

Managing Adversity

Palestinian Refugee Women in Lebanon:

Sixty Four Years of Conflict and other Forms of Discrimination

A Statement

By Association Najdeh

Submitted

To the General Discussion

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In Conflict and Post-conflict Context

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Association Najdeh is an NGO based in Lebanon established in 1978 with a focus on women empowerment in the context of community development targeting Palestinian refugee communities residing in camps and gatherings in Lebanon.

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“The thrust of my research has been to demonstrate that victimization of women, and the social reaction to it, is better understood if analyzed within culturally and politically sensitive contexts”

Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian¹

Introductory note

This document presents a synthesis of issues at the local and regional level that challenge Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon that are of relevance to the CEDAW “Concept Note to be addressed in a General Discussion on the protection of women’s human rights in conflict and post-conflict context” to be discussed in New York on July 18th 2011. The document draws on the framework of ideas generated from inputs articulated in the Colombo consultation 2010 about the context of women and conflict².

The approach of this case study is to place Palestinian refugee women currently residing in Lebanon in context of the general conflict that encompasses them along with other segments of the Palestinian population. This case study presents a synthesis of women’s experiences from a holistic perspective that attempts to touch on founding concepts of freedom, human dignity, and equality that are articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which form the foundations of international human rights instruments and humanitarian law. The concept of occupation³ is considered in this document following the Palestinian perspective that argues that it is as applied to Palestinians in accordance with international law.

¹ Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian (not dated), Scientific Biography The Hebrew University, Faculty of Law, http://law.huji.ac.il/eng/segel.asp?staff_id=80&cat=0 accessed July 2011

² Report of the Global Consultation on the Application of Women’s Human Rights Framework on the Issues of Women affected by Conflict, Colombo, Sri Lanka, October 15 to 17th 2010. Report drafted by WILD for Human Rights, an Initiative of the Miller Institute for Global Challenges and the Law, at the University of California at Berkeley Law School, Consultation Organized by International Women’s Rights Action Watch (IWRAP) Asia Pacific, and its partners, Women and Media Collective, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, Women’s International League of Peace and Freedom and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era.

³ Sharon (2009) presents a legal argument that states that Israel is not an occupier of the West Bank and Gaza according to legal definitions and that the term occupation is used politically. His argument is based on the absence of a sovereign state of Palestine prior to Israeli occupation in 1967 in either the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. In addition, Dennis 2005 has already presented an argument relating to the domain of human rights framework during peace time and humanitarian law during war. He used that in critiquing the decision of the international court of Le Hague regarding the wall where the court said that Israel has violated and ICESCR and CROC. Source: Sharon, Avinoam (2009), Why is Israel's Presence in the Territories Still Called "Occupation"? Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 27 pages.

A theoretical note

Discrimination as a societal phenomenon operates using cultural political and economic institutions that shape decisions to allocate societal resources unequally among men and women.⁴

Conflict as applied to the Palestinian Israeli conflict is considered to be an inter-societal phenomenon, where there is a reconfiguration of one society in relation to one or more other societies based on a perception of some form of power differential among them. Applying the same framework used to describe discrimination in the preceding paragraph, a conflict is proposed to be a system that has two or more components/parties each consists of (1) primary resources: demographic, cultural, economic (2) institutional structures – namely political, economic, and military institutions where allocative decision-making process is exercised. Outcomes of operation of conflicts are confrontations that manifest themselves in the military, economic, cultural domains. Such outcomes according to initial configuration of the components of the conflict and are proposed to vary in volume and intensity through time and place. Furthermore, following Shalhoub-Kevorkian's (2010) emphasis on the mix of political and cultural when discussing victimization of women; and acknowledging the pervasiveness of the political dimension in conflict given its control on decision making, hence conflict is proposed as forms of discrimination against women. Such discrimination affects groups of women in addition to interacting with effects of culture on individual women in their private spheres.

The presence of the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict⁵ is an indication of the vulnerability during escalating phases of conflicts.

In addition to their direct effect as a form of discrimination conflicts may reconfigure the clustering, intensity and occurrence of other forms of discrimination against women in a particular place and time due to their impact on the totality of women's lives. In effect, and as evidence from the field indicates, conflicts amplify some forms of discrimination such as violence against women and reconfigure women's roles throughout their duration⁶. Conflicts may inflict mass rape as a weapon of war or create

⁴⁴ The above conceptualization is adapted from the construct of social transformation in Khalidi, A. (1996) *Indicators of Social Transformation and Infant Survival: A Conceptual Framework and an Application to the Populations of Palestine from 1927 to 1944*, Doctoral Thesis, Baltimore MD, submitted to the School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University, Table 5.1 p.252

⁵ Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 3318 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/protectionwomen.htm> accessed July 2011.

⁶ Rosenfeld (2004) noted the change in gender roles associated with imprisonment of men and Islah Jad in her review of the book quotes Rosenfeld's statement on "erosion of traditional aged-based hierarchy and the redefinition of intergenerational relations" (p. 316 in Rosenfeld's book) in Rosenfeld, Maya, (2004) *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. xvi + 318 pages Rosenfeld, Maya, (2004) in *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp* reviewed by Islah Jad *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, Autumn 2006, pp 82-84.

an environment that increases the chance of women and children to be exposed to sexual violence. Many women who live their lives in the private sphere may be shoved suddenly into the public sphere away from their homes due to displacement, to unknown work environments example from rural to urban work culture or to slavery.

This document is of three sections: the first overviews the general context of the Palestinian Israeli conflict and presents features of conflict related discrimination against women. The second section presents an overview of the case of Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon and presents features of conflict related discrimination against women. The document concludes with concluding reflections followed by a set of recommendations.

Section 1 – The general context

1.1 The Palestinian Israeli conflict

1.1.1 A Chronic, multifaceted, and ongoing conflict

The Palestine question / Palestinian Israeli conflict / Israeli Palestinian conflict is one of the oldest complex conflicts in modern history with a span of almost a hundred years⁷. Such chronicity has been expressed in the title of a book edited by Mordechai Bar-On on Israeli military history by the phrase “A Never-Ending Conflict”⁸

Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon are but one segment of a mosaic of a population that has been enduring a chronic, multifaceted, ongoing conflict for nearly a century⁹. This conflict takes varying configurations as exemplified in Penny Johnson’s description 2010¹⁰. The Balfour Declaration, 1917 according to the Israeli foreign ministry “represents the first political recognition of Zionist aims by a Great Power”¹¹.

In 1947 a UN partition resolution 181 was issued, however it was not binding since the Arabs refused it¹². The formal termination of the British Mandate in May 15, 1948 and the accompanying armed

⁷ For a multi faceted historical account see table in the appendix.

⁸ Bar-On, Mordechai (ed.) (2004) , A Never-Ending Conflict: A Guide to Israeli Military History, Praeger Series on Jewish and Israeli Studies. Leslie Stein, Series Editor. Westport and London: Praeger.

⁹ since the Balfour Declaration (1917) during the First World War that set the stage for the establishment of the state of Israel.

¹⁰ Johnson, Penny (2010) Displacing Palestine: Palestinian Householding in an Era of Asymmetric War. *Politics and Gender* 6(2) pp.295-304

¹¹ The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs web site

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace%20Process/Guide%20to%20the%20Peace%20Process/The%20Balfour%20Declaration> accessed July, 2011

¹² For the text of the UN Resolution 181 (I) (II) see [http://daccess-dds-](http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/038/88/IMG/NR003888.pdf?OpenElement)

[ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/038/88/IMG/NR003888.pdf?OpenElement](http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/038/88/IMG/NR003888.pdf?OpenElement) , accessed July, 2011

for a critical review see Khalidi, Walid (1997) Revisiting the UNHGA Partition Resolution, *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXVII, no.1 (Autumn 1997), pp. 5-21.[http://www.palestine-](http://www.palestine-udies.org/enakba/diplomacy/Khalidi,%20Revisiting%20the%201947%20UN%20Partition%20Resolution.pdf)

[udies.org/enakba/diplomacy/Khalidi,%20Revisiting%20the%201947%20UN%20Partition%20Resolution.pdf](http://www.palestine-udies.org/enakba/diplomacy/Khalidi,%20Revisiting%20the%201947%20UN%20Partition%20Resolution.pdf), accessed July, 2011

conflict of resulted in the formal establishment of the state of Israel. The state of Israel was accepted as a member of the United Nations on May 11, 1949¹³, taking into consideration the ‘declarations and explanations’ of the representative of the government of Israel of the UN resolutions 181¹⁴ and 194¹⁵. By that time, the Palestinian society became fragmented into population segments that resided in different places and were subject to various jurisdictions¹⁶. In Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip - previously known all together as mandate Palestine - Palestinians who stayed there lived until 1967 under Israeli, Jordanian and Egyptian sovereignty respectively.

After June 1967, Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip became subject to Israeli occupation and are referred to as residents of occupied Palestinian territories (oPt). Those consist of resident population living in villages and towns and refugee population in camps who fled from the area of the internationally recognized boundaries of the State of Israel. The state of Israel itself contains among its Arab minority internally displaced populations. Other segments of the Palestinian population who fled outside the boundaries of what was mandate Palestine have either become citizens (Jordan) or remained as refugees primarily in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq or across the globe. In 1967 another migration flow was made from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to Jordan.

In addition to fragmentation of the Palestinian society geographically and across areas of various jurisdictions, segments of the Palestinian population were subjected to peaks of escalation of conflicts in Jordan (1970), Lebanon (1970 -1990, 2006, 2007), the occupied West Bank (1987, 2000), and the occupied Gaza Strip (1987, 2000, 2009 and till the present).

Main issues as listed in the PLO Negotiations Affairs Department (NAD) are borders, Jerusalem, refugees, settlement, water, security, prisoners and detainees, other issues include ‘occupation of Gaza by siege’. The objective of the final negotiations according to NAD is to achieve a permanent end to occupation and the establishment of “a fully independent and sovereign Palestinian state”¹⁷.

Alongside the overarching conflict, Palestinian women similar to neighboring Arab women have been battling with ‘endemic’ discrimination based on inequality between women and men in a region also challenged with political instability.¹⁸

¹³ Resolution number: A/RES/273(III), Ad Hoc Political Committee, agenda item number:20, meeting record: A/PV.207 11, date: May 1949, vote: 37(yes)-12(no)-9(abstention), , topic: Admission of Israel to membership in the United Nation

¹⁴ Op. cit.

¹⁵ Resolution number: [A/RES/194\(III\)](#), A/PV.186 11 Dec. 1948, vote: 35(yes)-15(no)-8(abstention), topic: Palestine - progress report of the United Nations Mediator, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/043/65/IMG/NR004365.pdf?OpenElement> accessed July, 2011

¹⁶ For an acclaimed description of the process of fragmentation, see, Khalidi, W. Introduction of the book From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948, Walid Khalidi (editor)

¹⁷ Issues between the State of Palestine and the State of Israel in <http://www.nad-plo.org/etemplate.php?id=119>

¹⁸ For further insights See UNIFEM (2004) Progress of Arab Women 2004, 309 pages for downloads see http://www.unifem.org/materials/item_detail.php?ProductID=89 accessed July, 2011

1.1.2 Generation of knowledge on Palestinian women in conflict relevant to CEDAW - 'researching the invisible'¹⁹

Despite the ongoing conflict, systematic information on women within the CEDAW framework have emerged thanks to the efforts of many women researchers including Rosemary Sayigh's work in anthropology and oral history²⁰ Julie Peteet's work on women and the resistance movement²¹, Islah Jad also tackled women's political participation²².

Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian a scholar and activist whose main field of interest is Palestinian women and conflict tackled the topic of generating information on Palestinian women in conflict and focused on the phenomenon of invisibility in her article that addresses research methodology using feminist research methodology.

"Researching the invisible, and focusing on invisibility as the main category of analysis, requires that one remains attentive to each woman in the context of her collective and objective experience of militarization and patriarchy, which play out against the backdrop of colonialism, a violent political economy and the inequities of globalization and racism. To do so, researchers must engage with the past (mainly the history of injustice, including the ongoing effects of the Nakba on Palestinians) and how this impacts the lives of women. They must look carefully at the ways in which women locate themselves in the meanings they attribute to their experiences, in the memory of the collective consciousness of their families, community and nation."²³ Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2010, p.4

Writings includes a book on militarization Shalhoub-Kevorkian noted the 'front-liner'²⁴ role among Palestinian women. Maya Rosenfeld (2004) studied the situation of refugee women in Dheisheh camp in the occupied West Bank²⁵. Fleishman's (2003) book on Palestinian women's movement during the mandate period is considered by Islah Jad a significant resource that can be used as a basis for further research. Fleishman described Palestinian women's feminism in that period as follows "Palestinian

¹⁹ Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian: Palestinian Women and the Politics of Invisibility: Towards a Feminist Methodology Peace Prints: *South Asian Journal of Peace building*, Vol. 3, No. 1: Spring 2010

²⁰ Sayigh, Rosemary (1981) Encounters with Palestinian Women under Occupation, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Volume 10, No. 4, Summer

²¹ Peteet, Julie M. (1991) *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*, New York: Columbia University Press.

²² Jad, Islah (2000) *Women and Politics, Palestinian Women: A Status Report No.7*, Institute of Women's Studies Birzeit University, 72 pages – (available in Arabic on website)

²³ Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2010) op.cit

²⁴ Where women are active at the grassroots level Shalhoub-Kevorkian Nadera (2009) *Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case Study* A book review by Lisa Hajjar (2011). *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 7. 1 Winter, pp. 120-123.

²⁵ Rosenfeld, Maya (2004) *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee Camp*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, xvi, +318 pages. A book review by Islah Jad, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 36, no.1 (Fall 2006), p. 82 Recent Books

<http://www.palestine-studies.org/journals.aspx?id=7181&jid=1&href=fulltext> accessed July 2011

women's movement was an indigenous feminism that did demonstrate awareness of gender inequality and desires to mitigate it"²⁶,

The Women's Studies Centre in occupied Jerusalem (WSC)²⁷ established in 1989, monitors the situation of women and conducts training for women's empowerment. An academic center was established at Birzeit University -Institute of Women's Studies in 1994²⁸. Adalah²⁹ 'The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel' – an advocacy group in Israel publishes on women's rights within their broader human rights mandate³⁰. Women Affairs Center (WAC) in the besieged Gaza Strip has a number of publications using gender analysis³¹. Be'Tselem the Israeli Information Center on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories produces annual report and issue specific reports³².

1.2 Features of discrimination against Palestinian women related to the Palestinian Israeli conflict

The following general facets of discrimination are identified above that reflect the outcome of the interaction with the societal configuration of the Palestinian Israeli conflict with the overarching system of inequality between women and men across areas of residence of the various segments of the Palestinian population.

1.2.1 Multiplicity of forms of discrimination The Palestinian Israeli conflict in its various facets manifests itself by multiplicities of forms of discrimination against women. Lila Abu-Lughod (2010) refers to "the tight nexus of women's rights and national politics" in her analysis of Muslim women's rights in Palestine.³³ Multiplicity of discrimination in relation to conflict varies by region, jurisdiction and time. Palestinian Arab women in Israel³⁴ face gender intertwined with national discrimination³⁵. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, Palestinian women face Israeli occupation with its various facets

²⁶ Fleischman, Ellen L. (2003) *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948*, Berkeley: University of California Press (p. 205). In *Feminism Under The Mandate*, a book review by Islah Jad, *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXXIII, no. 3 (Spring 2004), pp 112-113.

²⁷ for more details visit, the center's website, <http://www.wsc-pal.org/>

²⁸ the center has a masters degree program and a specialized library of gender studies. for further information visit the institute's website: <http://home.birzeit.edu/wsi/>

²⁹ For more details visit the center's website, <http://www.adalah.org/> (in Arabic and English)

³⁰ For example See Report to CEDAW in 2005 <http://www.adalah.org/ara/cedaw.php> (Arabic)

³¹ For further information, visit web site <http://wac.org.ps/en/>, for a listing of publications in Arabic visit web page http://www.wac.org.ps/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=10&Itemid=18

³² www.btselem.org

³³ Abu-Lughod, Lila (2010) *The Active Social Life Of "Muslim Women's Rights": A Plea For Ethnography, Not Polemic, With Cases From Egypt And Palestine*. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*6. 1 (Winter 2010): p.24.

³⁴ Arabs in Israel are essentially a segment of the Palestinian population who remained in their homeland despite the mass exodus of the larger segment of the population to surrounding areas assuming the refugee status.

³⁵ For a comprehensive background, see Hesketh, Katie, et al (2011) *The Inequality Report, The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel*. Haifa: Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, 39 pages, in http://www.adalah.org/upfiles/2011/Adalah_The_Inequality_Report_March_2011.pdf accessed on July, 2011

intertwined, the settlements, the separation wall, the isolation of Jerusalem, and water³⁶. Refugee women face additional discrimination on the basis of their vulnerable refugee status³⁷.

1.2.2 Limited participation of women in key political decision-making positions while thriving of political involvement at the grassroots level

There is a consensus among sources regarding a limited participation of Palestinian women in general in key political decision-making positions^{38,39,40}. Such level of participation is proposed to be a byproduct of a culture of exclusion of women from leadership positions in the public sphere⁴¹. However, several sources concur on the presence of political activism among women at the 'informal' political sphere, e.g. during the first intifada⁴². Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian notes that these women managed to develop agency and some managed to "reconstruct a liberated space within an incarcerated context"⁴³.

1.2.3 Presence of multiple principal duty bearers for major segments of the Palestinian population:

Major segments of the Palestinian population affected by the ongoing conflict include the Palestinian Arabs of Israel, Palestinians (inhabitants and refugees) of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, also Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iraq. With the exception of the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel, segments of Palestinian population are proposed in principle to have multiple 'principal duty bearers' eligible for CEDAW review process despite the fact that they did not sign the treaty. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, Israel from the Palestinian perspective is a duty bearer⁴⁴.

For Palestinians living outside the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the internationally acknowledged representative of the Palestinian people is

³⁶ For more details see the PLO's Negotiation Affairs Department <http://www.nad-plo.org/>

³⁷ See Maya Rosenfeld (2004), op. cit.

³⁸ According to PLO representative office in Lebanon there are 12 women elected as members of the PNA legislative council out of 130 total members or 9 percent.

³⁹ Abdo, Nahla, "Nationalism and Feminism: Palestinian Women and the Intifada - No Going Back?" in V.M. Moghadam, Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies (London: Zed Books, 1994) reiterated by Jamal, Amal (2001) Engendering state-building: The women's movement and gender-regime in Palestine, *The Middle East Journal*; Spring ;55,2; ProQuest pg.259

⁴⁰ See for example Izzat, N.S. Shamoun H.(2006) Women and Political Participation: Impediments and Prospects – Gaza Strip Case Study, Gaza: Women's Affairs Center, Gaza, 55 pages.

⁴¹ See Blome-Jacobsen, L. (2004) Educated Housewives, Living Conditions among Palestinian Refugee Women, Fafo Report 425.

⁴² Loubani, Hanadi and Jennifer Plyler (2003) Occupation, Patriarchy, and the Palestinian Women's Movement, an interview with Hanadi Loubani http://www.mediterraneas.org/print.php3?id_article=48 accessed June 2011

⁴³ Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2009) Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case-Study. 183, noted by Stephanie Chaban in her review of Shalhoub-Kevorkian's book published by H-Minerva, July 2010, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=30366> accessed July, 2011

⁴⁴ See footnote 2 for an elaboration of the Israeli legal argument pertaining to their lack of accountability.

proposed to assume the status of a principal duty bearer in addition to the State where Palestinians reside in view of their obligations to the Palestinian people including ensuring equal opportunity for women to engage in political action at all levels.

Assistance to Palestinian refugees has been primarily the domain of the international community. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugee of the Near East (UNRWA) was established under UN General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949⁴⁵ to carry out ‘direct relief and works’ programmes for Palestine refugees’ and to continue with relief activities started by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Federation of the Red Crosses and Red Crescents and the American Friends Service Committee that offered assistance at the onset of the influx of refugees⁴⁶. UNRWA started operation on May 1, 1950⁴⁷.

Each of those additional “principal duty bearers” in effect assume obligations and are proposed to be held accountable in areas currently considered to be borne by the State that ratifies CEDAW.⁴⁸

1.2.4 Conflict related violence against Palestinian women

Palestinian women share conflict related violence with men in terms of bodily and psychological harm, but in their case it is more accentuated. House demolition affects women significantly by the traumatic destruction of their traditional private spheres⁴⁹. Between 2000 and 2004 according to the Israeli information center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories as follows:

“..Over the last four years, Israel has demolished 4,100 Palestinian homes in the Occupied Territories. About sixty percent of the demolitions were carried out in the framework of what Israel calls “clearing operations.” Twenty- five percent were destroyed because Israel claims they were built without permit. The remaining fifteen percent were demolished as a means to punish the families and neighbors of Palestinians suspected of involvement in carrying out attacks against Israelis.”

Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, Annual Report 2007 published by Be’Tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in The Occupied Territories covered a set of violations of basic

⁴⁵ Source: A/RES/302(IV), ad hoc political committee, agenda item no. 18, Draft A/1223, topic: Assistance to Palestine Refugees

⁴⁶ Source: <http://www.unrwa-lebanon.org/> For further information see the web site

⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.unrwa-lebanon.org/> For further information see the web site

⁴⁸ Applying this logic on Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli occupying authority, the Palestinian National Authority, and UNRWA become ‘co-principal duty bearers’ each with a distinct area of accountability. Similarly in Jordan the Jordanian government along with the PLO and UNRWA can be considered ‘principal duty bearers’ in view of the presence of refugees in Jordan. Syria and Lebanon follow the same pattern with the Syrian and the Lebanese governments being ‘principal duty bearers’ alongside the PLO and UNRWA. In the case of Egypt, the Egyptian government and the PLO are proposed to two “principal duty bearers”.

⁴⁹ B’tselem (2004) Through No Fault of Their Own: Israel's Punitive House Demolitions in the al Aqsa Intifada, B’tselem Information Sheet, November
http://www.btselem.org/english/Publications/Summaries/20041_Punitive_House_Demolitions.asp , accessed July, 2011.

human rights, issues that are of special relevance to women apart from home demolitions referred to in the preceding paragraph is the collective punishment and siege of Gaza, restriction of movement in the West Bank and the separation barrier/ wall, as well as settler violence, a case where a young girl of 11 was used as a human shield is documented in the report⁵⁰ on. The report addressed the issue of 'The Right to Water, Discriminatory Distribution in the West Bank'⁵¹ where the average consumption for Palestinian household is 60 liters per day compared to the Israeli consumption of 280 liters per day. Beating and humiliation by Israeli forces was another topic tackled by the report and women are especially vulnerable when such treatment is performed in their homes during searches for weapons. The report underscored Israeli denials of family reunification as affecting family life⁵².

Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian sums up the effect of militarization as an agent of enhancement of patriarchy in her professional biography as follows:

"I believe that Militarized policy tend to construct masculinized social institutions that are characterized by gender blindness that in turn preserve by the patriarchal institutions of both conflicting parties in war zones"⁵³.

Lori Allen on the other hand described the phenomenon of "routinization" of violence after the second intifada in 2000, in her article entitled Getting by the occupation: How Violence Became Normal During The Second Palestinian Intifada⁵⁴

Section 2- The Case of the Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon

This section consists of a synthesis of the configuration of the Palestinian Israeli conflict for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as well as an overview of features of conflict related discrimination against refugee women.

2.1 Configuration of the Palestinian Israeli conflict for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

The Palestinian Israeli Conflict for the Refugee segment of the Palestinian population is central. Rosemary Sayigh (2001) describes "the refugee issue, [as the] the historic core or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict"⁵⁵ The conflict took military, political and social forms. The major duty bearers involved are the PLO, UNRWA and the Lebanese State.

⁵⁰ See Be'Tselem 2007 Annual Report op.cit p. 34

⁵¹ See Be'Tselem 2007 Annual Report op.cit p.41

⁵² See Be'Tselem 2007 Annual Report op.cit p.40

⁵³ Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian Personal Biography, op.cit.

⁵⁴ Allen, Lori (2008) Getting by the occupation: How Violence Became Normal During The Second Palestinian Intifada, *Cultural Anthropology* 23. 3 Aug: 453-487.

Institutions

PLO's role varied with proliferation of Palestinian run political economic and social and health institutions during the seventies, receded after 1982 (with the exception of a vibrant General Union of Palestinian Women), then re-emerged in influence after the 1990s but with limited capability of its once thriving health and social institutions. PLO runs and serves as an umbrella structure to health, social institutions, as well Palestinian labor unions, professional associations, and the General Union of Palestinian Women.

UNRWA maintained its operation throughout all periods; however, the period in the 1990s saw budgetary restrictions which increased hardship on the refugee population recuperating from the aftermath of armed hostilities in the seventies and eighties. During emergencies UNRWA shifts to relief operations including providing food and shelter assistance as well as reconstruction⁵⁶ however budget, however budgetary restrictions constitute a major barrier. However, UNRWA is an employer of 3000 staff members most of them segment of the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon. UNRWA programs include: administration, health, relief and social services, education, procurement and logistics and field engineering and construction services department.⁵⁷

However the gap left by the limitation of capacities of PLO social institutions, and the constraints made on UNRWA was partly filled by NGOs at the grassroots level, by local and international NGOs. NGOs play a major role in advocacy, in relief and capacity building, they are project based and internationally funded.

Events

There were direct military assault by Israeli forces, assault on Palestinians intertwined with Lebanese civil war issues, and internal armed conflict among political factions.

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon endured severe restrictions including those on mobility 1949 -1969. The arrival of a PLO forces from Jordan and establishment of social, economic and health institutions in Lebanon concurrent with the signing of the Cairo Accord initiated a period of release of such restrictions in view of the political influence at the time represented by a military and economic presence of the PLO and its institutions, that was concurrent with a civil war that erupted in the country and the PLO aligned themselves with one of its factions. After the withdrawal of PLO forces in 1982 thus receding political influence, the period of restrictions on Palestinian refugees resumed. After the termination of the civil war in Lebanon in 1990 and the Taef Accord of Lebanese national conciliation which included the refusal to naturalize Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, restrictions on the life of Palestinian refugees were

⁵⁵ In Sayigh, Rosemary (2001) Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Implantation, Transfer or Return? Middle East Policy, vol.VIII, No.1 March, p.96

⁵⁶ Currently UNRWA is undertaking a program of reconstruction, relief and recovery for Nahr el Bared Camp. For further information see, <http://www.unrwa-lebanon.org/NBCemerg.aspx> - accessed July, 2011

⁵⁷ <http://www.unrwa-lebanon.org/Programmes.aspx> - accessed July, 2011

continued to include mobility and work opportunities, formal political activity resumed and culminated with the re-establishment of the office of the representative of PLO in Lebanon in on May 12th 2006⁵⁸. The destruction of the economically thriving camp Nahr el bared camp in the North of Lebanon due to armed conflict between fundamentalist factions and the Lebanese army was a sizeable set back to efforts at reviving political activity in an environment of détente with the Lebanese State and at alleviating poverty and restrictions of civil, economic, and social rights of Palestinians most prominently the right to work, as well as advocacy activities relating towards implementing resolution 194 regarding the return of refugees to their ancestral homes. (See box 1 for a preview of historical landmarks).

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have retained their political factions that were formed since the seventies as well the emergent the Islamist political groups⁵⁹. Such political groups cover to varying degrees the span of areas of location of Palestinian refugees. Most of the armed presence is within camps, and almost all of the camps are surrounded by Lebanese security forces. Advocacy efforts abound to address human rights of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon especially civil, social and economic rights since UNRWA's mandate is restricted to assistance programs.⁶⁰

Box 1- Historical Landmarks relevant to the Palestinian Israeli conflict in Lebanon

1948 – 1969 arrival of refugees to Lebanon – and segregation into camps in various areas in Lebanon – political restriction

1950 Establishment of UNRWA with a mandate restricted to providing assistance

1952 Census of refugees in Lebanon that forms the basis of current registration status

1969 -1982 a period of overt political activity ease of restrictions for refugees coupled with military presence and influence of PLO in Lebanon based on the Cairo Accord between Lebanon and PLO. Palestinian Israeli armed confrontation destruction of several camps; destruction of camps resulting from internal armed conflict – Tel Zaatar camp in 1976.

1982 – 1989

Receding Palestinian political activity as well as shrinking of PLO run health and social and economic institutions coupled with increase of restrictions on Palestinian refugees following Israeli 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and the withdrawal of major PLO forces, Sabra Shatila massacre, Palestinian organizational infighting 'camp wars', and termination of the civil war, rising role of grass roots organizations, increase

⁵⁸ United Press International (UPI) PLO Reopens Beirut Representation Office
http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2006/05/12/PLO-reopens-Beirut-representation-office/UPI-61881147444174/print/ - accessed July, 2011

⁵⁹ Khalidat Hussein (2005) op. cit. reported the presence of Islamist women organizations shortly following the second intifada of 2000, indicating the presence of Islamist political activity during that period. See also an article that focuses of Palestinian Islamist groups political activity in Lebanon- Knudsen, Are (2005) Islamism in the Diaspora: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 18, No. 2,

⁶⁰ See discussion in the paragraph on protection of refugee women in the Supplementary report submitted to CEDAW 2008 (op.cit) p.12

of influence of women run organizations at the grassroots level, increasing involvement of international NGOs.

1990 to present

Revival of Palestinian political activity, continued restrictions on civil and economic rights of Palestinian refugees, budget constraints of UNRWA affecting access to services, continued role of NGOs in advocacy and supplementary service provision, , destruction of Nahr el Bared camp 2007 displacement and current reconciliation and reconstruction process.

Knowledge generation Role of INGOs in raising awareness about vulnerable segments of the refugees (non-ids and NRs), proliferation of needs based and advocacy related research on Palestinian refugees, role of evidence based advocacy in increasing public awareness of social problems in camps including poverty, work restriction, and violence against women.

Sources: UNRWA⁶¹, Hussein, K. (2005) op.cit, Danish refugee Council⁶²

The above reveals the presence of a woman's movement active throughout regardless of political ebbs and flows. This movement consists of Palestinian based women's organizations under the umbrella of PLO Women political groups working at the grassroots level and Women's political groups that represent their respective factions in the General Union of Palestinian Women as well as independent NGOs working with Palestinian communities with a feminist agenda Women's NGOs that focus on women's issues such as empowerment, and elimination of Discrimination, and provision of development oriented social and vocational training services. Women's organizations have variable forms and a solid grassroots support that allowed them at times to play a pivotal role and sometimes assume the lead when the formal political leadership mostly male were weak due to restrictions. Palestinian women are assuming the 'front-liner' role proposed by Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian⁶³ thus contribute to the resilience of the communities throughout their stay in Lebanon characterized with political, social, and economic instability.

⁶¹ See www.unrwa.org

⁶² Danish Refugee Council (2005) Survey report on The Situation of Non-ID Palestinian Refugees Lebanon compared to registered and non-registered refugees residing in camps and gatherings, Beirut March 2005.

⁶³ Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nadera (2009) op.cit

2.2 Features of discrimination facing Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon related to the Palestinian Israeli conflict

In Lebanon, Palestinian refugee women are tackling discriminations based on gender, refugee status, and statelessness. The supplementary report submitted to the 40th session of CEDAW meeting 2008⁶⁴, provides an overview of features of discrimination facing Palestinian refugee women. They are summarized in the recommendations⁶⁵ of the report and are outlined in the following section.

2.2.1 Presence of multiple discriminations: Gender, Refugee status and Statelessness

The first supplementary report on Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon states that “Palestinian refugee women are coping with three major layers of discrimination: (1) gender, (2) refugee status, and (3) statelessness. There is evidence of gender discrimination against women which is the bulk of this report; moreover, the interplay of gender and refugee status presents another complication, and when statelessness - the absence of a fully sovereign and functional state - is added to the mix, the challenge facing Palestinian refugee women in their struggle to disentangle as well as attempt to resolve intricate cultural / economic / social and political dimensions of gender discrimination is compounded even further.”⁶⁶

2.2.2 Presence of multiple Principal duty bearers – state and non state actors:

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees of the Near East (UNRWA) are proposed to be two Principal Duty bearers to be included in the CEDAW review process pertaining to the Palestinian refugee women residing in Lebanon in addition to the Lebanese State. In other words the PLO and UNRWA each assumes a quasi state role complementing the role of the State of Lebanon that is held accountable in view of its ratification of international treaties for functions it does not perform. The Lebanese State handles personal identification and vital registration, mobility, personal status law and other the general penal code, and access to work. The Palestine Liberation Organization is the internationally recognized political representative of the Palestinian people. PLO is recognized by the State of Lebanon as a non-state representative of Palestinians. Matters related to the gap of political participation among women and men among Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are within the domain of the PLO in view of its role in political organizations, as well as in community structures in camps, and professional associations.

UNRWA is a UN organization providing health, educational, and social services under mandate from the General Assembly. It is the main health and education provider for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon along with Syria, Jordan, West Bank and Gaza since its establishment in 1950.

⁶⁴ Association Najdeh (2008) Implementing CEDAW for Palestinian Refugee Women in Lebanon, Breaking through Layers of Discrimination, First Supplementary report submitted to the CEDAW Committee Geneva, 2008. For the text of the report see

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/NAJDEH.pdf> accessed July, 2011

⁶⁵ See appendices

⁶⁶ Implementing CEDAW for Palestinian Refugee Women in Lebanon, op.cit, p.13

With current mechanisms of implementation of CEDAW, the Lebanese State is the sole principal duty bearer that is formally held accountable for the application of CEDAW for Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon. Consequently Palestinian refugee women are essentially deprived from formal review of the principal duty bearers who are under obligation to the General Assembly of the United Nations to implement CEDAW in the areas of health, education, and social services⁶⁷ while the PLO according to its covenant has the obligation to ensure equal opportunity for women to engage in the political sphere⁶⁸.

In short, the presence of multiple principal duty bearers presents a discrepancy in effective monitoring of the implementation of CEDAW that needs to be addressed.⁶⁹

2.2.3 Limited participation of Palestinian refugee women in higher political decision-making despite political involvement at the grassroots level

Despite the relatively high level of involvement in the NGO sector, and an increasing involvement in the leadership position in popular committees⁷⁰, available information indicate that there are few Palestinian refugee women in high level decision making political positions and there is a need for increased women's participation⁷¹.

In an unpublished manuscript on the Palestinian women's movement in Lebanon, the author indicates during the period from 1948 to 1969 where there were intensive restrictions however that period saw the start of political activity of women in existing parties⁷². During the 1970s when the PLO was a political power in Lebanon, women's committees in several key political factions were formed; further more the Union of Palestinian Women Lebanon Chapter was instituted in 1972 was actively mobilizing women's capacities at the grassroots levels and implementing programs including vocational training, literacy, health education. With the outbreak of armed conflict most women were involved in support services such as relief, first aid, preparing food for the combatants, while a few were involved in actual combat. However, women's movement did not articulate an agenda for action that reconciles nationalist goals with those related to equality with men. The period after the 1982 Israeli invasion and the withdrawal of PLO forces witnessed a more intense activity of the General Union of Palestinian Women at the political field with specific objectives: to maintain Palestinian refugee presence and resist attempts to demolish the camps which are the focal point of the Palestinian refugees as communities in the country, regain the representative status of the PLO, and the right for political activity, expose

⁶⁷ Articles: 12 (health), 10 (Education), and 13 (economic and social benefits).

⁶⁸ Article 7 of CEDAW.

⁶⁹ Multiplicity of duty bearer was mentioned in 2005 in the report of the right of the Palestinian refugee child, and in 2008 in the supplementary report presented to CEDAW committee.

⁷⁰ Popular committees are the official community leaders of Palestinian refugee camps and some gatherings in Lebanon. Members represent political factions, they run the internal security of the camps and complement UNRWA's work by managing the provision of basic services such as water and electricity to the refugee communities in camps and in some gatherings by acting as mediators with the Lebanese utility service providers.

⁷¹ See Hussein Khalidat, et al (2005) Palestinian Women's Movement in Lebanon, submitted to the Women's Study Center, Birzeit University (un published manuscript)

⁷² The Arab Nationalist movement and the Baath party.

actions of the Israelis. In coordination with local and international NGOs, women action committees worked in emergency relief, and monitoring wounded and detainees and supporting families of those killed in hostilities. During the period between 1980 and 1985 there were intra Palestinian hostilities, the women's movement focused on peace-building among the combatants. Also the women's movement at the time managed to put pressure towards reconstruction of Baddawi camp in the north and Shatila camp in Beirut, and stop plans to remove Burj Barajneh camp. However in the period of the Oslo accord where the refugee issue was relegated to the final negotiations phase in the Palestinian Israeli negotiations, women's movement focused on the following topics: underscore the aspiration of the refugee population to return, advocate for implementing civil social and economic rights including the right to work, exert pressure to maintain UNRWA services which were under financial strain, exert pressure to improve health and social services provided by PLO run institutions.⁷³

Furthermore, a campaign in cooperation with Women Local NGOs working with Palestinian and Lebanese communities was launched to advocate women's political participation. There is also regional effort to address women's political participation and quota especially during an environment of regional uprisings and in the transitional democratic period and processes. Association Najdeh tackled the issue at regional level by launching different activities including an international conference, and roundtable discussions conducted in 2010 and the first half of 2011⁷⁴.

2.2.4 Conflict related violence on Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon⁷⁵:

During emergency priority is given to Information from community activists⁷⁶ point to deficiency in UNRWA services regarding women's needs in conflict, post conflicts, emergency, etc. Accounts from assaults on camps in Lebanon document war crimes including rape and other forms of sexual assault.

Palestinian refugee women suffered loss of lives and loved ones in addition to home destruction and displacement in the multiple armed conflicts that the camps of Lebanon were subjected to in all areas at different points from 1948 till the present. The most prominent are the destruction of a portion of Rashidieh camp in the south and the total destruction of Nabatieh camp following Israeli raids in the early seventies. Another landmark is the total destruction of Tal Zaatar camp after a 40 day siege in 1976 in the context of the Lebanese civil war. The general destruction of Ein el Hilweh camp the largest camp, as well as destruction of the western portion of Shatila camp as well as a large portion of Sabra gathering (the latter two are in Beirut area) during the 1982 Israeli invasion. The latest catastrophe hit Nahr el Bared Camp in 2007 as a result of a military operation conducted by the Lebanese army to crush fundamentalist rebels who took refuge in the once economically thriving camp. This event resulted in the total destruction of the camp, and displacement and a lengthy process of reconstruction.

⁷³ See Hussein Khalidat, et al (2005) op.cit.

⁷⁴ Account of Najdeh's Executive Director.

⁷⁵ For further information see the refugee tab at the PLO's Negotiation Affairs Department <http://www.nad-plo.org/>

⁷⁶ Conversation with Association Najdeh coordinator of emergency program.

Section 3 – Concluding reflections and Recommendations

3.1 Concluding reflections

The Palestinian experience in general and the experience of Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon in particular demonstrate that conflict when complex and chronic acts as a form of discrimination against women at the aggregate level by reconfiguring the clusters of forms of discrimination that they face – allowing brief windows of assuming leadership roles soon to create a glass ceiling once the situation becomes manageable by the existing political system based on a legacy of excluding women referred to by researchers as patriarchy.

Decades of conflict varied from armed conflict to quasi peaceful times where poverty became rampant and women bore the burden while the conflict persisted.

In the case of Palestinian refugee women in Lebanon the lack of implementation of the UN resolution 194 allows the persistence of the six decade old conflict that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have been enduring.

Despite socioeconomic hurdles and their public sphere private sphere challenges, Palestinian refugee women in general have managed to organize.

The experience of refugee women in Lebanon demonstrates the capacity of women to organize despite political patriarchal system and other cultural impediments to keep communities intact. It seems as if women as a group have expanded their traditional role of keeping the family by expanding it to include the community, thus engulfing the public within the private spheres.

Such strategy persisted despite the low level of participation of women in higher decision making structures. It has created the environment for growth of women's organizations that specialize in addressing discrimination through knowledge generation, evidence based advocacy, and direct service provision.

3.2 Recommendations

The recommendations of this document revolve around two topics: the first is the implementation of international instruments pertinent to the Palestinian Israeli conflict and the second refers to the accountability of duty bearers as key towards a more effective implementing CEDAW for segments of the Palestinian population which this is relevant.

- Call upon the CEDAW committee to consider monitoring the implementation of international instruments pertinent to women in conflict in general and that which address specifically the Palestinian Israeli conflict as another form of discrimination inflicted on Palestinian women
 - Promoting information gathering on the implementation of the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict⁷⁷ General Assembly resolution 3318 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974
 - Promoting Information gathering on the implication of delay of implementation of the UN Resolution 194 (III) dated 1948 regarding the right of refugees to return to their ancestral homes.
 - Promoting information gathering on the progress of implementation of UN Resolution 242 (1967)⁷⁸ and the implication of the delay in terms of proliferation of settlements, the separation wall, the prisoners and the detainees, and the status of Jerusalem, water.⁷⁹
- Acknowledge in the CEDAW General Recommendation the need to address the issue of multiple Principal Duty Bearers for women in conflict.
 - Devise special mechanisms to hold multiple duty bearers accountable to being monitored formally by the CEDAW Committee. The process is proposed to outlined as follows:
 - Identify Criteria for selection of duty bearers to be included in the multiple duty bearer review process
 - Identify a principal / reference duty bearer – in the case of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon it would be the state.
 - Issuing of ‘duty bearer’ reports by each duty bearer within their scope of coverage of women’s rights
 - Presence of Delegations during the CEDAW session relevant e.g. to the women in Lebanon
 - Advise advocacy group to issue shadow reports targeting each duty bearer

⁷⁷ Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 3318 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/protectionwomen.htm>

⁷⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) regarding withdrawal of Israel from “territories occupied in the recent conflict” paragraph 1(i) as well as “the necessity of achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem” (paragraph 2(b) adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/240/94/IMG/NR024094.pdf?OpenElement>

⁷⁹ The above issues are addressed by the PLO Negotiations Affairs Department, <http://www.nad-plo.org/>

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Historical Landmarks

Box A1.1 - Text of the Balfour Declaration, 1917

Foreign Office
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour

Source: Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs web site
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace%20Process/Guide%20to%20the%20Peace%20Process/The%20Balfour%20Declaration> accessed July 2011

Box A1.2 - Admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations – UN Resolution 273(III), May 11, 1949

Last paragraph of preamble

"*Recalling* its resolutions of 29 November 1947³ and 11 December 1948⁴ and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel⁵ before the *ad hoc* Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions,"

Source: Resolution 273(III), May 11, 1949, Official Documents System of the United Nations (ODS)United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/044/44/IMG/NR004444.pdf?OpenElement> accessed July 2011

Box A1.3 - Sequence of political events in Palestine from 1917-1948: British, Arab, and Jewish accounts.

| The British Account | The Arab Account | The Jewish Account |
|--|--|---|
| Period I – 1917-1920 | Prelude: | Prelude: |
| The period of military administration | Sykes-Picot Agreement, Balfour Declaration | Rise of Jewish Nationalism |
| Period II 1920-1923 | Reassurances to Arabs: Hogarth letter, Bassett letter, British declaration to the Seven | Beginning of the Return |
| Implementation of the Balfour Declaration, Arab reactions and attempted constitutional government | Anglo-French Declaration | Rise of Political Zionism |
| Period III 1924-1928 | Period 1 | The Balfour Declaration |
| A period of consolidation and relative tranquility | From the British Occupation to the Great Palestine Rebellion 1918-1935 | The Establishment of the Mandate |
| Period IV September 1928 –December 1932 | Period 2 | Building the Jewish National Home |
| Revival of the Arab Antagonism to the Jewish National Home. The White Paper of 1930 | The Great Rebellion, 1936-1939, Peel Commission, The White Paper of 1939 | Britain Repudiate the Jewish National Home (The Arab revolt) |
| Period V January 1933 to March 1936 | Period 3 | World War II |
| The swelling of Jewish immigration and the crystallization of Arab Nationalism in Palestine | From the London Conference to the UN partition,1939-1947 | The Yishuv repudiate the Mandate |
| Period VI | Period 4 | The Birth of Israel |
| The Disorders of 1936 | Civil War and the Destruction of the Palestinian Community, November 1947-May 1948 | |
| Period VII November 1936 to August 1939 | Termination of the mandate | |
| The period of political dormancy during the early years of world warII | | |
| Period IX November 1942 to December 1945 | | |
| The agitation for the Jewish state and unrestricted immigration | | |
| (source: Survey of Palestine, 1946-1947) | (Source: Hadawi, 1989, Khalidi, 1984) | (Source: Sachar, 1991) |

Source: Khalidi, A. (1996) Indicators of Social Transformation and Infant Survival: A Conceptual Framework and an Application to the Populations of Palestine from 1927 to 1944, Doctoral Thesis, Baltimore MD, submitted to the School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University, Table 5.1 p.252.

Appendix 2 – Recommendations of the Supplementary Report on Implementation of CEDAW for Palestinian Refugee Women in Lebanon (2008)

- Calling upon the Lebanese government given its responsibility in protecting the refugee population,
 - To apply the civil and social human rights covenant to Palestinian refugee women and men residing in Lebanon with a special emphasis on the right to work since that would eliminate a significant impediment towards implementing CEDAW for refugee women.
 - To recognize the special vulnerable status of Palestinian refugee women vis-à-vis other refugee women given the lack of a sovereign state that would allow applying the principle of reciprocity in civil matters including work.
 - To call on the United Nations to increase resources allocated to UNRWA as well as intensifying linkages between UNRWA and UNHCR especially in the area of sharing information and experiences on Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) and adapting the UNHCR SGBV Guidelines to the needs of Palestine refugee women.
- Calling upon the Palestine Liberation Organization given its responsibility in maintaining the national identity of the refugee population, to increase the participation of women in higher levels of political decision making.
- Calling upon the international community and specifically the UN General Assembly given its responsibility in supporting UNRWA
 - to enhance efforts to support the valiant efforts of this organization within its domain to insure basic health, education and social services to women and to the population at large and provide special support and acknowledgement of its efforts at mainstreaming gender in its operation
 - to enhance existing linkages with UNHCR especially in the field of sexual and gender based violence.

Source: Association Najdeh (2008), op.cit p.31

Appendix 3 - Key facts about refugee from the PLO Negotiations Affairs Department

“Today there are seven million Palestinian refugees; the majority of whom live within 100 kilometers (62 miles) of Israel’s border.

1.4 million refugees who are registered with UNRWA currently live in 58 official UNRWA refugee camps in the oPt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon (“host countries”). However, there are also many of our refugees that are not registered with UNRWA who live in these camps and still others that live in camps not recognized by UNRWA or the host country.

Our largest refugee camp population resides in the Gaza Strip. The highest proportion of refugees residing in camps among any single host country’s Palestinian refugee population lives in Lebanon.

Roughly 770,000 registered refugees live in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Of these, approximately 190,000 live in 19 refugee camps in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

More than one million registered refugees reside in the Gaza Strip.

Roughly 500,000 live in one of the eight camps in the Gaza Strip.

Our refugees in the oPt [occupied Palestinian territories] possess the same housing, health, employment, and education rights as non-refugees.

The treatment of Palestinian refugees varies among host countries. Jordan granted citizenship to most refugees who fled in 1948, along with the civil and social rights attending Jordanian citizenship.

Palestinians living in Syria have the same rights and responsibilities as Syrian citizens, except nationality and political rights.

In Lebanon, our refugees face severe discrimination, including lacking such fundamental rights as access to healthcare, education, and employment. While recent legislation has slightly improved our refugee work rights on paper, in effect, refugees are still prohibited from working in many professions, including pharmaceuticals, journalism, medicine, and law. They are also prohibited from owning immovable property. Further, building in and around Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon is severely restricted.

Palestinians today are a Diaspora community that is scattered all over the world, including in most Arab states, Europe, and in North and South America. Yet, while the Israeli Law of Return allows any Jew residing anywhere in the world to live in Israel and the oPt[occupied Palestinian territories], irrespective of direct lineage in the territory, those of us that are native born and possess the keys to our homes and titles to property in historic Palestine are denied the right even to visit our families, property and ancestral homeland.”

Source: PLO, Negotiations Affairs Department web site

<http://www.nad-plo.org/etemplate.php?id=12&more=1#2> accessed July 2011