

# The Effect of the Political Situation in the City of Jerusalem on the Rights of the Jerusalem Women

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## Introduction

The concept of citizenship was introduced to the Arab and Islamic region during the colonial period. The law of citizenship, like all other laws and regulations in the Middle East, was influenced by the colonial legacy that impacted the tribal and paternalistic systems in all aspects of life. In addition to the colonial legacy, most constitutions in the Middle East draw on the Islamic *shari'a* (law) as a major source of legislation, which in turn enhances the paternalistic system in the social sector in all its dimensions, as manifested in many individual laws and the legislative processes with respect to family status issues. Family is considered the nucleus of society in most Middle Eastern countries, and this is specifically reflected in the personal status codes. In the name of this legal principle, women's submission is being entrenched, along with censorship over her body, control of her reproductive role, sexual life, and fertility.

Because of the absence of democracy in the Arab region and in view of the lack of many individual freedoms, Arab women have been forced to surrender to the dominant patriarchal system. Here the alliance between patriarchy on the one hand and national, tribal, and religious forces on the other plays an important role. Female subordination is thus closely linked to a woman's loyalty to her family, tribe, and religion. This is further cemented through a culture and legal system that see individual rights as being secondary and collective or relational rights as being primary. Even though Arab constitutions include the principles of human rights and equality before the law, they remain biased when it comes to gender. In the Palestinian Law of Citizenship there is no particular mention of women and their social roles. In Palestine, there was no law of citizenship during the period of direct Israeli occupation. When the national authority took over and there were signs that an independent state would be formed, the feminist movement became more optimistic and expected that attention would be paid to the rights of Palestinian women, as had been the case in other Arab countries.

The citizenship rights of the women of Jerusalem are not granted to them by an independent and sovereign political entity. They carry no nationality that stipulates full rights of citizenship. Women have refused to belong to the Israeli state and acquire the Israeli nationality. Moreover, they are deprived of their right to the Palestinian nationality because of Israel's intransigence and refusal to negotiate in good faith over the status of East Jerusalem. Furthermore, Israeli authorities have deployed a variety of humiliating and abusive measures in order to gradually empty Jerusalem of its original inhabitants. The Palestinians of Jerusalem thus refrained from trying to obtain the Palestinian nationality because this could be easily used as a pretext by the Israeli authorities to expel them from the city.

Therefore, the concept of citizenship, as it is generally applied, cannot be used with respect to the Palestinian women of Jerusalem. A discussion of the general concept is therefore necessary in order to adapt it to the unique circumstances prevalent in the MENA region in general and Jerusalem in particular. This article will first briefly discuss citizenship theory and then move on to its application. The discussion of the practical aspects of the human rights situation as it is applied to the women of Jerusalem will be described, along with the impact of the citizenship issue as it is influenced by the unique political situation in the city of Jerusalem, focusing primarily on the way these rights are related to social, economic, and legal equality.

All previous studies conducted were meant to uncover the lived experiences of Palestinian women of Jerusalem and its suburbs under Israeli occupation. They were also meant to improve their economic conditions and provide awareness programs for women, men, and youth in the region about the social situation, violence against women, and drugs, with the coordination of civil organizations in Jerusalem. Further, these studies also aimed at forming clubs and associations for young and adult women and creating educational and artistic programs for them.

Not all previous studies included the whole region of greater Jerusalem. Some dealt with only those areas in which the population held the Israeli blue ID card<sup>1</sup>, others concentrated on the areas whose population holds the green ID of the West Bank. Some of these areas are adjacent to the separation wall; others have been isolated from the city center by the wall. Subsequently, the results of these studies in their entirety provide a composite picture of the city of Jerusalem as a whole, including the surrounding villages and suburbs. Some of the areas included in these studies are: the Old Town, Beit Hneina, Jabal Al Makbir, the Shaafat Camp, Abou Dees, Hazma, Anata, and Selwan. This article is based on the conclusions previous studies have arrived at.

1. These are Palestinian residents who carry the blue ID card "the Israeli Identity", who live within the borders of the municipality of Jerusalem according to the Israeli division, and administratively follow the Israeli authority.

## Women and the Concept of Citizenship Rights

Discussing the concept of citizenship rights and the legal status of women in the Arab world requires a critical perspective enabling one to consider two contradictory vantage points, i.e. the secular and the religious. The secular position concentrates on the women themselves, calling for a civil law aiming at equality and democracy for all women. The religious position focuses primarily on maintaining the hegemony of *shari'a* (Islamic Law) in society as a whole and thus applies this approach to all

areas related to women's rights. A conflict is ongoing in the Arab world between these two positions. The secular position is based on the application of the principles of citizenship and the rights of women as being rooted in the Western tradition. The religious position calls for the application of Islamic *shari'a* which restricts the rights of women and blocks their future development. As a result, a number of Muslim female scholars, such as Hiba Raouf Izzat, Leila Ahmad, Aziza Al Hibri, and Fatima Mernissi, have emerged in Islamic and Arab countries and attempted to reconcile the opposing traditional-religious and secular-democratic camps. They have proposed a fresh approach to women's rights by introducing legislative initiatives based on a reinterpretation of the Quran from a feminist point of view. This enables women to fight for their full rights of citizenship, while reconciling the two positions.

Before we move on to a discussion of the application of citizenship theory, we must answer a few questions. Can any of the existing theories be applied adequately to the situation of Arab women? Should we consider developing a unique theory that is compatible with realities in the Arab world and drop all attempts at emulating Western thinking? Should we work deductively, by using Western approaches as a point of departure; or work inductively by surveying our experiences as women in the MENA region and then formulating new concepts and theories based upon the results? Can the struggle for equal rights actually be based on concepts found in the Islamic tradition? And finally, in a more practical sense, which ideas and concepts should we adopt in order to achieve equal rights for women, especially with regards to citizenship? Is it advisable, or even possible, to attempt to collect and integrate all theories and legal traditions which promote the recognition of women's rights, equality, and freedom? Arab women in general and Palestinian women in particular are in need of mechanisms that provide equality and protection, and secure all rights of citizenship stipulated by their religion, as well as national laws and international treaties. These rights cover basic freedoms in the social, economic, political, cultural, and civil fields. They include the rights of equality before the law, freedom, and personal safety.

In order to study and analyze the state of citizenship discourse in Palestine we have chosen to adopt a "multi-level" approach (Joseph, 1996)<sup>2</sup>. This will enable us to work on many fronts simultaneously by integrating various areas of social activity and dealing with both the private and public spheres. In order to facilitate this process, this article will concentrate on three aspects of social reality, i.e. first: the family and home, second: the official and unofficial sectors of the economy, and third: the public sphere and civil society. The study of these various areas will help lead to a better understanding of citizenship in Palestinian society through documenting what is really happening in these sectors and finding ways to create new concepts and theories for citizenship which are closely related to our reality and specificities. Through this approach, the article will present a general glimpse of the reality of the Palestinian women in all three sectors, with an emphasis on the reality of citizenship for the Jerusalem women who are being attacked from many sides. The rights of citizenship for the women of Jerusalem are infringed upon by the personal status laws on the one hand and the Israeli state policy on the other. The latter aims at stripping the Palestinians of their citizenship rights altogether and at accelerating the process of ethnic cleansing.

2. Joseph demonstrates that the concept of citizenship requires a pluralistic approach. Therefore, instead of discussing the private and the public, it could be replaced by suggesting new concepts (terminology of "government, non-government").

## First: Women and the Rights of Citizenship within the Family and Home

The family is considered the nucleus of society in most countries of the MENA region. The constitutions of these countries consolidate patriarchy in the family and the tribal system when the law of citizenship is closely linked to the patriarchal/ paternalistic system (Joseph, 1996). In the absence of democracy in the region and given the lack of individual freedoms, a woman is forced to submit to the patriarchal/paternalistic system and this increases her subordination and loyalty to family, tribe, and religion.

The Palestinian woman has three life choices. She can try to make her way in the public sphere by ignoring traditional expectations with respect to family and home. Secondly, she can attempt to juggle her career and household responsibilities. Finally, she can dedicate herself exclusively to the private sphere by staying at home to raise her children and look after the family. Because of the oppressive political and economic conditions in Palestine, most women are relegated to the third option and spend their time at home, which undermines their chances of breaking out of the patriarchal system and obtaining full citizenship rights. These women are, by choice or by force, financially dependent on their husbands or on other males in their families. This leads to them being seen as second class family members and their activities have diminished value within the household. Although some of these women perform other activities, in addition to bearing and raising children and various household chores, they are denied full economic citizenship rights. Men, who carry out similar activities, either outside or within the home, enjoy full rights as the head of the family. Furthermore, many men and women do the same job, yet there remain differences in their status, interests, authority, and rights within the family. Because of their diminished status, women also lack access to the decision making process. As members of a Palestinian family, and of society as a whole, they should be granted access to the mechanisms that enable men to participate in decision making in both the public and private spheres (Allen, 1990).

Throughout Palestine, the second-class citizenship of women within the private sphere is reinforced by laws and regulations in the public sphere. Family status laws straddle both spheres and keep women in a state of subordination and dependency within the household and without (Moghadam, 2007). In marriage, the Muslim man in the Arab region enjoys more rights than the woman. He can initiate divorce whenever he wants, and can marry whoever he wishes even if she is not Muslim. However, a Muslim woman can only marry another Muslim. With respect to jurisdiction, a woman cannot marry by herself, although the *Hanafi* doctrine applied in Palestine would allow the woman to be her own guardian when entering into a marriage contract. However, the law of personal status gives guardianship in marriage to the male, and the female is forbidden to leave the house without her husband's permission. Criminal law facilitates the acquittal or attenuation of sentence for the husband who commits a "crime of honor". Although the law gives women the right to keep their property, they inherit less than men. And although women receive a dowry through marriage, they can lose it in the event of divorce if the woman is considered to be the guilty party. In the absence of a premarital agreement that includes provisions for the division of property and spousal support in the event of divorce or breakup of marriage (premarital separation of property contract), the wife can conceivably lose access to the marital house. Most

Muslim marital contracts demand the bride's approval. In some countries, the woman can stipulate certain conditions in the marriage contract, such as the right to divorce if her husband marries another woman. But in this case, her request for divorce can also mean losing the dowry (if the husband pays it belatedly, a thing that happens in many instances).

The specific position of the women of Jerusalem is even more precarious. As mentioned above, they suffer from the overlap of Palestinian and Israeli jurisdictions, accentuated by the fact that, like most Arab women, they do not enjoy full citizenship rights. The women of Jerusalem are governed by the Jordanian personal status law as well as the Israeli family law. Thus, in case of marriage, two marriage contracts are necessary, one according to the Israeli law and another according to the Jordanian personal status law. The Israeli law enhances a woman's legal status by giving her additional rights, such as the right to divorce and a prohibition of polygamy. Thus, she has the right to file a complaint against her husband if he marries another woman. It also gives her the right of custody over her children as well as equal rights to the house and the right to control her body, e.g. the use of birth control measures.

However, these rights are limited in two ways, one cultural the other political. First, the patriarchal family limits the chances of a woman benefiting from the positive aspects of Israeli law. Shaming and family pressure force the woman to use the Jordanian personal status law. This law allows the family to force a girl to marry at an early age and the man to divorce his wife and obtain custody of his children. It also gives the man the right to polygamy and to beat his wife. Moreover, it denies the woman the right to complain about her husband. However, if she were to defy her family's standards of behavior and decide to file a complaint against her husband in accordance with Israeli family law, this would be a severe blow from a Palestinian nationalist perspective. If she files a complaint in the enemy courts, her husband would be imprisoned in the enemy's jail by the enemy's police which would be unthinkable. Accordingly, most women tend to waive their Israeli rights to enhanced protection within the family.

The same applies to the woman's right to control her body and the birth of her children. This right is weakened by two contradictory positions. On the one hand, societal and family pressure urge the woman to keep on bearing children to influence demography and increase the number of Palestinians in Jerusalem. On the other hand, there is the racist Israeli occupation that strives towards ethnic cleansing in the city of Jerusalem through encouraging birth control among Palestinian women in Jerusalem and other Arab cities within the green line. It provides free means for birth control, introduces hurdles which decrease access to social security for a mother and child, and withdraws the Jerusalem ID from women and children who live outside the municipal borders in areas controlled by the Palestinian authority. It is important to note here that residents of East Jerusalem, according to the law of Israeli sovereignty in the city, have the right to make use of the services of the national insurance bureau provided to the public, as long as they are not exempt from paying corresponding government dues. There is a delivery grant which a woman receives after giving birth to each child, plus children allowances that are paid for the child as of birth until the age of 18. But the issue of actually receiving these allowances is extremely complicated as there are

many procedures that might hinder obtaining this right. Moreover, many women have no knowledge of the rights given to them by the law of social security. Consequently, the National Coalition Center for Defending the Rights of Palestinians in Jerusalem has documented in the past four years an increase of complaints filed with it against the Israeli national insurance institution. The complaints (around 1250) dealt with issues such as deprivation of medical treatment and allowances for disability and salary security and children's insurance (The Statistical Yearbook for Jerusalem for the year 2007 number 10).

It should be noted that children in Israel obtain their citizenship and religion from their mother. However, this right does not apply to the Palestinian women in Jerusalem. The latter do not have the right to give their nationality to their children and husband, nor to reunite with family members. An Israeli government decision two years after the *Al-Aqsa* uprising froze deliberations on c. 5000 applications for reuniting families. These were submitted to the Ministry of Interior by a group of Jerusalem citizens in order to bring their families together. The current Israeli nationality law bans the granting of Israeli citizenship to children if one of their parents is a Palestinian from the West Bank. This law has been described by international – and even some Israeli legal experts – as racist in nature.

The registration of children takes place according to the place of residence. When Jerusalem is the mother's permanent place of residency, children are registered at the bureau of statistics in Jerusalem. Moreover, based on their mother's ID, they can receive an Israeli birth certificate, and they are permitted to retain the right to obtain a blue ID (Jerusalem ID) after they reach the age of adulthood. The Ministry of Interior retains the right to withdraw this right in case the applicant's statement proves to be false (Abu Jaber, 2008).

The political situation in Jerusalem causes Arab women there to suffer more than elsewhere in the Palestinian territory, based on their husband's or children's nationality. Many married women in Jerusalem who carry the Palestinian ID (or any Arab or foreign ID), suffer after they obtain the right of citizenship in Jerusalem. They are denied the right to have their children receive their status and the children's names remain registered under their fathers' IDs. In this case, after separation, these women are denied the right to have custody of their children. Also, the women of Jerusalem suffer because of a policy governing the reuniting of families with respect to non-resident husbands, irrespective of whether they carry foreign passports or are citizens of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. According to this policy, the husband must apply for a 6-month entry visa until procedures for reunification are finalized. However, Israel ceased giving temporary permits in 1994 and changed the system which now states that only husbands carrying the Jerusalem ID have the right to apply for reunification with their wives. It thus ostensibly deprives women of the right of family reunification. Seen from a cultural perspective, this problem is further aggravated by Arab traditions according to which women are expected to follow their husbands (Abu Jaber, 2008). In recent years, the women of Jerusalem have continued their fight to reunite with their husbands and families. More than 35,000 women in Jerusalem are married to Palestinians from the West Bank and thus do not hold Palestinian IDs. They are still waiting for reunification with their husbands. Currently, there are nearly 10,000

children living in East Jerusalem who are not registered under their parents' IDs. The number of children unable to enroll in public schools or receive medical treatment because they are not registered is estimated at 23.6 percent (The Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights, March 2003).

### **Second: Women and the Right of Citizenship in the Economy**

The rights of citizenship have implications for all areas of a woman's life. Various studies on gender and citizenship (Joseph, 2000) demonstrate that the gendered nature of citizenship affects not only women's rights in the domain of the family and home, but also their economic and social rights. Women are second-class citizens in the private sphere as well as in the public sphere, with respect to the state, the job market, and the various aspects of civil society. Studies focusing on gender and other social indicators have revealed a comparative general drop in the level of female participation in the workplace and other areas of the public sphere throughout the Arab world, and more specifically in Palestine, compared to other regions (Moghadam, 2007).

Following the Cold War era, gender issues in general, and women's rights issues in particular, have received more attention with respect to the dynamics, crises, and fluctuations of the new global economy. Women's rights in Palestine have been historically affected by both colonial strategies and national aspirations. Legal and cultural restrictions on women's work prevent them from enjoying the social rights of citizenship. By law, a woman is obliged to get the permission of her father, husband, or guardian in order to obtain a passport or open a bank account for her children. This indicates that women are not fully capable of embarking on contractual relations on their own.

The participation of Palestinian women in the job market takes different forms: working outside the home in the official job market, and joining the unofficial workforce, either outside the home or on the family property. During the last several years, the percentage of women who were part of the official Palestinian work force ranged between a third and a quarter of all females of working age. These low rates have further entrenched gender discrimination and facilitated the marginalization of women in the official job market. Analysis of reports by the central board of Palestinian statistics for the year 2009 shows that the number of female workers in the Palestinian territory dropped from 126,000 in the fourth quarter of 2009 to 120,000 in the first quarter of 2010, whereby the rate of women's participation in the work force reached 15.5 percent during the year 2009. The rate of working women in Jerusalem was 14.9 until 2007 (Myers, 2008).

According to a recent survey by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, most female participants in the formal sector had 13 or more years of formal education. 66.4 percent of all women working outside the home in the formal sector were employees, whereas female employers made up a low 1.6 percent. The largest proportion of female employees were found in the service and agriculture sectors, at 61.8 percent. 50.0 percent of working women received paid maternity leaves (UNRISD, 2005). Various reports coming out in 2010 about the Palestinian territory indicated that 16.8 percent of female employees belonged to labor unions or professional associations. Despite a slight raise in women's salaries, the huge gap in

wages between men and women remains a problem. This discrepancy is often blamed on protracted legal inequalities between the sexes, as well as sexist and discriminatory recruitment practices.

The high level of female activity in the informal sector of the Palestinian economy, especially in the informal home economy, has attracted particular attention of late. Experts consider the informal home economy to be a productive activity; however it has not been measured or categorized as such (UNFEM, 2005). Workers in the informal sectors are particularly vulnerable, and women working in the informal home economy have the weakest position within this sector. Therefore, there is little protection of their economic rights, and these women are largely deprived of the economic rights of citizenship. To make matters worse, the overall increase in unemployment amongst Palestinian women has hit Jerusalem women particularly hard. Results from The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics for the year 2009 have shown that the rate of unemployment is 23.8 percent among women in the work force, and 25.7 percent among men. However, as stated above, a formal secondary education tends to push unemployment rates down amongst the female population.

Over the years, Palestinian women have achieved higher education, but there is a contradiction between women's educational performance and their participation in the job market. Various reports have revealed that higher education for females does not necessarily translate into better job opportunities. On the contrary, unemployment affects mostly educated women (WB, 2005). In normal circumstances, increased levels of education have a direct, positive influence on the rates of employment, this does not necessarily apply to the Palestinian territory in general or to Jerusalem women in specific. Despite their college education, job opportunities remain very limited, forcing many female college graduates to work as saleswomen in Jerusalem shops or as caretakers for the elderly in return for modest salaries of not more than 2000 shekels (around \$530 US dollars a month).

However, the evaluation of women's economic rights cannot be based solely on the rate of their participation in the work force. There are economic rights for women found outside the framework of the work force, such as their share of social and national insurance and pay increases which the state gives to government employees (the man receives a compensation to cover his wife and children, but working women do not receive this compensation because they are not considered to be responsible for supporting their family). Furthermore, women do not have access to secure ownership of real-estate, which would shield them from the ordeal of having their property confiscated. It is indicative of the situation in Jerusalem that the Israeli authorities have stepped up the confiscation of real-estate, especially properties belonging to women.

This policy of the Israeli occupation goes hand-in-hand with the situation within the Palestinian family where the woman's right to her inheritance is being undermined. Her share of the inheritance is often unfairly distributed amongst the males in the family on the grounds that the female is economically dependent on her husband. In case she is single, widowed, or divorced, her economic subordination to the father and brothers replaces that of an absent husband. This legal concept of women being

“protected subordinates” is based on personal status laws, which undermine the economic rights of women and makes them second class citizens within the family in an economic sense, especially with respect to access to financial support, control of their dowry, and inheritance (Kuttab & Johnson, 2007). The right of ownership, the woman’s right to have private property, and to sign commercial contracts is indeed one of the main remaining frontiers in the struggle for equal economic rights.

As is the case in all Arab and Islamic countries, ownership of private property in Palestine is based on the Islamic *shari’a*. Women obtain property rights through inheritance or commercial transactions, rights which are skewed by the fact that inheritance laws are biased towards males. Although the law gives women the right to keep their property and do as they please with it, their share of inheritance is less than men’s share. Thus, the link between secular citizenship rights and religious discourse must be dealt with in more detail in the future.

### **Third: Women and the Right of Citizenship in the Public Sphere – the State and Civil Society**

Studies on the political rights of citizenship for women have often linked typologies of government and citizenship on the one hand, and the nature of the state and categories of political systems on the other. In the MENA region, political systems range from the authoritarian – be it based on theocracy, monarchy, or military dictatorship – to the semi-secular republican model. Unlike liberal or social democratic societies in the West, religion plays a role in all categories of government in the MENA region and often goes hand-in-hand with state authority and the political party system in the modern paternalistic Arab state. The state, be it headed by an individual ruler or ruling party, plays the role of father and grants men special privileges, which places them above their wives, mothers, and daughters (Moghadam, 2007). There is a close link between male domination and paternalistic authority in the various parts of Arab society. In the private sphere, patriarchal domination within the household allows the father and husband to rule over the wife and children in his family. The same model is applied to the male right to dominate and rule women in the public sector (Pateman, 1988).

Based on the analysis developed by renowned Sri Lankan feminist, Kumari Jayawardena (1986), that women’s liberation can be seen as a form of sub-awareness within the larger national awareness raising process (linked to the struggle against colonization), it can be assumed that the awareness of the Palestinian woman with respect to her citizenship rights is also tied to the national struggle against colonial rule and occupation. Palestinian women first struggled together with men for national self-determination and independence from Ottoman and then British rule. Following the colonial period, in the Palestinian case, resistance continued in the form of a struggle for mere physical survival and for the preservation of a distinct national identity. Women must thus fight on two fronts, within the Palestinian political system and within the Palestinian family. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has had a severe impact on traditional gender roles within the Palestinian society, making it extremely difficult to safeguard the historical power relationships within the existing social fabric. At times like these, the gap narrows between the two sexes (Macdonald, 1987). It can lead by default to the empowerment of women and their assuming of

unconventional roles. However, there is also the danger of the expansion of violence from the public-political sphere, i.e. against Israeli occupation, into the private sphere, i.e. to the internal front within the family.

During the first Palestinian uprising it became clear that the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and the women's liberation movement were linked. The NLM thus created the social and political space for the women's struggle. Through the overriding battle for national liberation, Palestinian women fought against the patriarchal system and against oppressive government rules and regulations concerning women. They found solutions for their family problems and were able to take part in elections and assume high positions in the government. The women of Jerusalem secured this right, like all Palestinian women, when they managed to participate in the national elections and gain seats in the legislative council (3 seats), while three women from Jerusalem (Zahira Kamal, Lamiss Al Alami and Hanan Ashrawi) became ministers in the Palestinian national authority, and others assumed high ranking ministerial or diplomatic posts.

The Jerusalem women seized this political right by force. They resisted the measures and practices of the Israeli authorities aimed at emptying Jerusalem of its Palestinian residents or stripping them of their Palestinian national rights. Furthermore, the Jerusalem women defied the patriarchal system and entered into the competition over seats in the legislative council and high ranking positions in the government and thereby defended their right to participate in the public sphere as full-fledged Palestinian citizens.

In conclusion, one area more than any other illuminates the link between the three arenas in which women struggle for full citizenship rights, as described above, i.e. the issue of motherhood. Like other countries that have witnessed national liberation movements, a strong link exists in Palestine between patriotism and motherhood. This is considered an important issue with respect to the concept of citizenship because the national movement constantly calls for linking the homeland to the role of mothers as Pateman (1992) said: "Motherhood has become politicized". The Palestinian national authority sees population growth as a strategy to exert pressure on Israel in negotiations over land. This attitude, which was accompanied by Islamic support for an increase in child bearing, contributed to the quick increase in the population, especially in the Gaza Strip, but also in the city of Jerusalem. The size of an average family in the district of Jerusalem has reached 5.2 members, which is almost as high as the overall average of 5.8 within the entire Palestinian territory.

At the same time, the Israeli authorities are taking the opposite stand towards Palestinian fertility and are introducing many schemes aimed at decreasing the number of Palestinian children, leading up to ethnic cleansing. As a result, thousands of Palestinians have lost their right to reside in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Center expects the suffering of tens of thousands of Palestinians from Jerusalem, especially women, to increase because of the wall of ethnic segregation in the occupied city of Jerusalem, particularly amongst those citizens living outside the wall. According to the Statistical Yearbook for Jerusalem for the year 2007 (number 10), this will jeopardize their social and economic rights as well as their right to live in secure housing because of the

Israeli measures aimed at expelling Palestinian families and demolishing their homes. Maysoun Al Ghawi, one of the women to be expelled from her home expressed it this way: "In circumstances like these, the woman shoulders a double burden; she is dealing with the general event, and with the meticulous details of the family. She has to provide security for her children and meet their needs and ease their worries and fears. At the same time, she has to stand by her husband against the aggression". Ghawi indicates that Jerusalem women in this case play a substantial role for they have to rearrange their lives under dire circumstances and without the basic conditions for living a dignified life, especially if they have small children to care for (Palestine Today Agency-Al Ikhbariya, 2010).

The women of Jerusalem have paid a heavy price to protect their rights as citizens of their city. They have been directly targeted in recent years whereby a large number of them were injured, some seriously, in confrontations with the Israelis against the policy of demolishing their homes, which is often the first step towards ethnic cleansing. Many women in Jerusalem were also arrested during confrontations with settlers in neighborhoods targeted by Israeli settlement. The Israeli occupation forces arrested a large number of women and imposed house arrest on many others.

Although the women of Jerusalem are indeed second-class citizens in the private sector, i.e. within the household, as well as being second-class citizens in the economic and governmental sectors, they have discovered new and unique ways to use this dual subjugation in order to link the struggle for public and private citizenship. They have made use of both Western discourse and Islamic traditions in this endeavor. Moreover, they have bravely brought the struggle against occupation and the fight for equality within the family into same equation.

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