's associations and institutions is sufficient to cover their activities.	3.10	.924	62.0%	M
12.	Foreign funding decisions depend on the quality and need of projects developed by women's associations.	3.51	.944	70.2%	H
13.	Women are included in meetings related to community development from donor countries and government agencies.	3.45	.878	69.0%	M
14.	Decision makers in the National Authority believe that adequate	3.43	.918	68.6%	M

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
	funding of activities related to women's development leads to comprehensive societal development.				
15.	Decision makers in the National Authority believe that appropriate funding for women's institutions leads to comprehensive societal development.	3.30	.960	66.0%	M
Total Degree of the Reality of the external Financing policies of Palestinian women's		3.46	.549	69.2%	M

From the previous table, the overall degree of foreign financing policy realities for Palestinian women was moderate, with an average arithmetic of this score (3.46), a standard deviation of (0.549) and a response rate is (69.2%), according to the scale used in the study.

The previous table shows that the highest response paragraphs were paragraph (7), which received a response rate of (73.6%), which confirmed that foreign financing policies provided opportunities to support women's collective action in the Palestinian territories, as well as paragraph (6). Which came in response (73.2%), which showed that foreign finance policies seek to improve women's access to information, also paragraph (1), which received a high response rate of (73.2%), which showed that Foreign funding finances workshops that will develop the political capacity of Palestinian women.

It is also noted that the least responsive paragraphs among the respondents in this area, are paragraph (11), which came with an average score of (62.0%), which showed that the level of foreign funding for women's associations and institutions is sufficient to cover their activities, as well as paragraph (3), which came with an moderate response rate (65.4%), which showed an moderate degree of approval that the provision of foreign assistance is greater for political parties led by women, as well as paragraph (9) which came with an average response (66.0%)

which showed an average degree of approval that foreign entities fund academic programs in Palestinian universities aimed at scholarships and research for women in the political fields.

The previous results are consistent with what Mr. Diab Zaid said in the interview conducted by the researcher with him. Besides, he indicated that the funds available from funding remain limited and restricted to a specific period, which prevents organizations from developing long-term strategies to empower women, and in most cases, the duration of the project limits the possibilities of Doing tangible action or planning tangible results (Zaid, 2021).

He also made clear that the focus of donor agencies is to support activities related to soft skills rather than creating real development among women. At the same time, the available fund pushes women's organizations to work on advocating for the issuance of laws and so on, ignoring the fact that since 2007. Palestine has been living without a legislative authority, and all laws are passed through the President of the Palestinian Authority, which, in and of itself, contradicts the basic principles of democracy. Support for women's productive projects (as cooperatives) is still very limited and this is another problem facing organizations.

Mr. Zaid specified that in light of the spread of poverty and unemployment, the priority will be to boost income and develop projects to provide women with job opportunities. However, the donor makes it necessary to focus on promoting gender equality and women's rights ignoring the fact that all of these elements must go hand in hand. The space given to organizations to design interventions that respond to the concrete needs of women remains limited, and the donor dictates the nature of projects by declaring the type of areas the fund should pass through.

Mrs. Sahar al-Qawasmi was interviewed, believes that the reality of foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector is in decline and not in the required size. The budgets have become small, fragmented budgets of 3 months, 6 months and a year. I think that it is within

these few budgets and the time period that he sets Donors, the desired effect cannot be achieved in the women's sector, which can be justified by the fact that donor countries and foreign financiers have become more preoccupied with their issues, and the issue of Palestine or the development of Palestinian women are no longer their current preoccupation (Al-Qawasmi, 2021).

Ms. Amal Hamad (Minister of Women's Affairs in the Palestinian National Authority), said that there is a global trend to support gender projects, especially empowering women and enhancing their role in advanced leadership positions. With regard to foreign funding policies, there sometimes support comes in a specific form with a previous orientation to support a specific sector or a specific goal to enhance the role of women and their participation in decision-making positions. There are those who look for gaps in the working women's sector to cover to enable women to reach advanced positions in leadership (Hamad, 2021).

Dr. Yasser Shaheen explained that the general tendency of international organizations, especially the European Union, to support the women's sector in developing countries and in Palestine in particular. However, this funding has been send directed to non-productive activities. Most of the programs are to fund the women's sector in the field of human rights, gender and similar sectors (Shaheen, 2021).

As Dr. Souad al-Abed discuss that foreign funding for the women's sector is little and limited to some issues related to women's freedom and rights according to Western laws and regulations. The most supportive countries for women's support issues may be the Scandinavian countries, led by Norway, in addition to some projects supported by the World Bank (AL-Abed, 2021).

In the foregoing, we find that the reality of foreign funding policies directed towards the Palestinian women's sector is a moderate reality, rather it is declining gradually. As a result of the limitations set by donors, in addition to the concern of the whole world with issues that have become more important than the development of Palestinian women, especially in light of what is going on. The world today is faced with challenges.

RQ2: What is the Level of Women's Participation in Terms of (Political Participation and Participation in Decision-Making)?

To answer this question, it is divided into two sub-questions:

RQ2-1: What is the level of political participation of Palestinian women?

The means and standard deviations of the responses of the study sample were extracted for each of the paragraphs that measure the level of political participation of Palestinian women, and the results were as in the following table (4.3):

Table 4.3: Mean and std deviations of the answers of the study sample on the items related to the political participation of Palestinian women

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
1.	تهتم المرأة الفلسطينية بالقضايا السياسية.	3.86	.898	77.2%	H
2.	تهتم المرأة الفلسطينية بالتعرف على الحملات السياسية	3.69	.955	73.8%	H
3.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية القدرة على فهم القضايا السياسية.	3.92	.876	78.4%	H
4.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية القدرة الكبيرة في مناقشة القضايا السياسية.	3.80	.961	76.0%	H
5.	تمتلك النساء الفلسطينيات في مجالات الإعلام والصحافة القدرة على الكتابة بموضوعية في القضايا السياسية	3.91	.912	78.2%	H
6.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية شعوراً بالثقة لدى مناقشة الآخرين في المواضيع السياسية.	3.85	.932	77.0%	H

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
7.	أعتقد بأننا بحاجة إلى قوانين وتشريعات إضافية لزيادة نسب مشاركة المرأة في السلطة التنفيذية (كمجلس الوزراء وغيرها من المؤسسات)	4.07	.951	81.4%	H
8.	تمتلك المؤسسات النسوية القدرة على تشجيع الفتيات الفلسطينيات على المشاركة السياسية.	3.68	.951	73.6%	H
Total Degree of level of the political participation of Palestinian women		3.84	.717	76.8%	H

From the previous results, we find that the total degree of the level of political participation of Palestinian women was high, as the arithmetic mean that measures this degree was (3.84), with a standard deviation of (0.717), and a high response rate of (76.8%).

From the previous table (), we find that the highest paragraphs in terms of respondents' response was paragraph No. (22), which came with a high response rate of (81.4%), which indicated a great need for additional laws and legislation to increase the rates of women's participation in the executive authority, also paragraph No. (18), which came with a high response rate of (78.4%), which indicated that Palestinian women possess a high ability to understand political issues, as well as paragraph No. (20), which came with a high response rate of (78.2%), which showed that Palestinian women have the ability to write Objectively on political issues in the fields of media and journalism.

As for the least responsive paragraphs, it was paragraph No. (23) which came with a high response rate of (73.6%), which showed that women's institutions have the ability to encourage girls to participate in political participation in a large way, as well as paragraph No. (17) which came with a high response rate of (73.8%), which showed the Palestinian woman's great interest in learning about political campaigns.

The researcher believes that the previous results were logical and consistent with the national situation of Palestinian women throughout the struggle history of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation was not limited to men without women, Rather, the Palestinian woman was an active member in all fields of struggle, and she had many initiatives in the social, economic and political fields during difficult periods in the history of the Palestinian people, and Palestinian history is full of examples of that.

RQ2-2: What is the level of Women's Participation in Decision-Making?

The means and standard deviations of the responses of the study sample were extracted for each of the paragraphs that measure the level of women's participation in decision-making, and the results were as in the following table (4.4):

Table 4.4: Mean and std deviations of the answers of the study sample on the items related to the level of women's participation in decision-making

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
1.	تتبنى السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية السياسات والإجراءات الكفيلة بتحقيق (أهداف التنمية 2030 المتعلقة) وتحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين وتمكين النساء والفتيات.	3.29	.925	65.8%	M
2.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية كامل الحرية في المشاركة في الانتخابات التشريعية دون ضغوط.	3.23	.975	64.6%	M
3.	تقوم المرأة الفلسطينية من خلال المؤسسات النسوية العاملة في فلسطين بالمشاركة في صياغة السياسات الحكومية.	3.04	.976	60.8%	M
4.	يتم إشراك النساء الفلسطينيات بنسبة مناسبة في الحكومات الفلسطينية.	2.83	.943	56.6%	M
5.	يتم توظيف النساء في الوظائف الإدارية العليا في السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية وفقاً لمبدأ تكافؤ الفرص بينها وبين الرجل.	2.57	.972	51.4%	M

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
6.	تشجع العادات والتقاليد المجتمعية على حصول المرأة على فرص رئاسة المجالس المحلية والمجتمعية.	2.46	.908	49.2%	L
7.	تمارس المرأة الفلسطينية حقها في العمل في سلك القضاء بموازاة الرجل.	3.14	.998	62.8%	M
8.	توفر التشريعات الفلسطينية المساحة للمرأة الفلسطينية في ممارسة العمل السياسي.	3.10	.992	62.0%	M
9.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية مستوى تمثيل مناسب في المؤسسات السياسية (كالمجلس الوطني والمركزي).	2.77	.974	55.4%	M
10.	يتم تمكين النساء من الوصول إلى مناصب عليا كالوظائف العسكرية.	2.85	.990	57.0%	M
11.	توفر القوانين والتشريعات الفلسطينية الحالية متطلبات مشاركة المرأة في كافة المجالات.	3.16	.932	63.2%	M
12.	تتوفر نسبة كافية من جمعيات العمل النسوي في فلسطين والتي تخدم قطاع المرأة بكافة المجالات.	3.28	.957	65.6%	M
13.	تمتلك المرأة نسب تمثيل مناسبة في اللجان المنبثقة لاتخاذ قرارات في كافة المجالات.	3.00	.988	60.0%	M
14.	يتم التصويت من الناخبين دون تحيز في حال أن المترشح لأي انتخابات امرأة	2.98	.985	59.6%	M
The total Degree of the level of women's participation in decision-making		2.97	.639	59.4%	M

The results in the previous table show that the total degree of women's participation in decision-making was of a moderate degree, as the arithmetic mean that measures this degree was (2.97) with a standard deviation of (0.639) and a moderate response rate of (59.4%).

The highest paragraphs in terms of respondents' response was paragraph No. (24), which came with an average response rate of (65.8%), which shows a moderate degree of approval for the Palestinian National Authority's adoption of policies and procedures to achieve (Development Goals 2030) related to achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls Also, paragraph No. (35), which came with a moderate response rate of (65.6%), which reflects a

medium approval about the existence of sufficient percentages of women's work associations that serve the women's sector in all fields in Palestine.

The least response was paragraph No. (29) which came with a low response rate of (49.2%), which showed low approval towards encouraging societal customs and traditions for women in their obtaining the presidency of local and community councils.

Also Paragraph No. (28), which had a moderate response rate of (51.4%), which shows approval at the lowest levels of the moderate degree towards employing women in senior administrative positions in the Palestinian National Authority according to the principle of equal opportunities between them and men, as well as paragraph No. (32) Which came with a moderate response of (55.4%), which showed moderate approval for Palestinian women to have appropriate representation rates in Palestinian political institutions.

Also, paragraph No. (27), which came at a moderate rate of (56.6%), and which indicated a moderate approval towards the participation of Palestinian women in an appropriate proportion in Palestinian governments.

Dr. Suad al-Abed believes that foreign funding may be indirectly interested in supporting women's participation in decision-making by supporting their presence in the leadership of civil society institutions that support various projects. For example, in the requirement that there be a female component in administrative bodies and in decision-making in these institutions, even if they are the goals of the institution do not affect women (AL-Abed, 2021).

Ms. Amal Hamad believes that there are obstacles to women's participation in decision-making, and perhaps these obstacles are due to the political parties' control over the civil institutions to which they belong, and men's control over the majority of positions in the party (Hamad, 2021).

Dr. Suad Al-Abed believes that the reality of women's participation in the decision-making process in various sectors follows a reasonable and developed path, taking into account the cultural and social conditions that constitute natural limits to their participation (AL-Abed, 2021).

Ms. Amal Hamad believes that the failure of any woman to win in the electoral districts has nothing to do with foreign funding, but rather with societal culture and legal obstacles. The Palestinian Elections Law, after its amendment, established a feminist quota for women's participation, but it was limited to lists, so women aligned themselves with her party (Hamad, 2021).

Mrs. Amal Hamad believes that the election results were not in harmony with the size of women's participation. There are 17 women in the Legislative Council, but there is no united feminist front. However, the general trend in Palestine, especially among the leadership, is to raise the percentage of women's participation, which in general reaches 38% compared to 38.8% in Europe and 15% in the Americas and in Asia to 14.3%, to reach 30%, in implementation of the decision of the National Council and in line with the requirements of the foreign funder (Hamad, 2021).

According to Mr. Yasser Shaheen, the conditionality of funding has led to the reluctance of many women's organizations to benefit from these programs and to intervene in directing them to sectors or developmental or purely national goals. The reasons are political par excellence, mostly pouring into supporting the occupation and adopting its narrative, Therefore, universities often boycott any conditional programs or biased or adopts the idea of normalization or support the occupation. Universities did not participate in many programs at all (Shaheen, 2021).

By answering the sub-questions of the second question, the second question of the study can be answered by extracting the arithmetic mean and standard deviation of the total score for the level of Palestinian women's participation, as shown in the following table:

Table 4.5: Mean and std deviations of the answers of the study sample on the items related to the level of women's participation in decision-making

#	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percent age	Degree
1.	Total Degree of level of the political participation of Palestinian women	3.84	.717	76.8%	H
2.	Total Degree of the level of women's participation in decision-making	2.97	.639	59.4%	M
Total degree of the level of women's participation		3.41	.544	68.2%	M

From the table (4.5), we find that the total degree of the level of participation of Palestinian women was at a moderate degree, where the arithmetic mean of this degree was (3.41) and with a standard deviation of (0.544) and a moderate response rate of (68.2%), and the level of political participation of Palestinian women was at a high degree, while the level of their participation in decision-making was moderate.

Mr. Diab Zaid highlighted that some of the conditions imposed by foreign funding institutions affect women's organizations. Because, these organizations do not accept many conditions, which makes them out of funding, and he talks about the conditions that criminalize the Palestinian national struggle, it is the struggle in which Palestinian women are an integral part (Zaid, 2021).

Mrs. Sahar al-Qawasmi believes that despite the existence of funding for civil society institutions, this did not affect women's participation in decision-making, and the reason for this is neither women's institutions nor women's efforts to demand their rights. However, rather the Palestinian decision-maker, who until now has not shown any will Reality to support women in

participating in political decision-making and in holding real decision-making positions (Al-Qawasmi, 2021).

As Dr. Suad Al-Abed shown that the Palestinian Authority does not have the financial resources that it can allocate to support women's participation in decision-making. In addition to the material problems, there are cultural and social obstacles that prevent this, and the biggest evidence of the widespread popular opposition to the CEDAW law is all that the authority can do to support this participation in allocating a feminist quota in the legislative and municipal elections. In addition to a policy closer to equality in employment (AL-Abed, 2021).

Mrs. Amal Hamad asserts that some of the proposed projects and programs have contributed to creating gender units within the security and civil institutions that are previously missed (Hamad, 2021).

Dr. Yasser Shaheen believes that the decision-making process needs a culture of democratic approach and this culture does not exist in Palestinian society. Even in the women's sector, and these funding programs formally aimed at supporting the democratic approach and participation in decision-making. But, on reality, this funding was directed to activities and secondary issues, which I believe did not contribute to the strengthening of democracy or the strengthening of the decision-making process. The Palestinian decision remain concerning everything related to exclusivity in the absence of legislative authorities and the exclusivity of the executive authority in decision-making and the weakness of the judicial authorities, the biggest loser including woman (Shaheen, 2021).

4.3 Study hypotheses test

H₀-1: There is no statistically significant relationship at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) between the external financing policies of the Palestinian women sector and the promotion of women's participation in the fields (political and decision-making).

To verify the validity of the previous hypothesis, the correlation coefficient was extracted for the relationship between the reality of foreign financing policies for the women sector and the level of women's political participation and decision-making, and the results were as in the following table (4.6):

Table 4.6: Correlation model between the total degree of the reality of foreign financing policies and the total degree of the level of participation of Palestinian women.

<i>Independent</i>	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>P</i>
Total Degree of the Reality of the external Financing policies of Palestinian women's	Total degree of the level of women's participation	.444**	0.000

Through the previous table, it becomes clear to us that there is a moderate correlation between the reality of foreign financing policies and the level of participation of Palestinian women, depending on the interpretation of the value of R as in Appendix No. (5), where the value of the correlation between the two variables was (0.444**), and this relationship was relevant Statistical significance, where the significance value reached (0.000), which is a strong significance value.

In the following figure (2), we show the model of the correlation between the independent variable and the dependent variable with its dimensions of political participation and decision-making:

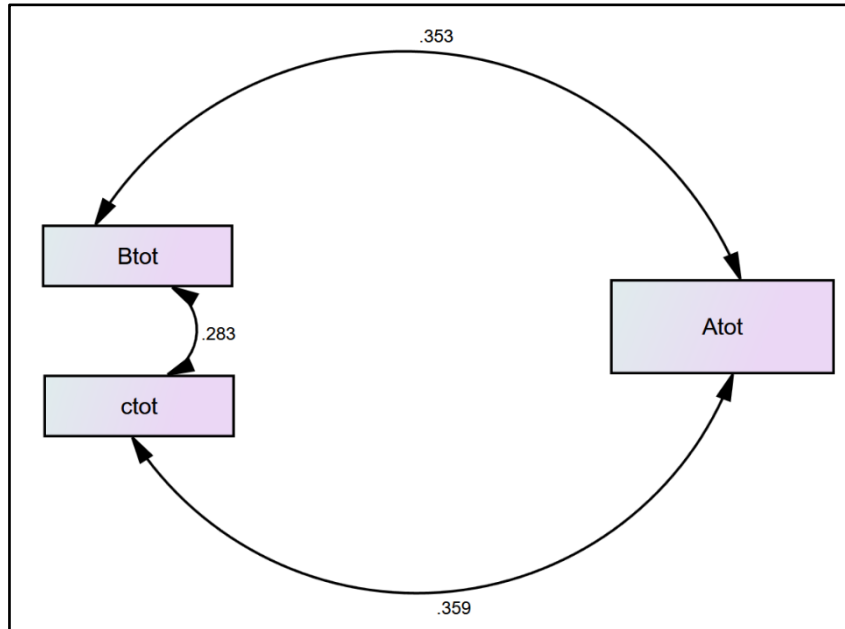


Figure 6: Correlation model between study variables (prepared by the researcher based on the AMOS package)

Where:

- Atot: The total degree of reality of foreign financing policies for the women's sector.
- Btot: The total degree of the level of Palestinian women's political participation.
- Ctot: The total degree of participation of Palestinian women in decision-making.

From the previous model, we find a correlation between the total degree of the reality of foreign financing policies for the women's sector and the total degree of the level of women's political participation, as the correlation value for this relationship reached (0.353^{**}) and with statistical significance amounted to (0.000), as well as a relationship with the total degree of the level of women's political participation. The participation of women in decision-making, and the correlation value for this relationship was (0.359^{**}) and its significance was (0.000).

As for the relationship between the total degree of women's political participation and the total degree of women's participation in decision-making, there was a correlation of (0.283) and statistical significance of (0.000).

According to the previous results, we find that the main hypothesis of the study has been verified as wrong, as the results show the existence of a statistically significant relationship between the total degree of the reality of foreign financing policies for the women sector and the total degree of the level of Palestinian women's participation. As well as, the existence of a statistically significant relationship between the reality. The foreign financing policies of the women's sector and between the total degree of the level of political participation of Palestinian women, and the total degree of the level of Palestinian women's participation in decision-making, and accordingly the main hypothesis of the study has been rejected and the alternative hypothesis accepted.

Mr. Diab Zaid agrees with this conclusion. he adds to her the importance of not ignoring the role of local women's organizations that have devoted time and effort to achieving women's goals in political participation and decision-making. Foreign funding must be matched with complementary national work, and funding cannot do anything without the efforts of national women's institutions, but these institutions can do a lot. without financing (Zaid, 2021).

While Mrs. Sahar al-Qawasmi believes that foreign funding for the Palestinian women's sector has contributed to organizing, mobilizing, raising awareness and building capacity (Al-Qawasmi, 2021).

Mr. Diab believes that dozens or hundreds of projects have been implemented in the field of Palestinian women's participation. But once the limited participation of women in the decision-making process is considered, it is indicated that these projects were not enough. The impact of the foreign policy of the donors is clear on these projects where unfair conditions have been imposed, whether for women or any other sector.

Dr. Yasser Shaheen believes that the conditionality of funding has led to the reluctance of many women's organizations from benefiting from these programs and even interfering in directing them to sectors or developmental or purely national goals, for political reasons par excellence, mostly supporting the occupation and adopting its narrative (Shaheen, 2021).

Mr. Yasser Shaheen believes that women's participation in decision-making is a formal and weak participation, and that the funding programs did not contribute to supporting or developing this relationship. Therefore, he does not see any relationship with a developmental or sustainable meaning in this field.

Likewise, in many cases, the donor determines the nature of the activities that are eligible and that affects the freedom of different organizations to design activities that respond to the concrete needs of women and different target groups. Some donors, such as US aid, even interfere with the names of recipients, another challenge facing organizations.

Ms. Amal believes that there are many societal determinants that prevent women's participation in decision-making, not just financing (Hamad, 2021). The organizations worked to prepare women to be able to participate, but the surrounding environment remained the same with no desire to change it. For example, many organizations have worked to encourage women to participate in the elections and lead the dialogue with the candidates, but the last time Palestine was elected to the Legislative Council was fifteen years ago. Therefore, it became clear that all these efforts are pointless and just a waste of time and resources. In general, the answer to the question can be found in the fact that the PA leadership is trying to impose a totalitarian regime that does not give space for the participation of any social stratum. Exclusion is not limited to women only, but also includes young people and even the political parties themselves.

However, Mrs. Amal Hamad believes that there is a compatibility between foreign funding policies and projects to support and empower women, which has contributed to raising the level of women's participation in decision-making positions, and this relationship is consistently positive and harmonious.

The reality of foreign financing policies definitely affects the level of Palestinian women's participation, but they are not the only factors. Palestinian women are women who have the ability to engage in political participation and possess the skills and abilities necessary to participate in taking over decision-making roles in all fields, but there are other societal determinants. This impedes this, in addition to the presence of indicators that the decision-makers in the Palestinian leadership are not serious about women's assumption of these tasks at present, which requires addressing these obstacles quickly. The results of foreign funding can be benefited from in the field of Palestinian women's participation.

H0-2: There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to demographic factors: (gender, age group, educational qualification, field of work, benefit from development programs in the field of social and political participation, participation in membership of committees Feminism, the state of activism in the feminist field).

In order to verify the validity of the previous hypothesis, it was divided into several sub-hypotheses as follows:

1. H₀-(2-1): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the gender factor.

To validate this hypothesis, we conducted independent Sample T-test, and the results of this test as in the following table (4.7):

Table 4.7: T-test results for the differences in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the gender factor

<i>Dependant</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	male	86	3.50	.364	305	1.822	.069
	female	221	3.37	.596			

According to the previous results, it was found that there were no statistically significant differences in the respondents' answers about the level of Palestinian women's participation due to gender, where the t-value was (1.822) and its statistical significance was (0.069), which is higher than the significance level (0.05). Thus, hypothesis H₀-(2-1) has been validated and accepted.

- 2. H₀-(2-2): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the age group factor.**

To verify the validity of this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed, and the results of this test were as in the following table (4.8):

Table 4.8: The results of the one-way variance test for the differences in the level of participation of Palestinian women due to the age group factor.

<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Source of variation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Between Groups	3	2.033	.678	2.317	.076
	Within Groups	303	88.619	.292		
Total		306	90.652			

It is clear from the previous table that there are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance in the respondents' answers about the level of participation of Palestinian women attributed to the age group factor, through the value of F and its significance, which amounted

to (0.076), which is higher than the significance level (0.05), The hypothesis ($H_0:2-2$) has been validated and therefore accepted.

3. H_0 -(2-3): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the educational qualification.

To verify the validity of this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed, and the results of this test were as in the following table (4.9):

Table 4.9: The results of the one-way variance test for the differences in the level of participation of Palestinian women due to the educational qualification factor.

<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Source of variation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Between Groups	2	2.661	1.331	4.597	.011
	Within Groups	304	87.991	.289		
Total		306	90.652			

According to the previous table, we find that there are statistically significant differences in the respondents' responses about the level of participation of Palestinian women due to the scientific qualification factor of the respondents, where the value of F was (4.597) and with a statistical significance of (0.011). To find out the sources of these differences, the Scheffe test was conducted and the results were as shown in the following table (4.10):

Table 4.10: The results of Scheffe test of the sources of the differences in the participation of Palestinian women attributed to the educational qualification coefficient.

<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Education (I)</i>	<i>Education (J)</i>	<i>mean difference (I-J)</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Diploma or less	Master's and above	.37505*	.012

According to the previous table, it is clear that the differences were in favor of those with a diploma and lower at the expense of those with a master's degree and higher, with the

significance of these differences (0.012). That have been explained by the fact that those with diplomas and less need to develop and improve their levels, especially in the field of education, to acquire skills that enable them to reach effective participation in society.

According to the previous results, the hypothesis H_0 -(2-3) has been verified as wrong, as it was noted that there were statistically significant differences in the level of Palestinian women's participation due to the factor of scientific qualification, and these differences were in favor of those who hold a diploma and less, at the expense of those who hold a master's qualification and above.

Therefore, the hypothesis H_0 -(2-3) was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted.

4. H_0 -(2-4): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the field of work.

To verify the validity of this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed, and the results of this test were as in the following table (4.11):

Table 4.11: The results of the one-way variance test for the differences in the level of participation of Palestinian women due to the field of work factor.

<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Source of variation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Between Groups	4	6.632	1.658	5.959	.000
	Within Groups	302	84.020	.278		
Total		306	90.652			

According to the previous table, we note that there are statistically significant differences in the respondents' answers about the level of Palestinian women's participation attributed to the field of work factor, through the value of F, which amounted to (5.959) and its significance, which was valued (0.000).

In order to find out the source of these differences, the Scheffe test was conducted, and the results were as shown in the following table (4.12):

Table 4.12: The results of Scheffe test of the sources of the differences in the participation of Palestinian women attributed to the field of work factor.

<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Field of work (I)</i>	<i>Field of work (J)</i>	<i>mean difference (I-J)</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	private sector	civil society organizations	.41378*	.032
		Public Sector	.27989*	.044
	Unemployment	civil society organizations	.51973*	.005
		free work	.39016*	.039

According to the previous table, we find that the differences in the respondents' answers were in favor of workers in the private sector, at the expense of those who work in civil society institutions, and the significance of these differences was (0.032). It was also noted that there were differences in favor of those without work at the expense of those working in the government sector, civil society institutions. Besides, those who work as self-employed, and these differences were strong at the expense of those who work in civil society institutions, where the significance value reached (0.005). The researcher explains this in the fact that those who do not work tend more towards the requirements of political participation.

According to the previous results, the hypothesis H0-(2-4) has been verified as wrong, as it was found that there were differences in the respondents' answers about the level of participation of Palestinian women, and these differences were attributed to the labor sector worker, and these differences were in favor of those who work in the private sector and those who do not work, and therefore they are Hypothesis H0-(2-4) has been rejected and its alternative hypothesis is accepted.

- 5. H₀-(2-5): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the benefit from development programs in the field of social and political participation.**

To validate this hypothesis, we conducted independent Sample T-test, and the results of this test as in the following table (4.13):

Table 4.13: T-test results for the differences in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the benefit from development programs in the field of social and political participation

<i>Dependant</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Yes	117	3.46	.560	305	1.223	.222
	No	190	3.38	.533			

From the results of the table (4.13), we note that there are no statistically significant differences about the level of Palestinian women's participation due to the factor of benefiting from development programs in the field of social and political participation, as the arithmetic averages were close to those who benefited from such programs with those who did not benefit from them. The calculated t and its significance were (0.222), which is higher than the significance level (0.05), and therefore the hypothesis H₀ - (2-5) has been validated and accepted.

- 6. H₀-(2-6): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the participation in membership of committees Feminism.**

To validate this hypothesis, we conducted independent Sample T-test, and the results of this test as in the following table (4.14):

Table 4.14: T-test results for the differences in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the participation in membership of committees Feminism

<i>Dependant</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Yes	85	3.39	.604	305	-.327-	.744
	No	222	3.41	.520			

From the previous table (), we note that there are no differences in the averages of the respondents' answers due to participation in committees related to women's work, where the value of *t* and its significance, which amounted to (0.744) is higher than the significance level (0.05), which means the agreement of those who participated in committees Feminist with others in answering the paragraphs of the study tool.

From the previous results, it can be said that hypothesis H_0 -(2-6) has been validated and therefore accepted.

7. H_0 -(2-7): There are no statistically significant differences at the level ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the state of activism in the feminist field.

To validate this hypothesis, we conducted independent Sample T-test, and the results of this test as in the following table (4.15):

Table 4.15: T-test results for the differences in the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the state of activism in the feminist field nism

<i>Dependant</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
level of women's participation	Yes	87	3.41	.598	305	.007	.995
	No	220	3.41	.522			

From the results of the previous table (), it is clear that there are no statistically significant differences in the total degree of Palestinian women's participation due to the activity factor in the female field, as it is evident from the calculated *t*-value, which came at a very low degree,

and its statistical significance, which reached a value of (0.995), which was higher than Significance level (0.05), Thus, hypothesis H0-(2-7) has been validated and accepted.

From the above, the results of the sub-hypothesis test for the second hypothesis of the study can be summarized in the following table (4.16):

Table 4.16: The results of the sub-hypothesis test for the second main hypothesis

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Sub- hypothesis</i>	<i>Test Result</i>	<i>Procedure</i>
H ₀ -2	H ₀ -2-1	Validation	Accepted
	H ₀ -2-2	Validation	Accepted
	H ₀ -2-3	Reject	Alternative
	H ₀ -2-4	Reject	Alternative
	H ₀ -2-5	Validation	Accepted
	H ₀ -2-6	Validation	Accepted
	H ₀ -2-7	Validation	Accepted

According to the results in the previous table (4.16), we show that three sub-hypotheses out of 7 were verified as erroneous, and thus it was found that there were differences in the average responses of the respondents about the level of women's participation due to demographic factors that were examined in these hypotheses. Therefore, it can be said that the second main hypothesis. In this study, its error was verified, and it was replaced by the alternative hypothesis, which says that there are statistically significant differences in the averages of the respondents' answers about the level of women's participation due to the demographic factors of the respondents.

The Results with Literature Review

According to Gender and Finance: Coming Out of the Margins study focused about the financing of climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies in developing countries is one of the core issues at the heart of the political debate over the improved global climate protection

policy architecture, that also focus in realizing poverty eradication, social development and gender justice in developing countries that there are significant to the results of this study. According to Strategies to Enhance Women's Leadership to Address Food and Nutrition Security Under a Changing Climate, they focus about the Stakeholders in the different fields have known successful strategies for addressing the challenges that climate change pose to food and nutrition security and health and gender equality that leads to a significant to the results of this study according the gender. According to Women's Paths to Political Participation and Decision making, their main focus to the problems that are surrounding governance and civil society; the PROWID projects pointed to various ways in which women can be integrated into the democratization process. The first section of this study shows the framework in which this can be achieved, including discussions of several elements organized under three central topics: political culture, civil society, and government institutions that are significant to the results of this study. According to GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT 2020 POLICY, there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender, their main focus about setting goals of this Policy in order to increase the lives of people around the world by advancing gender equality and empowering women and girls to participate in the development of their societies on the same basis as men. According to Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender this study discussed about Gender equality, including the equal participation of women and men in all aspects of political and public life, is a cornerstone principle to which all OSCE participating States have subscribed. According to Electoral Financing to Advance Women's Political Participation: A Guide for UNDP Support study there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender, their main focus about five primers being produced on different aspects of gender and democratic governance by the United

Nations Development Programme Bureau for Development Policy. According to Promoting Female Labour Force Participation there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender, their main focus about Their participation within the labour force is critical to realizing gender equality, sustainable economic growth, and household welfare. this paper centres on female labour force participation. According to Women's Participation in Politics and Decision-Making in Ukraine: Strategy Paper there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender and decision making. this study talks about the gender equality in political participation is defined as a fundamental aspect of recent democratic governance Also, the purpose of this study is to identify appropriate strategies to promote gender equality in the political life and decision-making in Ukraine. According to Women in Political and Public Life there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender. This research offers insight into the intersections between the formal and informal, highlighting how state-society relations can create opportunities for progressing gender equality goals, and emphasizing these new ways of thinking about political and public life. According to Impact of women's participation and leadership on outcomes there is significant with the results of this study according to the decision making. In this study concentrate on the foundation of the ideal of equal participation in decision-making among women and men. According to POLICY FRAMEWORKS TO SUPPORT WOMEN'S FINANCIAL INCLUSION there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender. This study shows the policies that can be improved in national financial inclusion strategies and other policy initiatives to close the persistent gender gap in financial inclusion. According to the role of women in decision-making in Palestinian government institutions there is significant with the results of this study related to the decision making to Palestinian women. This study shows the role of women in decision-making in Palestinian government institutions. their assumption of higher decision-making

positions, by studying the factors that surrounds Palestinian women within the government sector. Lastly, According the Support of United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women to Gender Development Priorities in Governmental Sector in Post Oslo there is significant with the results of this study according to the gender. This research shows the problems of the nature of gender priorities in governmental sector post Oslo.

5 Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter includes a presentation of the results of the study, with attention to answering the study's questions and hypotheses and achieving its objectives. In addition to analyzing the results of the study and comparing them with the results of previous studies, with some suggesting into the recommendations based on the results of the study.

5.2 Summary of Study Results

5.2.1 Summary of Results Related to Study Questions:

With regard to the answers to the study questions, the results were as follows:

1. The reality of external financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector has reached an average level, with the response rate to the average responses of the respondents to the paragraphs measuring this reality (69.2%).
2. The priority of external financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector is to increase income, develop projects and provide employment opportunities for Palestinian women.
3. Foreign funding policies for the Palestinian women's sector pay close attention to gender, gender equality and gender.
4. The results showed that the level of foreign funding for women's associations and institutions to cover their activities was average with a response score of 62.0%.

5. Foreign financing policy for the women's sector is geared towards non-productive activities and programs dedicated to women's rights, gender and other sectors.
6. The level of external assistance to political parties that women lead has been moderate, with a response rate of 65.4%.
7. Foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector are declining during the current period as a result of the world's preoccupation with other more priority issues.
8. The level of foreign funding for universities and academic programs in Palestinian universities was average for grants and research on the Palestinian women's sector, with a response rate of 66.0%.
9. The results showed a high level of Palestinian women in the field of political participation, with 76.8 percent of respondents answering this reality.
10. The results showed a great need for additional laws and legislation to increase women's participation in the executive branch, with a high approval rating of 81.4%.
11. The results showed that Palestinian women have a high ability to understand political issues, as well as the ability to express their opinion objectively in the fields of media and journalism, and the response rate of the respondents to this has reached more than 78%.
12. Palestinian women's institutions have the ability to encourage girls to engage in political participation with a large response rate (73.6%).
13. The results showed an average degree of Palestinian women's participation in decision-making, with the overall response rate of women's participation in decision-making (59.4%).

14. The results showed that the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) adopts policies and procedures to achieve the goals (Sustainable Development 2030) for women with an average score of 65.8%.
15. The results showed that the promotion of women's community customs and traditions in obtaining a decision-making role, particularly in local and community councils, was low, with a response rate of 49.2%, to show that Palestinian society, like other Eastern societies, was dominated by masculinity.
16. The results also showed that achieving the principle of equal opportunities in the employment of women in senior management positions in the Palestinian National Authority was on average (51.4%).
17. The level of representation of Palestinian women in political institutions was averaged at 55.4%, and the approval rate for women in successive Palestinian governments was average (56.6%).
18. The results showed that there are obstacles to women's participation in decision-making, particularly those related to the control of political parties and the control of men within these parties.
19. The results showed that the community culture and the legal obstacles of not updating laws in accordance with the status of Palestinian women represent obstacles to women's representation in elections and senior government functions.
20. Foreign funding policies in the area of women's participation in decision-making are usually in favor of Israeli occupation agendas, and are therefore rejected by community women's institutions, as well as Palestinian universities.
21. The overall level of women's participation in the areas of political participation and decision-making was moderate (68.2%), and the level of political participation of

Palestinian women was higher, compared to that of their participation in decision-making.

22. The results showed that the lack of access to the required level of decision-making was due not only to lack of funding in this area but also to the lack of real will of decision makers in the Palestinian National Authority.
23. The results showed that the efforts of women's institutions led to the introduction of gender into security and civil institutions, which was previously missing.
24. The results showed that foreign funding for the women's sector was approved to support democratic approaches and participation in decision-making, and on the ground was directed at other secondary issues.

5.2.2 Summary of Results Related to the Study Hypotheses:

Later to test the hypotheses, several results were reached, the most important of which were:

1. The results showed a correlation between the overall degree of external financing policies for the women's sector and the overall level of Palestinian women's participation, with a correlation between the two variables (44.4%).
2. The results showed a correlation between the reality of foreign financing policies for the Palestinian women's sector and the overall degree of women's political participation level, with the value of association between the two variables (35.3%), and the overall degree of women's participation in decision-making at a correlation rate of 35.9%.
3. Through the relational model, women's participation in decision-making is linked to their level of participation in decision-making to a degree of association (28.3%).

4. The first main hypothesis of the study was rejected, as it was found that there was a morally significant relationship between the reality of foreign financing policies and the level of participation of Palestinian women in decision-making.
5. Interviews showed that external funding had a weak impact on the reality of Palestinian women's participation in decision-making, although there were many projects that had been approved, but on the ground the results were poor.
6. The results showed that there were moral differences in the average responses of the respondents about the level of participation of Palestinian women, and these differences were due to factors: scientific qualification and were in favor of those with a diploma qualification and less, which can be explained by the need for this group to develop and improve their levels, especially in the field of education.
7. Differences were also noted attributable to the labor factor, and the differences were in favor of private sector workers and those who did not, which could be explained by the fact that those who did not work or did not commit to government work had a greater tendency towards political activities.
8. The second main hypothesis of the study was rejected, and it was found that there were moral differences in the average answers of the respondents due to the factors of scientific qualification and the field of education.

5.3 Conclusions

Subsequent to the results of the study, the following conclusions were reached:

1. Foreign funding affects women's levels of political participation and participation in decision-making, but this impact is not significant and does not mean that they are unable to participate in decision-making in the absence of foreign external funding.

2. The reality of foreign funding for the women's sector, particularly with regard to decision-making participation programs, is arguably moderate, and although it is approved for decision-making purposes, it is redirected to less important secondary issues.
3. Palestinian women's participation in decision-making is moderate, and there are many constraints to their high levels.
4. Foreign funding for the Palestinian women's sector is often directed towards projects to increase income, achieve gender equality in labor issues and promote the issue of gender.
5. Foreign finance institutions do not greatly facilitate the coverage of Palestinian women's institutions' political rights projects and participation in decision-making. This makes them hostage to the implementation of programs in accordance with their budgets.
6. Projects carried out in partnership with the Palestinian academic sector and universities that serve democratic orientation. Women's participation in decision-making and political participation are virtually non-existent, as these externally and indirectly funded projects have their objectives of occupation. Which Palestinian universities and women's institutions reject.
7. Palestinian women are politically active and have a high level of political participation and a great understanding of political issues. Which is normal and is not affected by foreign funding.
8. The laws and legislation in force in the Palestinian territories need to be updated and developed in proportion to promoting women's participation in decision-making and empowering them as an effective part of society alongside men.

9. Palestinian women have local national women's institutions and organizations capable of creating their own political culture and promoting their political and social participation.
10. The activation and implementation of policies and procedures for achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals for Palestinian Women by the Palestinian National Authority falls short of what is required.
11. One of the most prominent obstacles to women's access to high levels of participation in decision-making is party power and men's control over leadership positions in political parties.
12. The lack of real will on the part of decision makers in the Palestinian National Authority. Also, in the Palestinian regime prevents women from reaching high levels of participation in decision-making.
13. The level of representation of women in leadership positions in national institutions and community councils is low and does not live up to what is required.
14. There is a weakness in the community encouragement of women to hold leadership positions, due to male customs and traditions in Palestinian society.
15. The application of the principle of equal opportunities with regard to the employment of women in government institutions and leadership positions was moderate.

5.4 Recommendations

On future, the study should consider into the following recommendations:

At the Government level:

- Work in order to formulate the updates to the laws and legislation in force in accordance with the requirements and needs of Palestinian women. Also, to present them in order to the legislative and judicial authorities for their legislation.
- The development of binding policies that make the application of the principle of equal opportunities in the employment of women in senior positions in state institutions an uncompromising basic criterion.
- Provide budgets for national women's institutions so that they can implement and implement their projects and programs without the need for external foreign funding.
- Take advantage of the political maturity of Palestinian women by involving them more in shaping national policies.

At the Level of Women's Institutions:

- Coordination and integration in working to serve the feminist cause in general through joint programs and projects that make reliance on foreign financing secondary.
- Moving towards Palestinian society with projects and programs that raise awareness about women's work and women's participation in decision-making.
- Work to find a consensus formula with the community, especially with regard to laws concerning women, which are highly sensitive in society such as: the CEDAW Agreement.

At the level of Palestinian Universities:

- Work to document cooperation and partnership with women's institutions with regard to local and national academic programs. Which are related to political participation and

decision-making for Palestinian women through national institutions and the private sector without the need for foreign funding.

- Emphasizing the rejection of any foreign programs and grants aimed at normalization and passing the policies and visions of the Israeli occupation in all aspects.
- Raising the level of representation of Palestinian women in decision-making in Palestinian universities.

Appendix 1: (declaration)

1.	Dr. Nabil Al-Mugrabi	Co-professor
2.	Dr. Abdel Ra'of Kharyoush	Co-professor
3.	Dr. Basem Ayoub	lecturer

Appendix 2: The Study Survey

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

عمادة البحث العلمي والدراسات العليا

الأخوة والأخوات

تحية طيبة وبعد

نقوم الباحثة بإجراء دراسة بعنوان:

" أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار "

إشراف:

د. عمر رحال د. سماح صالح

وذلك استكمالاً لمتطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير من الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

وإيماناً من الباحثة بأهمية موضوع الدراسة، ودورها في تسليط الضوء على واقع السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية وأثرها على قطاع المرأة الفلسطينية ومشاركتها في صنع القرار، وبقيناً منها بدعمكم الكريم للبحث العلمي ومجالاته المتعددة، فإنها ترحو منكم الإجابة عن جميع فقرات الاستبانة بكل صراحة وموضوعية، للوصول إلى نتائج تتمتع بالدقة العالية، مع العلم بأن الإجابات ستحاط بالسرية التامة ولن يتم استخدام المعلومات المقدمة من قبلكم إلا لأغراض البحث العلمي.

مع الشكر والتقدير

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

الجزء الأول العوامل الديمغرافية

يرجى اختيار الإجابة التي تناسبكم بوضع إشارة في المكان المناسب:

- الجنس: ☐ ذكر ☐ أنثى
- الفئة العمرية: ☐ 18 - أقل من 25 عام ☐ 25 - أقل من 40 عام ☐ 40 - أقل من 55 عام. ☐ 55 عام فأكثر
- الدرجة العلمية: ☐ دبلوم فأقل ☐ بكالوريوس ☐ ماجستير فأعلى
- مجال العمل: ☐ قطاع خاص ☐ قطاع حكومي ☐ مجتمع مدني ☐ عمل حر ☐ بلا عمل
- استفدت من برامج تنمية في مجال المشاركة المجتمعية والسياسية: ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- شاركت في عضوية لجان تتعلق بالعمل النسوي: ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- أعتبر نفسي ناشطاً/ة في مجال العمل النسوي: ☐ نعم ☐ لا

الجزء الثاني: واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية

يرجى اختيار القيمة التي تناسب رأيكم للفقرات التالية وفق المقياس الرقمي من 1-5، حيث:

(1 = غير موافق بدرجة قليلة جداً، 2 = غير موافق بدرجة قليلة، 3 = محايد، 4 = موافق بدرجة كبيرة 5 = موافق بدرجة كبيرة جداً)

الرقم	الفقرة	5	4	3	2	1
سياسات التمويل الأجنبي في مجال التنمية السياسية للمرأة						
1.	تمول الجهات الأجنبية ورشات العمل التي من شأنها تطوير القدرة السياسية لدى المرأة الفلسطينية.					
2.	تستخدم الجهات الأجنبية التمويل للسلطة الفلسطينية في كثير من الأحيان كورقة ضغط بهدف زيادة نسب مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في الحياة السياسية.					
3.	يتم تقديم مساعدات أجنبية أكبر للأحزاب السياسية التي تدخل في قيادتها النساء.					
4.	سياسات التمويل الأجنبي تستهدف النساء في حقل العمل السياسي الفلسطيني.					
5.	تهتم سياسات التمويل الأجنبي بتقديم تدريب ومشاريع تنمية سياسية نسوية.					
6.	تسعى سياسات التمويل الأجنبي إلى تحسين فرص النساء بالوصول إلى المعلومات.					

الرقم	الفقرة	5	4	3	2	1
7.	توفر سياسات التمويل الأجنبي فرصاً لدعم العمل الجماعي النسوي في الأراضي الفلسطينية.					
8.	تسعى سياسات التمويل الأجنبي من خلال تقديم المشورة والدعم لإنشاء جماعات نسوية ضاغطة.					
9.	تمول الجهات الأجنبية برامج أكاديمية في الجامعات الفلسطينية تستهدف تقديم منح دراسية وبحثية للنساء في المجالات السياسية.					
10.	ترعى الجهات المانحة ورش العمل والندوات التي تسعى لتوعية وتنقيف النساء سياسياً.					
11.	مستوى التمويل الأجنبي للجمعيات والمؤسسات النسوية كافٍ لتغطية نشاطاتها.					
12.	تعتمد قرارات التمويل الأجنبي على نوعية وحاجة المشاريع الموضوعة من قبل الجمعيات النسوية.					
13.	يتم إشراك المرأة في الاجتماعات المتعلقة بالتنمية المجتمعية من الدول المانحة والجهات الحكومية.					
14.	يؤمن أصحاب القرار في السلطة الوطنية بأن التمويل المناسب للأنشطة المتعلقة بتنمية المرأة يؤدي إلى تنمية مجتمعية شاملة.					
15.	يؤمن أصحاب القرار في السلطة الوطنية بأن التمويل المناسب للمؤسسات النسوية يؤدي إلى تنمية مجتمعية شاملة.					

الجزء الثالث: مستوى مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار

يرجى اختيار القيمة التي تناسب رأيكم للفقرات التالية وفق المقياس الرقمي من 1-5، حيث:
 (1 = غير موافق بدرجة قليلة جداً، 2 = غير موافق بدرجة قليلة، 3 = محايد، 4 = موافق بدرجة كبيرة 5 = موافق بدرجة كبيرة جداً)

الرقم	الفقرة	5	4	3	2	1
مستوى المشاركة السياسية للمرأة الفلسطينية B						
16.	تهتم المرأة الفلسطينية بالقضايا السياسية.					

الرقم	الفقرة	5	4	3	2	1
17.	تهتم المرأة الفلسطينية بالتعرف على الحملات السياسية					
18.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية القدرة على فهم القضايا السياسية.					
19.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية القدرة الكبيرة في مناقشة القضايا السياسية.					
20.	تمتلك النساء الفلسطينيات في مجالات الإعلام والصحافة القدرة على الكتابة بموضوعية في القضايا السياسية					
21.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية شعوراً بالثقة لدى مناقشة الآخرين في المواضيع السياسية.					
22.	أعتقد بأننا بحاجة إلى قوانين وتشريعات إضافية لزيادة نسب مشاركة المرأة في السلطة التنفيذية (كمجلس الوزراء وغيرها من المؤسسات)					
23.	تمتلك المؤسسات النسوية القدرة على تشجيع الفتيات الفلسطينيات على المشاركة السياسية.					
مستوى مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار						
24.	تتبنى السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية السياسات والإجراءات الكفيلة بتحقيق (أهداف التنمية 2030 المتعلقة) وتحقيق المساواة بين الجنسين وتمكين النساء والفتيات.					
25.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية كامل الحرية في المشاركة في الانتخابات التشريعية دون ضغوط.					
26.	تقوم المرأة الفلسطينية من خلال المؤسسات النسوية العاملة في فلسطين بالمشاركة في صياغة السياسات الحكومية.					
27.	يتم إشراك النساء الفلسطينيات بنسبة مناسبة في الحكومات الفلسطينية.					
28.	يتم توظيف النساء في الوظائف الإدارية العليا في السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية وفقاً لمبدأ تكافؤ الفرص بينها وبين الرجل.					
29.	تشجع العادات والتقاليد المجتمعية على حصول المرأة على فرص رئاسة المجالس المحلية والمجتمعية.					
30.	تمارس المرأة الفلسطينية حقها في العمل في سلك القضاء بموازاة الرجل.					

الرقم	الفقرة	5	4	3	2	1
31.	توفر التشريعات الفلسطينية المساحة للمرأة الفلسطينية في ممارسة العمل السياسي.					
32.	تمتلك المرأة الفلسطينية مستوى تمثيل مناسب في المؤسسات السياسية (كالمجلس الوطني والمركزي).					
33.	يتم تمكين النساء من الوصول إلى مناصب عليا كالوظائف العسكرية.					
34.	توفر القوانين والتشريعات الفلسطينية الحالية متطلبات مشاركة المرأة في كافة المجالات.					
35.	تتوفر نسبة كافية من جمعيات العمل النسوي في فلسطين والتي تخدم قطاع المرأة بكافة المجالات.					
36.	تمتلك المرأة نسب تمثيل مناسبة في اللجان المنبثقة لاتخاذ قرارات في كافة المجالات.					
37.	يتم التصويت من الناخبين دون تحيز في حال أن المترشح لأي انتخابات امرأة					

مع وافر الشكر والامتنان لتعاونكم

الباحثة: ثريا حجة.

Appendix 3: interview questions.

مقابلة بغرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار.

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج الجهات الرسمية)

الاسم:	الصفة:
جهة العمل:	تاريخ المقابلة:
وقت المقابلة:	مكان المقابلة:
مدة المقابلة:	

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية، وما هي أكثر الدول أو الجهات التي تمول مشاريع متعلقة بمشاركة المرأة في فلسطين؟
2. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات السنوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار، ما مدى اتفاقكم مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا الإسهام؟
3. ما دور السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية بالمشاركة في تمويل مشاريع تتعلق بمشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وما مدى مواجه الجانب الرسمي لعقبات تحول دون ذلك؟
4. من وجهة نظركم، ما مدى تأثير المشاريع المتعلقة بالمرأة الفلسطينية وتعزيز مشاركتها في صنع القرار بمبدأ مشروطية التمويل الأجنبي؟ وما هي الأسباب التي أدت إلى ذلك؟
5. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟
6. كان لافت في الانتخابات التشريعية التي جرت العام 2006، عدم فوز أي امرأة على الدوائر، في الوقت الذي فازت به (5) نساء في الانتخابات التشريعية الأولى التي جرت في العام 1996 في الدوائر، أسباب ذلك، هل تتعلق بالتمويل أم بالثقافة المجتمعية أم بالمعوقات القانونية؟
7. ما مدى توفير التشريعات الفلسطينية لبيئة داعمة لمشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في صنع القرار، وما مدى توافق هذه التشريعات والاتجاهات الدولية والتشريعات الدولية في هذا المجال؟

8. كيف تقيمون واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاعات المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟
9. بشكل عام، هل توافق على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترون طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

مقابلة بعرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة
في عملية صنع القرار.

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج الأكاديميين)

الاسم:	الصفة:
جهة العمل:	تاريخ المقابلة:
وقت المقابلة:	مكان المقابلة:
مدة المقابلة:	

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. من وجهة نظرك ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية؟
2. ما مدى تأثير شروط التمويل الأجنبي الأوروبية الجديدة على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار؟
3. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات السنوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار، ما مدى اتفاقكم مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا الإسهام؟
4. من وجهة نظركم، ما مدى تأثير المشاريع المتعلقة بالمرأة الفلسطينية وتعزيز مشاركتها في صنع القرار بمبدأ مشروطية التمويل الأجنبي؟ وما هي الأسباب التي أدت إلى ذلك؟
5. ما دور الجامعات في المشاركة بمشاريع ممولة أجنبياً لتعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار؟ وما أهمية وجود مثل هذه المشاريع؟
6. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟
7. من خلال عملكم كأكاديميين، كيف تقيمون واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاع المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟
8. بشكل عام، هل توافق/ين على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترون طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

مقابلة بغرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة
في عملية صنع القرار.

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج المؤسسات النسوية)

الاسم:	الصفة:
جهة العمل:	تاريخ المقابلة:
وقت المقابلة:	مكان المقابلة:
مدة المقابلة:	

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. من وجهة نظركن ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية؟
2. ما مدى تأثير شروط التمويل الأجنبي الأوروبية الجديدة على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار؟
3. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات النسوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار، ما مدى اتفاقك مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا الإسهام؟
4. من خلال اطلاعك على حال المرأة الفلسطينية، كم تقدر حجم المشاريع التي كانت تهدف إلى تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار في فلسطين، وهل كانت هذه المشاريع تتأثر خلال تنفيذها بسياسات التمويل الخارجي؟
5. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟
6. من خلال عملك في المؤسسات النسوية الفلسطينية، كيف تقيمين واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاع المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟
7. بشكل عام، ما مدى موافقتك على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترين طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

Appendix 4: Interviews.

الصفة: عضو هيئة تدريس

الاسم: د. سعاد فضل محمد العبد

تاريخ المقابلة: 2021-12-8

جهة العمل: جامعة القدس المفتوحة

مكان المقابلة: بيت لحم

وقت المقابلة: 9:18 صباحا

مدة المقابلة: ساعة

س1:

التمويل الاجنبي لقطاع المرأة قليل ومحصور في بعض القضايا التي تتعلق بحرية المرأة وحقوقها وفق القوانين والنظم الغربية وأكثر الدول دعما لقضايا دعم المرأة ربما تكون الدول الإسكندنافية وعلى رأسها النرويج، اضافة لبعض المشاريع المدعومة من البنك الدولي.

س2:

ربما يكون التمويل الاجنبي اهم بشكل غير مباشر في دعم مشاركة المرأة في اتخاذ القرار عبر دعم وجودها في قيادة مؤسسات المجتمع المدني الداعمة لمشاريع مختلفة فمثلا في اشتراط وجود عنصر المرأة في الهيئات الادارية وفي صناعة القرار في هذه المؤسسات حتى لو كانت اهداف المؤسسة لا تطال المرأة.

س3:

السلطة الوطنية لا تمتلك الامكانيات المادية التي يمكنها تخصيصها لدعم مشاركة المرأة في اتخاذ القرار ، فإضافة للمشكلات المادية هناك معوقات ثقافية واجتماعية تحول دون ذلك واكبر دليل المعارضة الشعبية الواسعة لقانون "سيداو" وكل ما استطاعته السلطة لتدعيم هذه المشاركة في تخصيص كوتة نسوية في الانتخابات التشريعية والبلدية اضافة لسياسة اقرب الى المساواة في التوظيف.

س4:

التمويل المشروط خاضع لشروط ربما لا تستجيب لحاجة المرأة ولا تتماشى مع حاجة المجتمع الاساسية، فهذه المشاريع لا تلقى الدعم الجماهيري لأنها لا تركز على قضايا الفقر والبطالة والجهل التي تعاني منها المرأة في المجتمع.

س5:

يعود السبب كما اسلفت الى ان معظم المشاريع لا تتعلق بحاجات المرأة الاساسية المتعلقة بالعيش والعمل وتسهيل ظروف الحياة بمواجهة الفقر والجهل والعوز .

س6: بالنسبة للانتخابات في مجتمع قبلي وعشائري، يقدم الرجل باعتباره الممثل الأكثر جدارة في قيادة المجتمع، بالتأكيد لا حظوظ للمرأة الا في سياق القوانين التي تمنح مقاعد للمرأة وفق نظام الكوتة وهذا ما يحدث بالعادة، خاصة وان الحركة السياسية والاحزاب تعكس الثقافة التي لا تتيح للمرأة قيادة العمل الوطني والسياسي وفقا لمبدأ المساواة والاهلية.

س7:

التشريعات الفلسطينية بالأساس تتعامل مع الرجل والمرأة بدون تمييز، وتعطيها الحق الكامل في الترشح والتصويت والانضمام في كل مؤسسات صنع القرار ضمن السلطات التشريعية والتنفيذية والسلطة القضائية، اضافة الى محاولة السلطة الفلسطينية مواكبة أي خطوة باتجاه منح المرأة كافة الحقوق المؤدية لحصولها على حقوق متساوية ودعمها في مواجهة الغلبة الذكورية التي توفرها البيئة الثقافية عبر اعطائها فرص معقولة في مجال الانتخابات التشريعية والمحلية بإعطاء فرصة الترشح الطبيعي مع منحها "كوتة خاصة".

س8:

ان واقع مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار في القطاعات المختلفة تسير في مسار معقول ومتطور مع الاخذ بعين الاعتبار الظروف الثقافية والاجتماعية التي تشكل حدود طبيعية لمشاركتها.

س9:

ان فكرة منح التمويل الاجنبي بشروط خاصة تحدد المدى والقطاع والهدف بسلطة كاملة وخارج الارادة الوطنية يمكن اعتبارها شكل اخر من اشكال فرض الهيمنة ومصادرة استقلالية القرار، وبالتالي ان منح تمويل المشاريع تديرها المرأة وتؤدي الى تطوير فاعليتها وانتاجيتها.

مقابلة بعرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار .

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج الأكاديميين)

الصفة: أكاديمي وخبير مالي

تاريخ المقابلة: 8-12-2021

مكان المقابلة: التلفون

الاسم: د. ياسر شاهين

جهة العمل: جامعة فلسطين الاهلية

وقت المقابلة: العاشرة صباحم

مدة المقابلة: نصف ساعه

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. من وجهة نظرك ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية؟

هنالك توجه من المنظمات العالمية خاصة من الاتحاد الأوروبي لدعم قطاع المرأة في الدول النامية وفي فلسطين على وجه الخصوص. تم توجيه هذا التمويل الى أنشطة غير منتجة غالبية البرامج هي لتمويل قطاع المرأة في مجال حقوق الانسان الجندرة وقطاعات مشابهه

2. ما مدى تأثير شروط التمويل الأجنبي الأوروبية الجديدة على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار؟

للأسف غالبية برامج التمويل كانت كما اسلفت موجهة لقطاعات غير منتجة، وفي إطار قوانين محاربة الارهاب كما يدعون ربطت كل برامج التمويل والمساعدات بشروط مجحفة مرتبة بوجهات نظر الممولين بالعملية السلمية والمنحازة لجانب الاحتلال والإسرائيليين

بالتالي لم تساعد هذه البرامج ولا باي شكل من الاشكال في توجيه هذه المساعدات لأبعاد تنموية ذات بعد مستدام او موجه للإنتاج الفعلي او ما يخدم تنمية قطاع المرأة او القطاعات الانتاجية او الناتج المحلي الفلسطيني او تحسين المؤشرات الاقتصادية لقطاع المرأة

3. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات السنوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع

القرار، ما مدى اتفاقكم مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا

الإسهام؟

عملية صنع القرار تحتاج لثقافة النهج الديمقراطي وهذه الثقافة غير موجودة في المجتمع الفلسطيني، وحتى في القطاع النسوي، وبرامج التمويل هذه شكليا كانت تهدف الي دعم النهج الديمقراطي والمشاركة في صنع القرار . لكن عمليا على ارض الواقع وجه هذا التمويل لأنشطة وقضايا ثانوية اعتقد انها لم تساهم في تعزيز الديمقراطية ولا في تعزيز عملية صنع القرار وظل لقرار الفلسطيني فيما يخص كل شيء مرتبط بالنفرد في ظل غياب السلطات التشريعية ونفرد السلطة التنفيذية في اتخاذ القرارات وضعف السلطات القضائية، الخاسر الاكبر كان المرأة ايضا

4. من وجهة نظركم، ما مدى تأثير المشاريع المتعلقة بالمرأة الفلسطينية وتعزيز مشاركتها في صنع القرار بمبدأ مشروطية التمويل الأجنبي؟ وما هي الأسباب التي أدت إلى ذلك؟

مشروطية التمويل أدت لعزوف العديد من المنظمات النسوية عن الاستفادة من هذه البرامج وحتى التدخل في توجيهها الي قطاعات أو أهداف تنموية أو وطنية بحتة. الاسباب سياسية بامتياز تصب في جلها الى مناصرة الاحتلال وتبني روايته

5. ما دور الجامعات في المشاركة بمشاريع ممولة أجنبياً لتعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار؟ وما أهمية وجود مثل هذه المشاريع؟

الجامعات بالغالب تقاطع اي برامج مشروطة او منحازة او تتبنى الفكر التطبيعي او مناصرة الاحتلال. لم تشارك الجامعات في العديد من البرامج اصلا

6. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟

- البرامج كانت موجهة لأنشطة وبرامج غير هادفة وليست ذات بعد تنموي او انتاجي او وطني لذا تم العزوف عن بعضها والباقي كان غالبية التمويل للمنظمات والقائمين عليها ولم يخدم الفئات المستهدفة نفسها وهي المرأة اي أنشطة تشغيلية وليست رأسمالية او إنتاجية غالبية الموازنات لهذه البرامج صرفت علي المستشارين الاجنب والمدرين والاداريين كرواتب في هذه المنظمات النسوية او غير النسوية وبالتالي لم تساعهم بشكل في في التنمية
- البرامج والتمويل كان موجه سياسيا
- الفساد في المنظمات غير الربحية
- عدم التدقيق والمراجعة والشفافية
-

7. من خلال عملكم كأكاديميين، كيف تقيمون واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاع المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟

المجتمع الفلسطيني كما المجتمعات العربية هي مجتمعات رجال. هذه هي الثقافة السائدة في المجتمعات العربية، دور المرأة في صنع القرار والمشاركة السياسية الاقتصادية الاجتماعية هو شكلي وليس حقيقي، حتى في العملية الديمقراطية دور المرأة هي لتزيين العملية الانتخابية وكل القوانين والمعايير التي وضعت في الانتخابات الرئاسية والتشريعية والبلدية تجسد هذه الثقافة الرجالية. بالتالي واقع مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرارات في الشأن العام هي محدودة ضعيفة وشكلية.

8. بشكل عام، هل توافق/ين على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية

صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترون طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار شكلي ضعيف - برامج التمويل لم تساهم في دعم او تنمية هذه العلاقة - بالتالي لا اري اي علاقة ذات مدلول تنموي او مستدام في هذا المجال.

مقابلة بعرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار .

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج المؤسسات النسوية)

الصفة: المديرة العامة لمؤسسة أدوار

تاريخ المقابلة: 2-12-2021.

مكان المقابلة: عبر وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي

الاسم: د.سحر يوسف مصطفى القواسمي

جهة العمل: مؤسسة أدوار (مؤسسة أهلية)

وقت المقابلة: الساعة السادسة مساء

مدة المقابلة: نصف ساعة

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. من وجهة نظرك ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية؟

"هلا انا بشوف ان واقع السياسات التمويلية الاجنبية لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية في تراجع ومش بالحجم المطلوب وصارت الميزانيات هي عبارة عن الميزانيات الصغيرة مجتزئة مدتها 3 أشهر و 6 أشهر و سنة وانا اعتقد انه ضمن هذه الميزانيات القليلة والفترة الزمنية التي يحددها ما بنقدر نعمل فيها التأثير والتغيير الذي ننشد لالو وانا بعزي هاد الحكي انو صترت المؤسسات الاجنبية او دول العالم الاجنبي عم بلتهي بقضاياه بالتالي لم تصبح حاليا فلسطين من ضمن الاولويات الاساسية للتنمية او اقصد التمويل ، نحن حاليا نعاني كمؤسسات نسوية من حجم التمويل الذي لم يعد بالحجم المطلوب بما يتماشى مع حاجات المرأة الفلسطينية."

2. ما مدى تأثير شروط التمويل الأجنبي الأوروبية الجديدة على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار؟

"أنا أرى أن أي تمويل يأتي لفلسطين هو فرصة لنساء فلسطين بغض النظر عن كمه او حجمه او مواقعه ، أي فرصة تمويل قادمة هي فرصة للنساء الفلسطينيات مهما كانت وبالتالي هل التمويل يساعد المرأة في عملية صنع القرار نعم هو يساعد ولكن يساعد في عملية التوعية في بناء القدرات ويساعدها انها تظهر في المجال العام وهذا الذي حدث في تجربة أدوار ،نحن ساعدنا التمويل كثيرا في ابراز نماذج نسوية و شبابية في المجال العام لم يفتح للمرأة الفرصة ان اي جهة اخرى تظهرها مثل الاحزاب او المؤسسات او الجهات الحكومية صانعة القرار فهو يساعد ولكن كم نسب النساء في مواقع صنع القرار مش كتير كبيرة لانه هون انا ما بشوف التمويل هو السبب قدر ما هو اكثر تعود الى سياسات الحكومة الفلسطينية."

3. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات السنوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار، ما مدى اتفاقك مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا الإسهام؟

"مثل ما حكيتلك هو ساهم في التنظيم و التعبئة و رفع الوعي و بناء القدرات و لكن هل وصلت لمواقع صنع القرار وخلينا نقول حدينا من النسب في فجوات المشاركة السياسية للنوع الاجتماعي او مواقع صنع القرار لا زال حتى الان هذا الحكي مش موجود لانه مش انا عم بشوف انه المشكلة تكمن في الاجنبي بقدر ما انه هي تكمن في الحكومة الفلسطينية يعني بالرغم من التعبئة و التنظيم و الضغط والمناصرة و التأثير على الحكومة الفلسطينية وهذا التمويل هو يلي ساعد نحس هذه الاشياء ونعملها ولكن عدم استجابة الحكومة الفلسطينية في منح مساحات للنساء بأنها تنقلد مواقع صنع القرار وخلينا نقول تزيد نسب

مشاركتها في الفضاء العام الا وهو صنع القرار السياسي هو السبب وراء ذلك انو عدم وجودها بالقدر المطلوب او وجودها بانها تحتل اعلى النسب في موقع صنع القرار ."

4. من خلال اطلعكن على حال المرأة الفلسطينية، كم تقدرون حجم المشاريع التي كانت تهدف إلى تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار في فلسطين، وهل كانت هذه المشاريع تتأثر خلال تنفيذها بسياسات التمويل الخارجي؟

"انا بدي اجاب بشكل صريح على هذا السؤال ، انا بقولك هي مشاريع كثيرة وفي كان مشاريع في هذا الجانب تحديدا ومنحو مؤسسات اكثر خلفياتها سياسية حتى تدعم وتعزز هذا الجانب ،مدى تأثر تنفيذها بسياسات التمويل الخارجي انا ما بشوف في هذا الموضوع في سياسات التمويل الخارجي ، أنا بشوف انو صنع القرار و المشاركة السياسية و الاجتماعية انا ما بشوف انو التمويل يتدخل فيها كثير ك سياسات هو يترك المجال أكثر للمؤسسة المنفذة وانا بشوف انو المؤسسة المنفذة هي الها الحق كيف اتدير الامور و كيف تنفذها وكيف تمشي فيها ، هلا سياسات التمويل الخارجي بتكون الها علاقة في مثلا نظام اداري او مالي ما وانا بعينرو حق يعني مثلا ملتزم في سياسة مالية ضمن اجراءات محددة ملتزم الاجراءات الادارية ضمن اجراءات محددة موضحة وهاي تعتبر حق لاي جهة انت بتتعاقد معها انو الامور تكون كثير واضحة بتتمتع بشفافية بين الطرفين ، انا بشوف سياسات التمويل الخارجي بتأثر بأكثر قدر ممكن على المشاريع الاقتصادية احنا اذا بنراقب حجم التمويل و التمويل الي عم بيحي هو ما بيحي لدعم المشاريع الاقتصادية مش كثير المشاريع بلي بتيحي لدعم الاقتصاد وفتح فرص عمل وتطوير المشاريع للأسف هي أكثر كلها عم بتروح على قضايا العنف و القضايا الاجتماعية على قضايا صنع القرار و السياسة و بتستثني الاقتصاد وهاي احنا عارفين ليش لانو التمويل بالنهاية مش هدفه انه يخلق كثير تنمية حقيقية لدى المجتمع الفلسطيني هو هدفة اكثر يساعد في ترقيع المشاكل خيلنا نحكي الهدف اكثر انو يحل باجزاء بسيطة بس مش بحل كل المشاكل الموجودة لدى النساء الفلسطينيات"

5. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟

" انا بدي احكيك انو بالرغم من انه في وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني لم ينعكس على المشاركة ، السبب ليس المؤسسات النسوية لانها لعبت جهد كثير كبير ولا السياسات التمويلية ما الو علاقة هون ، يعني نحنا لحد الان نضغط باتجاه الكوته ورفع نسبة الكوته وما ردو و عقد اجتماعات وحوارات وما بردو انا بشوف انو الاشكالية تكمن في صالح صانع القرار الفلسطيني الذي لحد هذه اللحظة ما في ارادة سياسية حقيقية لانها تدعم وجود النساء في الحياة السياسية ولتقلدها مواقع صنع القرار الحقيقي."

6. من خلال عملكن في المؤسسات النسوية الفلسطينية، كيف تقيمين واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاع المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟

" انا بقول انو في صنع القرار في الحياة السياسية لازال ضعيف وهو في فجوات في نسب المشاركة واضحة وكثير كبيرة لازالت النساء في عملية الانتخاب وترشحها في القوائم تعاني من اشكاليات معينة كثير بدنا شغل على الواقع السياسي اما في الاجتماعي فاحنا بنشوف انو النساء الهم كثير حراك اجتماعي في مشاركة مجتمعية فاعلة من خلال ادارتها للنادية النسوية و ادارتها للمراكز في نفس الوقت تشكيل اللجان هاي اللجان النسوية ، لجان الحماية التي اسستها ادوار مجالس الظل التي أسستها جمعية المرأة العاملة الفلسطينية ، كل هاي اللجان هي تتيح فرص للنساء انها تلعب دور قيادي مجتمعي بتسلط الضوء على حقوق النساء بتحمي نساء اخريات من العنف المجتمعي في نفس الوقت ايضا انها هي بتسلط الضوء على قضية الخدمات ومعانات النساء في الخدمات وكيفية الوصول للخدمات ، برزت كثير المبادرات للشابات تحديدا ، حركات اجتماعية وهذا يشير على انه وضع النساء الفلسطينيات في صنع القرار موجود على المستوى الاجتماعي ولكن يحتاج الى فرص اكثر ليبرزوا بشكل اكبر وفي نفس الوقت يحتاج انو لاحداث هذا التحول بما انو في هذا الحجم من

المشاركة المجتمعية لنقلد مواقع صنع القرار لماذا لا ينعكس حجم هذه المشاركة على الحياة السياسية وهون هذا يدل على انه هناك في غياب ارادة سياسية على استثمار الجهود والطاقات ووضعها في مواقعها في صنع القرار السياسي ، اما الاقتصادي في كثير برز في حالات الكورونا كثير من المشاريع الاقتصادية المدرة للدخل الابداع للنساء الفلسطينيات في ادارة الازمة وتحويل ال بيزنيس الى بيزنس اخر للتكيف مع الواقع ولكن مشاكل النساء مع الحكومة و السياسات الاقتصادية التي لا تدعم المنتج المحلي هذا جانب في نفس الوقت ما في تسهيلات للقروض ما في تسهيلات للضرائب وكيفية التعامل معها في هذا الجانب كمان في الحياة الاقتصادية مش معكوس كثير في الغرف التجارية لا زال لا يوجد نساء في مراحل صنع القرار في الحياة الاقتصادية ومش كثير عم بنشوف سيدات أعمال مثل رجال الاعمال احنا كثير بحاجة لشغل على المستوى الاقتصادي اكثر وفتح مشاريع للنساء اكثر والترويج لبضائعها أكثر على المستوى العالمي وبدو شغل كبير .

7. بشكل عام، ما مدى موافقتك على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترين طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

" أنا بقول انو في علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الاجنبي ومستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار وهاي العلاقة بتحمي انا ما بشوفهاش هاي السياسات خلينا نقول غير داعمة ليش؟ لانو سياسات التمويل الاجنبي دايم بتدعم مشاركة المرأة و لما كنا احنا نشوف الفرص الي بتيجي للمؤسسات بشكل عام كنا دائما نشوف انو هاي الفرص بتروح للرجال فمثلا فرصة بتعطي للنساء انها تلعب دور قيادي وهاي من خلال برنامج بناء قدرات مثلا ممولينه الالمان ولازم تروح تزور المانيا وتأخذ هاي التجربة وتتعلمها في المانيا كنا نشوف لما نتترك الامور للجهات الحكومية كانوا يفضلو انهم بيعتو الرجال ويستنتو النساء من ذلك لما كانت سياسات التمويل تقول لا لازم النساء تكون موجودة كانت تتاح فرص للنساء بانها تشارك وتكون موجودة بهذا الجانب بس انا بشوف كمان كثير مهم انها تلعب دور هاي السياسات التمويلية بالضغط على الحكومة معنا لانو نحنا واضح انو لحالنا في الضغط على الحكومة مش عم نقدر نأثر ولكن اذا اجت هذه السياسات التمويلية الاجنبية و أجبرت الحكومة الفلسطينية انو مثلا انا ما رح ادعم مشاريعك ولا امولك في حالة مثلا خليت المجلس التشريعي بدون نساء او ما رفعت نسبة الكوته انا بعتمد هنا السياسات التمويلية الاجنبية كثير بتساعد في تشكيل الية ضغط في تحسين واقع النساء أفضل في عملية صنع القرار .

مقابلة مع السيدة آمال حمد، وزيرة شؤون المرأة في الحكومة الفلسطينية

مقابلة هاتفية: 2021/12/05 الساعة: 9:00 صباحاً

1- عالمياً هناك توجه عام بدعم مشاريع النوع الاجتماعي وخصوصاً تمكين المرأة وتعزيز دورها في مراكز قيادية متقدمة. وفيما يخص سياسات التمويل الأجنبي هناك في بعض الأحيان يأتي الدعم في قالب معين ذو توجه سابق لدعم قطاع ما أو هدف معين لتعزيز دور المرأة ومشاركتها في مراكز صنع القرار. وهناك من يبحث عن فجوات في قطاع المرأة العاملة لتغطيتها لتمكين المرأة من الوصول إلى مراكز متقدمة في القيادة.

وأهم الجهات المانحة هي الإتحاد الأوروبي، بريطانيا، كندا، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية (قبل قطع العلاقات في عهد ترامب) ومؤسسة كير تدعم الكثير من مشاريع تمكين المرأة في عدة قطاعات.

2- لعب التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني نوعاً ما دوراً في زيادة مشاركة المرأة في مراكز صنع القرار ولكن ليس بشكل أساسي، فنتيجة لعدم الاستقرار الاقتصادي في فلسطين برزت ظاهرتي الفقر والبطالة اللتان كانتا عائقاً أمام مشاركة المرأة سياسياً. وظهر دور لمؤسسات الإقراض لدعم المشاريع الصغيرة والمتوسطة للأسر.

أما المعوقات التي أدت إلى عدم وجود هذا الإسهام فيتمثل في سيطرة الأحزاب السياسية على المؤسسات المدنية التي تتبع لها وسيطرة الرجل على غالبية المراكز في الحزب وبالتالي ينطلي ذلك على العمل السياسي مع الاستمرار بإبعاد المرأة عن مراكز صنع القرار.

3- بناءً على حرص الحكومة الفلسطينية على دعم وتعزيز دور المرأة ورفع نسبة مشاركتها في مراكز صنع القرار، عملت على وضع أجندة وخطة السياسات الوطنية للعام ٢٠١٧ - ٢٠٢٢، والتي تعبر عن توجهات وأولويات الحكومة ركزت فيها على تعزيز دور النوع الاجتماعي وتمكين المرأة. وهناك برامج دعم في وزارة شؤون المرأة لتمكين المرأة وتعزيز مشاركتها بدعم من الحكومة الفلسطينية.

هناك معوقات أمام مشاركة الحكومة الفلسطينية في دعم وتعزيز مشاركة المرأة من الخزينة العامة بسبب نقص الموارد المالية والعجز في الموازنة العامة وكان آخرها استقطاع دولة الاحتلال لمبالغ مليارات الشواكل، فباتت الحكومة الفلسطينية تستند على الدعم الخارجي.

4- بعض المشاريع عززت من دور المرأة فيما يتعلق بمنافستها على المواقع القيادية وخصوصاً في القطاع الأمني هناك نساء وصلن إلى مواقع متقدمة واستراتيجية في مراكز اتخاذ القرار.

ساهمت بعض المشاريع والبرامج المطروحة في إيجاد وحدات نوع اجتماعي داخل المؤسسة الأمنية والمدنية أيضاً وهي ما كانت مفقودة سابقاً.

5- هناك عدة أسباب منها سياسية، اقتصادية، اجتماعية وثقافية وقانونية:

فسياسياً هناك عوامل خارجية تتمثل بالاحتلال الإسرائيلي، وداخلية تتمثل بالعقليات الذكورية السائدة والمسيطرة على المؤسسات الرسمية وغير الرسمية. أما على الصعيد الاجتماعي فهناك معوقات تتمثل بتركيبية المجتمع الذكوري وفرض العديد من القيود الاجتماعية والثقافية، وضعف الثقافة المدنية والسياسية وتحكم العقليات الذكورية في العلاقات السائدة في المجتمع. أما قانونياً فليس هناك القوانين والتشريعات التي ترفع نسبة مشاركة المرأة برغم اعتماد المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني مؤخراً كونه نسوية بنسبة ٣٠٪ ولكنها لم تنطبق في مؤسسات الدولة ولا في المؤسسات المدنية.

6- عدم فوز أي امرأة في الدوائر الانتخابية ليس له علاقة بالتمويل الأجنبي، إنما بالثقافة المجتمعية والمعيقات القانونية، فالقانون الانتخابي الفلسطيني وبعد تعديله أقر كونه نسوية لمشاركة المرأة ولكنها اقتصر على القوائم فكان انحياز المرأة لحزبها.

7- لم تتمكن المرأة في كثير من الأحيان من إجراء تغييرات جذرية في القوانين السارية لمصلحة النساء، مما حال دون إنجاز مكاسب حقيقية للمرأة، ولم يكن للنواب دوراً قوياً في جانب اقتراح مشاريع جديدة أو تعديل أو إلغاء قوانين معمولاً بها، وأخذت السلطة التنفيذية هذا الدور. وأما عن مدى توافق هذه التشريعات والاتجاهات الدولية، فلم تتناغم نتائج الانتخابات مع حجم المشاركة النسوية، فهناك ١٧ امرأة في المجلس التشريعي ولكن ليس هناك جبهة نسوية موحدة، إلا أن التوجه العام في فلسطين وخصوصاً لدى القيادة هو رفع نسبة مشاركة المرأة التي تصل بشكل عام إلى ٣,٨٪ في مقابل ٣٨,٨٪ في أوروبا و ١٥٪ في الأمريكتين وفي آسيا إلى ١٤,٣٪، لتصل إلى ٣٠٪ تنفيذاً لقرار المجلس الوطني وتمشياً مع اشتراطات الممول الأجنبي.

8- إن المرأة شريكة في شتى مراحل النضال وعلى مختلف الأصعدة إلا أن حضورها في مراكز صنع القرار لا يعبر عن حجم ودور المرأة، حيث بلغت نسبة مشاركة المرأة في العمل في المؤسسة الرسمية ٢٩٪ ولكن في وظائف هامشية لا ترتقي إلى مراكز متقدمة.

هناك ٥ أعضاء نساء في المجلس المركزي من أصل ١٢٤ عضواً، و ١٣٪ من أعضاء المجلس الوطني من النساء، واقتصرت الوجود النسائي في اللجنة التنفيذية على امرأة واحدة.

وعلى الصعيد الاجتماعي يسود الموروث الاجتماعي بأن يقتصر دور المرأة على واجبها الأسري، واقتصادياً يسود التفكير الذكوري على أن المرأة لا تستطيع القيام بأعمال الرجل فحرمت من المراكز القيادية في العمل في المجال الاقتصادي برغم وجود نساء ريديات في مجال العمل.

9- هناك توافق بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي ومشاريع دعم وتمكين المرأة مما ساهم في رفع مستوى مشاركة المرأة في مراكز صنع القرار، وهذه العلاقة إيجابية باطراد ومتنامية

مقابلة بعرض جمع المعلومات لدراسة بعنوان: أثر السياسات التمويلية الأجنبية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار.

الجامعة العربية الأمريكية

الباحثة: ثريا حجة

(نموذج المؤسسات النسوية)

الصفة: مدير العلاقات العامة وتجنيد المصادر

تاريخ المقابلة:

مكان المقابلة:

الاسم: دياب زايد

جهة العمل: جمعية المرأة العاملة الفلسطينية للتنمية

وقت المقابلة:

مدة المقابلة:

يرجى الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من واقع خبرتكم:

1. من وجهة نظركن ما هو واقع سياسات التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية؟

Funding Women sector in Palestine is part of the overall policy of external fund for Palestinian organization in general. The fund is controlled by a series of determinants among which is the political tendency of the donor. Conditional funding is also applicable to the fund dedicated for women sector. All the available fund remains limited and restricted with specific duration, which prevents the organizations from developing long-term strategies to empower women and in most of the cases, the duration of the project limits the possibilities of doing tangible work or planning for concrete results. The focus of the donor agencies remains on supporting activities related to soft skills rather than creating real development among women. At the same time, the available fund pushes women organization to work on advocacy for issuing laws and so on, ignoring the fact that Palestine is living since 2007 with no legislative authority and all the laws are issued through the PA president, which in itself, contradicts with the basic principles of democracy. The support to productive women projects (such as cooperatives) remains very limited and this is another problem that face the organizations. Within the spread of poverty and unemployment, priority will be to enhance income and develop projects to provide women with work opportunities. However, the donor make it a must to focus on promoting gender- equality and women's rights ignoring the fact that all these elements should go side by side. The space given to the organizations to design interventions that respond to the tangible needs of women remain limited and the donor imposes the nature of the projects through declaring what kind of fields the fund should be channelled through.

2. ما مدى تأثير شروط التمويل الأجنبي الأوروبية الجديدة على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار؟

The imposed condition affect the availability of fund as women organizations will not accept these conditions. For that, most of the women organizations are currently out of fund and so, they cannot work with women in the field. Those who accept the donors conditions that criminalize our national struggle, will be heavily attacked by the community and will be excluded from the civil society community. Thus, due to that, the women organizations are not doing the job they should do, which affected the efforts to involve women in the decision-making process.

3. ساهم التمويل الأجنبي لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني بما فيها المؤسسات السنوية في تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في عملية صنع القرار، ما مدى اتفاقك مع ذلك وما هي أهم أشكال هذا الإسهام إن وجد وما هي أهم المعوقات في حال عدم وجود هذا الإسهام؟

The external or foreign fund represented the tool to increase women's participation in the decision making process. We should not ignore the role of the local women organizations who actually dedicated time and efforts to achieve the purpose. We do not deny the role of donors in supporting the organizations, but we should take into consideration that the practical role was accomplished by the national organizations themselves. Thus, it is a complementary process, in which donors play a role but the local organizations also play a role. The donor could have done nothing without the national organizations and the national organizations could have done nothing without the donor.

4. من خلال اطلعك على حال المرأة الفلسطينية، كم تقدر حجم المشاريع التي كانت تهدف إلى تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار في فلسطين، وهل كانت هذه المشاريع تتأثر خلال تنفيذها بسياسات التمويل الخارجي؟

The question looks vague and it is hard to give concrete answer. Indeed, tens or hundreds of projects were implemented in this regard but once considering the limited participation of women in decision- making process, then it is indicated that these projects were not adequate. The impact of the foreign policy of donors is clear on these projects where the unfair conditions were imposed on the entire fund without classifying the project whether they are for women or any other sector. Likewise, in many cases the donor determines the nature of eligible activities and that affects the freedom of the various organizations to design activities that respond to the tangible needs of women and the various target groups. Some donors, like the US aid, interferes even with the names of beneficiaries, which is another challenge that faces the organizations.

5. رغم وجود تمويل لمؤسسات المجتمع المدني والمؤسسات النسوية، إلا أن البعض يرى عدم انعكاس ذلك إيجاباً على مشاركة فاعلة للمرأة في عملية صنع القرار، برأيكم ما هي الأسباب والمحددات لذلك؟

This is a very complicated case as the problem in the limited participation of women in the decision- making process is not related only to the availability of fund. There are various community determinants that block women's participation in the given process. the organizations worked on preparing women to be capable of participation but the surrounding environment remained the same with no will to change it. For instance, many organizations worked on encouraging women to participate in elections and lead dialogue with candidates,

but the last time Palestine had PLC elections was fifteen years ago. So, it became clear that all these efforts are meaningless and they are just waste of time and resources. In general, the answer to the question could be in the fact that the leadership of PA is trying to impose totalitarian regime that gives no space for participation by any social segment. the exclusion is not only for women, but also for youth and even the political parties themselves.

6. من خلال عملكن في المؤسسات النسوية الفلسطينية، كيف تقيمين واقع مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار في القطاع المختلفة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية في فلسطين؟

Women's political participation is limited and for the same reasons furnished within the previous question. Women, alike youth, are not given the space to participate and the dominant powers in the various sectors, avoid changing the existing structures being afraid of losing their privileges. On the social level, women are not given adequate space to participate due to the fact that the community is patriarchal in general and considers women as followers rather than active participants. On the economic level, women's role is limited due to the fact that most of the economic projects are family projects that men lead and women are working in the informal sector. The applied labor law does not protect women and most of them work with no contracts and receive wages below the minimum wage. The patriarchal community does not give women space to develop economically and women's percentage of ownership is very limited (maybe you can look for the percentage of properties owned by women in Palestine, I think it was only 5%)

7. بشكل عام، ما مدى موافقتك على وجود علاقة بين سياسات التمويل الأجنبي وبين مستوى مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في عملية صنع القرار؟ وكيف ترين طبيعة هذه العلاقة واتجاهها؟

The aid policies limit the freedom available for the local organizations to develop projects that respond to the needs of women. In many cases, the donor identifies the objectives and results of the action and those not always represent the actual needs of women. Unfortunately, the donors' policies and restrictions are harming women's political participation and affecting the work negatively. In general, the limitation of women's participation in decision- making is due to the patriarchal structure of the community and the absence of democratic life. It is not true to blame the foreign aid policy for limited participation of women. The problem is internal and involving women in decision- making is not conditioned with foreign aid, but with the presence of a political will to democratize the community.

Appendix 5: Interpret the results of R

The following is the interpretation of the results of the correlation coefficient that were adopted in the study (Sayago, Asuero, & Gonzalez, 2006):

<i>R</i>	Interpretation of the R. value
$R=0$	There is no correlation
$0.00 < R < 0.25$	poor correlation
$0.25 \leq R < 0.75$	moderate correlation
$0.75 \leq R < 1$	strong correlation
$R=1$	Complete correlation

Appendix 6: Interview List

<i>Name</i>	Employer
Dr. Suad AL abed	Al-Quds Open University
Dr. Yasir Shahin	Palestine Ahliya University
Dr. Sahar AL-Qawasmi	Roles for Social Change Association-ADWAR
Mrs. Amal Hamad	Minister of Women's Affairs
Mr. Diab Zayed	Palestinian Working Women Association for Development

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الملخص

تسلط الدراسة الحالية الضوء على مشكلة بحثية تتمثل في تساؤل: ما هو تأثير سياسات التمويل الأجنبي على تعزيز مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار؟

وقد هدفت الدراسة إلى التعرف على أثر سياسيات التمويل الأجنبي الخارجي على مشاركة المرأة الفلسطينية في صنع القرار، وذلك من خلال معرفة تأثير هذه السياسات على مشاركتها السياسية ودورها في صنع القرار في الحالة الفلسطينية، إضافة إلى التعرف على واقع سياسات التمويل الخارجي لقطاع المرأة الفلسطينية ومستويات مشاركة المرأة سياسياً وفي صنع القرار.

وتبرز أهمية الدراسة الحالية، كونها تطرح قضية تتعلق بالمرأة الفلسطينية، ومشاركتها في صنع القرار في جميع قطاعات المجتمع الفلسطيني، مع التركيز على ذلك في ضوء التمويل الأجنبي، الذي يعلن دائماً دعمه لجميع فئات المجتمع الفلسطيني وبالأخص النساء.

ولتحقيق أهداف الدراسة، تم استخدام المنهج الوصفي، وقد تم تحديد مجتمع الدراسة بالمواطنين في محافظتي رام الله والبيرة والذين يقدر عدد من هم فوق سن 18 عاماً منه حتى سنة (2021) ما يقارب (211,678) حسب الجهاز المركزي للإحصاء الفلسطيني، حيث تم التوجه للعاملين والعاملات في المؤسسات الحكومية والقطاع الخاص ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني ذات العلاقة بالعمل النسائي، وكذلك الأكاديميين وطلبة الجامعات الفلسطينية منهم، وقد قامت الباحثة باختيار عينة عشوائية من مجتمع الدراسة وفق التقسيمات السابقة، بلغ حجمها (382) مفردة بحثية، تم توزيع استبانة الدراسة على هذه العينة وتم استرجاع ما نسبته (80.3%).

كما قامت الباحثة بإجراء مقابلات مع 5 من كبار موظفي الحكومة وأكاديميين وقادة في عمل المرأة وخلصت الدراسة إلى عدة نتائج من أهمها: ان التمويل الأجنبي يؤثر على مستويات المشاركة السياسية للمرأة ومشاركتها في صنع القرار، لكن هذا التأثير ليس كبيراً ولا يعني أنهم غير قادرين على المشاركة في صنع القرار في غياب التمويل الخارجي الأجنبي، كما أن التمويل الأجنبي لقطاع المرأة، لا سيما فيما يتعلق ببرامج المشاركة في صنع القرار، معتدل، وعلى الرغم من الموافقة عليه لأغراض صنع القرار، فإنه يتم إعادة توجيهه إلى قضايا ثانوية أقل أهمية.

واقترحت الدراسة عدة توصيات على المستوى الحكومي أهمها: العمل من أجل صياغة التحديثات للقوانين والتشريعات النافذة بما يتوافق مع متطلبات واحتياجات المرأة الفلسطينية.
الكلمات المفتاحية: المرأة الفلسطينية، المشاركة السياسية، صنع القرار، التمويل الأجنبي.