

The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of **Global Dialogue and Democracy**

المبادرة الفلسطينية لتعزيز الحوار العالمي والديمقراطية



A Diagnostic Study on International Funds for Women, Peace and Security Agenda

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MIFTAH Foreword

Since 2005, MIFTAH has been charting international tools and mechanisms aimed at realizing the Women's Peace and Security agenda in Palestine in a way that highlights the agenda's focus on the status of Palestinian women under Israeli occupation. This includes violations of human rights and military and colonialist measures in breach of international law including siege, demolitions, forced expulsion, settler violence, arrests, restriction on movement and other ongoing violations in the occupied Palestinian territory.

MIFTAH's objective from the beginning has been to support the involvement of Palestinian women in the dissemination of the Palestinian narrative, to amplify Palestinian women's voices on international platforms and mobilize international and women's solidarity with the Palestinian demand to end the occupation and hold Israel accountable for its violations and crimes committed against the Palestinian people.

MIFTAH also seeks to coordinate civic efforts around the WPS agenda among civil, official and international parties in order to achieve the goals of the women's movement and women's and rights organizations, which can be accomplished through effective, impactful and visible action at the local and international level. MIFTAH believes this coordination can be achieved through affirming the mechanisms of networking and alliance building and working on building alignments on strategic approaches and vision to work within the WPS agenda in Palestine. It can also be achieved through identifying international tools and mechanisms to boost and intensify efforts for advocacy and lobbying for the women's movement and relevant civil society institutions.

These efforts prompted MIFTAH to prepare a number of studies, working papers and research over the years to help evaluate interventions, to build on accomplished actions and to transform challenges into opportunities that can be utilized to score achievements at the international level towards realizing justice for Palestinian women in light of the ongoing violations and discriminatory policies they face. This lays the foundation for promoting dialogue on the coordination of efforts by institutions to work according to the WPS agenda in line with the aspirations of the women's movement and Palestinian institutions.

As a continuation of these efforts, MIFTAH prepared a feasibility study on funding and support for the WPS agenda in Palestine over the past 15 years, aimed at highlighting the gaps and challenges facing its implementation or any progress in achieving the WPS agenda. MIFTAH based this study on the following criteria: 1) Realization of results, achievements and gaps; 2) alignment of donor funding with priorities and objectives of NGOs; 3) ownership of Palestinian NGOs to objectives and strategies; 4) mutual accountability between NGOs and donors; and 5) harmonization of work among NGOs and Donors.

MIFTAH considers this study crucial in shedding light on the course of action and areas of progress made in the context of the WPS agenda. Moreover, the results indicate to the importance of coordinating efforts and fostering dialogue on the areas that continue to face various challenges in achieving their aspired goals, especially regarding the issue of accountability.

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| # | Full Name | Acronym |
|----|--|----------|
| 1 | Women, Peace and Security | WPS |
| 2 | United Nations Security Council | UNSC |
| 3 | Gender-Based Violence | GBV |
| 4 | Violence Against Women | VAW |
| 5 | General Union of Palestinian Women | GUPW |
| 6 | United Nations General Assembly | UNGA |
| 7 | Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women | CtEDAW |
| 8 | General Recommendation | GR |
| 9 | Non-Governmental Organisations | NGOs |
| 10 | International Non-Governmental Organisations | INGOs |
| 11 | Culture and Free Thought Association | CFTA |
| 12 | Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy | MIFTAH |
| 13 | Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development | PWWSD |
| 14 | Women, Media and Development | TAM |
| 15 | Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling | WCLAC |
| 16 | Women Studies Centre | WSC |
| 17 | Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation | SDC |
| 18 | Norwegian Representative Office | NRO |
| 19 | Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency | Sida |
| 20 | National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 | NAP |
| 21 | Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women | CEDAW |
| 22 | Ministry of Women's Affairs | MoWA |
| 23 | United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment | UN Women |
| 24 | Palestinian Authority | PA |
| 25 | Women's Affairs Technical Committee | WATC |
| 26 | Kvinna Till Kvinna | KTK |

Table of Abbreviations

Executive Summary

The women, peace and security agenda refers to the ten resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council on women in armed conflict, starting with resolution 1325 in 2000 and ending in resolution 2493 in 2019. The agenda consists of four main pillars; participation, protection, prevention and relief and recovery, and its adoption in Palestine translated into three main pillars: participation, protection and accountability. The vision behind the adoption of the agenda and namely resolution 1325 was to utilise it as a tool to hold the occupation accountable for the human rights violations and atrocities committed by the occupation against the Palestinian people.

However, over the years, the effectiveness of the funding that came to the women, peace and security agenda has been in question, and particularly in terms of its adherence to the criteria set in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness: realisation of results, alignment, ownership, mutual accountability and harmonisation. Realisation of results refers to the tangible achievements and results accomplished. Alignment refers to the alignment of donor funding with the priorities and objectives of national actors. Ownership refers to that objectives and strategies are set by national actors. Mutual accountability refers to that national actors, international non-governmental organisations, UN agencies and donors are accountable to one another with respect to development results, funding streams, modalities and priorities. Harmonisation refers to sharing of information and coordination of efforts among donors and among national actors.

There is relative consensus among Palestinian non-governmental organisations, international non-governmental organisations, UN agencies and donors that there is significant room for improvement in terms of realisation of results and accomplishments. Despite a number of achievements over the past fifteen years, results remain limited due to a number of factors, including but not limited to the lack of the political will of the international community, the predominant focus on the UN as the main accountability target and the dispersal of funding that comes to the women, peace and security agenda.

With respect to alignment, funding that came to the women, peace and security agenda was not in line with the vision set by Palestinian non-governmental organisations. This manifested in the restriction of funding to focus on the occupation, the focus on the Palestinian Authority and *de facto* government in Gaza as a main duty-bearer, and sometimes the primary duty-bearer, the expansion of the interpretation of the participation and protection pillars of the women, peace and security agenda and the introduction of pillars and thematic areas that do not apply to Palestine, namely the relief and recovery pillar, which is more suited to post-conflict situations. This suggests that the international development donor community consider Palestine in a post-conflict situation and have taken active. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the donor community has taken active and concrete steps to keep Palestinian non-governmental

organisations subservient and mainstream an apolitical view to civil society work in Palestine.

On the level of ownership, there is a clear linkage among Palestinian non-governmental organisations between alignment of donor funding with national priorities and objectives and their sense of ownership. Furthermore, ownership towards development work has been severely compromised by funding modalities and streams, with the decline in the receipt of unrestricted core funding and the shift to restricted short-term project funding and the receipt of funding through intermediaries. This is reflected in that only two out of six organisations who participated in this research receive core funding, and only one out of five organisations exclusively provides funding directly to Palestinian non-governmental organisations instead of through intermediaries.

There is relative consensus between Palestinian non-governmental organisations and donors that harmonisation among donors requires improvement, in contrast with the views of international non-governmental organisations and UN agencies. Furthermore, there is an absence of formal, regular and instituted mechanisms among both donors, international non-governmental organisations and UN agencies to harmonise funds among donors. This severely compromises the equitable distribution of funds to development partners and to the women, peace and security agenda pillars in line with national priorities.

On the other hand, there are significant disparities in the views of Palestinian non-governmental organisations on one hand, and international non-governmental organisations, UN agencies and donors on another hand on the need to promote coordination and consolidation of efforts among Palestinian non-governmental organisations. The limited coordination and consolidation of efforts is not only restricted among Palestinian non-governmental organisations working on the women, peace and security agenda but also extends to cooperation and coordination with the Palestinian Authority and Palestinian non-governmental organisations working in the field of human rights in general. Furthermore, there is an absence of formal, regular and instituted mechanisms to encourage Palestinian non-governmental organisations towards this end.

Lastly, there are relatively smaller disparities among the various stakeholders that accountability is mainly one-sided and goes in the direction of donors to Palestinian national actors. This further exacerbates the lack of alignment of donor funding with national priorities and objectives and the lack of equitable distribution of funds to development partners and to the pillars of the women, peace and security agenda.

This overall assessment reflects the highly limited effectiveness of the funds that came to advance the women, peace and security agenda in Palestine. This could be remedied and these gaps addressed through the adoption of several measures. Firstly, there is a need for the creation of a policy dialogue platform that brings together all stakeholders to bring donor funding closer to national priorities and advance the equitable

distribution of funds to development partners and the pillars of the agenda. This requires consensus on what constitutes national priorities and the priority demands to the donor community. The development, maintenance and update of an index on the effectiveness of aid to the women, peace and security agenda could serve as a useful tool in the continuous engagement with the donors.

Additionally, there is a need to diversify accountability targets beyond the United Nations to include parliamentarians and solidarity groups. The benefit of this would be two-fold as it would not only contribute to increasing solidarity with the Palestinian people but also would contribute to better aligning donor funding with national priorities. Within the context of the utilisation of United Nations frameworks and mechanisms to hold the occupation accountable, and given that the women, peace and security agenda was released by the United Nations, UN agencies in Palestine should play a more active role in bringing the issues of Palestinian women to the table of the international community.

There is also a need to better harmonise donor funding through the formalisation of one of the existing mechanisms or through the creation of a pool fund to the women, peace and security agenda and a secretariat to administer the fund.

Lastly, international non-governmental organisations and UN agencies should play a more active role in better aligning donor funding with national priorities and objectives, and support a more equitable distribution of funds to development partners and the pillars of the agenda.

Introduction

Women, Peace and Security Agenda: An Introduction

The women, peace and security (WPS) agenda refers to ten resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Recognising the disproportionate impact of war and armed conflict on women and girls, and following concerted efforts on the global level in response to the atrocities committed during the Yugoslav and other wars, in terms of sexual violence against women, the WPS agenda came into being through the adoption of Resolution 1325 by the UNSC in October 2000. Nine subsequent resolutions were adopted as follows: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019).¹

The agenda consists of four main pillars: participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery, as follows:²

- **Participation** aims to promote gender equality and women's equal participation, on the same footing as men, in peace and security decision-making processes at the national, local and international levels. This includes the appointment of more women negotiators, mediators, peacekeepers, police and humanitarian personnel, as well as support local women's peace initiatives.
- **Protection** ensures that women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations, including protection from gender-based violence (GBV) in general and sexual violence in particular. This pillar also emphasises the particular protection needs of refugee and internally displaced women and girls that can occur at the various stages of displacement.
- **Prevention** focuses on the prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women (VAW) and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations. This includes measures to prevent GBV by fighting impunity and fighting the increased protections for perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence. It also includes integration of gender considerations in conflict warning systems and embedding women and their specific needs in conflict prevention and disarmament activities.
- **Relief and recovery** ensures that women's and girls' specific needs, including reproductive health needs, are met in conflict-affected situations. For example, this includes repatriation and resettlement, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes, the design of refugee camps, support to internally displaced persons and in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. It also promotes developing women's capacities to shift women from being victims of armed conflict to become actors and agents in relief and recovery processes in conflict and post-conflict situations, including transitional justice, reconstruction, reintegration and

¹ Peace Now- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *The Resolutions* (accessed June 27, 2020) <<http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions>>

² Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, *Women, Peace and Security {Brief}* (March 2015) <<https://www.sida.se/contentassets/3a820dbd152f4fc98bacde8a8101e15/women-peace-and-security.pdf>>

economic recovery in post-conflict situations. Relief and recovery also refer to the primary needs of women pertaining to reproductive health and addressing the special needs of women and girls, particularly the most affected victims, refugees, ex-fighters, returnees or were directly affected by the conflict, including sexual and GBV victims.³

Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Palestine

In Palestine, on the outset of the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325 there was hesitation to adopt the resolution and work on it, particularly in light of the challenges posed to peace in the build-up to and during the second Intifada and in terms of aggressive and violent Israeli policies and practices. Further hesitation stemmed from the lack of belief in the international legal system, as numerous previous resolutions in Palestine went unimplemented and the effectiveness of the international community in delivering justice for Palestinians and ending the occupation has been, at best, limited. Notwithstanding, the positive aspects of the resolution were recognised in terms of increasing women's participation in decision-making,⁴ as well as serving as a basis for networking and building solidarity with the situation of Palestinian women under occupation.⁵

In the early years after adopting work on UNSC Resolution 1325, Palestinian NGOs worked separately and each per their own specialisation and goals; this can mainly be attributed to the absence of a unifying vision that national actors share consensus on. The next years witnessed the stagnation and thereafter decline of the peace process, the Palestinian political division, the siege on the Gaza Strip and its associated assaults. It was during this period that Palestinian women and organisations recognised the importance of the resolution and the need to utilise it, as it focuses on women in armed conflict. During the same period, and particularly in 2011, the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) took the initiative to establish a national coalition to bring together NGOs working on UNSC Resolution 1325, to crystallise a vision on the utilisation of the resolution, as well as promote coordination and consolidation of efforts.⁶

The different actors recognised that the Resolution did not mention women under occupation and was designed against the backdrop of the Yugoslav wars and Rwanda genocide and therefore heavily featured sexual violence as the predominant form of violence women are subjected to in armed conflict. As such, efforts focused on localising the resolution in a way that was relevant to Palestinian women within the context of

³ Luna Orikat, Timeline Report on the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in Palestine (2000-2018), (Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy- MIFTAH, 2018)
<http://miftah.org/Publications/Books/TimeLine_Report_on_the_implementation_of_UNSCR_1325_in_Palestine.pdf>
page 10.

⁴ Ibid 12.

⁵ Interview with Rima Kittaneh Nazzal, Coordinator of the National Civil Women's Coalition to Implement UNSC Resolution 1325 (Via Skype, June 9, 2020).

⁶ Ibid.

protracted colonial occupation. Within this framework, a paper was developed to crystallise a feminist Palestinian vision and the importance of tying the resolution to other international resolutions that are relevant to the Palestinian cause, and primarily UN General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 194, and UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338. In the later years, the resolution was tied to Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CtEDAW) General Recommendation (GR) 30 on "Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations" and GR 32 on "Gender-Related Dimensions of Refugee Status, Asylum, Nationality and Statelessness of Women". Within this framework, the paper was used to raise awareness and spread the vision on the utilisation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 as a political tool to expose the violations and atrocities committed by occupation authorities against Palestinian women in Area "C", on checkpoints, in terms of settlement expansion and against Palestinian women in Jerusalem, refugees and prisoners. Additionally, awareness-raising efforts extended to highlight the complexity of violence Palestinian women are subjected to in light of domestic violence as a result of the prevalent patriarchal culture.⁷

The vision adopted the participation and protection pillars, and did not consider the prevention, and relief and recovery pillars applicable to the Palestinian context. This came within the framework that prevention of the atrocities of the occupation, ending the occupation and ensuring that the needs of women and girls' are met in conflict-situations is the responsibility of the international community. Furthermore, the vision paid special focus to Article 11 of the Resolution,⁸ which focuses on ending impunity and prosecuting perpetrators of international crimes. As such, the vision adopted the pillar of accountability. The content and features of the vision came as follows:⁹

- Participation referred to women's participation at multiple levels. While it did include participation in peace making and negotiations, the overall political situation following the second Intifada and the election of increasingly hawkish Israeli governments that continued and accelerated settlement expansion was not conducive to the peace process and compromised the effectiveness of peace initiatives and negotiations. After the commencement of national reconciliation talks, the vision expanded to include the integration of women in these efforts. Furthermore, with the view of addressing and mitigating community and domestic GBV, this pillar focused on increasing women's participation in decision-making positions in the justice sector, with a focus on the civil police.
- Protection pillar sought to document and publish human rights violations, including GBV, perpetrated by the Israeli occupation against Palestinian women, and integrate a gender perspective into human rights violations against the entirety of the

⁷ Orikat (n 3) 14-15.

⁸ Text of Article 11: "Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions".

⁹ Interview with Rima Nazzal (n 5).

Palestinian people. Additionally, this pillar sought to trace and document the cumulative impact of the occupation and its impact on the society and particularly in terms of community and domestic GBV.

- Accountability pillar sought to hold the Israeli occupation accountable for perpetrated violations, including GBV, and end impunity of the Israeli occupation through prosecuting perpetrators of international crimes, in addition to holding the international community accountable for their obligations to end the Israeli occupation. This included the holding of side events in international forums and presentation of documentations and research findings, as well as addressing memos and letters to various UN Agencies, Human Rights Council and the UN Secretary General during the assaults on Gaza and on specific events of incitement against the Palestinian women by Israeli officials.

On the official level, the Palestinian Cabinet adopted the Resolution in 2012 and the High National Committee for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 was established. The development of the strategic framework document followed, which was published in 2015. With support from UN Women, EU and other actors, the High National Committee developed and published the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in Palestine, covering the period 2017-2019. In 2019, the implementation of the plan was extended to 2020, such that the second-generation plan will commence in 2021, which is currently under development.

Paper Purpose, Methodology, Challenges and Structure

Over the past fifteen years, significant aid has come to Palestine to support the realisation of the WPS agenda. This report seeks to analyse aid effectiveness to the WPS agenda to Palestinian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) since 2005 till to date. This will be based on the five criteria of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Each of the criteria was adapted to the Palestinian context and granted a different weight, as follows:

| Criteria | Description | Weight |
|------------------------|--|--------|
| Realisation of Results | Refers to the main achievements and results, as well as gaps and challenges faced | 25% |
| Alignment | Donor funding is aligned behind national priorities, objectives and strategies | 30% |
| Ownership | Priorities, objectives and strategies are set by national actors | 10% |
| Harmonisation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donor countries coordinate and share information amongst themselves to ensure an equitable distribution of funds to the pillars of the WPS agenda and to development partners. • NGOs coordinate and consolidate efforts to advance the WPS agenda. | 25% |
| Mutual Accountability | Both donors and partners are accountable to development results, funding priorities and | 10% |

funding modalities.

The reason behind the varying weight given to each of the criteria is based on their identified importance and their interconnection to one another. For example, ownership is largely connected to alignment, while mutual accountability is also connected to alignment, ownership and harmonisation of funds among donors. In order to assess these criteria, a combination of a desk review of the main documents on WPS agenda and funding in Palestine were examined and analysed, in addition to the conduction of fourteen key informant interviews. The interviews covered three main target groups: donors,¹⁰ international NGOs (INGOs) and UN agencies,¹¹ and Palestinian NGOs.¹² The main decision behind the selection of these organisations is the receipt of consistent funding that forms at least 10% of their budget, and their continuous implementation of programmes and interventions under the WPS agenda. A complete list of the interviews, interviewees and their positions can be found in Annex I.

The conduction of the assessment faced several challenges at multiple levels. The primary challenge was the controversial nature of the topic, which led to several requests of confidentiality by the interviewees. The second challenge was divulging financial information of budgets and expenditure on the WPS agenda, and several parties refrained from providing this information. The last challenge was the scheduling and conduction of the interviews following the period of closure associated with the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in Palestine.

The paper is divided into three main parts. Following the introduction, the first part will cover donor funding to the WPS agenda in Palestine, focusing on its implementation in terms of the programmes, projects and strategies employed to advance the realisation of the agenda. The second part will provide an overall assessment of aid effectiveness to the WPS agenda in Palestine, presenting the different views on aid effectiveness to the WPS agenda among the three target groups and analysing the five aforementioned criteria. The last part will identify and develop evidence-based, concrete and applicable recommendations at the levels of national actors, donor countries and INGOs and UN agencies.

¹⁰ Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

¹¹ Care International, Kvinna Till Kvinna, Oxfam and UN Women.

¹² Culture and Free Thought Association (CFTA), Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH), national civil women's coalition to implement UNSC Resolution 1325, Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development (PWWSD), Women Media and Development (TAM), Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling (WCLAC) and Women Studies Center (WSC).

1. Donor Funding to the WPS Agenda in Palestine

Funding for gender equality and women's rights issues, both in times of peace and under conflict, has historically been strikingly low. In 2015, while global military spending was about USD 1.6 trillion, only 2% of aid on peace and security targeted gender equality.¹³ Furthermore, global military expenditure has been on the rise since 2014, and reached USD 1.882 trillion in 2018, which is 2.6% higher than in 2017 and 5.4% higher than in 2014.¹⁴

Additionally, the determination of the funds allocated to the WPS agenda per se is not an easy task. The Creditor Reporting System of OECD-DAC countries, the main funders of WPS agenda does not include a WPS agenda sector. Instead, funding for gender-related issues is divided into two main sectors "women's rights organisations and movements, and government institutions" and "ending violence against women and girls." Notwithstanding the obstacles of determining funding for WPS agenda, it can be said that gender equality and women's empowerment work remains drastically underfunded. For example, of the USD 217.253 million given directly to Palestinian CSOs by OECD countries in 2018, only USD 7.653 million (3.5%) came under the women's rights organisations and movements and ending violence against women categories.¹⁵

This chapter will cover the modalities and streams of funding to the WPS agenda to Palestinian NGOs, as well as the interventions implemented and strategies employed under the agenda's different pillars. This includes the pillars of participation, protection, national accountability and international accountability, as well as other funding categories, as identified by the donors.

The interviews have revealed that the only two out of six (33%) interviewed Palestinian NGOs receive core funding under the WPS agenda: MIFTAH and WCLAC, while the other four, CFTA, PWWS, TAM and WSC receive project funding. MIFTAH and WCLAC receive core funding from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Norwegian Representative Office (NRO), which also provides project funding. Furthermore, the only donor that provides direct funding to Palestinian NGOs under the WPS agenda is SDC. In contrast, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and British Consulate General all provide funding through intermediaries, including INGOs and UN Agencies. The NRO provides funding both directly and through intermediaries.

¹³ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), *Cheat Sheet: Guide to Spreading the #MoveTheMoney Message on Social Media* <http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/MoveTheMoney_cheatsheet.pdf>

¹⁴ Nan Tian, Aude Fleurant, Alexandra Kuimova, Pieter D. Wezeman and Siemon T Wezeman, *Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2018* (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, April 2019) <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2019-04/fs_1904_milex_2018.pdf>

¹⁵ OECD-DAC Creditor Reporting System <<https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1>>

1.1 Participation Pillar:

Several key interventions are implemented under the participation pillar of the WPS agenda, as follows:

- Support and enhance the integration, representation and genuine participation of women in national reconciliation talks and the *ad hoc liaison committee*.
- Promote women's participation at the local level, through both community-based initiatives and in local elections.
- Review and advocate for the amendment of elections' laws and policies to support the advancement of women's participation at the local level.
- Promote women's participation in the justice and security sector, focusing currently on representation of women in decision-making levels in the civil police. This will expand to include the preventative security and intelligence forces.
- Promote women's political participation within political parties, unions, syndicates and decision-making platforms.



1.2 Protection Pillar:

Several key interventions are implemented under the protection pillar of the WPS agenda, as follows:

- Provision of psychosocial counselling services to women survivors of GBV.
- Provision of legal consultations and representation services to women survivors of GBV.
- Provision of protection/shelter services to women survivors of GBV.
- Documentation of violations perpetrated by the occupation forces, PA and *de facto* government in Gaza. Documentations of violations perpetrated by occupation forces include the impact of the Wall, settlements, checkpoints, residency rights and violations against ex-detainees.
- Issuance of publications, case studies, reports and submissions on violations perpetrated by the occupation, PA and *de facto* government in Gaza.
- Linking the role of the occupation in reinforcing patriarchy and societal



masculinities, focusing on GBV.

- Building the capacities of organisations, groups, youth and activists to document violations committed by the occupation and during political division.
- Awareness-raising of women and men on GBV.

1.3 National Accountability Pillar:

Several key interventions are implemented under the national accountability pillar of the WPS agenda, as follows:

- Development of evidence-based research and policy recommendations to amend laws and policies and harmonise them with international standards.
- Thematic areas of intervention: family protection bill, combat child marriage, personal status law.
- Tools: organise and implement advocacy campaigns, including policy dialogue and media campaigns.
- Conduction of open days to promote women's participation.
- Work with the security forces in the Gaza Strip on electronic extortion.
- Work with the health sector in Gaza to provide protection to pregnant women.
- Shift discourse of the media from gender blind/harmful to positive/transformative.



1.4 International Accountability Pillar:

Several key interventions are implemented under the international accountability pillar of the WPS agenda, as follows:

- Production of policy briefs on issues pertaining to the violations perpetrated by the occupation, PA and *de facto* government in Gaza.
- Regular participation in the Commission on the Status of Women, Human Rights Council and Special Rapporteurs to hold occupation, PA and *de facto* government in Gaza accountable.
- Organisation of side events in various UN forums.
- Holding meetings with governments and parliamentarians.
- Submission of memos, letter and public statements to UN officials on *ad hoc* political issues.



- Hold policy meetings and public hearing sessions with international duty bearers to hold the occupation accountable.

1.5 Other Categories

Several categories have been identified in the interviews by donors as priority key areas of intervention under the funding to the WPS agenda, as follows:

- Economic participation (NRO): support the development of income generating projects for women in marginalised areas.
- Sexual and reproductive health and rights (NRO): support clinics providing services, including counselling services and awareness-raising interventions on sexual and reproductive health and rights.
- Relief and recovery (UN Women): increase women's participation in post-conflict recovery initiatives.

This presentation reflects the main priority of all three donors (SDC, Sida and NRO) of focusing on advancing women's political participation in Palestine. Furthermore, there is significant investment in reforms on the Palestinian national level, through focusing on the review, amendment and enactment of Palestinian laws and policies to advance gender equality, including personal status law, family protection bill and elections laws and policies. Additionally, work on the international accountability level focuses not only on the occupation but also on Palestinian duty-bearers, including the PA and *de facto* government in Gaza. This is in stark contrast to the vision outlined following the adoption of WPS agenda in Palestine and with the views of Palestinian NGOs, as will be demonstrated in the subsequent section.

Additionally, the National Action Plans (NAP) of donors are set externally in the donor countries, with limited participation for Palestinian actors, which was only introduced recently. Full and elaborate details are provided in Annex II.

2. An Overall Assessment of Aid Effectiveness to WPS agenda in Palestine

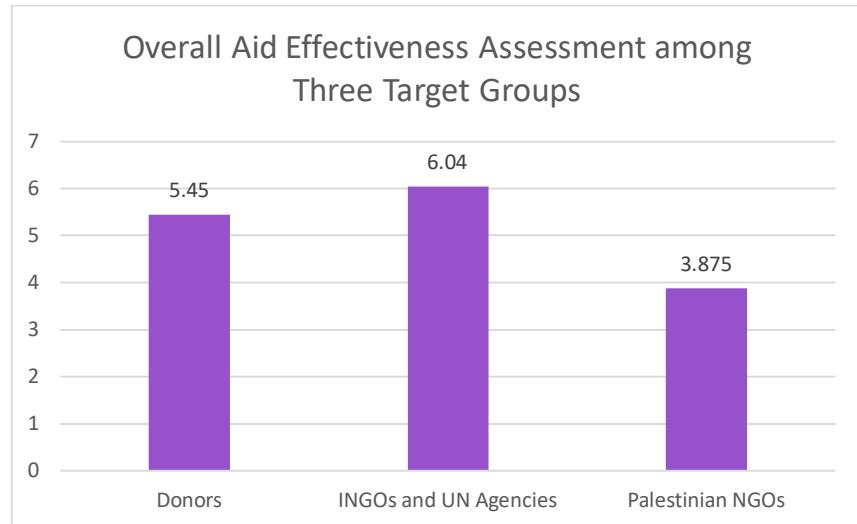
Following the presentation of the main interventions and strategies employed in the funding to the WPS agenda, this section seeks to analyse aid effectiveness of the funds allocated, by assessing the main criteria identified in the methodology.

2.1 Aid Effectiveness Matrix

| | Very Good- Good | Medium | Requires Improvement | Requires Significant Improvement |
|--|-----------------|--------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
|--|-----------------|--------|----------------------|----------------------------------|

| Criteria | Donors | | | INGOs and UN Agencies | | | Palestinian NGOs | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---|---|-----------------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|
| Realisation of Results | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Alignment | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Ownership | 2 | | 1 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Mutual Accountability | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Harmonisation among Donors | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | |
| Harmonisation among NGOs | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |

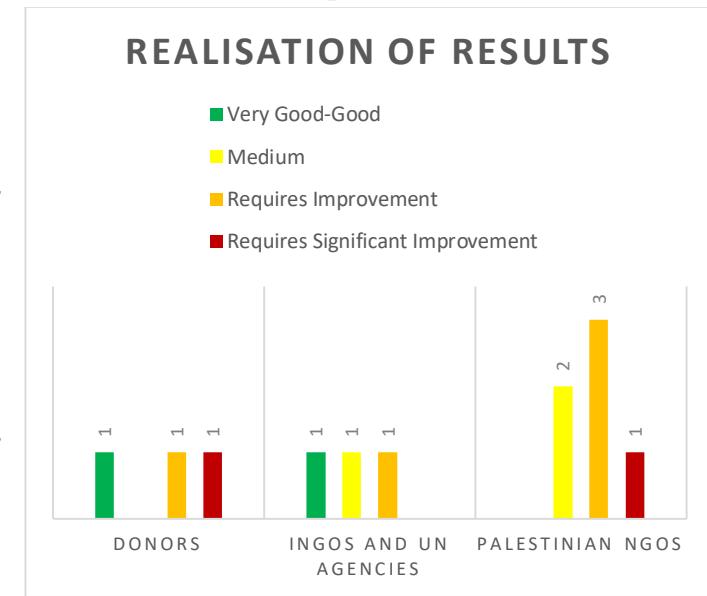
The table above indicates the presence of disparities between Palestinian NGOs on one hand and donors, INGOs and UN Agencies on another hand in their assessment of the aid effectiveness criteria. This, in turn, impacts their overall perception of the effectiveness of the aid that came to Palestinian NGOs under the WPS agenda. Based on the proposed methodology, which accorded a different weight to each of the aid effectiveness assessment criteria, an overall mark was calculated for each of the three target groups, demonstrating significant disparities between Palestinian NGOs on one hand and donors, INGOs and UN Agencies on another hand, such that overall aid effectiveness among Palestinian NGOs was assessed at 3.875 out of 10 compared to 6.04 and 5.45 among INGOs and UN Agencies and donors respectively. These disparities also reflect in the individual criteria as will be elaborated in the subsequent



sections below.

2.2 Realisation of Results, Achievements and Gaps

There is relative consensus among the different stakeholders (Palestinian NGOs, INGOs and UN Agencies, and Donors) on the status and scope of realisation of results and achievements, whereby 67% of Palestinian NGOs and donors said that it requires improvement or requires significant improvement and 50% of INGOs and UN Agencies said that it requires improvement. The relative consensus is seen in that the evaluation of realisation of criteria stands at 4.3, 4.7 and 5.5 out of ten among Palestinian NGOs, donors and INGOs and UN Agencies, respectively.



Notwithstanding, several achievements were cited by the interviewees, as follows:

- The localisation of the WPS agenda, development and adoption of a NAP and the current development of a second NAP despite the lack of focus of the agenda on military occupation as a form of armed conflict.
- The participation of four Palestinian women in National Reconciliation dialogue.
- The participation of Palestinian women and the amplification of Palestinian women's voices at the international level. This includes the addressing by a Palestinian woman of the UNSC on the WPS agenda, which is particularly important in light of the marginalisation of Palestine at the global stage after the implications of the Arab Spring.
- The creation of a fact-finding mission by the Human Rights Council on the assaults against the Great March of Return in Gaza.
- The consistent participation and presence in the CSW and human rights council by Palestinian women.
- The harmonisation of Palestinian legislation with international standards and conventions, and particularly Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), however small. These include the ability of women to issue passports and open bank accounts for their children, the amendment of some articles of the Penal Code, the presence of the Family Protection Bill on the table of the Cabinet and the raising of the legal marriage age. The accession of Palestine to the optional protocol of CEDAW serves as an opportunity to further harmonise Palestinian laws with international standards.
- The adoption of a 30% quota women representation in all state and official institutions by the Palestinian Central and National Councils of the PLO.
- The creation of a coalition that brings together organisations working on the WPS agenda. This fosters consensus, facilitates the presence of a common ground and reduces competition on the level of these organisations.
- The presence of strong structures, women's movement and women leaders who understand the importance of the WPS agenda.
- The higher degree of attention to women's political participation, as reflected in women ambassadors, women Ministers, women in decision-making positions in Ministries and

women in the security forces.

- The presence of an understanding and cooperative MoWA.

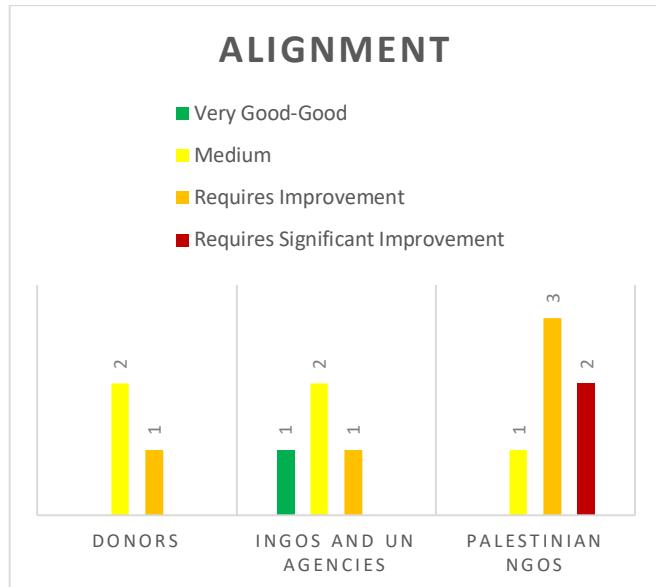
On the other hand, several gaps and challenges were cited in response to the limited achievements and effectiveness of the WPS agenda in the Palestinian context, as follows:

- The lack of enforceability of international conventions and mechanisms, which also manifests in the lack of accountability for Israel's actions, including the destruction of structures funded by donor countries. The occupation, in and of itself, and its lack of accountability is an impediment to advancing the WPS agenda and there is a lack of political will to hold the occupation accountable.
- The WPS agenda does not adequately cover military occupation, which increases the challenge of localising the agenda into the Palestinian context.
- Since the Arab Spring, there has decreasing development funds allocated to Palestine as a whole and in particular to Palestinian NGOs, rendering the funds available to the WPS agenda insufficient compared to size and quantity of the organisations working on the agenda. This increases competition among Palestinian NGOs for the scarce funding available.
- The constraint faced in the funding environment is further exacerbated by the shift from long-term core funding to short-term project funding.
- The overall political situation, in terms of the occupation and social patriarchy is very challenging and impedes women's meaningful participation in the peace process, reconciliation talks, political parties, the PLO and the PA.
- The absence of the allocation of a national budget to implement the NAP. This, among other aspects, is reflected in the lack of the political will of the PA to advance the WPS agenda. This is evident in the lack of political will to promote women's participation in political processes, such as the national reconciliation talks, to enact and amend laws and formulate policies to advance situation of women and to protect women from domestic and community violence.
- The attacks by the NGO Monitor and similar organisations leads to shrinking Palestinian civil society space and presence in international forums.

It is important to note the disparities in the views between Palestinian NGOs on one hand and INGOs, UN Agencies and donors on the other hand in terms of the citing of achievements and gaps. The former predominantly focused on the occupation and associated achievements and gaps, while the latter mainly focused on the internal environment, holding the PA accountable on an equal footing with the occupation and in some cases as the primary duty-bearer. Furthermore, some views cited by INGOs and UN agencies that MoWA, feminist movement and feminist leadership as achievements are in deep contrast with the views of Palestinian NGOs, as will be presented in the harmonisation subsection. These disparities are particularly important as they are reflected in and contribute to disparities in the subsequent subsections, which also present other identified gaps on the level of the criteria under assessment.

2.3 Alignment of Donor Funding with Priorities and Objectives of Palestinian NGOs.

Significant disparities are witnessed on the criterion of alignment between Palestinian NGOs on one hand and INGOs, UN Agencies and donors on the other hand, with the former assessing it at 3.7 out of ten compared to 5.3 and 6.0 out of ten among donors and INGOs and UN agencies respectively. Alignment refers to the degree of alignment of donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs. Within this framework, 83% of Palestinian NGOs think that alignment requires improvement and requires significant improvement, in contrast to 25% among INGOs and UN Agencies and 33% among donors.



Chapter one and annex two on funding of WPS agenda in Palestine demonstrate that the NAPs of the donors are set externally, and that only recently a limited participatory process was adopted in the development of the NAP, which dictates funding streams to priority countries designated by the donors. Hence, one can conclude that there is a tendency among the international community to restrict local strategies to conform to the priorities that they set.¹⁶ Notwithstanding, it is important to highlight that national efforts by donor agencies in Palestine to bring the NAP closer to the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs should be commended, but nonetheless there remains significant room for improvement on this level.

The lack of alignment in the views of Palestinian NGOs predominantly cites that donors and intermediaries impose restrictions in focusing on the occupation, considering the PA an equal and sometimes the primary duty-bearer instead of the occupation. This is undertaken through connecting UNSC Resolution 1325 to GR 35 on violence against women, in contrast to Palestinian NGOs who connect the Resolution to GR 30 on the situation of women in conflict, which highlights military occupation in paragraphs 4, 9, 12(c), 19 and 21, in addition to GR 32 on refugee women.

In addition, the increasing modality of provision of short-term project funding instead of long-term core funding has significant implications on multiple levels. Firstly, it decreases the sustainability of results. Secondly, this modality of funding contributes to keeping NGOs subservient and significantly contributes to the de-politicisation of the WPS agenda. Finally, it situates NGOs in a mode of continuous competitiveness against one another, which compromises their focus on the realisation of the desired results. Over the years, this has

¹⁶ Emily K. M. Scott, *Palestinian Women Organizing in Jerusalem* (Kvinna Till Kvinna, 2010) <https://www.academia.edu/7488654/Palestinian_Women_Organizing_in_Jerusalem_Marking_the_10th_Anniversary_of_UN_Security_Council_Resolution_1325> 5.

significantly contributed to mainstreaming an apolitical view to work in Palestine, not only on the WPS agenda but also the wider funds allocated to gender equality and human rights.

Furthermore, there is a continued expansion in the interpretation of the strategies and objectives constituting the participation and protection pillars of the WPS agenda. This is clearly seen in the focus on local elections, representation of women in police, intelligence and preventative security forces, participation in political parties, syndicates and unions, economic participation, community and domestic GBV instead of violence perpetrated by the occupation and sexual and reproductive health and rights.

Additionally, there is the streaming of funding to pillars that do not apply to the Palestinian context and apply better to post-conflict situations, namely the relief and recovery pillar through the provision of project funding to develop and implement post-conflict recovery initiatives. This approach was situated within the framework of drawing on regional and international expertise without due consideration of the Palestinian context and its specificity. Based on the above, it can be deduced that donors consider that Palestine is in a post-conflict situation and have effectively normalised the presence of the occupation in light of the presence of the PA, despite its lack of sovereignty.

On another level, there is an overall perception that INGOs and UN Agencies do not play an active and sufficient role in the alignment of donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs. This is mainly perceived by Palestinian NGOs but also corroborated through the interviews with INGOs and UN Agencies, who did not cite mechanisms for that purpose or cited mechanisms that are not regularly and periodically instituted. Some of these mechanisms include the holding of consultative meetings between donors and Palestinian NGOs and the direct lobbying of donor governments to take issues of Palestinian civil society into account during funding allocations.

Furthermore, the contribution of INGOs and UN Agencies to aligning donor funding with the priorities and objectives of national actors is significantly compromised in light of the divergence in their vision on the priority work that should be undertaken under the WPS agenda. This manifested in the expression of one of the intermediaries that it plays an active role in supporting Palestinian NGOs in setting realistic goals and targets and in using acceptable language.

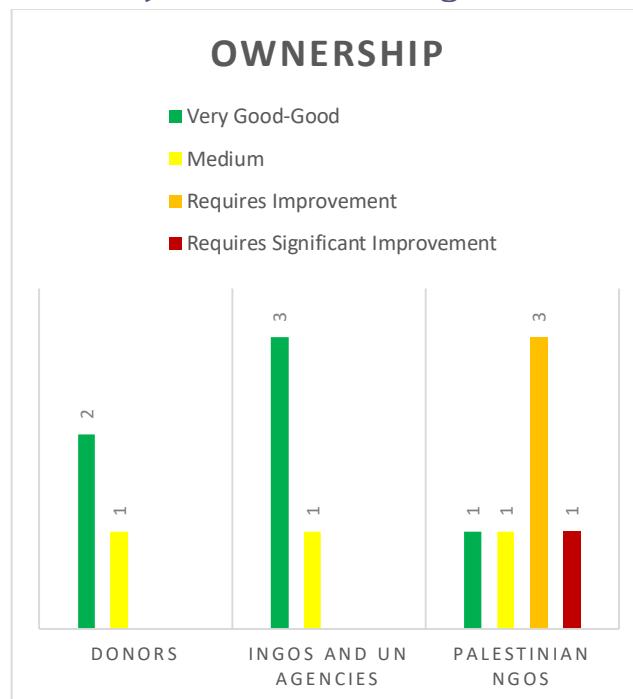
The setting of the agenda almost exclusively by the donors with highly limited input from Palestinian NGOs and the limited role played by INGOs and UN Agencies, led Palestinian NGOs to follow funding streams without challenging their relevance and effectiveness. Over the years, this has led to a change in civil society identity, perception and role.

2.4 Ownership of Palestinian NGOs to Objectives and Strategies

Similarly, there are disparities between the views of Palestinian NGOs, and INGOs, UN Agencies and donors on the issue of ownership, which is closely related to the criterion of alignment and refers to the setting of objectives and strategies by national actors. Within this framework, ownership was assessed at 4.7 out of ten among Palestinian NGOs, compared to 7.3 and 7.5 among donors and INGOs and UN Agencies respectively. Furthermore, 67% of Palestinian NGOs cite that ownership requires improvement or significant improvement, compared to 0% among INGOs, UN Agencies and donors. In contrast, 75% of INGOs and UN Agencies and 66% of donors considered the level of ownership to range between good and very good.

This reflects yet another dichotomy between the two categories, whereby it is clear that Palestinian NGOs associate ownership to a large degree with alignment, in contrast with INGOs, UN Agencies and donors.

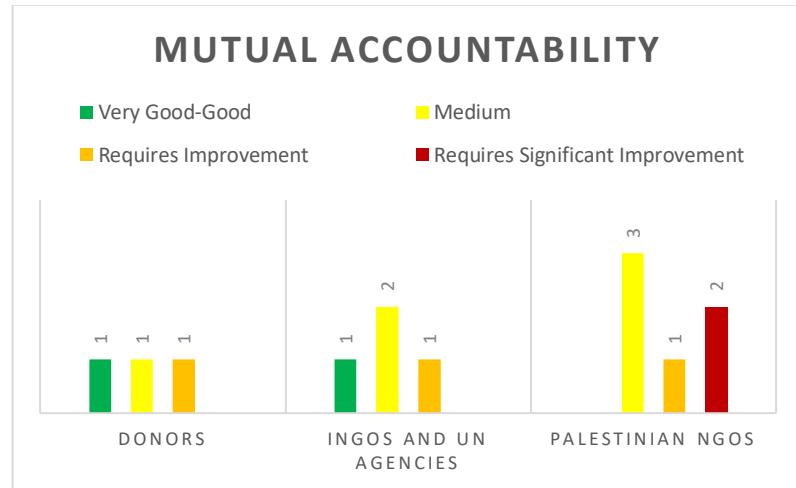
Furthermore, the deterioration in the perception of ownership is highly influenced by the prevalent modality of restricted and short-term project funding instead of unrestricted, long-term core funding, which has been on the decline over the past decade. For example, only 14% and 12% of the funds that went for women's rights organisations and movements in 2018 and 2017, respectively came in the form of core funding, compared to 29.7% in 2016. On the level of funds allocated to ending violence against women and girls in 2018, only 4.6% came under the core funding modality, compared with 24.3% in 2017.¹⁷ It is important to reiterate here that the OECD-DAC Creditor Reporting System does not include a disaggregation category for the WPS agenda.



¹⁷ OECD-DAC Creditor Reporting System <<https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1>>

2.5 Mutual Accountability between Palestinian NGOs and Donors

There are relatively smaller disparities in the view of Palestinian NGOs, INGOs, UN Agencies and donor with respect to mutual accountability, which refers to that Palestinian NGOs, intermediaries and donors are mutually accountable to one another with respect to funding priorities, modality of funding and equitable distribution of funds among Palestinian NGOs.



Within this framework, 50% of Palestinian NGOs consider that mutual accountability requires improvement or requires significant improvement and have assessed mutual accountability at 4.3 out of ten compared to 0% among INGOs and UN Agencies, who have assessed it at 5.5 out of ten and 33% among donors, who have assessed it at 5.3 out of ten. It is important to note that the other 50% of Palestinian NGOs consider mutual accountability medium, compared to 75% of INGOs and UN Agencies who consider it to range between good and very good.

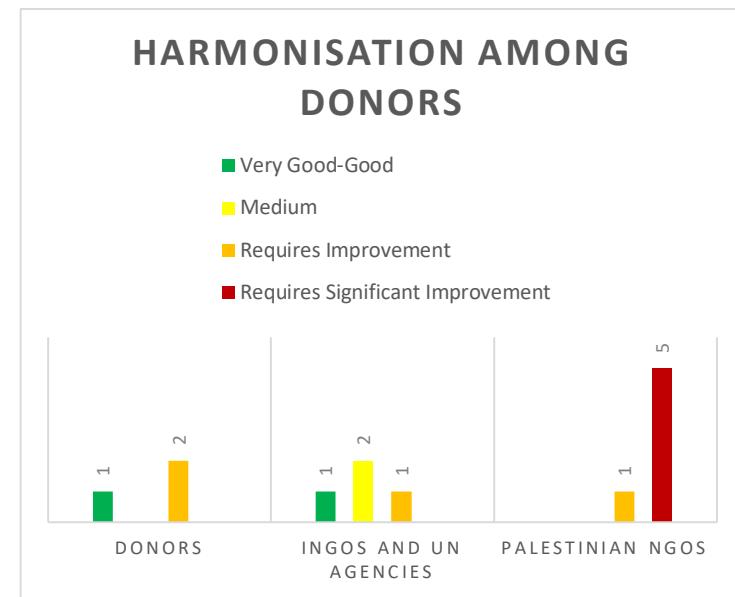
Numerous Palestinian NGOs have clearly stated that transparency and accountability is predominantly one sided in terms of funding and programmes, whereby Palestinian NGOs are accountable to the donors with respect to results, expenditure and implementation. These Palestinian NGOs outlined measures to ensure transparency and accountability of the organisation to the donor, including through regular narrative and financial reporting, the conduction of field visits by the donor and regular follow-up. In addition, several of the donors and intermediaries outlined measures that they employ to ensure the transparency and accountability. While there was a donor who outlined mechanisms that render them accountable, these mechanisms were largely unknown to Palestinian NGOs and their design was more conducive to accountability by the national public of the donor countries instead of the Palestinian NGOs. It is important to note that some Palestinian NGOs highlighted that there are exceptions among donors and intermediaries but that these are exceptions and not the norm, adding that this takes place through joint evaluations that enable two-way accountability, but that nonetheless this is undertaken in a shy manner and with significant reluctance on the part of Palestinian NGOs.

The relationship dynamics between Palestinian NGOs and INGOs, UN Agencies and donors suggest the absence of a conducive environment for mutual accountability in terms of funding priorities, streams and modalities. This demonstrates the absence of concrete mechanisms to bridge the gaps between donor funding and the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs.

2.6 Harmonisation of work among NGOs and Donors

The criterion of harmonisation refers to two main levels. The first level refers to coordination and sharing of information amongst donor countries to ensure an equitable distribution of funds to the pillars of the WPS agenda and to development partners. The second level refers to coordination and consolidation of efforts among Palestinian NGOs to advance the realisation of the WPS agenda. Again, on this level, significant disparities are witnessed between the views of Palestinian NGOs on one hand and INGOs, UN Agencies and donors on another hand.

With respect to harmonisation among donors, 100% of Palestinian NGOs perceive that harmonisation among donors requires improvement or requires significant improvement (13% requires improvement and 87% requires significant improvement), and have given it the mark 2.3 out of ten, compared to 25% among INGOs and UN Agencies who perceive that it requires improvement and have given it the mark 6 out of ten and 67% of donors who perceive it requires significant improvement, and assessed it at 5.3 out of ten.



With respect to harmonisation among Palestinian NGOs, 67% of Palestinian NGOs perceive that it requires improvement or significant improves, and have assessed it at 4 out of ten, compared to 25% of INGOs and UN Agencies and 33% of donors who consider it requires improvement, who have assessed it as 6.5 and 5.3 out of ten respectively.

Furthermore, none of the donor mentioned formal and instituted mechanisms to promote coordination and sharing of information amongst themselves, citing that this coordination takes place sporadically and at the level of individual efforts and *ad hoc* coordination activities with like-minded donors.

HARMONISATION AMONG NGOS



Notwithstanding, donors cited the presence of the EU technical gender working group, as an informal but active platform. This platform enables donors to identify synergies and avoid duplication on the ground. In addition, the human rights platform was cited as an informal platform to exchange among diplomatic missions of like-minded donors; within this platform, gender equality is part of the discussions. Nonetheless, these informal mechanisms do not seem to contribute largely to equitable distribution of funding to development partners and the pillars of the WPS agenda. This hinders several important organisations working on issues pertaining to gender equality and who employ unique strategies and mechanisms.

INGOs and UN Agencies have clearly stated the absence of instituted mechanisms to encourage coordination and sharing of information among donors. Efforts are minimal and restricted to holding consultative meetings with individual donors and the organisation of roundtable discussions with donors. Additionally, there was a mention of an active gender cluster in the Association of International Development Agencies, but which has not been active recently.

On the other level, both NGOs and INGOs perceive that there is limited coordination among Palestinian NGOs, which is considered a reflection of the competition for the scarce funding available. The lack of coordination is perceived to also extend to coordination between organisations working on the WPS agenda and human rights organisations. Lastly, there is also limited coordination between Palestinian NGOs and the PA and official frameworks. This reflects the need for regenerating the leadership of the Palestinian feminist movement to better represent the priorities and needs of marginalised persons and reflect grassroots perceptions and views.

Furthermore, there is a widespread perception among Palestinian NGOs that donors and INGOs do not promote coordination and consolidation of efforts among Palestinian NGOs. This was corroborated by the interviews with INGOs and UN Agencies, which cited the absence of instituted mechanisms based on the premise of “why fix anything if it is not broken?” and in order to avoid infringing on ownership. Nonetheless, there is support to coalition building, networking and partnerships among organisations.

3. Way Forward

Based on the modus operandi of Palestinian NGOs, INGOs and UN Agencies, and donors and the assessment of the aid effectiveness to the WPS agenda, the recommendations of this study will be divided to recommendations to Palestinian NGOs and recommendations to INGOs, UN Agencies and donors.

3.1 Recommendations to Palestinian NGOs

1. There are significant disparities in the views between Palestinian NGOs on one hand and INGOS, UN Agencies and donors on the other hand with respect to the alignment, ownership, mutual accountability and harmonisation criteria. This requires the creation of a policy dialogue platform, taking into consideration the following:
 - 1.1 Prior to the formation of the platform and holding of dialogue with INGOs, UN Agencies and donors, it is crucial for Palestinian NGOs to unify and reach consensus on their priority areas of implementation and their demands of the other three stakeholders.
 - 1.2 Composition of the platform: the platform should bring together all stakeholders, including both the Palestinian NGOs and government, as well as INGOs, UN Agencies and donors. This requires the identification of the mandate and delineation of the roles and responsibilities of each of the stakeholders.
 - 1.3 Purpose of the platform: the platform would be intended to address and bridge the gaps in the areas of alignment, ownership, mutual accountability and harmonisation. Particularly, the platform will seek to bring donor funding closer to Palestinian priorities and objectives, support the equitable distribution of funds to both development partners and the WPS agenda pillars and serve as a space to hold donors accountable not only to funding streams and equitable distribution of funds, but also to funding modalities.
 - 1.4 Structure of the platform: the platform may consist of several structures to serve its different purposes. Proposed structures are as follows:
 - Structure 1 brings together all stakeholders to focus on the issues of 1) aligning donor funding with national priorities and objectives and 2) equitable distribution of funds among development partners and the pillars of the WPS agenda.
 - Structure 2 brings together Palestinian NGOs and the government to identify national priorities, objectives and strategies.
 - Structure 3 brings together Palestinian NGOs in the presence of INGOs and UN agencies to support cooperation and consolidation of efforts.
 - Structure 4 brings together donors in the presence of INGOs and UN Agencies to operationalise equitable distribution of funds to development partners and WPS agenda pillars.
 - 1.5 The effectiveness of this platform will be highly influenced by the ability of Palestinian NGOs to pushback on donor agendas. This requires concerted efforts among Palestinian NGOs to diversify sources of funding beyond the traditional institutional donors of the WPS agenda.

- 1.6 Holding donors accountable for funding priorities, streams and modalities, as well as the equitable distribution of funds to development partners and the WPS agenda should be a continuous process. The development and periodic update of an index on aid effectiveness to the WPS agenda in Palestine can serve as a useful tool to engage donors continuously.
2. Over the years, the lack of alignment between donor funding and priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs, coupled with the absence of a conducive environment to hold donors accountable to funding streams, modalities and themes effectively de-politicised work on the WPS agenda in Palestine. Accordingly, there is a need to re-politicise work on the WPS agenda in Palestine. This requires the adoption and implementation of several steps, as follows:
 - 2.1 There is a need to refocus work done under the WPS agenda to predominantly focus on the Israeli occupation instead of the PA and *de facto* government in Gaza as the primary duty-bearer, for the following reasons:
 - While Palestinian NGOs have historically utilised human rights conventions,¹⁸ to highlight human rights violations committed by the occupation against the Palestinian people, there remains legal gaps in the utilisation of these mechanisms to hold Israel to account. Namely, despite the assertion by the committees reviewing adherence of States to the provisions of the conventions that the territorial jurisdiction extends to Palestinians, Israel has maintained that it applies only to its citizens. Furthermore, Israel has only acceded to the optional protocols of the Convention on the Rights of the Child on involvement of children in armed conflict and sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, thereby compromising the options of communications and commissions of inquiry as possible accountability mechanisms. On a similar level, Israel refrained from responding to or rejected all of the communications and commissions of inquiry requests extended by treaty bodies.¹⁹ Additionally, given the soft power nature of these conventions and the requirement of consent in light of the principle of State sovereignty the prospects of holding Israel to account for its violations against Palestinians within these avenues remain highly limited.
 - In contrast, the applicability of the WPS agenda to the military occupation of Palestine cannot be disputed. This is highly important as the proper investment of the agenda could be employed, among other tools, to hold Israel to account within both national and international courts.
 - While the PA remains responsible for advancing human rights and fundamental freedoms in Palestine, several other mechanisms and

¹⁸ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child and CEDAW

¹⁹ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *UN Treaty Body Database* <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=84&Lang=EN>

conventions can and are being used to hold the PA to account. This includes the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child and CEDAW. As such, the scarce funding for the WPS agenda in Palestine should not be dispersed over multiple duty-bearers, when several other mechanisms can be utilised to hold the PA to account, in contrast to the WPS agenda being an optimal mechanism to hold Israel to account, widely considered the primary duty-bearer for human rights violations in Palestine.

- 2.2 Nonetheless, focus on promoting women's participation in national reconciliation talks is imperative and should continue. The importance of this lies in several dimensions. This comes within the framework that political reconciliation is a national priority and imperative, and previous experiences have demonstrated that women's participation in peace talks and negotiations render more sustainable peace agreements. Furthermore, Palestinian political division has had severe ramifications on the entirety of the Palestinian people. However, this does not negate that political division had a disproportionate impact on Palestinian women. This includes slipping into poverty in light of the violation of the right to life and bodily integrity during and after the infighting events, the decline in the quality of education and the enactment of legislation that does not contribute to the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including gender equality. Thus, any just agreements for national reconciliation should address the implications of national division and the different issues that affected and continue to affect women. These have largely been neglected over the past nine years. As such, women's participation remains necessary not only because it is women's rights to participate in these processes, but also because it would increase chances of realising a just and comprehensive agreement.
3. The limited coordination and consolidation of efforts under the WPS agenda is not limited to Palestinian NGOs working on the WPS agenda, but extends to include cooperation and consolidation of efforts with Palestinian NGOs working on wider human rights issues. Palestinian NGOs working on the WPS agenda should explore means of cooperation with Human Rights NGOs, including the provision of support to integrate a gender analysis into the publications and participations in international forums.
4. Since the commencement of the work on the WPS agenda in Palestine, the UN served as the predominantly accountability and advocacy target by Palestinian NGOs. While the targeting of the UN and its different bodies and platforms, including the CSW, HRC and WPS week, remains important there is a need to diversify advocacy targets, taking into consideration the following:

- 4.1 There is a need to manage expectations from what the WPS agenda can deliver and achieve to Palestinian women, in addition to how it can be utilised to support realisation of Palestinian inalienable rights and primarily the right to self-determination. As such there is a need for the conduction of a capacity-building training by a qualified national or international expert to Palestinian NGOs and government, in addition to the development of a networking and communication map, which would be highly beneficial to this end and would facilitate the development and adoption of a comprehensive advocacy strategy.
- 4.2 While the policy dialogue platform would bring Palestinian NGOs with the representatives of donor countries in Palestine, which is highly important in pushing for a higher degree of alignment between donor funding and Palestinian priorities and objectives, it nonetheless does not negate the need to target decision-making bodies and national influencers in the mother countries. This could include parliamentarians and solidarity groups as a pilot, which is thereafter continuously expanded to reach multiple influencers. The importance of this lies not only in supporting closer alignment between funding and Palestinian priorities, but also in increasing solidarity with Palestine and Palestinian women.
- 4.3 Given the political nature of the WPS agenda, there should be a higher degree of cooperation between Palestinian NGOs and the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as other official institutions, to work on utilising the agenda to promote solidarity with the Palestinian people. A capacity-development programme targeting interested and capable law and journalism students will equip them with the necessary knowledge, skills and tools to act as WPS agenda ambassadors through rigorous training and mentoring. These Ambassadors will then receive placements in Palestinian embassies across the globe and contribute to targeting parliamentarians and solidarity groups.

3.2 Recommendations to INGOs, UN Agencies and Donors

- 1. While the participatory process of donors in the planning for the NAP is to be commended, there remains significant room for improvement on that level. Representative Offices in Palestine should play a bigger role in pressuring their parliaments and/or governments to better align funding with Palestinian priorities and objectives under the WPS agenda, in addition to provide more support in core funding (instead of project funding) directly to Palestinian NGOs.
- 2. Donor countries providing funding to the WPS agenda in Palestine need to better coordinate and share information with one another. This should be with the view providing a more equitable distribution of the funds available to development partners and to the pillars of the WPS agenda. Furthermore, this could be undertaken within the policy dialogue platform recommended above or through the establishment of an independent mechanism, such as a WPS Secretariat or consortium of the main donors to pool the funds allocated to the WPS agenda. Other options include the integration of these aspects into the EU technical working group or through exploring the possibility

of partaking an active role in the newly established gender sector-working group in the Local Aid Coordination Secretariat.

3. There is significant detachment between the funding streams of donor countries who provide funding to Palestine for the WPS agenda and these countries' foreign policy. The issue of WPS agenda is highly connected to the military occupation of Palestine, which oppresses the entirety of the Palestinian people. There is a need for a higher degree of alignment between the funding and foreign policy and that it is high time to move beyond condemning and deplored Israeli occupation policy against Palestinians to take concrete and effective measures to end the occupation.
4. The interviews with all stakeholders revealed that INGOs and UN Agencies play, to varying degrees, a highly limited role in the areas of alignment, harmonisation among donors and harmonisation among Palestinian NGOs. As such, INGOs and UN Agencies should either reactivate an existing mechanism (i.e. Association of International Development Agencies) or create a new mechanism that brings them together. This mechanism should be geared towards 1) better aligning donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs, 2) encouraging donors to coordinate and share information to ensure a more equitable distribution of funds to development partners and the WPS agenda pillars and 3) encouraging Palestinian NGOs to better cooperate and consolidate efforts.
5. UNSC Resolution 1325 and all subsequent resolutions adopted within the WPS agenda were developed and issued by the UN, and should be fully owned by State parties and UN agencies. As such, there is a need for UN agencies to play a bigger role in enhancing WPS agenda issues around Palestinian women in international forums and bodies.

4. Conclusion

This study seeks to assess aid effectiveness of the funding to the WPS agenda in Palestine. In order to do so, the study examines the views of Palestinian NGOs, INGOs, UN Agencies and donors on five main criteria, as follows:

1. Realisation of results, achievements and gaps in the implementation of the WPS agenda.
2. Alignment of donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs.
3. Setting of objectives and strategies by Palestinian NGOs without external interference.
4. Both donors and Palestinian NGOs are mutually accountable to one another.
5. Coordination and sharing of information among donors to support a more equitable distribution of funding to development partners and to the pillars of the WPS agenda; as well as coordination and consolidation of efforts among Palestinian NGOs.

Based on the above criteria, and despite the recording of some achievements within the areas of the WPS agenda in Palestine, the overall aid effectiveness of the funding has been limited. This is attributed to several issues, including the highly limited alignment between donor funding and the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs. This manifests in the resistance of the vast majority of the donor to focus on the occupation and consideration of the PA as an equal, if not primary, duty-bearer. Additionally, the interpretation of what consists under each of the WPS agenda pillars is continuously being expanded. This has even reached the degree of evoking WPS agenda pillars that do not even apply to the Palestinian context, such as relief and recovery. This lack of alignment significantly compromises the sense of ownership of Palestinian NGOs, as they are not able to set the objectives and strategies of work without external interference.

Other obstacles include the absence of a conducive environment for Palestinian NGOs to hold donors, INGOs and UN Agencies to account for funding streams, modalities and thematic priorities, with accountability essentially being one-directional. The lack of alignment, coupled with the increasing provision of short-term project funding instead of core funding and the absence of accountability has effectively led to the de-politicisation of the work on the WPS agenda in Palestine.

Furthermore, the absence of instituted coordination and mainstreaming of information sharing among donors has led to an active overfunding (i.e. participation) and active underfunding (i.e. accountability) to some of the pillars of the WPS agenda. It has also led to an inequitable distribution of funds to development partners, with some organisations tapping into funding, including core funding, from a variety of resources and others receiving sporadic short-term project funding every once in a while.

On another level, the role of INGOs and UN Agencies as intermediaries between Palestinian NGOs and donors has been highly limited. The contribution of INGOs and UN Agencies to aligning donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs has been limited at best. The same can be said about encouraging and pushing donors to harmonise their work by coordinating and sharing information to ensure a more equitable distribution of funds to

the pillars of the WPS agenda and to development partners. With respect to pushing Palestinian NGOs working on the WPS agenda to better coordinate and consolidate their efforts with one another and with Palestinian human rights NGOs, efforts have also been predominantly shy.

The overall situation of funding to the WPS agenda in Palestine requires significant action to improve aid effectiveness and enable the utilisation of this tool to hold Israel accountable for its flagrant violations of international law and Palestinian human rights. An essential and first step would be to create a policy dialogue platform that brings together Palestinian NGOs, government, donors, INGOs and UN Agencies and that would convene in different formats. The primary purpose of this platform would be to remedy the current situation and namely support better alignment of donor funding with the priorities and objectives of Palestinian NGOs, promote mutual accountability between donors and Palestinian NGOs and push for a more equitable distribution of funds to development partners and the WPS agenda pillars.

Annex I: List of Interviews

The study included fourteen interviews that covered Palestinian NGOs INGOs and UN Agencies, and donor governments, as follows (in alphabetical order):

| Organisation | Interviewee | Position |
|---|-------------------|--|
| Donor Governments | | |
| NRO | Muntaha Aqel | Senior Programme Adviser |
| Sida | Maria Ardaji | Programme Manager- Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality |
| SDC | Simone Di Stefano | Programme Manager- Rule of Law and HR Programme |
| | Tanya Abdallah | Gender Focal Point |
| | Terry Boullata | Senior Programme Manager- Rule of Law and HR Programme |
| International NGOs and UN Agencies | | |
| Care International | Salam Kannan | Country Director |
| | Malvina Khoury | Project Manager |
| | Suhair Ramadan | Project Manager |
| KTK | Rana Khoury | Programme Officer |
| Oxfam | Fadi Touma | Gender Justice Programme Manager |
| UN Women | Heba Zayyan | WPS and Humanitarian Action Programme Specialist |
| Palestinian NGOs | | |
| CFTA | Maha Raai | Director of Wessal Network |
| | Majida Al Saqqa | Vice Director of CFTA |
| MIFTAH | Lamis Shuaibi | Director of Policy Dialogue and Good Governance Programme |
| National 1325 Coalition | Rima Nazzal | Coalition Coordinator |
| PWWSD | Amal Khreisheh | General Director |
| TAM | Suheir Farraj | General Director |
| WCLAC | Randa Siniora | General Director |
| WSC | Sama Aweidah | General Director |

Annex II: Detailed Description of Funding to WPS Agenda

This annex provides a detailed description of funding to the WPS agenda in Palestine. Namely it covers the following:

- Funding streams, themes and modalities by main donors.
- Funding approaches, modalities and priorities of INGOs and UN Agencies.
- Implementation areas, priorities and strategies by Palestinian NGOs.

1. Funding Streams, Themes and Modalities by Main Donors

1.1 Norway:

The WPS agenda has been a strategic funding priority for Norway since 2006, when it adopted its first NAP for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325. Since then, Norway adopted three additional NAPs covering the periods 2011-2013, 2015-2018 and 2019-2022. Norway's four NAPs developed over time, maintaining some of its aspects and introducing changes based on the review processes of each NAP. The following table demonstrates Norway's priority areas since 2006:

| NAP Number | Priority Areas |
|---------------|--|
| 1 (2006) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• International Efforts and Peace Operations• Multilateral Cooperation (UN System, NATO, OSCE, EU, and AU)• Conflict Prevention, Mediation and Peacebuilding• Bilateral Cooperation in Peace and Reconciliation• Protection and Human Rights |
| 2 (2011-2013) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peace Processes and Negotiations• International Operations• Post-Conflict Situations and Peacebuilding• Sexual Violence in Conflict• Reporting and Accountability |
| 3 (2015-2018) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peace Processes and Negotiations• International Operations• Peacebuilding• Humanitarian Efforts |
| 4 (2019-2022) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peace and Reconciliation Processes• Implementation of Peace Agreements• Operations and Missions• Humanitarian Efforts |

One constant priority that was maintained throughout the past fourteen years was focus on the participation pillar of the WPS agenda, whether in terms of peace operations and conflict prevention, mediation and peace building (NAP 1); peace processes and negotiations and peacebuilding (NAP 2 and NAP 3); or peace and reconciliation processes and operations and missions (NAP 4).

Norway's second NAP (2011-2013) witnessed the designation of Palestine as a priority recipient of WPS agenda funding. The NAP states "Norway's continued efforts in the field of

women, peace and security will be broad-based, but with a particular focus on certain countries and areas, including Afghanistan, Sudan, Nepal, the Philippines, Israel and the Palestinian Territory, Haiti, DR Congo, Liberia and Colombia.”²⁰ To overcome the main gap in the 2nd NAP, which is the localisation of plans into national context, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs identified focus countries for the 3rd NAP (2015-2018), and Palestine was maintained as a priority recipient of funding.²¹

To localise the NAP in a way that makes sense to the countries designated as focus countries, communications and discussions with national actors took place a country action plan was developed accordingly. Norway’s vision focused on increasing women’s political participation and putting women’s issues on the table in negotiations and decision-making. For the 2019-2022 NAP, Norway expanded the scope of participatory approach and undertook consultations with its partners through the filling of a questionnaire. Additionally, the NAP identified specific objectives that are focus country-specific for each overall goal to facilitate the localisation and implementation of the NAP.

Under WPS agenda funding, Norway adopts both core and project funding as funding modalities, and provides both direct funding and through intermediaries. While political participation was maintained as a principal funding priority, Norway currently focuses on four main pillars as follows:²²

| Pillar | Interventions | Partner Organisation(s) |
|---|---|---|
| Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting women’s participation in reconciliation talks Promoting women’s participation at the local level. | MIFTAH- Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy |
| Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support for provision of psychosocial counselling and legal services to women survivors of GBV. Support to WCLAC’s shelter for women survivors of GBV. | WCLAC- Women’s Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling |
| Economic Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development and support for income generating projects for women in marginalised areas. | To be determined |
| Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support for clinics providing services in the field of SRHR, including counselling services. Support for awareness-raising interventions on SRHR. | Palestinian Family Planning and Protection Association |
| Official Institutions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development of Palestine’s second Generation NAP, focusing on both 1) | Ministry of Women’s Affairs (MoWA) and the |

²⁰ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Women, Peace and Security: Norway’s Strategic Plan 2011-2013* (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010) <https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/nor_updatednap_2011-13.pdf> 4.

²¹ Other focus countries were Afghanistan, Colombia, Myanmar and South Sudan. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Women, Peace and Security: Norway’s Strategic Plan 2015-2018* (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014) <[https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Norway%20Revised%20NAP%20\(2015-2018\).pdf](https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Norway%20Revised%20NAP%20(2015-2018).pdf)> 41.

²² Interview with Muntaha Aqel, Senior Programme Adviser in Norwegian Representative Office (Via Skype, June 29, 2020).

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| | political participation and 2) accountability of the occupation. | National Civil Women's Coalition to Implement UNSC Resolution 1325 through the UN Women. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increasing women's representation in the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee and integrating women's issues in the Negotiations Affairs Department and United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees. | AHLC, NAD and UNRWA |

One of the main points of contention that Norway faced was its focus on political participation, while the focus on national counterparts of holding the Israeli occupation accountable. Within this framework, and as a compromise, Palestine's second Plans will focus on both political participation and holding the occupation accountable. This includes Palestine's 2nd NAP which is being developed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, with supported from Norway through UN Women, and the Strategic Plan of the National Civil Women's Coalition to Implement UNSC Resolution 1325, which is being developed by General Union of Palestinian Women, with support from Norway through MIFTAH.

1.2 Sweden

The WPS agenda has been a strategic funding priority for Sweden since 2006, when it adopted its first NAP. Since then, Sweden adopted two additional NAPs covering the periods 2009-2012 and 2016-2020. The following table demonstrates Sweden's priority areas since 2006:

| NAP Number | Priority Results |
|---------------|---|
| 1 (2006) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women in conflict areas will participate fully and on an equal footing with men at all levels in mechanisms and institutions for conflict prevention, crisis management, peace building, humanitarian operations and other efforts during a post-conflict phase. National and local initiatives will be supported. ● Protection of women and girls in connection with conflicts will be strengthened through actions that build on women's own analysis of the need for protection and that enhance security and create opportunities for participation without limiting the freedom of movement of women and girls. ● More women will take part in international peace support and security-building operations within the framework of the UN, the European Union, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace and other regional organisations of which Sweden in a member of and with which Sweden cooperates. |
| 2 (2009-2012) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A considerably larger proportion of women to participate in international peace-support and security-building operations, within the framework of regional and international organisations, and operations to be implemented with a gender perspective in order to increase their effectiveness. ● The protection of women and girls in conflict situations to be |

| | |
|---------------|---|
| | <p>strengthened and based on analysis in which women participate actively.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women in conflict areas will participate fully and on an equal footing with men at all levels in mechanisms and institutions for conflict prevention, crisis management, peace building, humanitarian operations and other efforts during a post-conflict phase. |
| 3 (2016-2020) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inclusive peace processes: make visible and strengthen women's influence and meaningful participation in peace processes and in peacebuilding and state building. Conflict prevention: include women and men to address structural root causes of conflict and violence. Strengthen protection of women and girls: strengthen protection of women and girls from all types of violence in conjunction with and following armed conflict. Leadership and expertise: reinforced gender perspective and expertise in the work for peace and security. |

While Sweden's three NAPs developed over time, the pillars of participation, protection and prevention remained constant to date. Furthermore, Palestine has been a funding priority for Sweden under UNSC Resolution 1325 from the beginning, which was clearly iterated through its last NAP (2016-2020).²³

Further, Sweden seeks to mainstream the WPS agenda into all of its funding, including funding that goes for gender equality. Sweden's funding modality in Palestine takes the form of project funding and is primarily disbursed through intermediaries. In the case of gender equality and WPS agenda, the main intermediary is Kvinna Till Kvinna. The midterm review of the 2020 NAP has been completed. However, process of revision is yet to determine new funding priorities.²⁴

1.3 Switzerland

The WPS agenda has been a strategic funding priority for Switzerland since 2007, when it adopted its first NAP. Since then, Switzerland adopted three additional NAPs covering the periods 2010-2012, 2013-2016 and 2018-2022. Switzerland's four NAPs developed over time, maintaining some of its aspects and introducing changes based on the review processes of each NAP. The following table demonstrates Switzerland's priority areas since 2007.

| NAP Number | Priority Areas |
|------------|--|
| 1 (2007) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greater involvement/participation of women in peacebuilding. Prevention of gender-based violence and protection of the rights and needs of women and girls during and after armed conflicts. A gender-sensitive approach to all peacebuilding projects and programmes. |

²³ Government Offices of Sweden, *Women, Peace and Security: Sweden's National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2020* (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015) <<https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Sweden%20NAP%202016-2020.pdf>> 12.

²⁴ Interview with Maria Ardaji, Programme Manager for Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality in Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Via Skype, June 26, 2020).

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 2 (2010-2012) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater participation of women in peacebuilding. • Prevention of gender-based violence and protection of the rights and needs of women and girls during and after armed conflicts. • A gender-sensitive approach to all peacebuilding projects and programmes. |
| 3 (2013-2016) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater participation of women in peacebuilding. • Protection of the rights of women and girls during and after violent conflicts, and prevention of gender-based violence. • Greater inclusion of a gender perspective during and after armed conflicts in emergency aid, reconstruction and in dealing with the past. • Gender inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict prevention • Mainstreaming “Women, Peace and Security” in the federal administration. |
| 4 (2018-2022) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective involvement of women in conflict prevention • Women’s participation in and influence on conflict resolution and peace processes. • Protection against sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, refugee and migration contexts. • Women’s participation in peace missions and security policy. • Multi- and bilateral commitment by Switzerland to women, peace and security. |

While Switzerland’s four NAPs developed over time, the pillars of participation, protection and prevention remained constant to date, with a relatively higher focus on participation.

Furthermore, Switzerland’s last NAP (2018-2022) further divides each goal into several sub-goals, thereby facilitating the localisation of the NAP in a way that makes sense to the national actors. Switzerland adopts a holistic government approach in development aid, including in the WPS agenda, which is situated with the Rule of Law and Human Rights Programme. Additionally, Switzerland adopts the funding modality of core funding and provides, since 2018, funding directly to Palestinian NGOs. Between 2009 and 2017, Switzerland pooled the funds it dedicates to the rule of law and human rights programme through a joint mechanism with Sweden, Netherlands and Denmark in the International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat. In addition to its situation in the rule of law and human rights programme, funding for the WPS agenda is also part of the humanitarian portfolio, where gender equality and women’s needs are part of the funding assessment criteria.²⁵

Switzerland’s current funding to Palestine under WPS agenda focuses on both the role of the occupation and the Palestinian Authority (PA) and goes to both Palestinian NGOs and UN agencies. Switzerland’s main partners under WPS agenda funding are MIFTAH, WCLAC, UNRWA and UN OCHA. Through the provision of core funding, Switzerland is able to contribute to the implementation of its NAP and contribute to the strategic priorities of

²⁵ Interview with Simone Di Stephano, Programme Manager for the Rule of Law and Human Rights Programme; Tanya Abdallah, National Programme Officer and Gender Focal Point; and Terry Boullata, Senior Programme Manager for the Rule of Law and Human Rights Programme, Swiss Development Cooperation (Via Skype, June 29, 2020).

Palestinian NGOs, including in the pillars of participation, protection from violence, prevention and human security, accountability on the national level and accountability on the international level. With respect to accountability, Switzerland links its work with the principles and frameworks of international law, with a particular focus on international human rights law and international humanitarian law.²⁶

2. Funding Approaches, Modalities and Priorities by INGOs and UN Agencies

2.1 Care International

Care International's strategy employs, since 2016, a triple nexus that links 1) humanitarian and relief interventions with 2) economic empowerment of women and youth and 3) WPS agenda. Within the framework of the WPS agenda, Care focuses on the three Ps: protection, prevention and participation, through promoting women's political participation, enhancing systems to address GBV and enhancement of accountability of both the PA and Israeli occupation. Care's work on accountability highlights the challenges and gaps that face local women and bring them to the forefront, and further contribute to shaping international public opinion on Palestinian women. Care's funding is channelled through the modality of project funding and projects are designed and developed through a participatory approach with the partner organisations. Care's current funding covers the three pillars as follows:²⁷

| Pillar | Interventions and Priorities |
|----------------|---|
| Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the justice and security sector to promote participation of women to increase representation and genuine participation in decision-making. • Participation in peace-building processes and reconciliation: work with organisations inside the Green Line and women in the Knesset and community leaders. |
| Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through the Palestinian Women Against Violence Coalition, which brings together 21 Palestinian feminist organisations in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Inside the Green Line+ Care, the "We Are Your Voice" Campaign focuses on domestic and community violence, particularly after its sharp increase within the framework of the Covid-19 crisis. • Service delivery to survivors of GBV and women at risk. |
| Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focusing on national duty-bearers, Care and partners utilise media to impact and shift its discourse from gender harmful and blind to positive and transformative. • Focusing on the Israeli occupation, Care has recently produced six policy briefs on stopping annexation, GBV, gendered impact of Covid-19, impact of Covid-19 on economic situation of women and youth, Gaza and impact of Covid-19 and Jerusalem and |

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Interview with Salam Kannan, Country Director of Care International; Malvina Khoury, Project Manager; and Suhair Ramadan, Project Manager, Care International (Via Skype, June 9, 2020).

| | |
|--|---|
| | <p>impact of Covid-19.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care launched an alert targeting the international community on the possible devastating impact of Covid-19 in Gaza in light of the very weak public health infrastructure due to the siege and political division. • Care participates regularly in the sessions of the Commission on the Status of Women and the Human Rights Council, in addition to holding regular meetings with the EU in Brussels, OCHA in Geneva and various governments in Europe, as well as the US, Canadian and Australian governments. |
|--|---|

Furthermore, Care's Kayanni project, implemented in partnership with WCLAC, TAM- Women, Media and Development and Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC), with funding from the UK Foreign and Common Wealth Office through the British Consulate General in Jerusalem, seeks to promote women's political participation at multiple levels. The project's main interventions are:

- Strengthen the knowledge of mid and high-level decision-makers on the benefits of gender equality and the positive impact of women in public life;
- Highlight and challenge legal biases found in civil and military service law (labour law) that affect women's public leadership, participation and advancement in political parties and the justice and security sectors;
- Identify and form male and female champion and networks that are focused on developing practical strategies to support women's public leadership;
- Partner with Palestinian civil society members to advocate and lobby for the identified gaps nationally and internationally;
- Develop the capacity of selected media outlets, public watchdog organisations, and journalism students to elevate media coverage of women's public role and sensitise the media products; and
- Design and launch multi-media campaigns focused on women's political participation, peacebuilding, justice and security.

2.2 Kvinna Till Kvinna

Kvinna Till Kvinna (KTK) has been working in Palestine since 2001. Given that Palestinian women are gravely affected by the Israeli occupation and repressive political environment, KTK focuses in its work on both the Israeli occupation, the PA and *de facto* government in Gaza. KTK receives funding from Sweden and provides support through the project funding modality, and works with multiple partners. KTK main Palestinian partners are: AISHA Association for Women and Child Protection, Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy, PWWSD, Sawa, Women's Affairs Centre, WSC and Al-Muntada Coalition to Combat Violence Against

Women. KTK mainstreams the WPS agenda into its work, and support women in Palestine as follows:²⁸

| Pillar | Priorities and Interventions |
|------------------------------|--|
| Participation | Promote women's participation in decision-making. |
| Protection | Provide legal aid and support to victims of GBV. |
| Prevention | Mainstream women's rights and counter conservative gender norms. |
| National Accountability | Combat child marriage. |
| International Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer trauma support to women suffering from the consequences of the occupation. • Amplify Palestinian women's voices in international forums and in dialogue with foreign officials. |

As a main recipient of funding from Sweden, KTK has asked its partner organisations through this funding stream, namely PWWSD and WSC, to phase out with their current interventions on WPS agenda during 2020. This is due to the changing funding priorities of Sweden, which are likely to focus on in its next NAP on 1) environmental rights, 2) LGBTIQ+ rights and 3) elections.²⁹

2.3 Oxfam

Funding for the WPS agenda in Palestine has been a longstanding priority of Oxfam, as early as 2008. Since 2017, when Oxfam affiliates merged, a gender justice strategy covering 2017-2022 was developed. The strategy includes the WPS agenda, alongside GBV and bodily integrity, women's political participation and access to justice.

Oxfam's work on the WPS agenda is funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Through following a partnership and co-creation approach, Oxfam channels funding to its main partners under the WPS agenda, MIFTAH, WCLAC and CFTA, through the project funding modality. Oxfam considers the Israeli occupation, PA and *de facto* government in Gaza as duty-bearers in its accountability work, and covers all pillars of the WPS agenda, as follows:³⁰

| Pillar | Priorities and Interventions |
|------------------------------|--|
| Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation at the local participation level. • Participation in national reconciliation talks. |
| Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness-raising of women and men on GBV • Service delivery: psychosocial counselling and legal consultations. • Documentation of violations. |
| National Accountability | Advocacy campaigns and policy dialogue on personal status law and family protection bill. |
| International Accountability | Participation in international forums to hold occupation and PA accountable, as well as the |

²⁸ Kvinna Till Kvinna in Palestine <<https://kvinnatilkvinna.org/about-us/where-we-work/mena/palestine/>>

²⁹ Interview with Rana Khoury, Programme Officer, Kvinna Till Kvinna (Via Skype, June 18, 2020).

³⁰ Interview with Fadi Touma, Gender Justice Programme Manager, Oxfam (Via Skype, June 12, 2020).

| | |
|--|---|
| | international community to their legal obligations. |
|--|---|

2.4 UN Women

Since 2014, the WPS agenda has been a top thematic strategic priority for UN Women. Work is guided by UN Women's strategic plan, which brings WPS agenda together with humanitarian action in a nexus approach. UN Women works comprehensively on the WPS agenda, and collaborates with official institutions and Palestinian NGOs to advance the agenda.

On the level of official institutions, and through funding from Norway, UN Women supported the MoWA in the development of Palestine's first NAP (2017-2019) and will be supporting the development of the second generation NAP. Through the release of calls for proposals, UN Women streams funding to Palestinian NGOs through project funding modality, focusing on five main pillars as follows:³¹

| Pillar | Priorities and Interventions |
|------------------------------|--|
| Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security sector reform, including increasing women's participation. • Increasing women's participation in politics, including in political parties, decision-making platforms and reconciliation talks. |
| Relief and Recovery | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase women's participation in post-conflict recovery initiatives, including through health workers job placements to address impact of coronavirus. Initiatives are information and communication technology focused, where women receive assignments for job placements and provide services to rehabilitate local communities. |
| Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of violence by occupation and other violations, and its impact on exacerbating GBV. • Issuance of publications on the gendered dimensions of violence by occupation. • Creation of a conducive environment and protection from harassment and GBV in security sector. |
| National Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduction of a research on international accountability mechanisms to leverage women's participation on the national level. • Conduction of three open days on WPS agenda before high-level leadership featuring testimonies by affected women and men. |
| International Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in international forums, including Commission on the Status of Women and WPS Week to cover both occupation's violence and domestic/community violence. • Provision of gender content for the Special Coordinator of the Peace Process in his briefings to |

³¹ Interview with Heba Zayyan, WPS and Humanitarian Action Programme Specialist, UN Women (Via Skype, June 14, 2020).

3. Implementation Areas, Priorities and Strategies by Palestinian NGOs

3.1 National Civil Women's Coalition to Implement UNSC Resolution 1325

As clarified earlier, the GUPW took the initiative in 2010 to establish the National Civil Women's Coalition to Implement UNSC Resolution 1325 (National 1325 Coalition Herein) to bring together Palestinian NGOs working on the WPS agenda. Given that Palestinian NGOs previously worked separately and as per their specialisation, the GUPW sought to facilitate coordination and consolidation of efforts, and unify the organisations under a vision that focuses primarily on utilising UNSC Resolution 1325 to hold the occupation accountable.³²

The vision, firstly developed by the GUPW, and thereafter discussed with over 70 Palestinian NGOs primarily focused on holding the occupation accountable. Nonetheless, there was continuous traction on whether to integrate domestic aspects into the vision and modus operandi on the Resolution. In 2011, a meeting was held to present the finalised vision and elected a 15-member Secretariat to follow-up the daily work of the coalition. These organisations were chosen based on their continuous work on the WPS agenda and consider it an implementation priority. Since 2011, the Coalition adopted two strategic plans and is currently working on its third. All of the plans focus on the pillars of participation, protection and accountability, as follows:³³

| Strategic Plan | Pillar | Priorities and Interventions |
|--|----------------|--|
| 2013-2016 Developed in partnership with MIFTAH | Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase women's representation and genuine participation in security and justice sectors (police and security forces) • Increase women's participation in national reconciliation efforts. |
| | Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of occupation's violations • Documentation of women's rights violations incurred during Palestinian political division |
| | Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeting of UN, including UN Secretary General with memos and information on the overall impact of the occupation and the 2012 Gaza War. |
| 2017-2019 Developed in partnership with UN and with support from Norway | Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase women's representation and genuine participation in security and justice sectors (police and security forces). • Increase women's participation in national reconciliation efforts through conduction of research studies and undertaking advocacy work. |
| | Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness-raising and capacity development in |

³² Interview with Rima Kittaneh Nazzal (n 5).

³³ Ibid.

| | | |
|--|----------------|--|
| | | <p>documentation of occupation's violations and violations incurred during Palestinian political division.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persistence of documentation of violations. • Linking of the role of the occupation in reinforcing patriarchy and societal masculinities. |
| | Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity development on the utilisation of international conventions and mechanisms. • Expanded scope of accountability to include Human Rights Council and Commission on the Status of Women. |
| 2020-2023 in partnership with MIFTAH (yet to be finalised) | Participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand scope of efforts to engage in reconciliation efforts. • Expansion of work on participation in the justice sector beyond the civil police to include the intelligence and preventative security forces. |
| | Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to work on integrating the issues of Palestinian women with those of Arab women. Focus will be on women in the Diaspora in Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt. Work will seek to integrate reporting on situation of Palestinian women in these countries in their shadow reports to CEDAW. • Document violations and issue publications focusing on Palestinian women in Gaza and the impact of the siege on creating an uninhabitable environment. Focus will be on air and sea pollution, wastewater treatment and sewage. |
| | Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness raising of the resolution to increase geographical scope of awareness. • Awareness raising and capacity development on the human rights council mechanisms, and particularly the targeting of special rapporteurs and universal periodic review. • Expand scope of accountability to focus on refugee women and women in Gaza. |

3.2 MIFTAH- Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy

MIFTAH started working on the WPS agenda in 2007 with support from the Austrian Representative Office. The work focused on issues of international advocacy and opening dialogue on women's issues, as women's political participation and empowerment were strategic priorities that MIFTAH works on. In the early beginning years, the UN Population Fund suggested working on the resolution from the angle of sexual and reproductive health

and rights and its connections to GBV, which MIFTAH adapted to focus on childbirth at checkpoints and cases of breast cancer and abortion due to Israeli industrial activity. Additionally, MIFTAH worked on the creation of local/grassroots coalitions in Jericho and Jordan Valley, Nablus and Hebron to work on WPS agenda with a focus on GBV and to document violations perpetrated by the occupation. In the later stage, MIFTAH created additional coalitions in Jerusalem, Tulkarem and Jenin and continued to document violations through the development of documentation tools, which were implemented by the coalitions. The organisations making up the coalitions received extensive capacity development trainings that focused on increasing awareness of the resolution and its utilisation, documentation of violations and design, development and implementation of initiatives to address GBV. Based on these tools, evidence based reports were published documenting violations against women prisoners, refugees, on checkpoints, living near settlements, the Wall, in the Jordan Valley and in Gaza.³⁴

Other publications issued by MIFTAH include a review of resolution 1325, a crystallisation of a feminist vision on resolution 1325 and the development of a media strategy and supporting the MoWA's when the Cabinet adopted the resolution and formed the High Committee to implement it.³⁵

MIFTAH also supported the GUPW in the establishment of the coalition and development of its first strategic plan (2013-2016) and current strategic plan (2020-2023). The first strategic plan formed the basis of the NAP on the Implementation of UNSC 1325 in Palestine by the High Committee. MIFTAH trained the GUPW and its divisions, as well as the organisations in the Women's Coalition on documentation of violations, alongside developing a computerised system to document violations and maintain the documentations as a basis for release of reports on occupation's violations. Currently, MIFTAH works on the WPS agenda in multiple dimensions, as follows:³⁶

- Document human rights violations committed by Israeli occupation against women and girls, and utilise these documentations in advocacy and lobbying efforts at the international level to promote protection and accountability. Documentations also include women's rights violations during the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic in Palestine.
- Enhancing women's representation and participation in reconciliation efforts. MIFTAH established and strengthened WIFAQ network, which is composed of youth women who are active within political parties or without affiliation to any political party. Another dimension is the creation and strengthening social groups to develop and implement proposals to support promotion of women's participation in reconciliation talks. Additionally, MIFTAH developed a grassroots-based strategy on women's political participation and representation.
- Organise policy dialogue meetings and hearing sessions with international duty-bearers to hold the occupation accountable.

³⁴ Interview with Lamis Shuaibi, Director of Policy Dialogue and Good Governance Programme, MIFTAH (MIFTAH Office, June 25, 2020).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

- Support the National 1325 Coalition to develop its fourth strategic plan, covering the period 2020-2023.
- Review and lobby for the adoption of policies and mechanisms for the inclusion and protection of women, with a current focus on elections laws, family protection bill and the Personal Status Law.
- Provide data and analysis on the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in Palestine. Relevant publications include The Ten Strategies for Tackling Issues Pertaining to WPS, TimeLine Report on the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 and Factsheet on the Implementation of the NAP of UNSC Resolution 1325. MIFTAH also published an Analytical Report on Violations Against Palestinian Women and Girls in the Gaza Strip during the National Division and the Impact and Damage of the Internal Division from a Gender Perspective. Additionally, MIFTAH published a number of manuals and guidebooks on UNSC Resolution 1325 and civic peace, as well as reviewed the Gaza reconstruction plan from a gender perspective.
- Identify linkages and create alignment between WPS agenda and CEDAW GR 30, 32 and 35.

3.3 Culture and Free Thought Association

CFTA has been working on the WPS agenda since 2006, when Palestinian NGOs in Gaza considered the formation of a coalition to work on issues pertaining to the WPS agenda. In 2008, Wissal Network was established and hosted by the CFTA, comprising organisations with the southern Gaza Strip. Over time, the network expanded to include more than 60 organisations covering the entirety of the Gaza Strip. The network focuses on issues pertaining to political empowerment, GBV and national and international accountability, as follows:³⁷

| Pillar | Interventions and Priorities |
|-------------------------|---|
| Political Empowerment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The empowerment of Palestinian women across political parties to bridge the gap between political parties as a result of national division, and address women's issues jointly irrespective of the women's political affiliation. • Participation in decision-making positions in trade unions and syndicates. |
| GBV | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of services to women survivors of violence (whether perpetrated by the occupation or domestic/societal violence). Services include case management, psychosocial counselling, legal consultations, mediation and health support for cancer patients and women with disabilities. |
| National Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with security forces on the issue of digital extortion. This included lobbying for the designation of women to handle these issues with girls, and developed a procedures manual for the police and public prosecution on how to handle these issues. Currently, Wissal is working on the |

³⁷ Interview with Maha Raii, Director of Wissal Network, CFTA (Via Skype, June 25, 2020).

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| | <p>development of a code of conduct to regulate work on these cases.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with health sector to prevent abuse, including cursing and beating, and provide protection to pregnant women. This included the establishment of a complaint mechanism, work with medical staff and raise their awareness about how to protect women during childbirth, work with the Ministry of Health to integrate women's issues in its strategic plan, and work directly with women to seek support when necessary. |
| International Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of violations against Palestinian women within the framework of the siege and assaults on the Gaza Strip. • Publication of studies and reports. • Presentation of reports and analysis at the UN and to European countries in Geneva and Brussels, as well as for fact-finding missions. • Work with Palestinian NGOs, such as MIFTAH, Al-Haq, WATC, WCLAC and Al-Mezan to integrate a gender perspective to the occupation's violations in the reports. |

3.4 Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development

PWWSD has been working on the issue of women under occupation since its establishment in 1981, long before the enactment of the WPS agenda by the international community and its adoption by Palestinian NGOs. PWWSD framed its work on the WPS agenda in that life with dignity and free from military occupation is imperative to women's liberation from all forms of discrimination and exploitation.³⁸

PWWSD's work on the WPS agenda primarily focuses on the accountability pillar, which is interpreted in conjugation with the Fourth Geneva Convention and the framework of international human rights law. In the early 2000s, PWWSD was a member of the International Women's Commission for Peace, which brought together sixty Palestinian, Israeli and international women (twenty from each) to discuss and address issues relating to the WPS agenda. While the effectiveness of this body proved to be limited, it was nonetheless useful in opening relations and building connections for future advocacy targets, including parliaments, parliamentarians, European civil society organisations and European solidarity groups.³⁹

Currently PWWSD employs the WPS agenda to work on the issue of Palestinian national reconciliation, demanding not only increased participation of women in reconciliation talks,

³⁸ Interview with Amal Khriesheh, General Director, PWWSD (Via Skype, June 13, 2020).

³⁹ Ibid

but also the placement of women's issues on the table to overcome the impact of political division on the social, legal and rights levels, particularly on women.⁴⁰

PWWSD also utilises the WPS agenda to highlight the violations perpetrated by the occupation forces against Palestinian women and girls. It does so through the empowerment of youth and university students to document violations and engage their community to raise awareness of the resolution. Furthermore, PWWSD supports these youth to develop leadership skills, including in debate and policy dialogue. The documentations are also utilised in international forums such as the Commission on the Status of Women and the Human Rights Council, and in the provision of live testimonies to the fact-finding mission on the Great March of Return in Gaza.⁴¹

3.5 TAM- Women, Media and Development

TAM's work on the WPS agenda commenced in 2009, when the organisation became part of the Karameh network. At the beginning, TAM did not connect the WPS agenda with its goals and objectives, but later during strategic reviews, recognised the importance of doing so. While TAM considers the WPS agenda directly connected to its strategy, work on the agenda has not been a consistent implementation area in TAM in light of the limited funding and high competition between Palestinian NGOs. Within this framework, WPS agenda is connected to TAM's first and second strategic objectives:⁴²

- Strategic Objective 1: Contribute to decrease marginalisation, poverty and gender-based violence.
- Strategic Objective 2: Reinforce women's roles and existence in decision-making positions.

The agenda is also connected to TAM's programme that focuses on women ex-detainees, particularly in terms of documenting violations and utilising these documentations in international advocacy work, particularly the Commission on the Status of Women and the Human Rights Council.⁴³

3.6 Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling

WCLAC has been working on the WPS agenda before its adoption by the international community, and has formalised its terminology under the agenda in 2011. WPS agenda is an integral part of WCLAC's work and is integrated into a number of its strategic goals, including:⁴⁴

- Strategic goal: 1: contribute to the protection and empowerment of women suffering discrimination and violence.
- Strategic goal 2: promote women's rights to access justice and eliminate discriminatory policies against them.

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Interview with Suheir Farraj, General Director, TAM (Via Skype, June 7, 2020).

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Interview with Randa Siniora, General Director, WCLAC (Via Skype, June 11, 2020).

WCLAC's work on WPS agenda goes under the protection, national accountability and international accountability pillars, as follows:⁴⁵

| Pillar | Interventions and Priorities |
|------------------------------|--|
| Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of violations. • Development and publication of case studies, reports and submissions. • Capacity development of youth and activists to document violations. • Provision of psychosocial counselling services to women victims of GBV. • Provision of legal consultations to women victims of GBV. • Provision of protection services to women victims and women at risk of GBV. |
| National Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of national laws and policies that are discriminatory against women. • Development of evidence-based research and policy recommendations to amend these laws and policies and harmonise them with international standards. • Engaging national duty bearers to address identified gaps in laws and policies. |
| International Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of reports and submissions to different UN procedures. • Presentation of recommendations to duty-bearers to hold Israel, PA and <i>de facto</i> government in Gaza to account. • Holding meetings with representative missions, political parties, parliamentarians and human rights organisations. • Organisation of side events in the Human Rights Council and Commission on the Status of Women. |

1.3.7 Women Studies Centre

The WSC work on the WPS agenda commenced in 2002 and persisted through a singular programme to date that is funded by Sweden through KTK. The project came against the backdrop of the massacre in Jenin Refugee Camp. WSC conducted a needs assessment, which determined that there is a need to work on shock and loss trauma. Work commenced in Jenin, Nablus, Bethlehem, and expanded to Jerusalem, Salfeet and Hebron. The programme seeks to support women in addressing and dealing with shocks associated with losses, including the loss of a brother or son, loss of her house, of an income or an overall feeling of insecurity.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ WCLAC, 2019 Annual Report (WCLAC, 2020) <https://www.wclac.org/files/annual_reports/2019/v43mxreenhbors4l5ty4f.pdf>

⁴⁶ Interview with Sama Aweidah, General Director, WSC (Via Skype, June 13, 2020).

Over the past eighteen years, the programme developed in terms of the strategies it employs, commencing with individual and collective debriefing sessions. The third strategy employed was to work with the community around the bereaved women and raising their awareness of how to be supportive of these women instead of increasing their trauma. The last strategy added was the twinning experiences from one bereaved woman to another, where old survivors take the initiative and provide support to new survivors. The second dimension of the programme is an international accountability component. This component consisted of taking the bereaved women to share and convey their experiences to national parliaments and the European parliament.⁴⁷

Currently, in 2020, KTK asked WSC to phase out the project due to the change in Sweden's strategy. To ensure the sustainability of the project, the bereaved women in Nablus established an associated that will be hosted by the WSC. This approach will be extended to Jerusalem, Hebron and Jenin, with WSC hosting the former two and a partner organisation hosting the latter. Furthermore, all of the associations will be supported to develop strategic plans that focus on the impact of the occupation on Palestinian women.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid.