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# **Palestinian Women: Between War Resilience and Their Role in Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Gaza.**

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**Within a project**

Palestinian Civil Society contributes actively to Shaping  
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The views in this paper reflect the researchers' views and do not necessarily reflect the views of PalThink for Strategic Studies or the donor.

## Introduction:

Women constitute 49% of the total population, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS)<sup>1</sup> reports, but their contribution to public life remains far below their numbers in society. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) reports, women in the labor market will account for 19% <sup>2</sup>in 2023. In decision-making centers, women's participation remains low and one of the lowest rates in the region, despite being one of the most important indicators of gender equality, as data for 2021 showed that the percentage of women members of the Central Council constitutes about 23%, 19% of the members of the National Council, and 12% of the members of the Council of Ministers. There is also one-woman governor out of 15 governors, and 1% of the heads of local authorities in Palestine are women. As for the management of the councils of chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture, only 1% are women, about 19% of judges are women, and 18% of prosecutors are women. <sup>3</sup>These figures reflect a marked exclusion of women from public life, which negatively affects their status, deepens gender inequality gaps, and at the same time prevents society from benefiting from women's abilities and contribution to public life. This will inevitably affect the development of society and reinforce internal conflicts, especially gender conflicts. The exclusion of women in Palestine is a social tendency to exclude them from important public positions in the economy and politics, preventing them from expressing their opinions and limiting their public visibility. Despite the vital role that women play in crises, such as their steadfastness during the recent war on the Gaza Strip, in which various types of munitions were used including internationally banned ones, and came after years of siege imposed on Palestinian men and women, which deepened their suffering, but the general trend was to exclude women.

Although the occupation bombed residential buildings and civilian objects, destroying infrastructure and all elements of life, women did not give up and continued to play an active role under the bombardment and

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Dr. Awad reviews the situation of Palestinian women on the eve of International Women's Day, 08/03/2023. Accessed on 2/20/2025

<sup>2</sup> 2 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) | Basic results of the labor force survey, first quarter cycle (January-March, 2023) Accessed on 20/2/2025

<sup>3</sup> 3 PCBS | Dr. Awad reviews the situation of Palestinian women on the eve of International Women's Day, 08/03/2023. Accessed on 2/20/2025

destruction. It is estimated that the percentage of women and children among the victims exceeded 70%, which constitutes a flagrant violation of international conventions on the protection of civilians during wars, including Security Council Resolution 1325<sup>4</sup>, which focuses (among other provisions) on the protection of women during conflicts. Nevertheless, women have played a vital role in strengthening the resilience of Palestinian society, reflecting their great potential to catalyze change and contribute to rebuilding society after the war, if the social and economic structures that limit women's participation in public life are dismantled. Palestinian women can be a key driver in building a sustainable and just society in the aftermath of the war on Gaza.

This paper focuses on the role of women in strengthening the resilience of Palestinian society during wars and utilizing their expertise to build a more stable and prosperous society. It also highlights the importance of addressing gender exclusion to ensure women's active participation in the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip and the protection of Palestinian existence.

The paper aims to improve policies and procedures that ensure the integration of women into the public sphere, allowing them to freely influence societal and political decisions. It also seeks to dismantle the structures that hinder women's participation and perpetuate their exclusion, by proposing legal amendments and measures that ensure the removal of the obstacles they face in public life.

Based on an analysis of the role of women during the recent war on the Gaza Strip, the paper will provide recommendations and policies for decision-makers and civil society, especially women's organizations, to enhance women's participation in reconstruction and shape a more just and inclusive post-war future.

### **The role of women during the war on the Gaza Strip:**

Successive events, especially the recent war on the Gaza Strip, have proven their exceptional ability to face challenges and assume responsibility in the most difficult circumstances. Palestinian women were on the front lines to secure the needs of their families and strengthen community cohesion, whether by providing care and psychosocial support, or through

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<sup>4</sup> 4 What is UNSCR 1325? | United States Institute of Peace- United Nations Website- Accessed on 21/2/2025

community initiatives and participation in documenting violations and demanding justice at the international level, using traditional and modern media to convey the suffering of their people and highlight the violations they were subjected to in particular, and the community in general. These movements have contributed to increasing the presence of the Palestinian cause on the international agenda. These roles played by women during the war were not just a situational response, but an expression of a true capacity for leadership and change. Empowering women and supporting their participation in building a post-war society is not just a matter of achieving justice and equality, but a prerequisite for building a more sustainable and cohesive society where women are key drivers of development and community resilience.

An example of the distinctive role of women is noted by activist Areej al-Masri, who worked during the aggression to document and publicize the violations committed against women<sup>5</sup> in particular, to help draw the attention of the international community to these violations: “Based on my experience during the aggression, it became clear that women play a pivotal role in strengthening resilience, so empowering them and supporting their efforts in the post-war phase will be a crucial factor in rebuilding the societal fabric.” Identifying the obstacles faced by women will contribute to the development of interventions by all parties, both governmental and civil society, to implement appropriate interventions with women to help them overcome these challenges in the future in the event that the current circumstances are repeated and the occupying state launches future wars against the Palestinian people, whether in the Gaza Strip or the West Bank. By focusing on the distinctive role played by women during the war, the research team seeks to increase societal discussion of the role that women can play, in order to serve as a catalyst for increasing support for women's issues and providing sufficient space for them to play a leadership role. By reviewing the reality of women during the aggression, it became clear that women's suffering was manifested on more than one level, and that they were subjected to exclusion and threats.

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<sup>5</sup> Areej al-Masri, a youth activist from the Gaza Strip, phone interview with the research team on 2/19/2025.

## **Women traders in displacement: Resilience and Community Engagement**

In a meeting with a group of women (focus group),<sup>6</sup> held by the researcher (Mervat Al-Zaqzouk) in Al-Salam neighborhood camp in Khan Younis, on Tuesday 11/2/2025, with the participation of 15 displaced women, for the purpose of completing this paper, many women indicated that they had to walk long distances to provide drinking water for their children and their families, and that many women returned to the traditional means of producing bread, by relying on fire. A number of other women took the initiative to sew clothes for their children from torn tent fabric and bags of humanitarian aid (bags of flour, rice, etc.) In the absence of humanitarian aid, many of the women used worn-out fabrics as a substitute for sanitary pads. The research team observed that the focus group, which was intended to explore the role of women in promoting resilience, partially turned into a psychological dumping session for women to talk about the bitter experiences they had gone through during the aggression. The research team concluded that the absence of psychosocial support activities for women was one of the main reasons for their suffering. When comparing the responses of the women in the focus group with the in-depth interview with activist Areej al-Masri, it became clear that the latter, like other activists, had initiated activities and initiatives on her own to contribute to strengthening the resilience of the community as a whole. It can be concluded that the nature of the experience women go through and their learning prospects largely determine their future roles, especially in times of crisis. It was also noted that the girls and women who took individual initiatives to strengthen community resilience were women who were already empowered. One of the most notable experiences in this context is that of Ms. Heba Al-Hindi<sup>7</sup> “who stated that she had undertaken several community initiatives that contributed to strengthening the resilience of the community, including providing aid and food parcels to displaced women and men. Ms. Al-Hindi confirmed that she spent long hours on social media pages to recruit resources and provide aid, leveraging her personal network. She also noted that she was exposed to many dangers as a result of her work and was attacked by parties who tried

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<sup>6</sup> 6 Group interview with a group of women in a displacement center (who preferred to remain anonymous), conducted for the purpose of producing this paper, on: 11/2/2025.  
Al-Salam camp in the Mawasi Khan Younis area.

<sup>7</sup> 7 Heba al-Hindi, an entrepreneur from the Gaza Strip, phone interview, 2/15/2025.

to seize the aid using firearms and bladed weapons. When asked about the parties that provided her with protection, she indicated that she did not receive support and protection from any party and that she relied on herself. Despite the strength she showed and her pride in herself and her role, she did not hide her urgent need for community support and psychological support, which indicates the importance of psychological support for women and providing them with a community incubator.

Many women who participated in the management of displacement camps were also subjected to a series of harassment and attempts to limit their roles. In this context, one woman (who preferred to remain anonymous for personal reasons and was contacted by the researcher by phone) indicated that she was forced to withdraw as a result of pressure exerted by her family, under the pretext of protecting her, especially with the spread of quarrels and conflicts within the displacement camps to obtain aid, as she had to move away to ensure that she was not exposed to violence or harassment. In addition to suffering from the oppressive practices of the occupation, women in Palestine suffer from a patriarchal system that limits their role and hinders their involvement in public life. Society still treats women's roles as secondary and not as active agents of change. Despite the significant role that women played in the life of Palestinian society in the period leading up to the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in the mid-2000s, their role in public life and decision-making centers has been severely violated. The laws issued by the PA (whether through the Legislative Council, presidential decrees, or even by the Reform and Change Bloc in the Legislative Council, which continued to issue laws in the Gaza Strip) did not recognize the importance of respecting women's rights and roles. Women have been excluded from decision-making circles, prompting them to fight a new battle to protect their right to participate. For example, election laws<sup>8</sup> were passed without positive discrimination in favor of women, and women's quotas were only passed after years of struggle by the feminist movement. Although women in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank have paid the price for the political division between Fatah and Hamas and the latter's control of the Gaza Strip, women have been almost completely excluded from the many rounds of reconciliation. Some women's attendance at reconciliation meetings has been limited to

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<sup>8</sup> 8 Electoral System for General Elections Accessed

formality, with no active role. Despite the Palestinian Authority's declaration of its commitment to UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which includes (among other things) the need to include women in conflict resolution, no practical steps have been taken in this context and no women have been included.

### **Policies that limit women's participation**

When looking at the nature of the issue addressed in the paper (the exclusion of women), it is clear that the continuation of the current legal environment and the continued social marginalization and exclusion of women will lead to the continuation of this issue, and that the solution lies in the need for a political will to integrate women into the public sphere and put an end to all obstacles, especially the need to end the division and organize general elections, which will ensure an end to the encroachment of the executive authority on the judicial and legislative authorities.

### **Current Situation:**

Since 2007, Palestinian society has lived under political division between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with two separate governments and legal systems in place. This has exacerbated the challenges faced by the Palestinian people, with women being the primary victims of this unstable reality. In the absence of the legislative institution (the Legislative Council), laws in the West Bank have been issued through presidential decrees by the Palestinian Authority president, while in Gaza, they are issued by the Reform and Change Bloc (which was part of the elected Legislative Council in 2006). The Hamas government in Gaza refuses to implement the laws issued in the West Bank. As a result, the division has become horizontal across Palestinian society. Furthermore, laws enacted through these two mechanisms do not adhere to human rights standards but are designed to ensure the executive authority's dominance over the judiciary and legislative branches, limiting civil space. Women are disproportionately affected by this situation due to the absence of laws that guarantee their rights.

For instance, the draft law on family protection from violence, which was prepared in 2006, remains locked away and has yet to be enacted. Moreover, local elections held in the West Bank were conducted according to the old law, with the executive authority failing to amend the law and



raise the women's quota to 30%, in line with the resolutions of the Central Council and the National Council on this issue. In Gaza, Hamas has not allowed any elections, completely preventing them. Additionally, there is a noticeable lack of political will in the West Bank to integrate women into public life and involve them in decision-making positions. Despite the fact that women bear the brunt of the political division, they were excluded from the delegations that engaged in multiple rounds of reconciliation talks, which ultimately failed to produce results.

Civil society, which had played a monitoring role in protecting rights and freedoms, has faced constraints on its activities. Restrictions have been imposed on the work of civil society organizations, and they have been flooded with tasks to provide services, filling gaps created by the executive authority's failure. The Palestinian government in the West Bank has not even adhered to the ministerial decisions it issued, including incorporating gender-responsive budgeting in ministries and government departments. Although the Palestinian government officially adopted this approach, practical implementation remains below expectations. Relatedly, no steps have been taken to localize the international agreements that Palestine has acceded to within the domestic legal system. The Palestinian government has also failed to take sufficient measures to implement the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), despite its commitment to the UN's 2030 Agenda and the 17 SDGs, based on a decision by the Palestinian Cabinet in February 2016. Despite the formation of a national team to localize the SDGs in national development plans, this has not contributed to empowering women, and they continue to face exclusion and discrimination.

Women's organizations have faced compounded challenges. In addition to laws that restrict civil space, women's organizations have been targeted by patriarchal and conservative forces that have demonized the feminist movement and sought to discredit it. Meanwhile, law enforcement agencies have stood by without taking any real steps to protect women's organizations and women from incitement. As a result, women have become disengaged, withdrawn, and reluctant to participate in activities aimed at empowering them and increasing their participation in public life. Patriarchal forces have imposed restrictions on the involvement of women

and girls in the activities of women's organizations, which has hindered efforts to empower women and integrate them into public life.

In this context, on December 21, 2019, the Palestinian clans in the city of Hebron issued a statement rejecting the implementation of the CEDAW Convention in Palestine and opposing the setting of the legal marriage age for girls at eighteen. The statement also called for the closure of women's organizations' offices in Palestine and the prohibition of renting buildings to them, considering those who lease properties to these organizations as partners in "crime."<sup>9</sup> This statement was followed by a fierce campaign against women's organizations, attempting to discredit them and their human rights advocacy. Meanwhile, the relevant government authorities did not provide protection for the women or the organizations. As a result, women lost the social support necessary to overcome the barriers preventing their integration into public life and reducing their exclusion and marginalization.

Through reviewing the legal and political situation in Palestine, it is noticeable that there are many gaps that need to be addressed immediately. One of the most prominent of these gaps is the gap in the legal and legislative framework, represented by the failure to issue the Family Protection from Violence Law. In the absence of such a law, women face a wide range of gender-based violence practices, some of which even reach the level of femicide, often justified by what is called "family honor." Another gap is the duality of legislation between the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as the failure to localize international agreements into Palestinian national laws, in line with Palestine's obligations resulting from its signing of these agreements. Additionally, the failure to amend the electoral law and raise the women's quota to 30% is among the legal gaps hindering women's progress.

Furthermore, there are gaps in political will and governance, including the Palestinian government's failure to commit to ministerial decisions regarding gender-responsive budgeting, which, as mentioned earlier, has not been adequately applied, thus contributing to the continued marginalization of women. Hamas continues to prevent elections in Gaza, depriving women of opportunities for fair political representation. In this

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<sup>9</sup> A statement issued by a meeting of the Hebron clans at the Diwan of Al-Tamimi on December 21, 2019, which was published publicly and distributed to news agencies: E7E042F5-AE92-4A37-A22E-32473647D58A.jpg (1920x1080) Accessed on 2/19/2025.

context, the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank continues to procrastinate in conducting general elections (legislative and presidential), thus depriving citizens of their constitutional right to participate in choosing their representatives for these two institutions. The continued absence of the Legislative Council will inevitably lead to the continued dominance of the executive authority over both the judiciary and the legislative branches, operating without oversight.

As for women's organizations, they have suffered in a compounded manner; in addition to the laws that restricted civil space, women's organizations have been attacked by patriarchal and conservative forces that demonized the feminist movement and sought to distort it, while law enforcement agencies stood by, not taking any actual steps to protect women's organizations and women from incitement. This has led to women's disengagement and withdrawal, avoiding participation in activities aimed at empowering them and enhancing their participation in public life.

Another gap that requires immediate addressing is the lack of a safe environment for women's participation in economic and political activities due to the absence of laws protecting women, which contributes to the decline in women's participation in the labor market and public life. The Palestinian Labor Law does not provide protection for women from harassment in workplaces. There is also a lack of protection policies for women working in the informal sector, with the majority of women working in this sector.

Additionally, there is a clear gap in the official laws and policies, particularly in narrowing civil space and imposing restrictions on the work of civil society organizations in general, including women's organizations, which limits their ability to implement women's empowerment projects and defend their rights. There are a number of laws that restrict civil space in Palestine, including:

- Public Assemblies Law No. (12) of 1998: This law imposes restrictions on the freedom of assembly and peaceful protest, requiring prior permits from the competent authorities to organize public meetings and demonstrations.
- Charitable Associations and Civil Society Organizations Law No. (1) of 2000: While it regulates the work of associations, some

of its provisions grant authorities broad powers to dissolve associations or reject their registration based on criteria that may not be clearly defined, opening the door to restricting the work of civil society organizations.

- Press and Publication Law No. (9) of 1995: This law imposes restrictions on press freedom and publishing, requiring prior licenses for issuing publications, granting authorities broad powers to cancel licenses and impose censorship on content.
- Cybercrime Law No. (10) of 2018: This law aims to combat cybercrimes but contains provisions that could be used to restrict freedom of expression online and penalize individuals for their opinions expressed on social media.
- Emergency Measures: Occasionally, emergency measures are imposed that include restrictions on freedom of movement, assembly, and civil work, negatively affecting civil space.<sup>10</sup>

The entities influencing the marginalization of women are diverse, each playing a role in both creating the crisis and potentially contributing to solutions. Below, we will examine the roles of some of these entities:

### **The Dividing Parties (Fatah and Hamas):**

Most of the barriers hindering the integration of women into public life lie in the political division between the Fatah and Hamas movements, and the existence of two separate authorities and governments. This division has cast a shadow over all aspects of the lives of Palestinians and Palestinian women. Among the consequences of this division are the duality of legislation between the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the encroachment of the executive authority on both the legislative and judicial branches, leading to a blatant violation of citizens' rights, especially women's right to participate. Both sides of the division have been preoccupied with managing the current situation rather than searching for solutions to end the conflict between them, as evidenced by the failure of numerous reconciliation rounds from 2007 until now. In the absence of political will from the division parties, the situation will remain as it is.

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<sup>10</sup> 10 Maqam - Encyclopedia of Palestinian Laws and Court Rulings Accessed on 2/19/2025

## **Civil Society:**

In the absence of an oversight body for the executive authority's performance, civil society plays such a role. Therefore, ending the exclusion of women will contribute to enhancing the role of civil society in protecting rights and freedoms, including women's right to participate. Consequently, this will increase the credibility of civil society and garner more public support for these organizations, ensuring their sustainability. Thus, it is evident that civil society will benefit greatly from ending the exclusion of women, and the integration of women into public life will play the largest role in strengthening the structure and role of civil society institutions as active forces in society. If civil society unites its efforts and changes its working tools, it can significantly contribute to shaping the future of Palestine. However, this role may face opposition from other political parties, which see civil society as taking their role in Palestinian society, even though civil society does not seek to replace political parties. It is the marginalization of these parties that pushed civil society institutions to fill the gap.

## **Conservative and Traditional Forces:**

These forces believe that the exclusion of women serves their goals and agenda, so it is in their interest for the situation to remain as it is, with the doors closed to women's participation in public life. As such, these forces will stand against efforts to empower women and will work to restrict their involvement in civil space and public life. It is expected that the absence of law enforcement agencies in providing protection to women and women's organizations from hate speech and incitement, which these forces propagate, will serve as a green light for them to institutionalize their anti-women rhetoric.

## **Proposed Alternatives to Enhance Women's Participation:**

1. **Rebuilding the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO):** As the legitimate representative body of all Palestinians, rebuilding the PLO and restoring Palestinian decision-making requires elections for its leadership bodies: the National Council, the Central Council, and the Executive Committee. These elections should be based on democratic principles, free from partisan and factional quotas. Thus, the elected bodies of the PLO will be responsible for restructuring the political system, issuing fair laws

that consider human rights, and ensuring an end to the exclusion of women. Rebuilding the PLO will also mark the end of political division and the reuniting of Palestinian society. As a result, the integration of women will naturally follow, and they will be given the opportunity to participate in Palestinian political decision-making and shape the future of Palestinian society and political system.

2. Forming a National Authority from Political Parties, Civil Society, and Active Forces: This body would hold a national conference that includes all political parties and civil society organizations to create a roadmap for ending the division and developing a mechanism to obligate all parties to respect this roadmap. Regional actors could be involved to exert pressure on the Palestinian division parties and compel them to adhere to the proposed plan. The authority should be formed by a decision from the PLO's Executive Committee in an extraordinary and immediate meeting for this purpose. The proposed authority will consist of 25 members, chosen based on competency rather than quotas, with each party electing its representative through internal elections, and civil society representatives being elected by the network of civil society organizations. Independent experts would be selected by the members of the Executive Committee. The end of the exclusion of women will be one of the fundamental principles of this body.

3. Formation of a Transitional National Unity Government: A transitional national unity government should be formed for one to two years, with expanded powers to end the division and rebuild the Palestinian political system. This government will be formed by a presidential decree, with 21 national figures, experts, and qualified individuals (ensuring no less than 40% female representation). It will be granted executive powers to manage the transitional phase, under the supervision of the PLO's Executive Committee. This government will be tasked with preparing for general elections (presidential and legislative), holding an inclusive national conference for dialogue between all parties, including political parties, trade unions, and civil society, to create a comprehensive vision for the future Palestinian political system, managing internal affairs in a neutral manner to ensure stability and the rule of law, negotiating with international and regional parties to gather political and financial support for the reconstruction of Gaza, and reintegrating Palestinian institutions,

officially ending the political division. This government will be temporary, with a clear timeframe (a minimum of one year and a maximum of two years).

**Analysis of alternatives:**

<b>Alternative</b>	<b>Effectiveness</b>	<b>Feasibility</b>	<b>Cost and Funding</b>	<b>Social and Political Impact</b>	<b>Sustainability</b>
Rebuilding the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)	Activating the PLO can be highly effective, as it holds legitimacy in Palestine and has national, regional, and global consensus.	This option will not be easy to implement given the current circumstances, especially the difficulty of holding elections for the National Council in the current global and regional context. Additionally, this option requires the inclusion of Hamas and	The cost is very high, especially considering the right of every Palestinian to participate in the National Council elections, wherever they reside.	Rebuilding the PLO would greatly benefit the Palestinian people, leading to the end of the political division and achieving justice for all Palestinians, especially women.	Rebuilding trust between citizens and the political system would contribute to long-term stability.

		Islamic Jihad in the organization.			
<b>Establishing a National Body from Political Parties, Civil Society, and Active Forces</b>	The body could be effective in achieving its goal of ending division. Ending division would resolve many ongoing issues.	This alternative is one of the easiest to implement, requiring only political will from the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. The community is likely to accept this body, as there is a strong desire to end the division and its consequences.	Funding can come from Palestinian entities, with the cost being lower than the first alternative.	Reuniting the Palestinian street and legal system would have a significant positive social impact.	This solution could provide sustainable, fundamental change to the Palestinian political system.
<b>Forming a Transitional National</b>	This government would have national	Forming the government would be possible	Its activities can be funded by donor	It would have a significant political	The solutions provided by this government



<b>Unity Government</b>	consensus and popular support, making it effective in carrying out its role.	and easy to implement if there is political will.	countries and Palestinian-an-friendly nations.	and social impact, contributing to the revival of the Palestinian national cause.	it could be sustainable, bringing long-term change.
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### Conclusion and Recommendations:

After a thorough review of the general situation in Palestine and discussing the proposed alternatives and their feasibility, the research team concludes that the first and second options are unlikely to be implemented given the current circumstances. Moreover, the implementation of the second option could present a dilemma, as the formation of a new national body would lead to societal division, given that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is already recognized as the legitimate body. Therefore, the third option appears to be the most suitable. The formation of a transitional national unity government is feasible in the current situation, especially in light of the existential threat facing the Palestinian people and the ongoing displacement and extermination projects. Furthermore, the formation of a Palestinian government is typically a decision made directly by the President of the Palestinian Authority. Below is an analysis of such an idea:

<b>Weaknesses</b>	<b>Strengths</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political division and lack of trust in some political parties</li> <li>• programs may face difficulty in securing financial support to implement</li> <li>• The security situation may affect the government's ability to operate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased representation of women</li> <li>• Government's ability to make critical decisions to deal with crises.</li> <li>• The presence of experienced and competent members and competence, which enhances</li> </ul>

<p>Effectively</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of trust between the public and the political system</li> </ul>	<p>the effectiveness of the government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a reference point/This increases its legitimacy.</li> </ul>
<b>Threats</b>	<b>Opportunities</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposition from some factions and parties</li> <li>• Regional tensions may affect support financial and political support</li> <li>• The security situation, any escalation could hinder the work of the of the government and increase chaos.</li> <li>• If the government cannot achieve the set goals, it will lose the trust of the people and thus fail</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ending the political divide and strengthening national unity</li> <li>• Potential for international and regional support to strengthen the work of the government</li> <li>• Reconstruction, which will ensure improved living conditions</li> <li>• introducing administrative and political reforms and integrating women in reconstruction and in determining the future of the Palestinian people.</li> </ul>

**Recommendations:**

- The President of the Palestinian Authority should dissolve the current government and consider it a caretaker government for a period of six months. During this time, consultations should be held with political parties and civil society forces to form the desired transitional government. Political parties, through their internal bodies, should elect their representatives to this government, while the network of civil society organizations should elect representatives of civil society. The government formation announcement must clearly state that competence is the criterion for selecting ministers, and that approval of the proposed government formation is the responsibility of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

(PLO). The proposed government must be gender-balanced and include young people.

- Political parties, especially Fatah and Hamas, should issue a joint declaration and sign a code of honor to end the political division within a year of the government's formation.
- The proposed government's agenda should focus on three main issues: the reconstruction of Gaza, organizing general elections, and implementing administrative reforms in the PA institutions. It should also freeze discriminatory legal provisions against women and issue temporary procedural amendments to protect women's rights until the legislative council is formed to enact laws. Additionally, the government should work to close the legal gaps previously identified by taking precautionary measures.
- The Executive Committee of the PLO should hold a national conference to propose a roadmap for the reform of the PLO within a specified timeframe.
- The Executive Committee of the PLO should form a Palestinian national delegation to visit countries that have shown solidarity with the Palestinian people during the genocide, to express gratitude, strengthen ties, and simultaneously mobilize support for the reconstruction of Gaza (with sufficient female representation in this delegation).
- Support civil society institutions, especially women's organizations, to enhance their role in empowering women and issuing precautionary procedural policies to protect women's organizations from incitement and hate speech.
- Involve women in the planning and decision-making processes related to the reconstruction efforts, ensuring that women's representation in the committees handling these tasks is no less than 30%.
- Establish community dialogue platforms that allow women to express their needs and offer proposals, contributing to making the reconstruction process more inclusive and equitable.

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