

**Jerusalem Link**  
**Bat Shalom**  
**And**  
**Jerusalem Center for Women**

***The Evaluation***  
***Report***

**March 08**

**By: Evaluation Team**  
**Randa Hilal and Aida Touma**

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## Abbreviations

<b>BoT:</b>	<b>Board of Trustees</b>
<b>CBO:</b>	<b>Community Based Organization</b>
<b>CCDPRJ</b>	<b>Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem</b>
<b>CSO</b>	<b>Civil Society Organization</b>
<b>EJ</b>	<b>East Jerusalem</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>The European Union</b>
<b>GA:</b>	<b>General Assembly</b>
<b>ICAHD</b>	<b>Israeli Committee against House Demolition</b>
<b>IWC</b>	<b>International Women Commission</b>
<b>JCW:</b>	<b>Jerusalem Center for Women</b>
<b>JL:</b>	<b>Jerusalem Link</b>
<b>JLP:</b>	<b>Jerusalem Link Principles</b>
<b>KTK:</b>	<b>Kvina Tell Kvina</b>
<b>LC</b>	<b>Local Council</b>
<b>MoU</b>	<b>Memorandum of Understanding</b>
<b>NCA</b>	<b>Norwegian Church Aid</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non-Governmental Organizations</b>
<b>OPGAI</b>	<b>Occupied Palestine and Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative</b>
<b>oPt:</b>	<b>Occupied Palestinian Territories</b>
<b>PA</b>	<b>Palestinian Authority</b>
<b>PCBS</b>	<b>Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics</b>
<b>PLC</b>	<b>Palestinian Legislative Council</b>
<b>PNGO</b>	<b>Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations</b>
<b>PSR</b>	<b>Palestine Center for Policy and Survey Research</b>
<b>RBA</b>	<b>Rights Based Approach</b>
<b>UN:</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNESCO</b>	<b>United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund</b>
<b>WIPAN</b>	<b>Women's International Peace Activists Network</b>

## ***The Executive Summary***

In 1989, a meeting was convened in Brussels between prominent Israeli and Palestinian women human rights and peace activists. The meeting initiated an on-going dialogue that in 1994 resulted in the establishment of the Jerusalem Link. The Jerusalem Link is comprised of two women's organizations: Bat Shalom on the Israeli side in West Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Center for Women on the Palestinian side in East Jerusalem. Each organization was created as an autonomous center, running under the Jerusalem Link umbrella, conducting own and joint projects.

This evaluation is the first evaluation conducted since the Jerusalem Link establishment, which illustrates its significance, it highlights the contextual changes and its effects on the link, while places the basis for future directions.

**The aim of the evaluation is to assess the work and impact of Jerusalem Link and provide a profound understanding of the joint work of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women.** The evaluation was expected to cover the activities and results of the Jerusalem Link, as well as the internal capacity of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women.

The adopted approach for the evaluation of the link was to evaluate JCW and Bat-Shalom in parallel by independent consultants. Evaluation was done on the organizational and functional level for each, while linking Jerusalem Link organizationally and functionally.

The methodology used is a rapid participatory approach using various tools to achieve the outcomes of the evaluation. The assignment was conducted in three phases preparation, conducting the evaluation, the analysis and report writing. Conducting the evaluation included consultation with various stakeholders on various levels, using various tools; interviews, group discussion, focus groups and donors' questionnaire. It also included desk review, situation analysis and field visits. Jerusalem Link through the two organizations was involved since the beginning and throughout the process. Feed back was obtained from Jerusalem Link boards, general assembly members, staff and volunteers through a workshop after presenting the preliminary finding. Feed back was then incorporated into the report.

One of the main challenges to the process of the evaluation was the type of involved organizations, being political activists groups carrying out some development activities, which is different than a development organization; hence the evaluation method considered Rights' Based Approach as the reference in analysis.

The Jerusalem Link chronology is linked to, and was affected with the Palestinian/Israeli political changes that took place during the past 19 years. The current external Palestinian and Israeli and the political context is totally different than the starting one, each have reflected differently on the public of each side, in each time phase. The current new facts on the ground created by the Israeli Occupation of the Palestinian territories have a deep effect on the Palestinian daily life and continuation of the joint Palestinian/Israeli work, while encountered by an agenda of full of human rights violations, being the construction of the Separation Wall, the deployment of over 500 blockades and check points in the West Bank, the increase of settlement, restricting Palestinian's movement on roads and zoning and isolating areas from each other, while the Siege and closure imposed on Gaza Strip and the continual human rights violations and imposing of discriminatory rules and laws in East Jerusalem were also part of the picture.

The different realities, public opinions and facts on the ground, have affected the Jerusalem Link operation, and developed its human rights and political activism. Yet the full development of the strategic directions and Operationalizing it towards achievement of results and change would need further enhancement and planning. The time line of the Jerusalem Link included an internal change being the establishment of the International



Women Commission, IWC, out of the Jerusalem Link with the active participation of both organizations' boards, IWC became an independent body without any formal relation to the Jerusalem Link.

The JL started as an umbrella for two independent separate Organizations and the organizational structure was created to fit this identity. within the years changes happened : At the first stage the board decided for both organizations directions, then the implementing body was the two organizations working through joint projects, even reporting was joint at that time. Their work was only that linked to the Jerusalem Link. During the second phase, each organization worked alone with no existence of the structure, even if communications were there for the IWC. Separate projects and work existed. During the third phase, the board came back into action, the implementing body was the joint coordination between part of the staff of both organization, were joint work is only part of their work.

**The Bat Shalom's evaluation** outcomes indicated that they demonstrated a strong history of commitment for Human Rights and Just Solution of the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict, ending the occupation and the expertise gained through the process can be invested in a more defined way together with the understanding of the importance of the women's role and the cooperation created with the Palestinian Partners in the Jerusalem Link.

**The Internal situation in Bat Shalom, Financial, Management and Internal Capacities should be taking into consideration in the process of strategic thinking** .An organized filing and documentation system should be created and job descriptions with clear activity and budget plans should be developed with the staff . **All of this can be reached only by increasing the number of staff, better responsibilities distribution.**

While emphasizing the need to go into strengthening of the grass roots political activism **there is a need to develop new ways of working and enhance a clear approach in planning and implementing the activities to meet the goals decided upon.**

**It is recommended that Bat Shalom go through a strategic Planning process that enables it to decide on future directions and some strategic issues.**

#### **The JCW Evaluation:**

The Palestinian political contextual changes have affected the daily life of the Palestinians, the public opinion and had its effects on the development of the Jerusalem Center for Women from conduction joint projects and activities under Jerusalem Link into conducting their own projects among women grass roots and young women, with more focus towards women in East Jerusalem, **such change has moved JCW into programs that addresses the needs of women and right deficits through the local initiatives,** it have **linked them with grass roots** and made them able to identify Palestinian women's needs and right deficits. The link to grass roots enabled them to have volunteers for political and joint activities, as some have participated in 8<sup>th</sup> of March demonstrations and activities. On the other hand; the grass roots linkages did not reflect itself on the political dialogue nor reflected their concerns on the decision making levels. **They were not incorporated into the decision making bodies, the General Assembly or the Board.**

The move from projects towards **advocacy** plans and campaigns provided the basis for moving into **Rights Based Approach** strategies and plans. **Focusing on Jerusalem is an asset for JCW** as minimum institutes are available in Jerusalem with huge challenges and right deficits, the relation to Jerusalem Link in this regard is an assets as well , if were better invested in through RBA strategies and plans.

The Jerusalem Center for Women is challenged to enhance the good governance practice in the organization, by holding the first election of the Board of Trustee since its establishment, by activating the general assembly body and its ownership role, by integrating women grass roots and young women into the board and the general assembly. Such measures would activate governance in the organization, reinforce the democratic

culture in the institute, will support the strong management and the high staff commitment in their achievements, and would provide better monitoring and planning.

Activating the Jerusalem Link in rights based grass roots strategies would benefit the Jerusalem Center for Women image in the community, and would enhance its effect carrying out joint projects and activities. Yet if this was not achievable the Jerusalem Center for Women had to re-evaluate mandate and identity.

To move towards strategizing, is of utmost importance to the Jerusalem Center for Women by developing **long term strategy** with program based funding, strategy that is rights based and address the right holders, with strategies that can achieve the change, it is advised that strategy development could be held following the development of the strategic plan of the Jerusalem Link.

### **The Jerusalem Link Evaluation:**

The Jerusalem Link has been characterized by its Palestinian/Israeli political dialogue, and its adopted principles. The political dialogue developed various peace discourse, strategic directions and challenged various directions and positions. While the **development of the Jerusalem Link Principles; is considered as a main achievement** of the Jerusalem Link, and a mile stone in the history of its existence.

The Principles were adopted in August 1999. The Principles acknowledge rights of two people on Palestine/ Israel based on UN resolutions and international law. It calls for two state solution and Jerusalem as two capitals for two states; it calls for action based on peaceful solution to achieve the Palestinian rights. **It considers UN Resolution as reference points and human rights conventions as basis**. Women are central to peace according to principle and it is also promoting women role in democratic non-violent Civil Society.

Jerusalem Link has been active in carrying out **occasional and responsive** type of activities. They were also active in the Responsive type of actions, linked to certain emergency, emerged violations, or in response to certain incidents. The Jerusalem Link implemented various **joint peace building projects** before the year 2000 and restarted those projects after the year 2005, such projects within the current context would need better planning, and preparation of the groups before joining them, would need to reflect the principles in the preparations of the target groups. Jerusalem Link has been successful in **addressing the young women** through various projects, but could not integrate the young women into their structure afterwards. Addressing the young generation have an important effect within the different generation time effect.

After the years of 2000 the Jerusalem Link through its two organizations has started its **advocacy, human rights projects and campaigns focusing on certain human right deficits**, such campaigns were very important in its grass roots activism and echoing their voices into the policy level, such campaigns dealt with rights based strategies, in specific in relation to the right holders, but were **lacking strategies addressing the duty bearers**, towards holding them accountable to their moral and legal obligations.

The Jerusalem Link has an important **comparative advantage** being an institute that can mobilize women on both Palestinian /Israeli sides towards certain human rights and peace issues, it added the ability through out the last few years to network and form coalitions. **Yet this comparative advantage is not apparent to the communities and grass roots women**. This finding highlights the importance of activating the link towards achievements and more grass roots involvements. Future strategizing has to build on the comparative advantage of the link, the strength of Bat Shalom in political activism and of the Jerusalem Center for Women in development and human rights issues.

Although Jerusalem Link board monitored projects at first phase, formal Systems for monitoring of plans, strategies and for holding the Jerusalem Link accountable are not

present. Although they were able some times to set strategic directions, they were not able to operationalize them and link them with change.

The change of context and the existence of the IWC direct the Jerusalem Link to revise its identity and mandate, and to find formal ways and links with the IWC. Changes challenges Jerusalem Link to emphasize the work with grass roots taking into considerations changes on the ground, consolidate work with young women and promotes it to initiate and participate in rights' based campaigns.

**A strategic planning process is recommended for the JL during which Identity, continuity, organizational structure and Relations should be decided upon. Only after deciding on the Identity and Mandate due to the new political Situation the JL can decide on the organizational structure and plan for the future programs and projects. Strategizing is recommended to be based on Rights based Approach** for Rights based analysis and political activism strategies. It is expected that Tools and means for the strategy have to be outside the circle, innovative and different. Strategic planning that can direct Jerusalem Link from reaction strategies and slogans into pro-action rights-based strategies.

The evaluation report has identified strength and weaknesses of the link, comparative advantages and illustrated lessons learned and good practices. It has highlighted challenges and opened questions for issues raised for the three organizations. It has provoked the Jerusalem Link to address the possible various scenarios, to meet the expectations of its stakeholders. Yet the Jerusalem Link at the feed back workshop had high expectation of the evaluation and wanted to use its results to move forward, as they perceive them self at a cross road junction. The evaluation report is best suited for the future change the link is willing to take, in order to maximize its effect to achieve the change and unbundled the right deficits, to achieve peace that is based on justice.

The evaluation report is presented in five parts divided into five chapters, the introduction and background, the Bat Shalom evaluation, the Jerusalem Center for Women evaluation, the Jerusalem Link evaluation, and Recommendations for all. Strategic issues and challenges are presented for Bat Shalom, Jerusalem Center for Women and Jerusalem Link, while strength and weaknesses and possible scenarios are presented for the Jerusalem Link.



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## **Annex 1**

### **Evaluation of Jerusalem Link Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women**

#### **Terms of Reference**

##### **Aim**

The aim of the evaluation is to assess the work and impact of Jerusalem Link and provide a profound understanding of the joint work of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women.

##### **Outcome**

- Assessment of the political context, the chronological events and its effects on the situation of the women and the work of the JL.
- Assessment of Jerusalem Link's activities and results.
- Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center of Women have a good understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the cooperation under the umbrella Jerusalem Link.
- JL Partners and NCA has a good understanding of how to support Jerusalem Link in the best way.

##### **Selection and methodology**

The evaluation should cover all main activities by Jerusalem Link since its start; and in details since 2004. For evaluating the activities staff and volunteers in Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center of Women should be interviewed. The staff in the two organizations should provide the evaluator with data on participants as well as participants' evaluations and contact details for participants to be interviewed in focus groups. One group of participants for each type of activity should be interviewed in a focus group about what they have benefited from taking part in the activities of Jerusalem Link. Interviews should also be done with other external stakeholders (local authorities, networking partners).

##### **The report**

To report should contain the following parts:

- An evaluation of the activities and results.
- An evaluation of the internal capacity of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women

The report should be presented in English.

##### **Specific questions to be addressed**

###### *An evaluation of Jerusalem Link's activities and results*

- Is the field of activities *relevant* for the problems faced by women in Palestine/Israel because of continuous occupation?
- Are the services and activities *appropriate* to empowering the right holders (JCW)?
- To what level the activities will contribute to holding duty bearers accountable (Bat-Shalom)?
- To what extent the donors would provide international support?
- To what extent strategies adopted adheres to right deficits and will achieve results?
- What are the major *positive developments and successes*, and what are major *problems and obstacles*?
- Have the chosen activities been *effective* in reaching their objectives?
- Who is *the target group*? How is it chosen? Why are they participating in the project activities? How are participants of activities followed up by the two organizations?
- What is the *reputation* of the organizations in the local community?
- How are the programmes *integrated* in the local community?

*The internal capacity of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women*

- Do the organizations have the *capacity* to implement the activities and fulfill the objectives?
- Do they have the ability to *learn from experience*, both positive and negative?
- Do they have functioning routines for organizational memory and follow up?
- How is the *management* functioning; both within each organization and between the two?
- Are there any conflicts of interest between the two organizations?
- Are structures of decisions clear to everyone involved in the cooperation?
- Are everyone involved aware and participating in the vision of the cooperation?
- Is the internal cooperation well functioning?
- How do staff and volunteers assess their ability to reflect on and influence the development of the work?
- Is the project planning process, including budgeting, transparent to all involved?

**Time table**

Norwegian Church Aid would prefer to contract a consultant before October the 15<sup>th</sup>, who can present the final report no later than Feb 29<sup>th</sup> 08.

A detailed time frame is to be presented in the tender.

**Qualifications of consultant(s).**

- The consultant(s) will be an independent consultant
- The consultant(s) will be professionals in the field of Israeli and Palestinian Non Governmental Organizations with good sensitivity to gender issues and with good knowledge about the women's movement.
- The consultant(s) will have knowledge about the Israeli and Palestinian political/historical/economical situation and preferably have mother-tongue Arabic and Hebrew, and English as second language.

Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women are willing to provide the consultant with all kind of background material such as narrative reports, year reports, budgets, etc.

**Budget**

A detailed budget is to be presented in the tender, the NCA will cover all expenses of the evaluation.



**Annex 2**  
**Information Gathering, People Interviewed and Methods Used**

**Annex 2.1: Institute: Bat-Shalom**  
**Consultant Involved: Aida Touma**

Date & Time	Location	Method Used	People involved	Capacity
18/12/07	Jerusalem	Interviews	Molly Melkar Political committee members	Director of the B.SH
19/12/07	Jerusalem	desk review	Maia	Admin. Assist
25/12/07	Jerusalem	Interview	Molly	BSH Director
6/1/08	Tel Aviv	Interview	Nava Eisen	Board mem.
6/1/08	Tel Aviv	Interview	Alia Shtraws	Board Mem
6/1/08	Tel Aviv	Interview	Keren	Broup Coordinator
27/1/08	Kufr Kara	Interview	Najat Zahalka	Group Coordinator
16/1/08	Jerusalem	Interview	Maya	Admin Assis
16/1/08	Jerusalem	Interview	Neta	Group Coord.
2/1/08	BSH office	desk review		
9/1/07	Jerusalem	interview	Yael	Kol Haisha Director
11/1/08	Jerusalem	interview	Kholod Badawi	Ex Board Member
12/1/08	Jerusalem	Interview	Naomi Chazan	Board Member
11/1/08	Nazareth	Interview	Abeer Kopti	Ex Board Mem.
20.1.08	Tel-Aviv	interview	Romy Shapiro	TelAviv Group- Board Member
	Nazareth	Interview	Samira Khoury	Ex-Board Member

## Annex 2.2: Institute: JCW

### Consultant Involved: Randa Hilal

Date & Time	Location	Method Used	People involved	Capacity
12 /11/07	Jerusalem	Meeting to review methodology and TOR	Molly Malekar, Natasha Khalidi <sup>1</sup> Randa & Aida	Director of the B.SH Director of JCW Consultants
21/11/07	JCW	Interview	Natasha Zahra Hdaib Mariam Akramawi	Director of JCW EU Project Coordinator Project Coordinator
28/11/07	Ramallah	Interview	Violate Fasheh	JCW Ex-Board Member
28/11/07	PWRD	Interview	Zahira Kamal	JCW Board Member & director of UNESCO, center for women
1/12/07	PWWDC	Interview	Amal Khresheh	JCW Board member & director of the PWWDC
1/12/07	Jerusalem	Meeting	Randa & Aida	The 2 Consultants, analysis & progress review
3/12/07	Al- Haq institute	Interview	Dr. Nizar Ayoub	Key informant: JCW Trainer, involved in CCDPRG,
4/12/07	Jenin	Interview	Iman Nazal-	EU project – Jenin group Coordinator
4/12/07	Jenin	Group Discussion	Women political activists A2.3	Members of the Jenin group in Pal/Is Groups
16/12/07	Ramallah	Interview	Salwa Hdeib	Chairperson of the BD
18/12/07	Ramallah Mubadareh	Focus Group Discussion	Women Political activists: A2.3	5 members of Jerusalem group in the Pal/Is groups
27/12/07	Ramallah Workers union	Interviews	Um Hatem Mufeedeh Hmaidan	Beit Sourik LC elected member Bido LC elected member
30/12/07	Jerusalem	Meeting	Randa & Aida	The 2 Consultants, analysis & progress review
31/12/07	JCW offices	Desk Review	Randa	Consultant reviewing the JCW files at the offices. Other days review at consultants office
31/12/07	JCW	Interview	Mariam Zahra	Employees at JCW
31/12/07	Jerusalem	Interview	Sama Awieda	Key informant: PNGO, director of Women's Studies Center, trainer & participated in activities
2/1/08	Jerusalem	Interview	Zahra Khaldi	Trainer, Supporter , General assembly members & Participated in activities
2/1/08	Ramallah	Interview	Nadia Hajal	
5/1/08	Ramallah	Interview	Natasha Khaldi	Director of JCW till Dec 31 <sup>st</sup> 07
9/1/08	Ramallah	Interview	Maha Abu-Dayyeh	JCW Board Member
12/1/08	Silwan	Group discussion	Women committee & Zahra	3 women of the houses to be demolished, targeted by JCW support project
14/1	Jerusalem	Meeting	Randa & Aida	The 2 Consultants, analysis & progress review
15/1/08		Feed Back workshop	BD members of JL ( list attached in annex 6)	

<sup>1</sup> Natasha Khalidi was the director up until the end of Dec 07, then Mariam Akramawi became acting director

**Annex 2.3:  
Focus Groups**

	<b>Jenin Group 4/12/07</b>	<b>Ramallah Group 18/12/07</b>
1.	Hiam	Ahlan
2.	Thana'	Jameeleh Shaheen
3.	Ra'eda	Ashjan
4.	Najah	Amal Hindu
5.	Nawal	Rana Abu ElRub
6.	Manal	
7.	Itaf	
8.	Iman Nazal	

**Annex 2.4:  
Participation List: Feed Back Workshop  
For the Evaluation of Jerusalem Link -15<sup>th</sup> Jan 2008**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Position</b>
1.	Amal Khreishe	JCW	Board Member
2.	Maha Abu Dayyeh	JCW	Board Member
3.	Huda Imam	JCW	Board Member
4.	Zahra Khalidi	JCW	General Assembly
5.	Nadia Hajal	JCW	General Assembly
6.	Natasha Khalidi	JCW	Former Director until 31/12/07
7.	Mariam Ikremawi	JCW	Acting Director
8.	Zahra Hdaib	JCW	Project Coordinator
9.	A. Allen	JCW	P R Officer
10.	Judy Blanc	Bat Shalom	Board Member, activist
11.	Meira Hanson	Bat Shalom	Board Member, activist
12.	Molly Malekar	Bat Shalom	Director
13.	Neta Roten	Bat Shalom	Political Coordinator, Young women groups
14.	Dafna Kaminer	Bat Shalom	Volunteer
15.	Anna Levin	Kvina Till Kvina	Country Representative
16.	Liv Steimoeggen	NCA	Area Representative
17.	Randa Hilal	JL Evaluation Team	Consultant
18.	Aida Tuma		Consultant



## Annex 2.5: Desk Review

### The desk review for Bat Shalom:

Protocols of Board Meetings and annual General Assemblies	
Annual audited Financial Reports	2003, 2004, 2005
Proposals to NCA plus Reports	
Press releases	
Publications: newsletter, report of house demolishes	
IWC founding Documents	
Board of Directors Names	
The political House Programmes	
Joint proposal to the EU	
Web Sites of the Bat Shalom and the coalitions they are part of.	
External resources	

### The desk review for Jerusalem Center for Women:

Annual Narrative Reports,	1997, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006
Annual audited Financial Reports	1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006
Financial proposals,	04, 05, 06, 07
Proposals to NCA plus Reports	
Press release and statements	
JCW Publications	
Bylaws, Boards Minutes of meetings,	from the year 94 till the year 07
Internal administrative procedures, and systems:	staff and financial
Staff meetings	
Internal and external communications	
IWC founding documents	
Joint proposal to the EU, draft report	
Assessment workshop report of the Palestinian groups of the EU project,	April 29 <sup>th</sup> 07
Strategic Plan documents	2006 preliminary documents
Web Sites of JCW & the networks they are part of	
External resources	Referred to in the report

### The desk review for Jerusalem Link:

Joint Meetings of the boards	1994-2007
Internal communications between the 2 organizations	1994-2007
The JL Principles	
Public statements, joint publications	

## Jerusalem Link Principles

## Declaration

1999

## Annex 4: Bat-Shalom Information

### Annex A.4.1: Mission, Vision & Organizational Structure

#### ***Bat Shalom Mission:***

Our mandate is to work for peace and social justice with Palestinians, envisioning a democratic and pluralistic society in Israel, a society in which women will be more visible and their voices legitimized. By bringing together women peace activists, women educators, women politicians, and women community leaders, we are striving to raise one another's consciousness, sensitize ourselves to the borders between us, and develop and adopt mechanisms to cross those borders in order to create a culture of peace and social justice in Israel. We work to empower women to strive for social change on the grassroots and policy making level and increase their involvement in political processes, which also serves to expose and amplify their voices and perspectives.

#### ***Bat Shalom Vision:***

At Bat Shalom we envision a peace that is rooted in the needs, rights, values and histories of both peoples. We seek to maintain a dynamic community of women, who express their unique voice and challenge the prevailing views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from a feminist perspective. Bat Shalom also consistently works to provide an alternative analysis to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that empowers women to become effective agents of social change.

#### **Bat Shalom's Organizational Structure**

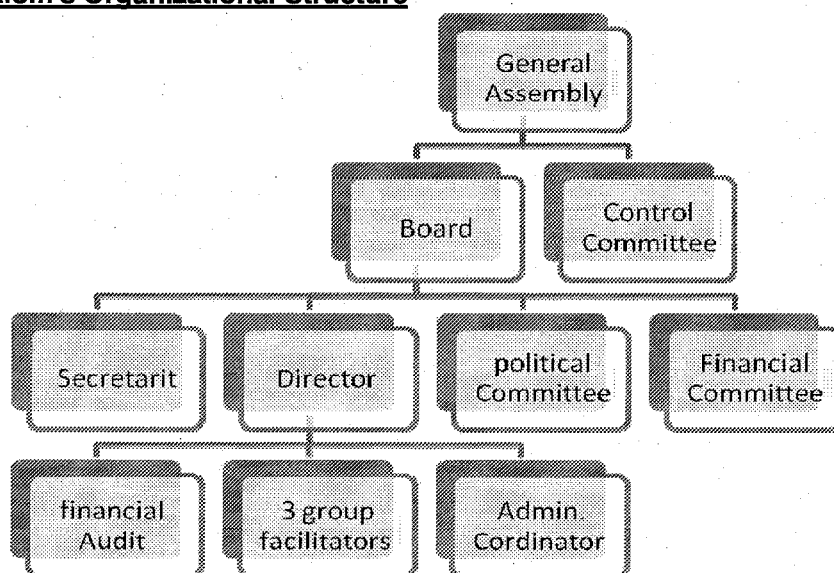


Figure 4: The Organizational structure of Bat Shalom

#### **The Decision making Process :**

The Board is very active holding bi-monthly meetings mainly focusing on the political developments and monitoring the executive work implemented by the staff through the different projects . the three subcommittees are enabling the Board to take a leading role in decision making process in partnership with the staff , especially the political committee meetings were 2 members of the staff and the 5 Board members decide after political analysis on the directions of the future activities .

### **Annex A.2: The Detailed Political Context**

In Israel, democratic participation of civil societies constituencies are weakened/defused because they are constantly overwhelmed by political agendas which are dictated upon them by external forces, to which they can only react on the basis of a short-term strategy, being denied the possibility of taking a more active and participative role in the conflict.

The main difficulties and challenges in implementing **Bat Shalom** programs are:

Lack of trust in any political process: the ongoing conflict is demoralizing people, the failure of previous political process bring people to cynicism and mistrust.

- The internal socio-economic situation, in which women are the first to suffer, does not allow women the time and the space for political and volunteer activism.
- The dominant militaristic discourse is a mental obstacle: women lack the confidence in their ability to challenge the main discourse led by powerful military men.
- The violence and lack of personal security demoralizes women and their motivation to take part in political dialogue with Palestinian women.
- The Israeli government's unilateral disengagement plan served as a smoke screen: most of the people in Israel were delivered the message that this plan is promoting the peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. We found it very difficult to bring critical view of the plan. The entire Israeli peace camp was torn among itself around this issue.
- The need to react fast on ongoing violation of human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories: small organization such as Bat Shalom had to decide where to invest its efforts. Under the so called peace process of the disengagement plan, the Israeli government intensified its policy of deepening the occupation and its manifestations in the west bank, mainly in Jerusalem. Many house demolition orders were issued (Silwan & the Muslim quarter), new plans for annexation of more Palestinian neighborhoods to the Israeli control, building of the separation wall around Jerusalem, expanding the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, etc, made us cancel our ongoing programs for immediate protest and lobby work against the government's policy.

Adding to this, the militarization of the Israeli society is polarizing it by creating walls between "patriots" and "traitors"; while the deterioration of the economic situation, which is by far the main issue on which individuals are presently focusing, is driving people's attention far from the need to settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Accordingly, the interest and desire of being involved in "political issues" is decreased.

In Israel, democratic participation of civil society and the general population are weakened/ defused because they are constantly overwhelmed by political agendas, which are dictated upon them by external forces. They can only react to these pressures on the basis of a short-term strategy, being denied the possibility of taking a more active and participatory role in the conflict.

In the summer of 2006 Israel witnessed a violent war, intensive protest, rising violence against our voice to stop the war. During the war, Bat Shalom led protests actions against the war and collaborated with several ad hoc coalitions. We initiated daily vigils of women (to which men joined the following days) at the Prime Minister's home in Jerusalem and all large demonstrations in Tel Aviv.

Bat Shalom's action during the period of autumn-winter of 2006-2007 were executed in a post war situation in Israel, a time after a period of witnessing a violent war, intensive protest, rising violence against our voice to stop the war and, currently, the cease-fire.

The reality which Israelis had to face is totally different than that of our recent past. Israeli society is facing a fundamental crisis in its conception. The war waged in Lebanon was not only immoral, but, in the end, a defeat, as it did not achieve its political aims. The price that the Israeli society paid is high, and we are about to face an economic and social crisis.

Along with the general atmosphere of military defeat, Bat Shalom is afraid that the more conservative and reactionary elements of society will strengthen their voice. As we know from history, economic and social crisis, coupled with military defeat, often results in the rise of fascist groups.

Spring 2007 marked the first conclusions of the "Winograd Commission" on the second Lebanon war and the testimonies of the political and army leaders during the war were



released to the public. The critique of the ideological peace camp, specially coming from women's groups as Bat Shalom, about the war, received legitimization through this official report.

As **Bat Shalom** said in our manifest released during the war, the Israeli occupation and its direct and indirect impact is a major factor of instability in the area. During the war, the ideological peace camp, like Bat Shalom, opposed the war since its first day, while the more mainstream "left camp" supported it.

The Israeli society is still dealing with a major crisis after the summer war. The report and the testimonies now published reinforce the lack of trust in any political process while at the same time the Winograd commission stresses how Israel failed in lead a war, meaning – no solution to the need of people for security.

In June 2007, the internal severe crisis between the two main political parties in the occupied territories, namely, the FATAH and the HAMAS ended up with the taking of power by HAMAS in the Gaza strip, and the clashes between the two forces. This crisis led to the harsh cut of Gaza from the West Bank, the establishing of a new emergency government in Rammallah, and the constant fear of another round of violence between Israel and the Palestinians, while, at the background we witness the civil population on both sides of the border, the Israelis in the town of 'Shderot" and the Palestinians in Gaza, used as target for bombarding and killing. Bat Shalom was among the first Israeli groups who reacted to this new crisis by publishing an open add in the newspapers, with our clear analysis to the main reason for the crisis – the Israeli occupation and the siege on Gaza.

Now days, the period of writing the report, the region is facing both opportunities, as well as risks: The upcoming political summit in Annapolis (end of November 2007), is an optimistic sign, as since long period of time, the two political leadership is willing to take part in political negotiations. The Israeli Prime-Minister Ulmert, and the Palestinian President Abu-Abbas are meeting on regular basis, as well as teams from both sides. Yet, Israel is refusing to address the main issues for the final status: Boundaries, settlements, Jerusalem, water and refugees. The lack of trust in any political process, on both sides is overwhelming. It is preserved as a lip service that the Israeli government is paying to the Bush administration, rather than commitment to a real process to end the occupation.

The Israeli Army is demonstrating it's power along the borders of Syria and Lebanon. Many Israeli reserved troops have been drafted in the last weeks, as the Iranian threat is making the most fearful headlines in the local newspapers.

The Israeli peace groups are debating over the attitude towards the political process. Part of the activists are calling to support the process, while putting public pressure on PM Ulmert to deal with the hardcore issues with the Palestinians. The more critical groups are calling to boycott the process, as it is mainly serving the conservative interests of the American administration. Yet, all agree that failure of the negotiations will be followed by another violent circle in the region.

The post Annapolis era is characterized by the split between the rhetoric and the actual actions on the ground. While the government members and the prime minister have (so it seems) adopted some of the slogans and terminology of the peace movement, such as "two states for two peoples", "to end the occupation" etc, the reality of ongoing occupation and it's manifestation, such as construction of the separation wall, the checkpoints, expansion of the Jewish settlements in the west bank – all these have never halted. The Israeli main-stream public is confused and overwhelmed by declarations of peace, yet not following the reality in the occupied territories.

## **Annex 5: Detailed Findings JCW**

### ***A5.1: Brief Analysis of Palestinian Women status in East Jerusalem***

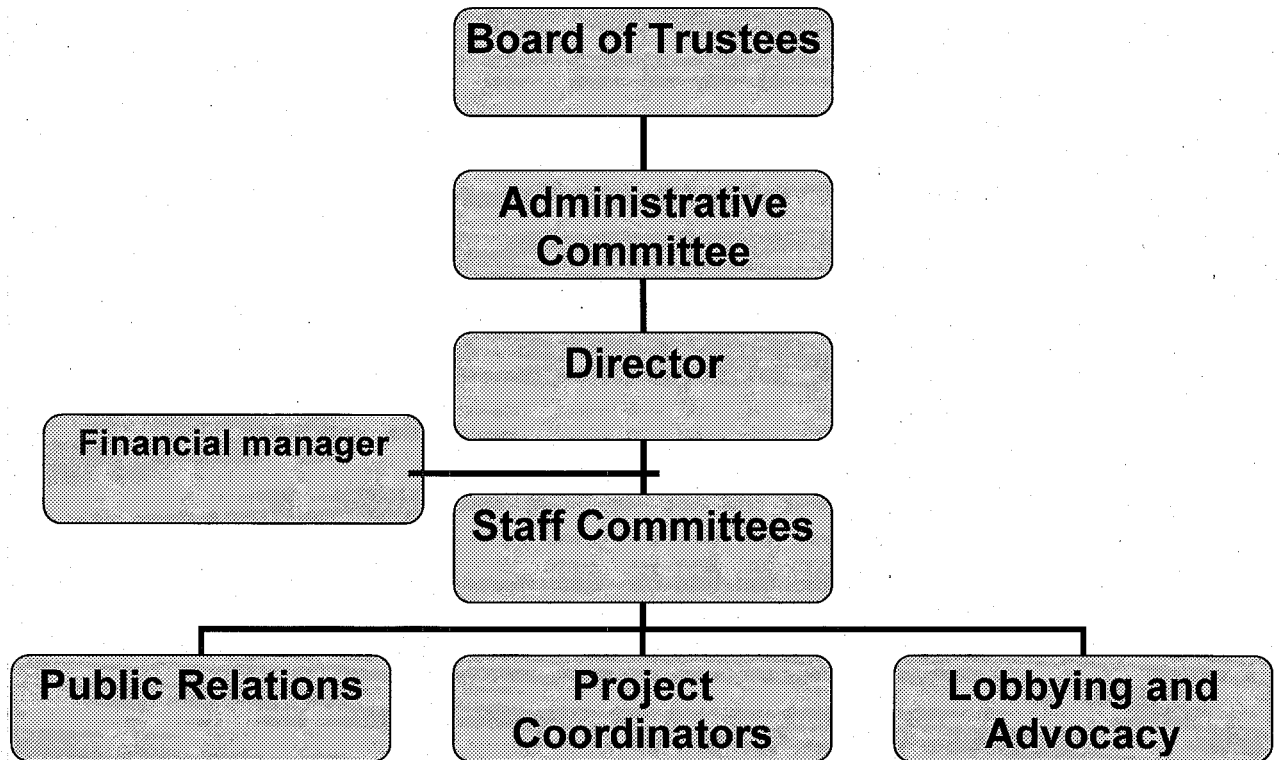
Jerusalem Center for Women has been targeting Palestinian women in Jerusalem, through various projects and strategies, it is important to highlight targeted women's status and the challenges they face in order to analyze relevancy of the projects implemented to the right holders' needs and to address right deficits they encounter.

East Jerusalem under international law is the 1967 occupied land by Israel. It is currently divided into two zones by the Israelis through various measures: J1 and J2 areas, J1 is the inter Jerusalem annexed to Israel without the agreement of the international community. Measures on the ground such as the separation wall and border points forbids any Palestinian living outside that area within the Palestinian Territories to be in it without a permit. Israel is continuing its Judaizing measures in this part of East Jerusalem, the municipal plan of Jerusalem 2020 stated that clearly. Palestinians in these areas, and women in specifically suffers Displacement in their own land, demolishing houses policies, and eliminating neighbourhoods. They have to pay high taxes and fines and would receive imprisonment orders if they don't. They suffer Limited access to jobs, no access if they were imprisoned, or have security file. They suffer apartheid and double system of rights. Policies against them has been summarized as BOXING IN, SQUEEZING OUT POLICY. Their basic human rights of participation, equity and protection are violated.

J2 area includes the villages and neighbourhoods of Jerusalem that have a similar status to the People under occupation situated in the West Bank. Palestinians including women in these villages and neighbourhoods have lost their lands to the separation wall, their nearby city Jerusalem is closed, they can't access without a permit, and nearest city became Ramallah that is much distant than Jerusalem and transportation to it cost higher, it is expensive and lengthy, some times they would use 2-3 transportations to reach Ramallah. As a result they are cut off access to education and health. They are surrounded by the Separation Wall, which confiscated their lands. They lost sources of income out of cultivating their land lost access to work as workers, and professionals in Jerusalem, leading to high unemployment rates, increased poverty, and increase Gender Based Violence.

## A5.2 : JERUSALEM CENTER FOR WOMEN ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

### Administrative Structure & Organogram



**Figure 5: Organizational structure of JCW**

#### **Decision-Making Procedures**

The decision-making process follows the structure of the organizational chart above.

**Employees** are all full timers, except for the financial manger that is part timer. The project coordinator is a changing body, that some time have 2-3, with some part timers and some full timers depending on the projects.

### **A 5.3 Summary of Palestinian Groups Focus Groups Discussions**

Two focus groups, one in the North, conducted in Jenin, one in the center, conducted in Ramallah.

#### **Type of the Groups**

- The Palestinian Groups of the joint groups for peace building
- The Palestinian women are women political activists

#### **The focus groups evaluated the joint groups from groups perspectives:**

##### **Strength**

- The internal discussion and sessions are very informative
- The Palestinian /Israeli groups empowered us in defending our rights and presenting it,
- Arena for producing women politicians

##### **Weaknesses**

- The Israeli group were not women political activists as they are, some are university students, were not aware
- They are not acknowledging Pal rights, nor talking according to the JL principles. Demo slogans ( both sides not aware)
- Unable to support us in their community (except for some), or act with us. ( Jenin group & wall act)
- Mixed up with normalization & affect our image in community, specially no actions against occupation.
- Israeli groups don't want to go back in history to 48 but went back to holocaust
- They are not willing to do joint actions against occupation: the Jenin group mentioned that there was a demonstration of protest against the wall in a village near by, they asked the south group to participate, they refused, although other Israeli group were there, which made them in critical position in the community regarding the Israeli group they are working with.

##### **Recommendations**

- Their hopes were that the Israeli group could acknowledge their rights, support them through joint activities & reflect their voices in the Israeli society
- Joint actions that reflects on both sides would empower the groups
- Joint actions should not diminish our issue, we are a political group that should work in political issue but in active way.
- Jerusalem Link principles to be a reference point.
- Palestinian Groups needed meetings among themselves before joint meetings (not only in awareness sessions) but for discussion with leadership of the groups.
- More involvement of board & reflection of their experience is important, Salwa Hdaib meeting with them was important.
- Further awareness of the groups individually is needed before the joint meetings

#### **Annex 5.4: Statement against the House demolition in Silwan by: Silwan women's Committee and the Jerusalem Link**

We, members of an alliance of Israeli and Palestinian women, request the opportunity to meet with you concerning the latest threat of house demolitions in East Jerusalem, with particular reference to Silwan. Such actions are taking place in Jerusalem unilaterally as part of the Israeli systematic plan "the Structural –Plan 2020" that facilitates Israel's policy of keeping a ratio of 72% Israelis to 28% Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Furthermore, it tends to mark facts on the ground by building the Apartheid Wall and demarcating its borders of the final status negotiations.

To the best of our knowledge, the Jerusalem municipality has issued over 300 demolition orders in Silwan alone, 33 of which ordered to a neighborhood of 70 houses (Wadi Yasoul), and demolitions have already begun.

Israeli atrocities on the women's daily lives and welfare - although invisible for outsiders- are very painful and undeniable. Women's discourses under such violation differed from men as the demolition orders turned their houses into a "house of fear" where children are very fearful to even go to school or kindergarten, fearing that one day they might return back from school to find out that they lost their house following the demolitions. Women's own private needs are violated due to their daily worries regarding their family members, and their own private space, that is home.

What happened in Silwan forced the creation of the Silwan Women's Committee which was recently formed by women whose homes and families are threatened by the Israeli government's systematic and discriminatory policy of demolition.

The Jerusalem Link (comprising the Palestinian Jerusalem Center for Women and the Israeli Bat Shalom) work in broad guidelines and principles that call for justice assuring the concept of sharing Jerusalem on the basis of equal rights not the rights of the occupier. Thus, our existence and role as a link is to work on stopping the fueling of the conflict that is perpetrated by the policies of occupation. Silwan Women's Committee brings a significant perspective to the struggle to end the occupation in all its manifestations.

The international community has a special responsibility for standing against unilateral actions. Therefore, the Jerusalem Link considered raising these women's voices, raising their issue to the international community and practice pressure on the International Bodies and Community as they have the right of intervention under occupation, and the right to protection to the safety of a home for women, wives, mothers, their children and families. Therefore, we are eager to discuss with you ways in which the international community, separately and collectively, can be of help. We will phone to arrange a convenient time in the upcoming weeks for a small delegation of women from Silwan and the Jerusalem Link to meet with you.

**Sincerely,**

**Women's Committee of Silwan**

**The Jerusalem Link**

**Bat Shalom: 02-6245699**

**Jerusalem Center for Women: 02-2347653**

**Annex 6: Minutes of the Feed Back Workshop  
For the Evaluation of Jerusalem Link  
"JL Evaluation Review & Directions Ahead"  
15<sup>th</sup> Jan 2008**

The Workshop included Participants from the Bat Shalom members of Board and Staff and JCW members of Board and Staff, Representative of the NCA, Representative of Kvina Till Kvina, and the Evaluation team, Annex 2.4 have the full list of participants.

The workshop started by **introduction** of the participants.

**Expectations of JL of the evaluation and the workshop:**

The Participants expressed their expectations from the workshop as follows :

- To have a better understanding where we are and what we expect to achieve in the future.
- To hear an outsider point of view. Interesting to see how other people perceive us
- To revisit our main objectives we had from the start
- To be able to discuss the horizon and vision of the JL. Beside the operational side of work .
- To find the way to put life back into the JL.
- To have some direction to help the JL in this critical junction to go further
- To understand better the difficulties we face.
- How to improve organizational processes
- How to move forward with all challenges
- How to better mobilize and include the target groups
- At this political junction of the Palestinian / Israeli relations, its important to find ways to help us achieve our objectives.

**Presentations of Findings:**

The Evaluation Team gave 4 power point presentations:

- 1- Introduction to evaluation, Randa Hilal.
- 2- Findings of Bat Shalom, Aida Tuma
- 3- Findings of Jerusalem Center for Women, Randa Hilal
- 4- Findings of Jerusalem Link, Aida Tuma and Randa Hilal

**Points Raised in Discussion:**

A discussion was conducted among the Participants:

- The evaluation should mention that a JCW General Assembly meeting was held in 2005.
- Suggestion of changing the word elite by Busy women, high profile as elite has a negative connection.
- There is a clear crisis of identity in the JL , NGO verses concept , ground breaking ,feminist ...
- There is a need for a young generation, are the high profile women blocking the young?
- There is a problem in mobilization on the grass roots level for political activism types of programs and activities, especially in the Palestinian Side.

- The political situation has changed, questioning the two states solution and the separation between the two peoples. ( How to continue in this situation)
- The political principles were the ground breaking , what the new that the JL can bring on this level - ( To discuss the Jewishness of Israel , The right of return ) .
- As Feminists JL should always push the boundaries: are we doing this?
- The two sides Bat Shalom and JCW are living in two different realities JL give the space to act separately with terms of reference.
- Is the JL a feminist organization thinking always how to break the boundaries or a political body thinking of what is realistic
- How much the existence of high politicians in the boards is limiting the JL.
- The Ambiguity of structure: Organization versus coalition versus Umbrella.

### **Recommendations**

Recommendations from the workshop are listed in section 5.3 of the report.





## **Chapter 1. Introduction & Background**

### **1.1. Introduction: the evaluation**

The aim of the evaluation is to assess the work and impact of Jerusalem Link and provide a profound understanding of the joint work of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women<sup>1</sup>.

The expected outcome of the evaluation was stated in the evaluation Terms of Reference as:

- Assessment of the political context, the chronological events and its effects on the situation of the women and the work of the JL.
- Assessment of Jerusalem Link's activities and results.
- Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center of Women have a good understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the cooperation under the umbrella Jerusalem Link.
- JL Partners and NCA have a good understanding of how to support Jerusalem Link in the best way.

The evaluation was expected to cover the activities and results of the Jerusalem Link, as well as the internal capacity of Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women.

The significance of the evaluation is that:

- o There are changes within the Palestinian-Israeli political context since the Jerusalem Link inception
- o Accordingly; there is resulting shift of public opinions on both sides
- o The existence of the IWC stemming from the JL with full participation of its boards.
- o The evaluation is the first review since the establishment of the JL 14 years ago, hence, it is an opportunity to study Lessons Learned and learn from previous work & internal dynamics
- o Represent the first opportunity for reflection based on the evaluation
- o Bases for future strategizing

Therefore the evaluation would consider the effect of the contextual changes on the Jerusalem Link, build on what has been implemented, while place the basis for future directions.

### **1.2. Approach, Methodology and Limitations**

The adopted approach for the evaluation of the link was to evaluate JCW and Bat-Shalom in parallel by independent consultants. Evaluation was done on the organizational and functional level for each, while linking Jerusalem Link organizationally and functionally.

The evaluation team consisted of two experienced multi-skilled consultants that worked in parallel and were linked closely. Randa Hilal; the Team Leader for the evaluation; was responsible for the JCW side of the evaluation. Aida Touma; the other consultant concentrated on the evaluation of the Bat Shalom side. Both consultants did the Jerusalem Link evaluation. The evaluation team communicated extensively through out the evaluation, exchanged information, reviewed results and discussed directions. Consultants agreed on analysis and findings, evaluated the Jerusalem Link, and drafted the report jointly. For the record; the evaluation was carried out independently; although supported by NCA. Consultants had joint meeting with JCW & Bat-Shalom management before the start of the project, amended the TOR and the added feedback on the methodology. The Evaluation Team had ongoing close communication with both directors throughout the different stages of the evaluation.

The methodology used is a rapid participatory approach using various tools to achieve the outcomes of the evaluation. The assignment was conducted in three phases preparation, conducting the evaluation, the analysis and report writing.

<sup>1</sup> Refer to Annex 1: TOR of the Jerusalem Link Evaluation

First phase, conducted Oct-Nov 07, is the preparation stage that included initial meetings with The NCA, Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women, identifying primary and secondary sources of information and desk review documents for carrying the evaluation, and setting plans and dates for the evaluation.

The consultants carried out the evaluation during the second phase, conducted Nov07-Jan08, using a set of combined tools, to gather secondary and primary data as follows<sup>2</sup>:

- a. **Desk review** of internal management documents and external reports and documents for Jerusalem Link, JCW, and Bat Shalom. In addition to other relevant documents of other NGOs and initiatives held within this regard, and relevant data and statistics. Documents reviewed are listed in Annex A2.5.
- b. **Initial Situation analysis** of women in Jerusalem, based on desk review, internal discussion of the evaluation team, the support team, and the directors and staff of both institutes. Annex 5.1
- c. **Structured & Semi structured Interviews, group discussion and Focus Groups** with management, staff, board members, volunteers, various women communities and beneficiaries for each type of activity in the different locations, as well as key informants and other relevant stakeholders. Annex A2.1,2.2.2.3
- d. Field visits were also conducted to houses receiving demolishing orders in Jerusalem and to Jenin as well.
- e. **Donor Survey:** An electronic donor survey was conducted with donors of the link and both organizations. KAIROS,CFD and NCA responded, KTK attended the feed back workshop.

Third phase, conducted during mid Jan-March08 included Analysis, feedback and report writing, as analysis of gathered information, data and findings was conducted jointly. Consultants presented the findings to NCA, JCW and Bat Shalom through a **feedback workshop** and gathered feedback. Findings and feedbacks were then taken into considerations and incorporated in the report; minutes of the workshop are in Annex 6, recommendations in section 5.3 of the report.

The review was conducted through visits to different areas of the Palestinian territories and Israel. Support staff consisting of one staff member of each organization was selected to assist in arrangements and preparations for the evaluation team.

One of the main challenges to the process of the evaluation was the type of involved organizations, being political activists groups carrying out some development activities, which is different than a development organization; this is reflected in the related activities and achieved results. The evaluation method had to take such parameter into consideration; therefore the evaluation reference was the Rights' Based Approach.

One of the limitations to the evaluation was the minimum number of staff available at both organizations, and the minimum time of the supporting team available for the evaluation. The consultants requested overtime budget for the support staff which was covered by the NCA. Another limitation was the long period the link was functioning without previous evaluation, in addition to the different levels of documentation and filling available at both institutes. Nevertheless the team is grateful to all assistant provided from JCW and Bat Shalom.

### **1.3. Jerusalem Link evaluation in RBA Context**

Analysis within the Jerusalem Link evaluation were referenced to Rights Based Approach, RBA, as appropriate approach linking political activism, human rights and development tools and methods of work. Approach seemed relevant to Palestinian-Israeli political activists' groups.

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<sup>2</sup> Refer to Annex 2 for details of people involved and tools used

Approach is based on main principles in which Human Rights are the reference point for analysis and development of RBA strategies. It identifies Right Holders and Duty Bearers, and plan strategies that address both Right Holders and Duty Bearers. Strategies that stems from Political activism, uses Human Rights principles, and takes development a step forward, going beyond needs into rights. It reveals the right deficits and the core problem for the lack of rights and links it with planning and strategies.

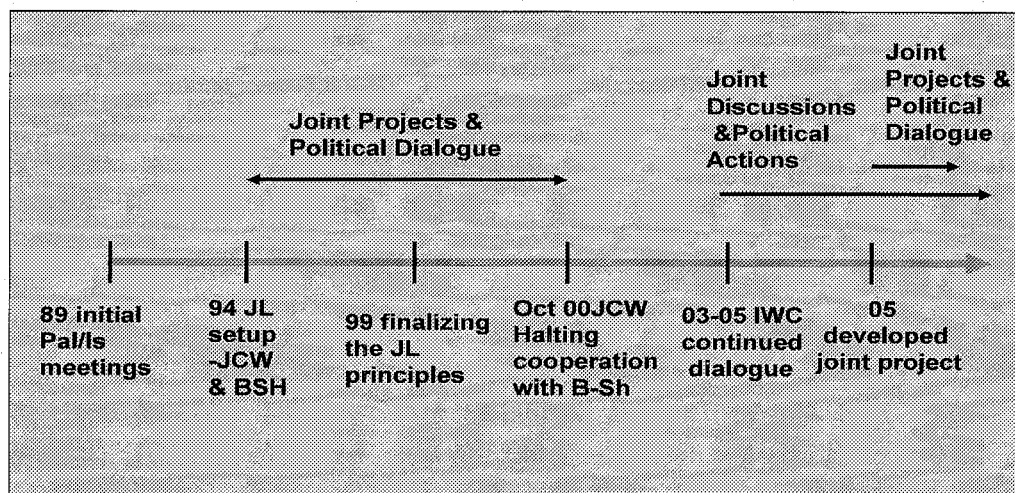
Based on the RBA approach and the definition of the work of the Jerusalem Link as ***Palestinian-Israeli women working against occupation and for just peace***, the TOR was adjusted jointly to reflect the approach and definition<sup>3</sup>, as JCW is to be having strategies for empowering the right holders to claim their rights, while Bat Shalom is to be having strategies for holding duty bearers accountable.

#### 1.4. ***Jerusalem Link chronology and own context***

In 1989, a meeting was convened in Brussels between prominent Israeli and Palestinian women human rights and peace activists. The meeting initiated an on-going dialogue that in 1994 resulted in the establishment of the Jerusalem Link. The Jerusalem Link is comprised of two women's organizations: Bat Shalom on the Israeli side in West Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Center for Women on the Palestinian side in East Jerusalem. Each organization was created as an autonomous center, running under the Jerusalem Link umbrella, conducting own and joint projects.

The Jerusalem Link time line below shows various mile stones and historic incidents, all are linked to the Palestinian/Israeli political changes that took place during the past 19 years.

Figure 1: Time Line of Jerusalem Link



The initiation phase and the preparation for it, from 89 till 94 has reflected the peace atmosphere prevailed among Palestinians pre and after the Oslo agreement, the Jerusalem Link network was initiated through the set up of the two Palestinian and Israeli sister organizations in 1994. Joint projects and political dialogue dominated the work of the link through both of their organizations during that time. The Jerusalem Link principles were discussed and finalized in 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Refer to specific questions to be addressed in TOR : Annex 1, amended during the starting Nov meeting with JCW, Bat Shalom, NCA and consultants

The second phase started Oct 2000, followed the failure to move to the final status negotiations, the second Intifada and the Israeli aggression and changes of geographic realities on the ground. This phase witnessed stagnation of the peace process and increased violence. These changes were reflected on Palestinian/ Israeli public opinions, were Palestinians were disappointed in peace approaches, while Israelis public opinion shifted to the right, detailed changes in political contexts are explained in sections 2.1 and 3.1, the increased Israeli aggression and lack of popular moves from the Israeli sides, and the increase violence on both sides, have created a decrease of trust between the two peoples. Such environment has resulted in halting cooperation by the Palestinian side the Jerusalem Center for Women, in response to the miss interpretation of the "Second Intifada as a nation's struggle for end of occupation to an act of terror against Israeli people, and the inability of Bat-Shalom to have a clear public position on all issues<sup>4</sup>. In addition to the inability to take a public stand against Israeli aggression directed towards the Palestinian people, in addition to Bat Shalom failure to publicly announce the agreed upon Jerusalem Link principles due to the inclusion of the Right of Return according to 194 UN resolution<sup>5</sup>.

Third phase started in 2003 were the relations between the two organizations started to come back through the formation of the IWC, and in the year 2005 joint projects and political dialogues continued. During this period incursions were stopped by the Israeli forces into Palestinian cities, but new geographic and political facts were forced by the Israeli occupation on the ground, being the construction of the Separation Wall, the deployment of over 500 blockades and check points in the West Bank, the increase of settlement, restricting Palestinian's movement on roads and zoning and isolating areas from each other, while the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza Strip and transferring it into a big prison, the announcement of no Palestinian partner and halting all peace talks. East Jerusalem continual violations were also part of the picture. These moves were followed by Hamas winning of the elections and the international and Israeli embargo on the occupied Palestinian territories.

The third phase was totally different than the first phase of the Jerusalem Link operation, the different realities, public opinions and facts on the ground, is expected to reflect it self in development of mechanism and dynamics of relations reflecting the change. **The third phase also carried internal change being the establishment of the International Women Commission, IWC, out of the Jerusalem Link with the active participation of both Jerusalem Center for Women and Bat Shalom boards, including international figures, to deal with the international relations, one main aspect of the Jerusalem Link work. IWC was then structured an independent body.**

## **Chapter 2. Bat-Shalom**

Bat Shalom is an Israeli peace feminist organization created in 1994 as the Israeli partner organization of the Jerusalem Women Center under the Umbrella of the Jerusalem Link<sup>6</sup>. (1)

Bat Shalom acts for better involvement of women in the political activism for ending the occupation and stable and just peace .Through the years B.Sh. conducted many campaigns against the occupation and its effects on both people, Israeli and Palestinian, participated and founded many coalitions and took an outstanding role in the Israeli Peace Movement, through maintaining the good relations with the Palestinian partners.

Today with changing political situation , the deterioration in the peace process , diffusion in the Israeli Peace Camp there is a need for strategic thinking on the new role that Bat Shalom can play in that context .

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<sup>4</sup> Jerusalem Center for Women, Summary Annual Report 2001, June 2002

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of Meeting and Communiqué of the Jerusalem Center for Women, 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 2000, and management letter to Bat Shalom dated Nov 3<sup>rd</sup> 2000.

<sup>6</sup> Refer to Annex 4.1 for the Mission and Vision

This evaluation was conducted to learn more into depth how Bat Shalom is coping with the new political situation, what are the main challenges to be faced, the weakness and strength points in Bat Shalom .Bat Shalom Staff and Board members were very cooperative through the evaluation process, provided the necessary information and documents, expressed interest in learning from the evaluation outcome.

The Methodology of the evaluation included: desk reviews, electronic donors questionnaire, interviews, and observations from meetings.

## **2.1. *Bat-Shalom within the Israeli Context***

### **2.1.1. *Israeli Political Context Chronology***

- The years to follow the Oslo Accords brought an era of optimism and hope to the peace camp in Israel, Women who struggled for many years for peace, participated in the general peace activities and created an active women peace movement had the feeling that it is the time for actual peace building between the two people.
- Although the murder of Itzhak Rabin, former Israel's Prime Minister and the fall of the Shimon Peres Government brought a huge change in the Israeli policy and commitment to the Oslo Accords after the right wing government of Beniamin Netanyahu was elected, still there were remains of hope that the International community will help in the implementation of the peace agreements.

October 2000 Ariel Sharon enters the Aksa in a provocative visit, The Palestinian People tried to prevent that visit by demonstrations faced with brutal use of force by the Israeli Army. The days to come after this event ; where the days of the outburst of the second Intifada.

The Second Intifada was characterized by militarized actions by the Palestinians, a cycle of blood started and the deterioration in the political situation was clearly the obvious result to come .

The Democratic Participation of the Civil Israeli Society and the General Public is weakened and defused in the years to follow , the "Peace Camp" in Israel did not have a consistent policy during the years and did not react clearly to the new situation , the common feeling among the Israeli public was clearly for separation from the Palestinians .

The acts lead by the Israeli government including the construction of the Apartheid Wall , the restrictions on people and goods movement , the enlargement of the settlements assassinations of Palestinians , and the" disengagement plan from Gaza" created an illusion among the general public that security of the people can be guaranteed .

- On the other hand the Israeli society is not exposed to the situation in the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli Media did not cover the harsh reality of everyday Palestinian life, the separation policy made it difficult for the peace camp on both sides to meet and organize joint activities.
- Yet the general public polls showed that there is a majority accepting the two states solution, establishing a Palestinian State. It is clear that some of Israeli Peace Camp discourse was adopted by more than 60% of the Israeli population on the other hand the Peace camp including Bat Shalom did not develop the peace discourse to bring more significant political recognition and mobilization toward ending the occupation through promoting just solutions to the core issues in the negotiation , Jerusalem , Refugees etc .

The 2006 summer war on Lebanon, the fact that for the first time Israel was involved in a war that caused huge amount of destruction in towns in the north, the feelings of defeat and insecurity accompanied with a militarized discourse created a new situation for the peace forces who had to deal with building a coalition against the war , organizing protest activities.

The 2006 war created another internal conflict among the "Peace Camp" as not all of the forces joined the struggle against the war from the beginning, it took almost three weeks until large part like Peace Now and Meretz to move against the war. The war left the Israeli society in a new situation with high economic problems and internal conflicts.

The internal Palestinian conflict between Hamas and the Fatah complicated the situation further and deepened the mistrust among the Israeli Public opinion in possibilities of reaching a peaceful solution . Adding to this the failure of Anaplois Meeting to deliver any developments on the negotiations track , the Israeli Governments declarations of adopting almost the Peace Camp plan and yet furthering the oppression on the ground ,enlargement of settlements , more check points is leaving the Israeli society in a confused situation<sup>7</sup>.

### **2.1.2. Bat Shalom Chronology – Time Line**

In 1994 Bat Shalom was created by a group of Israeli prominent peace activist women as the Israeli women Organization, partner in the Jerusalem Link, while the Jerusalem women Center was the Palestinian partner.

Bat Shalom is an Israeli national feminist grassroots organization of Jewish and Palestinian Israeli women working together for a genuine peace grounded in a just resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict, respect for human rights, and an equality of rights between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel.

The establishing group in Bat Shalom was a pioneer group in conducting meetings with the Palestinian women, conducting an ongoing dialogue that resulted in a clear political platform enabled the organization of organizing successful campaign and activities.

The trust that resulted from working with the Palestinian side brought new members to join Bat Shalom, another branch was established in the north of the country where Jewish and Palestinian Israeli women worked together and jointly with the center in Jerusalem.

In 2005 Bat Shalom faced a crisis in the northern branch; a crisis resulted in a split where the coordinators and some members created a new organization called Bat Hazafon. The Crisis was a result of a disagreement on the political agenda regarding the centrality of the issues related to the Palestinians citizen of Israel, Equality and democracy and social justice inside Israel. The decision made at that time by the Bat Shalom Board to reduce the resources allocated for the northern branch, as part of the financial recovery plan, was the official reason for the split that happened, while it is clear that the political disagreement were the main reason behind the split. "The tension with the group in the north was built over two main themes: the one state solution versus two-states and the Conflict versus social justice inside Israel "<sup>8</sup>1. Bat Shalom solved the internal conflict without investing enough efforts , at a certain point I was convinced that there is no need to insist on having a group that have a political vision that is not in Bat shalom political platform"<sup>9</sup>.

In the beginning of 2007 Bat Shalom restarted its work in the north by hiring a part time group coordinator and today runs mainly a Palestinian Israeli women group , aiming to include in the near future Jewish women from the north to join the activities .It is not clear for the staff member in the north nor for Bat Shalom board the exact strategy that will be used in the northern branch , there is lack of planning for the work to be done in the north which might lead eventually to a responsive activities . The past experience should be discussed and the political challenges that were raised by the group who left Bat Shalom should be discussed with a clear policy and political decisions.

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<sup>7</sup> For further details on the political context refer to Annex 4.2

<sup>8</sup> Naomi Hazan Interview

<sup>9</sup> Kholoud Badawi Interview



## **2.2. Bat Shalom Governance and Organizational Issues**

### **2.2.1. Governance: The Board of Directors**

Bat Shalom have a number of 200 members registered in the organization, every two years Bat Shalom convene its annual General Assembly where an average of 80 members attend, usually discussing narrative activities report and the audited financial report. In the end of each meeting the organization elects it's new Board members and the Control committee from its members.

The Board used to be composed of 23 members. in the last meeting end of (2007) Bat Shalom elected 14 members on its Board , and a control committee of three members .

Through the years Bat Shalom had some changes in the Board enabling new members to join and to contribute to the work .

Board members are from the "Founding mothers " High level politicians ,Kneset members , or ex- parliamentarians , grass roots activists , representatives of different districts in the country : north , center , Jerusalem, and Jewish and Palestinian Arab citizens .

According to the needs of the organization Bat Shalom limited the number of cadencies each member can fill in the Board, this limitation was canceled in the last two meetings.

The Bat Shalom Board is highly involved in the policy making in the organization, through its bi-monthly meeting the Board is well informed about the activities and in planning new activities and campaigns. Every board elects 5 of its members to serve in the secretariat which meet or consult through electronic list and play as a consultative group for the director.

The Board has a role in the decision making involving hiring the staff and work conditions through the woman power committee.

Members of the board are also part of the finance committee which oversees the financial decisions and policy in the organization.

Another active Committee is the Political Committee with five Board members and two staff members. The committee meets regularly, discuss the political developments and decide the needed activities in reaction to the developments. The Committee points out the new political focuses the Bat Shalom needs to invest in.

### **2.2.2. Financial Status**

1997 The Sharing Jerusalem Campaign created huge deficit in Budget which reflected financially on mainly two levels the ability to gain back the trust of the donors, and the decision to reduce the activities and staff number in Bat Shalom.

Due to weak filing system in Bat Shalom the desk reviews done on the financial reports could not access reports for the years before 2002, all the desk reviews have revealed a situation were a huge deficit was carried on from the years before 2002, in some years the deficit was reduced but in other years it grow and added another burden to Bat Shalom financial conduct.

The table below shows the exact situation in each year:

**Table 1: Financial Status of Bat Shalom 2002-2006**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Income	1,043,332	1,864,625	2,456,809	828,509	816,347
expenses	816,665	2,249,609	2,310,535	951,514	797,238
Final status	226,667	(384,954)	146,274	( 123,005)	( 19,109)

Since 2004 , when Molly Malkar started to act as Bat Shalom's Director large efforts were invested to deal with deficits .The recovery plan was very painful. The Board together with the Director has to release number of staff members and restricted the expenses of activities of, which had severe implications on the level of activities and visibility of Bat Shalom in public.

By reviewing the above table we can see that although there were hard cuts made in the budget still there is a lack in the budget planning and the organization closed three years with a deficit which means that the expenditures were higher than the income .In the interviews conducted with the staff members they indicated that they do not have the sufficient information about the project's budgets. As one of the staff members indicated "we usually tell Molly what we need and she manage always to find solution, she seems to know how to manage always ".

In Between 2004-2006 Bat Shalom managed to maintain good relations with three donors but lost the funds from around five other donors over the three years . It is important to mention that beside the three main donors who continued to support the organization including NCA, Kvina Till Kvina and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung , Bat Shalom gained new supporters through new funds coming from different 5 new funds , among them the EU .

Bat Shalom Managed to maintain the annual budget in the last year 2007 around 200,000\$ including an increase in the staff number and scope of activities , for the first time in the last three years the organization had a stabilized budget and managed to close a long time deficit in the total budget .

Although the fact that Bat Shalom managed to be in a stable financial situation can be risked without a process of financial planning from ahead and sharing the information on the budget planned with each member of the staff in order not to totally dependent on the Director as it was mentioned in one of the electronic donors questionnaire " one of Bat Shalom weakness is the Unspecified budget and partially unclear responses to budget inquiries.

### **2.2.3. Staff and Management**

Bat Shalom staff is comprised of:

Director of the organization and acting as a fundraiser ( 100%) , Administrative assistant and activating the political house (50%), Coordinator of Tel Aviv Group (25%) , Coordinator of Jerusalem Group (25%) & political Coordinator (33%), Coordinator of the North Group (33%), and a freelancer Accountant.

As it appears the Bat Shalom staff is a small staff that deals with many responsibilities. The fact that most of the staff is a part time staff makes it difficult to convene regular staff meetings, any gathering of the staff is connected to a lot of coordination efforts , although through the 2007 year they succeeded in convening a monthly staff meetings in the first half of the year , and only two toward the second half of 2007 .

The staffs neither have planning meetings nor do they have a clear budget framework, a situation that creates a feeling of uncertainty, total dependency on the Director in every decision. One of the staff declared " I would like to be part of the decision making process, I would like to know how much we have (budget) and for what ".

There are written job descriptions for each staff member it is defined in the first meetings when hired by the Bat Shalom Director .When the staff was asked what their responsibilities in the job were they usually said that it is very much up to them to decide on the agenda , which clearly indicates the vagueness in the job descriptions .

There is a clear weakness in the filing and documentation system which have been explained by the huge burden on the administrative assistance it is our duty to draw the attention to the fact that clear filing and documentation system should be created for the benefit of the sustainability and continuity of the organization. The documentation can be a good tool for any

organization to evaluate its work, to compile the information and the lessons learned making it accessible to everyone and help in institutionalizing the organization's memory instead of having it owned by individuals<sup>10</sup>.

### **2.2.4. Internal Capacity**

The Recovery Plan created a shortage in staff members with big load of work. "I would have managed to work in a better way if I had more working hours; it is a pity as I see the potential existing in the field and the demand for more groups".

The Fact that there are strong committed members contributing to the activities helped in continuing the work. Bat Shalom seeks to be a movement where the ownership of the organization belong to the members and the activists, although the old generation "the founding mothers" are very committed there is still a problem in creating such a commitment among the young women. the lack of a clear plan to integrate the young generation makes it difficult especially under the circumstances the separation on the ground and lack of meetings with the Palestinian women.

There are new encouraged staff members, but in need of professional capacities and support. The Staff expressed the need for more professional supervision that enables discussing dilemmas and development in the work skills. The group coordinators are enthusiastic team willing to work hard, more guidance and staff meetings will help in creating a sense of a team and give a space for sharing experiences, learning and planning in a better way.

The Director Molly Malkar is dedicating a lot of her time for fundraising and administration efforts because of the limited number of staff in the organization. A better distribution of the responsibilities and load of work might lead to more efficient performance of the organization as a whole.

## **2.3. Bat Shalom Projects and Programs**

### **2.3.1. Projects and Programs**

Bat Shalom runs different projects that reflect its commitment for promoting peace and feminist culture focusing on different target groups:

Raising awareness Groups (4 groups 12-15 members each). The groups are open to young women from different three districts one in Jerusalem, two in Tel Aviv, one in the north mainly now with Palestinian Women citizens of Israel. The groups meet weekly or bi-weekly discussing issues related to their realities and reflect on social economic and political issue.

The groups are designed to twin each with a Palestinian group from the groups run by the Jerusalem Women Center, and meet collectively in planned long meetings under the umbrella of the Jerusalem Link. The groups managed till now to attract young women who have not been active in the peace movement in the past, some of the members are starting also to participate in other activities initiated by Bat Shalom. The main goal of those groups is to bring young generation of women into Bat Shalom. The four groups are composed mainly by women who were not active politically in the past are still in the learning process, despite that there is no clear structure of content for the different groups, the three coordinators work separately and independently in deciding the content of the meetings, there are big differences in the issues dealt in each group, while the group in the north is mainly gathering occasionally the Tel Aviv group meets every two weeks and in Jerusalem they meet weekly. The groups are not immediately introduced to the JL principles nor to Bat Shalom political agenda in a clear way.

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<sup>10</sup> Refer to Organizational structure in Annex 4.1 For further information

It is understood that there is a need to give the groups a space to learn and educate themselves before the meeting with the Palestinian groups but there is a need to build the process in a more clear way with specific political gender components that can prepare the group for the meeting and the expectations of the Palestinian side.

**Political House:** A public weekly event in the offices of Bat Shalom in Jerusalem hosting lectures, movies, political discussions, attracting an audience of 40-50 women and men. The innovative way of using public spaces like coffee shops, bus station, stores etc, to invite participants helps in spreading the word and political agenda into new audience not part of Bat Shalom.

The political house created a space where new participants got introduced to Bat Shalom activities. This space is also used to expose different political perspectives, analysis to the general Israeli public . When the public house was created it was an idea of one of the staff members, today there is a need to do planning and budgeting for the project in order to enable to grow and withdraw more participants.

**Information Pamphlets:** The invitations for the different activities plus opinion articles on different political issues and developments are produced in a monthly newsletters, disseminated in public spaces, shops, street, and electronically through a big mailing list .these newsletters have the potential of an alternative information resource for the general public on the political situation and to encourage different people to act on different issues. Bat Shalom can benefit from the veteran and well politicized women on its board to write articles and political analysis in order to develop the newsletters to this kind of alternative resource of information available to the general public and grass roots level.

Through the year 2007 Bat Shalom issued two joint statements with the JCW on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March and after the June events in Gaza, the two statements were published in the local newspapers and disseminated widely.

In June 2007 Bat Shalom together with the JCW and the Committee against House demolitions produced a Document on the effects of house demolitions on Palestinian Women and Children. The document is a photographed document with the testimonies of the women themselves and two articles that illustrate the Israeli policy on house demolitions in Jerusalem and the implications of this policy on women's and children . This document brings a clear gender perspective of the Conflict and its influence on women's lives; the book was distributed widely and makes a good tool for raising the awareness and exposing the Israeli general public to the Palestinian life under occupation.

The Coalition against House demolitions in Silwan can be a good example of the type of work Bat Shalom can lead inside Israel in mobilizing the Human Rights Organizations and advocating against Human Rights violations in front of the Israeli stakeholders and Duty bearers such as the Jerusalem Municipality, Interior Ministry and Prime Minister Office. Activities that resulted from the engagement of Palestinian and Israeli women was a prove to the efficiency of working on grass roots level, solidarity and protest tent was created in the neighborhood, becoming a place of gathering for activists, solidarity actions, journalists, information kits in three languages were created and a campaign of protest letters to the Israeli stake holders was organized. A cultural event and a joint demonstration was organized and letters and meetings with Diplomats and Embassies were held .The result was that the Jerusalem Mayor announced that he is withdrawing from his original plan ., This did not mean that all the violations that are committed in Jerusalem were needed but this example can be used in the future as a study case to learn from on the components that led to a success even limited .One obvious lesson can be learnt that when there is a focused struggle with a clear goal to achieve combining a grass roots activism bringing solidarity to the rights holders and empowerment for demanding their rights while putting pressure on the Duty Barriers this can result with success .

### **2.3.2. Stakeholders and Networking**

Few efforts have been invested to influence Israeli Stake Holders: demonstrations in front of governmental agencies , some letters of protest , By the definition of one of the leading women in the organization " The women see in any activity engaging an attempt to influence stakeholders as a kind of a compromise " , " We are willing to continue to demonstrate in the Street Corners and not to compromise anything , not even the language we use " .more and more voices are heard inside Bat Shalom supporting the idea of working toward influencing the stakeholders but still without a clear agenda or strategic thinking maybe because of " It seems to be that we gave up , maybe because we feel that we are a small group , or because the Israeli government don't listen to the people , the only way to influence the government in our situation is by pressure from the Internationals " .

13 years since Bat Shalom was established it did not manage to enter the mass media in Israel. The ability to use the media as a tool to reach the masses or the general Israeli public opinion was not accomplished, part of it because of lack of budget, The Israeli Media is highly expensive while Bat Shalom has been facing financial difficulties in the last years. Even in the level of news it is known that the Israeli media is blocking any news on the peace movement .One of the very few times that Bat Shalom managed to get to the media was when the demonstration that organized was attacked brutally by the police forces.

The participation in Coalitions is the main networking efforts, although the participation is limited due to the burden of the work on the small staff. Bat Shalom is taking an active role in the Coalition against House demolitions ( founding member) , The Coalition for Olive Picking , Coalition of Women for Just Peace ( Founding Member) , Peres Center For Peace Forum , New Israel's Fund for Social Change NGO's , Coalition Against The Wall, Coalition Against Racism . Bat Shalom Led the Coalition against Silwan House Demolitions, and also an active member in the Coalition against the Wall in Jerusalem .

Bat Shalom served as the major participant in International Women In Black Conference in August 2005 , and The Bat Shalom center serves as a meeting space for different civil NGO's, like Green Action , The conscientious Refusers Movement , Machsom Watch , Taayush, the Coalition of Women and several other organizations<sup>11</sup>.

### **2.3.3. Strategies Used**

- Re-action strategy: many of the activities is dedicated by the political developments, characterized by reactions and responses to the political developments or human rights violations.
- Raising awareness by public statements, political house, tours, publications, young women groups.
- International Advocacy: participation in international Conferences, meetings with international stakeholders, statements to embassies etc.
- Protest: organizing demonstrations, protest activities.
- Coalitions : creating and participation in coalitions

### **2.4. Relation to the JCW and the Jerusalem Link**

There is a high understanding of the relation's importance between the two organizations , the members and the staff expressed willingness for strengthening the ties ., especially that

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<sup>11</sup> Bat Shalom proposal for NCA 2007

those relations as defined by a leading member is one of the unique added valued that Bat Shalom can bring into the peace activists .

The relation to the JCW and the JL is an important resource for political analysis and information that brings into a better understanding to how things are developing on the Palestinian side . " The meeting we had with the Palestinian members after the Gaza events last summer helped us in understanding the situation and helped in creating our position published right after the events as one of the first to be heard from the Israeli side " .

Although the general JL meetings are not happening very often in the last two years the two weeks meetings between the two directors is a very important tool for political understanding , exchange of analysis , and promoting the common work on the groups .It is not a replacement of the meetings between the two boards which are not sufficient .

The relation with the JCW and JL is perceived by many members in Bat Shalom as an important tool for strengthening the trust between the two parts and an insurance of the common goals especially in times when political developments can affect this trust between the two sides.

## **2.5. Challenges & Issues**

### **2.5.1. Challenges and Critical issues to be addressed**

One of the major challenges facing Bat Shalom is creating the balance between a movement on a grass roots level and developing an institutionalized structure that can guarantee a stable existence of the movement.

For many years Bat Shalom acted with high level and very committed politicized members. A clear feminist political ideology was dominating the organization; it will be a big challenge to enable the "Closed club" to develop the grassroots activism and create a larger pool of active members .The balance between enlarging the number of young activists in the organization and still maintaining the political agenda is another challenge that should be faced.

Another Critical issue in this stage of Bat Shalom life will be Developing a systematic management structure: regular staff meetings, planning and reporting sessions, supervision and staff Capacity building, filing and documentation system, clear position description and clear division of responsibilities . Strategic planning thinking should become a base for all the activities including the staff and the Board in the process.

### **2.5.2. Strategic Issues**

- To continue developing the approach of strengthening the grass roots activism bringing young generation, young women to the peace movement, strengthening the group work with a clear plan to integrate the new activists into the Bat Shalom structure.
- Challenging the Israeli discourse on conflict core issues promoting in-depth feminist analysis and solutions, promoting those analysis and make them available to the general public in Israel.
- Developing a strategy to influence stakeholders in Israel. After the separation that was created by the Israeli government between the Israeli and the Palestinian peace camps, geographically on the ground and psychologically, there is a crucial need of developing a clear strategy to influence the Israeli stakeholders.

## Chapter 3. JCW

### 3.1. *JCW within the Palestinian Context*

The current Palestinian context is totally different than that of the year 1994; it has a different effect on daily life of Palestinians and Palestinian public opinion. These changes have reflected on the JCW relations and dynamics within the Jerusalem Link.

#### 3.1.1. *Palestinian Political Context Chronology*

- 90-92 end of first Intifada and Israeli and international movement towards peace and acknowledging Palestinian rights and the PLO.
- 93-95, the era after the Oslo accords, trust and hope prevailed among the people in moving towards achieving rights, ending occupation and moving towards the two-state solution.
- **99 Palestinians – Israelis failed to move into the final status negotiations, while international community could not put enough pressure.**
- 00 start of the second Intifada, and the increase of Israeli aggression against the Palestinians.
- 02 Israeli incursions into Palestinian areas, increase of violence and use of force.
- 03 Israeli plans for the Separation Wall
- Moves towards Peace were obstinate,
- Corruption issues against PA were raised.
- **Peace movement in Israel were weak in their moves against the Occupation, separation and aggression,**
- 05 marked the unilateral Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and start of Gaza siege
- 04-06 building of the separation wall and the carrying out the zoning and the isolation policies by the Israeli occupation.
- 04-05 new hopes for change, new elections of Local Councils (LC) & Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) were held.
- Jan 06 Hamas won the PLC elections in fair democratic elections. Followed by International boycott of the PA and Israeli economic embargo and withholding the taxes it collects on behalf of the PA.
- Internal polarization started before elections and continued after resulting in internal fights,
- June 07 Gaza was controlled by Hamas and the West Bank by Fateh.
- Total isolation of Gaza by Israeli forces.

#### 3.1.2. *Effect of Context on the Palestinians*

Over the last 14 years tremendous changes has happened in the Palestinian Territories moving away from the peace process towards increased aggression, violence and lack of rights.

Such context has **affected the daily lives of the Palestinian people** as follows:

- Increased isolation and confinement into own location as a result of Israeli occupation closure policies presented in the separation wall and more than 563 blockades and checkpoints in the West Bank<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> UN-OCHA, Implementation of the Agreement of Movement and Access (14<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> Nov 07), Report # 53, oPt

- People have lost their land due to increased land confiscation policies to build the separation wall and enlarge settlements.
- Increased unemployment among the people increased from 10% in Sept 00 to 23.2% in Sept 07<sup>13</sup> (people lost lands, jobs, businesses closed...)
- Increased poverty among the population reaching 75% to 80% especially in Gaza<sup>14</sup>, leading to high food insecurity levels<sup>15</sup>.
- Deep crack in the Palestinian community has occurred, due to political differences between Fateh and Hamas
- Internal Violence increased, lawless status encouraged its spread.

Such context has affected the **Palestinian Public Opinion** as follows:

- From hope for the future, believing in peace and trusting the Palestinian leadership, the Israelis and the international community to
  - Loss of hope in leadership
  - Loss of Hope in the peace process and Peace movement, although still longing for real peace, in PRS survey in Dec 07, 63.3% supports the Palestinian/Israeli peace talks, although 65% believes that the chance to establish an independent Palestinian state in the next five years is low or non-existent<sup>16</sup>
  - Loss of trust in Israelis and the international community

As a result the **Palestinian political map has changed**

- Fateh party have lost its majority to Hamas
- New Political parties were formed
- Civil Society forums against occupation were also formed

After Annapolis people have cautious hopes as they want real moves on the ground towards peace, the more time passes with no change on the ground the more the disbelief in the peace process and the frustration among people is.

### **3.1.3. JCW Chronology- Time Line**

JCW within the Jerusalem Link context and in relation to the Palestinian political context has passed through various phases over the last fourteen years.

The first phase since the initial meetings and the establishment of the JCW, Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Link, was a productive phase with ongoing cooperation and joint implemented projects. This phase reflected the Palestinians prolonging and hopes for peace at that time, it lasted until 2000, during which the Jerusalem Link principle was developed.

The Second Phase started Oct 00 and lasted till the year 03, were JCW stopped the relation with Bat Shalom and started their own projects directed to Palestinian women.

The year 03 marked the start of extensive cooperation for establishing the IWC, while the year 05 marked the restart of implementing a joint project, while running their separate other projects directed to Palestinian women.

<sup>13</sup> PCBS, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Q3, Nov 2007

<sup>14</sup> In 1994 economic studies has predicted Gaza to have a prosperous status and economic growth similar to Singapore

<sup>15</sup> UN agencies & NGOs, The Humanitarian Monitor, #20, Dec 2007, oPt

<sup>16</sup> PSR, Palestinian Public Opinion Survey, # 26 Dec 07



## **3.2. JCW Governance and Organizational Issues<sup>17</sup>**

### **3.2.1. Organization Mandate and Identity**

JCW **mandate** focused on commitment to advancing joint peace work through the Jerusalem Link, with other Israeli peace groups with whom they share a vision for peace building. JCW mandate extends to advancing the rights of women and developing their role in civil society, nation building and the decision-making process, while working to end oppression, poverty and human rights violations of all members of society.

The identity of the Jerusalem Center for Women is still stated as a sister organization of Bat-Shalom part of the Jerusalem Link within Palestine/Israel. But the changes in political contexts and reality on the ground, such as the access problem, will soon forbid members of the board to attend joint meetings in Palestine/Israel.

The Jerusalem Center for Women is registered in the PA ministry of interior as a Palestinian NGO, while PNGO had repeatedly rejected their request to join the network, and do not consider them a Palestinian NGO, but rather a regional one with branches in Palestine and Israel, being part of the umbrella organization, the Jerusalem Link .

The changing political reality regarding status of Jerusalem and its isolation opened up various debates among the board members and JCW regarding its mandate and women target groups.

Hence serious identity questions are awaiting the planning process of the organization:

- Is Jerusalem Center for Women regional or local?
- Will it's Location be in Jerusalem or other West Bank areas?
- Should it be registered in the PA?
- Should it only target women in Jerusalem or all of the West Bank?

The JCW board has stressed the importance of work in Jerusalem in their meeting June 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 that has shifted their work and target groups into Jerusalem. But still various discussions were carried by the board since then, and directions were heading towards the continual existence and location in Jerusalem.

### **3.2.2. Governance: The Board of Trustees**

The Board of Trustees **Structure** consists of Political Palestinian Women representing political parties involved in Oslo agreement, Public Figures, or independents. The board members developed political experiences over the years; some became ministers, deputies or ambassadors.

The board held **meetings** regularly at the starting phase of JCW, while meeting were only held at external or internal emergency status during the following phases. Consultant noted during the desk review of the board minutes of meetings that during the year 2001 four to five meetings were held responding to emergencies, while annual meetings were held during the years 2003 to 2007<sup>18</sup>, sometimes without quorum. Although most board members were also board members at the IWC, and had regular meeting during same period.

Electronic and phone **Communications** among and with members of the board has been effective with regard to political positions, emergencies and during the initiation phase of the IWC.

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<sup>17</sup> Refer to Annex 5 for the Organizational Structure and the Bylaws of JCW

<sup>18</sup> There were four calls for board meeting beginning of 2004, the meeting was conducted on the fifth official invitation. On 2005 more than one meeting to deal with the management change.

The Board of Trustees formed two **Committees**, namely the Political and the administrative committees. The Political Committee followed relations with Bat Shalom, met with their Political Committee and followed political statements. While the Administrative Committee monitored annual narrative reports, discussed projects and administrative issues, they selected directors for the center, met regularly and communicated closely through e-mails in between. The Chair of the Board followed closely, sometimes too closely.

The board carried **Financial Monitoring** through monitoring annual audited financial reports and projects reports; they were able to deal with financial misconduct when rose. But the irregularity of board's meetings and the inability of conducting a full meeting during the last 3 years, has jeopardized financial monitoring.

**JCW did not carry any Board's elections since establishment**, although according to the JCW Bylaws elections should be held every three years, some Members have left during the last 14 years due to various reasons, personal or disagreement on political issues, but they were unable to replace them, according to bylaws the board members should be 13, they ended up being 8. There were some attempts by the board to fill the missing seats, during the year 2000, but were unsuccessful in that, and did not discuss or continue the efforts afterwards. Conducting the elections is an essential demand for good governance practices that became a precondition for continuation of support by some donors<sup>19</sup>. While management of JCW, supporters and volunteers involved in the work found the elections as an essential step to move the institute forward.

There are clear **JCW 'By Laws'**, but they are not fully applied, for instance regarding elections, regularity of meetings, absence and membership. Yet the by laws does not define the role of general assembly. The bylaws were not updated or revised during board's

*In Brief; the Board of Trustees' body and members have contributed to the JCW initiation and growth, yet the board became paralyzed after the setup of the IWC. Therefore, it's time to renew its members through democratic elections and to add new blood to its structure. Stakeholders, members and partners see the importance of such process.*

meetings.

The paralyzed body affected the planning and monitoring of the JCW, in the mean while; two strategic planning processes initiated by management of the JCW were delayed.

### **3.2.3. Governance: The General Assembly**

The General Assembly body is not effective in the governance of the organization. As there are no regular or annual General Assembly meetings were JCW reports are presented, board and management are accountable to, and elections are held.

In the mean time; there are friends of the organization around JCW, were some attended Jerusalem Link meetings and some JCW activities. The old list of the General Assembly hold academic women with no grassroots, new members are also within same categories although JCW have mobilized various young women, women from grass roots and volunteers around its work. There are no clear selection criteria for new general assembly members, or systematic measures to activate its membership.

For the record; its worth mentioning that there was a general assembly meeting held in 2005, to activate the body, but the meeting did not end up with the board elections, or endorsing the financial and narrative reports. The body did not formalize as an owner of the organization,

*The General Assembly Body is non-existent and don't hold the ownership status for the organization, which contributes to weakening the JCW good governance practices.*

and they have accountable role to. Unfortunately efforts did not continue. There were some meetings held with friends of the Jerusalem Center for Women and general assembly members, to consult on political issues.

### **3.2.4. Organizational Management and Capacities**

JCW had four changes of Management during their 14 existing years being in the years 1998, 2001, 2005 and 2008. The JCW had strong Management on the political and the development levels, being politically aware and had development vision.

JCW had a clear organizational structure<sup>20</sup>; they had internal financial and staffing policies improving its administrative transparent measures. Participatory practices were used through regular Staff meetings and consultation, started 2003 and continued. Team work and internal support is high among team. They are able to reflect on their projects and discuss Lessons Learned, while reflecting them into new projects.

The structure of the JCW provided the ability to enlarge or squeeze human resources based on projects funded, while keeping core staff available. Employees are either core management staff or project coordinators that have full responsibility of their projects while remain accountable to management. Human capacities at the center have been affected by the loss of two competent core employees during last quarter of 2007, being the director and the public relation officer. Two previous project coordinators are still part of the staff; one became acting director, while the others are new. The high turn over of staff with min capacity might lead to loss of contacts, although JCW have good documenting system. It is expected that capacities should be enhanced at the center to cater for it's role and stakeholders expectations.

Organizational structure is based on project basis, with minimum number of coordinators each have 2-3 projects, and the projects changes based on change of supported projects. JCW have good coordinators, but needed extra leadership skills and political motivation to fit the mandate of the organization active in political activism and development.

Projects' implementation is based heavily on outside trainers, although some staff could have the ability to train or raise awareness or actually implement not only coordinate an activity, some have already started training. **Staff took various Capacity building courses, and currently undertaking TOT.**

Management are more engaged with political dialogue, while staff are representing JCW in local networking, it was presented by stakeholders that such a politically strong organization needed more involvement of management and board in local networking, similar to international and bi-national networking.

Management was in close contact with the administrative committee and the chairperson of the board, but the paralyzed board and general assembly; negatively impacted the democratic and accountable organizational culture. It slowed down motivation and enthusiasm. Motivated management and staff were some times turned off by busy, less motivated board in the JCW, especially after the existence of the IWC.

### **3.2.5. Financial Status**

Jerusalem Center for Women has been securing funds for its operation through out the years. JCW obtained a local income that ranged from 78 to around 8000US\$ annually, from currency exchange, bank interests, donated assets in most years and peace prize in 2002.

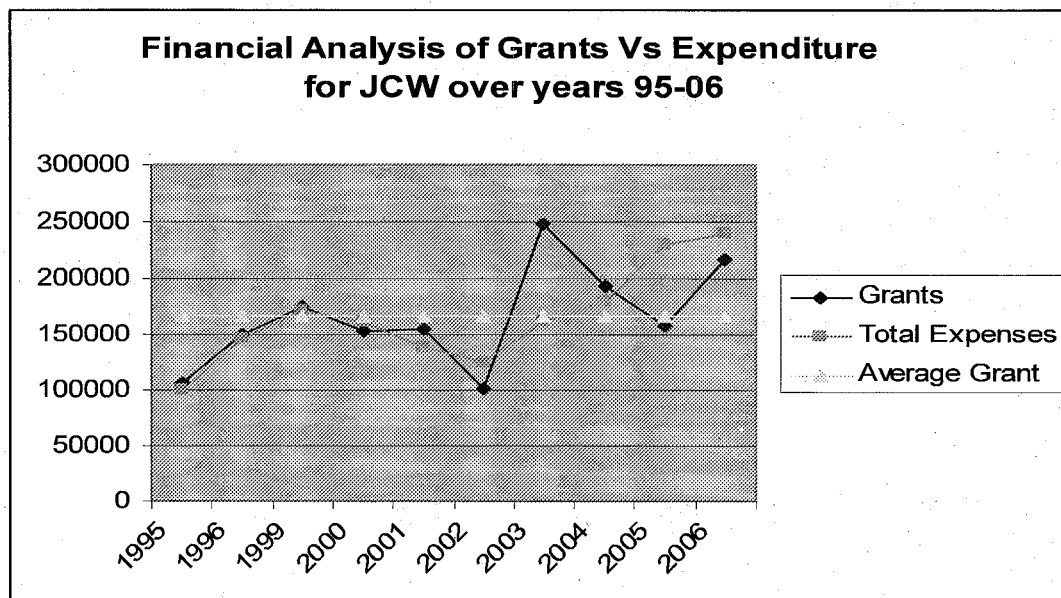
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<sup>19</sup> This position is passed by Olive Palme representative during meeting with Members of Board upon his request, 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 2007

<sup>20</sup> Refer to the Organizational Structure in Annex 5.2

Jerusalem Center for Women received an annual average grant of around 166 thousand US\$, except of the years 2003 and 2006 where they received higher funds, of 248,195 US\$ and 216,361US\$ respectively, while in 2002 received lower funds than the average, as graph 1 below illustrates. After 2001 restricted grants for certain projects have appeared in their financial reports, it ranged from 83% in 02 to 76% in 06. Expenses raised for around 100thousand US\$ to over 230 thousand in 05 and 06, inline with increase of activities and projects. The proposed budget for the organization is estimated at around the amount of 216,000US\$ for the years 05, 06 and 07.

**Figure 2: Financial Analysis Graph for JCW over years 95-06**



In most years, expenses were within the range of income, with an offset of around 10-15%, either plus or minus, but were overall balanced. This general trend was disrupted in the years of 2003 and 2005, in the year 2003 JCW obtained 50% extra funds over the average grants obtained through out the years, that resulted in 38% of surplus, leading to accumulated surplus of around 200 thousand US\$ in the year 2004, ie double the annual expenses. In the year 2005 JCW had 45% over spending above the received grants, the extra amount was substituted from the surplus available.

It was noted that expenses of the Jerusalem Center for Women has increased gradually after the year 02 in line with increase in activities and projects implemented, refer to section 3.3.

Donors supporting JCW have fluctuated over the years; as follows:

- 96: EU, NOVIB,
- 00: Dan church, BROTH,
- 01/06: KTK, CFD (started in 00), KAIROS, Women World, Global Fund (except 05) NCA (started 03), &
- project related funding changed over years (Tamkeen, CIDA, EU)
- Other donors that appeared in certain years such as ( Global Fund, Oxfam, Alfons-Spain)
- 04: NOVIB support for IWC through JCW

The funding trend suggests that JCW have what could be considered as a core donors being KTK, NCA, KAIROS, CFD, Women's World and Global Fund. They were consistent donors for at least the last 5 years. Their contribution reached around 100,000US\$ between years 2003 and 2006, representing over 50% of the received grants. Olef Palme joined as part of the donors in 06, while together with Bat-Shalom they are supported through an EU project.

Jerusalem Center for Women produces annual audited reports and project specific ones if requested. The organizations don't have regular (annual or once every two years) meetings for donors to review projects, pledges and funds.

### **3.2.6. Planning Processes**

Board was able to set directions in line with its mandate and to formulate strategies at certain point in history in reaction to rising emergency. In the mean time; initial objectives and directions in relation to the Jerusalem Link were set jointly with Bat Shalom.

Jerusalem Center for Women started two Strategic Planning processes but were not completed, Strategic Planning Sessions were held in 06 but were not completed, while Staff were trained on the process in 07, process was not completed, it was delayed till after the evaluation. The processes were initiated by directors, while ***the inconsistency in Board's meeting during the last three years has delayed the Strategic Planning processes*** and held them back.

Mandate and objectives are clearly set, yet still Mission, vision & values would need further development as part of Strategic Planning Process. Annual action plans are set by staff & management. It was noted that during the past few years management were able to set goals, move ahead and tried to get the support of the board.

### **3.2.7. Networking and External Relations:**

Jerusalem Center for Women enjoyed external relations on three levels, the International, Bi-National and the Local levels. Through international networking and relations, JCW staff and board were able to represent the Palestinian status and the status of the Palestinian women, in various international visits, they are also part of the WIPAN and initiated the IWC as part of their efforts through the Jerusalem Link. While the bi-national network and relation is the relation to Bat- Shalom through the Jerusalem Link, discussed in chapter 3.

JCW has been active in various local networks specially after the year 2004, networks related to the rights of Palestinians in Jerusalem through the CCDPRJ, and networks against occupation of the 1967 as OPGAI network. They were also active in the campaign for election law reform to increase women representation in PLC & LC through the formed committee of NGOs and CSOs.

## **3.3. JCW Projects and Programs<sup>21</sup>**

Jerusalem Center for Women is currently working within three main scopes of projects and programmes namely the peace building one, advocacy and human rights and the women empowerment one. The current programs were developed through out time from joint projects with Bat Shalom on Peace building and training for peace until the year 2000 to separate projects in peace building and women empowerment after that, while adding the advocacy element afterwards.

JCW have moved from solely political activism running primarily joint peace building initiatives and related training on peace building into Palestinian women empowerment initiatives adding the development dimension into their work after the year 2000, and in relation to their board decision, they added the advocacy & human rights and joint networks and campaigns after words, while restarted joint projects in 06, while keeping their separate projects running.

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<sup>21</sup> For details of activities refer to annual reports, analysis based on interviews, focus groups and review of materials for this section

### **3.3.1. Peace Building Programs:**

These programs are part of the Jerusalem Link projects and programs, which is carried through political dialogue, campaigning for peace and joint peace activities and projects. The joint projects included the EU project on "Sharing Jerusalem Campaign", it included setting up Joint Palestinian /Israeli women groups before the year 2000, while duplicating that through the current EU-Orlando project 06-09 with a different political climate and context, these programs are listed as part of the Jerusalem Link programs in section of the report.

Evaluation of Joint groups from Palestinian perspective discussed through focus groups held by the consultant<sup>22</sup>, and review of internal evaluation materials<sup>23</sup> are also listed in that section. Women identified the difficulties of the political dialogue within current political realities and increase injustice, although Palestinian women participated were political activists that believed in peace and current efforts towards a two state solution, they were satisfied with knowledge and tools gained as part of program through Palestinian meetings, but disappointed with lack of Israeli awareness to their injustice and lack of joint actions of the groups. Difficulties encountered could have been dealt with through the experienced board members in dialogue mechanisms; chairperson was the only available person to assist on the issue. Facilitator also mentioned how difficult it was to convince the groups that these activities are not aiming at political normalization without calling for rights, as Jerusalem Link is a political link working on achieving peace and Palestinian rights based on clear principles. The image of JCW is easily affected in the community if not carefully explained and could not show involvement in actions based on the JL Principles.

### **3.3.2. Advocacy & Human Rights<sup>24</sup>**

Part of the advocacy and human rights programs and activities are carried within the joint activities with Bat Shalom through the Jerusalem Link, while the other part is carried through networking with other Palestinian groups and networks. Through these programs JCW produced advocacy materials and joined advocacy campaigns and forums. JCW incorporated Legal unit and Media unit within their structure to carry out ongoing advocacy for women in Jerusalem. The JCW is part of "Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem" CCDPRJ committee, working for the right to housing in Jerusalem, they are also part of "Occupied Palestine and Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative" OPGAI network working for rights based advocacy among international CSOs against 1967 Israeli occupation.

Through these networks JCW was engaged in advocating for Palestinian rights and for peace building on the various levels, acting on initiating pressure groups to advance the peace process. In the mean time, they were involved in specific campaigns highlighting right deficits and supporting right holders, such as the campaign to support the Silwan women against threats for house demolition, they produced advocacy materials on the issue of house demolition, they produced legal materials in both languages and produced a study from a feminist perspective on the issue taking the women in Silwan as case study. In addition to producing the advocacy materials, JCW have carried supporting visits, provided counseling and advocated for their issues among foreign embassies, held a public hearing and press conference. Jerusalem Center for Women also used the various media channels and produced various materials to convey the message of rights and peace based on international law through the **media unit** they had. The legal unit initiated at the center would be able to deal with documentations of violations of rights of Palestinian women in East Jerusalem<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Refer to Annex 5.3 for summary of findings

<sup>23</sup> Refer to Assessment Workshop Report for the EU project, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2007

<sup>24</sup> Refer to Annex 5.1 for brief analysis on Palestinian women status in East Jerusalem for link of projects to the needs of women in J1 areas.

<sup>25</sup> Refer to Annex 5.4 communiqué against the house demolition in Silwan by the women committee and the JL

The consultant conducted a field visit to **Wadi Yasoul-** in Silwan- East Jerusalem, and interviewed the **Women in danger of house demolition**, they appreciated visits, advocacy, and counseling provided by JCW, they were satisfied with **solidarity stand** of different Palestinian/Israeli organizations with them, they were fulfilled with media attention and visits to embassies carried . They find that activities were self asserting, brought them together in group work, psychologically supportive. **But nothing has changed they are still insecure**, as the orders of house demolitions has been postponed not cancelled, they are still at critical point paying fines for the postponement, taxes (arnona), paying for lawyers, organizations stopped visiting them after the postponement and they feel they are all alone. They lack services in the neighborhood as municipality does not recognize it, but they are willing to continue in their fight for their rights, they would need extra support for their legal fight, to which the planned legal clinic meets their needs. They would also need support for services.

The **root cause** of the right deficit is the Israeli plan for Jerusalem, were more Jewish settlements are planned, and less Palestinian neighborhoods, based on 2020 Jerusalem municipality master plan. What makes it worse for Palestinians Jerusalemites is that there is no Palestinian political reference in Jerusalem.

In the year 2007, the Jerusalem Center for Women worked with women from Walejeh, a village between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, organization worked with women with house demolished, in documentation and ease of the social effect, through counseling session, but strategy for change was not implemented.

### **3.3.3. Women Empowerment Programs<sup>26</sup>:**

Various programs for women empowerment have been carried, it started with training programs linked to Peace building programs, which included training and awareness raising for peace and rights related issues among young women, such projects were part of the annual program of JCW since establishment, it later included awareness towards 1325 UN resolution and became part of other projects and programs.

Some programs were training women for empowerment, through training young women to participate in public forums & international conferences, as well as providing them with Training of Trainers in facilitation skills.

**Empowering women for political participation**, is also an important part of the JCW programs, were programs were conducted to enable women to reach decision making and others to support them with tools and skills to enhance their ability at political participation and in decision making, as programs were directed to women running for Local Council elections, and those won the elections and are at local councils.

The consultant had interviews with two **Women in Jerusalem Local Councils**, members of different village councils of the North West Villages of Jerusalem, whom have participated in the two phases of programs conducted by the Jerusalem Center for Women, to which they have stated their deep appreciation of the work of the JCW and considered that the initial training program has produced women leaders for the LC elections in villages of NW Jerusalem, considered an **effective program** that turned normal housewives with no prior preparation into women community leaders. They witnessed that most women trained were elected in different Local Councils; some of the women including the interviewed have established a women CBO in their villages. They evaluated that the second training on tools afterwards assisted them in carrying out their work effectively.

Interviewed women suffer J2 status in Jerusalem, were the Separation Wall is the **root cause** for all their problems, as they suffer land loss to the separation Wall, isolation, high unemployment and poverty. They are in need to enhance their networking capacities to other

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<sup>26</sup> Refer to Annex 5.1 for brief analysis on Palestinian women status in East Jerusalem for understanding of women status in J2 areas in Jerusalem

institutes to better serve their communities. They consider the JCW their resource center that they can depend on, but they are unable to reach it now due to Wall building around its current location. After the success of the initial training carried by JCW, interviewed women requested similar training for second liners of women at their villages.

JCW had other empowerment for women in the old city of Jerusalem and families of political prisoners, both programs were found useful by some of the previous trainer interviewed.

Investing in younger generation has also been part of their programs, through various training, awareness raising, and preparation for upgrading their leadership skills and increase their capacities through various programs, latest was empowering young women activists to prepare them to speak out and deliver the Palestinian cause worldwide.

### **3.3.4. General Notes on Projects and Programs**

The chronological move of Jerusalem Center for Women from only peace building programs through the Jerusalem Link into programs that addresses the needs of women and right deficits through the local initiatives have **linked them with grass roots** and made them able to identify Palestinian women's needs and right deficits. The link to grass roots enabled them to have volunteers for political and joint activities, as some have participated in 8<sup>th</sup> of March demonstrations and activities. On the other hand; the grass roots linkages did not reflect itself on the political dialogue nor reflected their concerns on the decision making levels. They were not incorporated into the decision making bodies, the General Assembly or the Board.

The move from projects towards **advocacy** plans and campaigns provided the basis for moving into **Rights Based Approach** strategies and plans. Focusing on Jerusalem is an asset for JCW as minimum institutes are available in Jerusalem with huge challenges and right deficits, the relation to Jerusalem Link in this regard is an assets as well , if were better invested in through RBA strategies and plans.

JCW **Short Projects** policy rather than programs, coupled with minimum internal capacity, affects the continuity of the work and the achievement of results. It was noted that needs were identified vertically, based on lessons learned from previous projects solely, rather than analyzing the overall picture, through a strategic plan process. Developing projects based on the overall vision and strategic objectives could lead to better results.

The diversity in projects offers **very wide Target Groups**, as Jerusalem Center for Women have different initiatives with different Target Groups, such as students, young women, CSOs, women in decision making, women in threat of demolished homes, women in the old city, political prisoners' families. Such diversity also affects the achieved results and changes.

Within the same context, JCW is still working in **spread Location**; although moved into Jerusalem but still have projects in various locations besides Jerusalem, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. More focus of location is still needed.

The move of projects from **Political activism** types into development ones, has affected the type of staff, and their accumulated experience and their political activism abilities. Results were achieved in development type project more than the political development ones.

**Strategies used were mainly directed towards right holders**, with minimum strategies directed towards duty bearers, strategies still needs various elements to change the right deficit or unbundled he root causes. The networking and advocacy element is an additional strength to the organization.

The **project coordinators** play an important role in successful projects as well as the management of the organization, projects are linked to the organization's mandate that is based on political activism and development, and hence coordinators should be political activists and should be empowered to lead their groups. Less management and core staff turnover, and active board is necessary for the continuation of the successful projects.



The development made by the Jerusalem Center for Women enabled them to address the women needs in Jerusalem, yet more work and use of its Neach is needed to address the right deficits of women in Jerusalem.

Ongoing systematic monitoring system is weakened due to the paralyzed board, and General assembly body, although it's worth mentioning that the strong management and the participatory internal structure have played a positive role in the monitoring process.

### **3.4. Challenges & Issues**

#### **3.4.1. Challenges/Critical Issues to be addressed**

Relation with Bat-Shalom under the Jerusalem Link through a rights based **principles are not clear to the local community**, such vague understanding by women in grass roots and local communities, coupled with the minimum joint actions against right deficits, has placed the organization under misunderstanding, of it's role and mandate by the community, appearing to have the reputation of normalizing institute without political dimension, as facilitator of JCW noted how difficult it was to clarify and correct its image in Palestinian community. **Principles should be publicized and made clear to all target groups in all projects, while the joint groups needs to have understanding based on the principles.**

Although Jerusalem Center for Women have played an important role among other Palestinian NGOs to serve Palestinian women and to advocate for Palestinian rights, the **Palestinian CSO are still not accepting JCW as a Palestinian NGO**, PNGO have rejected its application of membership in the network, although JCW is currently taking part within various local campaigns.

**The paralyzed board and the invisible General Assembly** is one of the main JCW organizational challenges towards internal democracy, accountability and transparency. The continuation of such status affects motivation of management and staff, leaves them alone on various critical issues, and provides Chair and management with the ultimate power of decision making and direction setting.

The Board represents 'elite'<sup>27</sup> women, with a **clear gap with supporters, and the grass roots**. Some women grass roots involved with the organization for a while are not aware of their board or political dialogue within Jerusalem Link, there is a gap between grass roots work and political issues raised at the Jerusalem Link. Women from grass roots and volunteers forces were not used or reintegrated into the structure of the JCW.

The JCW proved effectiveness to reach objectives of local initiatives working among Palestinian women, **while still need more efforts, better design, improved capacities and new techniques to deal with joint projects under current political context.**

The activation of the General Assembly and election of the Board of Trustees are main challenges, while utilizing board's members accumulated experience.

#### **3.4.2. Strategic Issues**

<sup>27</sup> Prominent political figures only without any grass roots women

There are various strategic issues that the Jerusalem Center for Women has to tackle and deal with in their strategic planning process, namely:

- Is it better for the JCW to continue under Jerusalem Link or to work **independently** while have the relation with Bat- Shalom? So that they are considered as a Palestinian NGO.
- How can they **better utilize their Neach within Jerusalem Link**, and their link to Israeli CSOs and International community? How can they utilize relations to the IWC, specially that most board members are IWC board members? Will the existence of the IWC limit their international relations?
- How can the **JCW work with grass roots and link their work to political dialogue and activism**? How can they use grass roots, CBOs and volunteers to enhance their work and political activism?
- How can they **enhance their joint work** to reflect the current political context, public opinion, and challenges Palestinian women are facing daily? How can they enhance their capacities to deal with joint actions and projects? How can joint projects reflect right deficits of their target groups, the right holders?.
- Where is the next **focus** for the Jerusalem Center for Women regarding:
  - Target Groups: Is it one or two of: Women in Decision making, women in old city, women in danger of demolished houses- Silwan, students?
  - Location: Should they continue to focus on Jerusalem, both or one of the J1 & J2 zones? Should they continue to work in the West Bank or West Bank & Gaza? How would that reflect it self on the existence of their offices?
- How can JCW capitalize on **the founding members' expertise**, political awareness & connections while undergoing the elections? How can ex-members be also active in Jerusalem Center for Women work, specially that most are on IWC board?

## Chapter 4. The Jerusalem Link

### 4.1. *Jerusalem Link Principles and Political Dialogue*

#### 4.1.1. *Jerusalem Link Principles*

The Jerusalem Link Principles was adopted in August 1999, after years of discussion through the political dialogue and meetings. It highlights various important principles<sup>28</sup> that both political organizations found as a base for their joint actions.

After agreeing on the principles, Bat Shalom had a problem in advocating it, as it holds its pre agreement on the UN resolution of 194 regarding the right of return for refugees. Such an issue was under discussion in the Israeli community.

Palestinian and Israeli women in the link represent those political parties that are having similar positions to the declarations. Yet discussions and joint work have move certain parties towards rights of Palestinian people, certain parties adopted the peace discourse and slogans

<sup>28</sup> Refer to Annex 3 for the Jerusalem Link Principles

initiated by the link, Jerusalem Link have consumed much time and effort to develop the principles, yet under publicizing it to their networks and groups is underestimating that work.

***Principles acknowledge rights of two people on Palestine/ Israel based on UN resolutions and international law. It calls for two state solution and Jerusalem as two capitals for two states; it calls for action based on peaceful solution to achieve the Palestinian rights. It considers UN Resolution as reference points and human rights conventions as basis. Women are central to peace according to principle and it is also promoting women role in democratic non-violent Civil Society.***

#### **4.1.2. Political Dialogue**

Systematized political dialogue has started since the link establishment, even before; the link presented the venue for political discussion between women politicians and member of political parties on both sides on means and methods to achieve peace and rights.

They had regular meetings since 1994 till 2006, while during the years of Oct 2000 till Feb 2003, meetings were halted (section 1.4), due to reflection of political status at that moment. Meetings were attended by boards of the two organizations, general assembly members and staff.

Upon evaluating the discussions recorded in the minutes of meeting, and based on interviews with various participants in the meetings, it was noted that:

- Political dialogue and meetings were open discussion area that included women outside the board of the two organizations and **reflected various bold ideas**.
- Jerusalem Link Meetings **did not end up with Plan of Action, joint strategies or decisions**.
- Political dialogue and discussions were **affected by the political status** and political changes, as some supporters from the organizations got **disappointed, and over stressed**, members were questioning the seriousness and commitment to peace from both sides, they were **questioning** the possibility of achieving the two state solutions based on changes on the ground. Some members suggested a bi-national state; while others were discussing the possibility of joining "boycotting Israel campaigns" similar to South Africa to put pressure for conducting real peace talks and as things on the ground are deteriorating and not improving.
- There was Palestinian disappointment from the minimum effect of the Israeli peace camp against aggression on Palestinian people and against occupation. There were calls from both sides to **put-up strategies to address the Israeli public**, there were various calls and concrete suggestions to address the Israeli public so that they can be responsible and hold Israeli Government accountable, but calls did not strategize.
- **Gender perspective of the dialogue was missing**: how was the dialogue different from their political parties? Right Holders were not present, their issues were not really discussed,
- **Discussions some times were trapped in history**, could not reflect the changes on new way of thinking, but rather discussing the old plan and the old means, with totally different factors on the ground.
- **Reflection of the right wing Israeli political agenda on the dialogue** started to be apparent after year 2003. Fr example discussion of the acceptance of "Israel as a Jewish state", rather than secular, pluralistic and promotes tolerance.

- o **Women politicians on both sides are the main streams** that some times would not value bold ideas, and **could not move away from their political parties' agendas**. Future scenarios were not discussed, for various possible future expectations.
- o On the mean time, it has to be mentioned that dialogue **at the first phase** of the Jerusalem Link existence **had a fruitful effect** resulted in developing the Jerusalem Link sets of principles for just, comprehensive and lasting peace.

## 4.2. *Jerusalem Link Organizational Issues*

### 4.2.1. *Organization Mandate and Identity*

The Jerusalem Link is an **umbrella body** for two independent, grassroots non-governmental organizations, the Palestinian Jerusalem Center for Women and the Israeli Bat Shalom. The Jerusalem Link is a joint venture for a just peace, advocating for women's political empowerment and active involvement in peace making processes on both the grassroots and the policy-making levels.

The Jerusalem Link's mandate is "to dialogue and craft joint political positions articulating our vision of a just peace, and to expose and engage in transformational political education in both societies"<sup>29</sup>.

The mandate is totally fit for the first phase of the Jerusalem Link work, where activities and projects reflected the mandate. During the second and third phases of Jerusalem Link, additional activities and projects were included that responds to the needs and political changes. Joint work and actions were directed towards violations of Human rights under occupation, "end the occupation slogans" and "expose the Judization policies in Jerusalem", a positive response to the political status, **mandate was not extended to include such developments**.

The mandate doesn't reflect the gender focus and specific of the Jerusalem Link, although it is mentioned in some of their publications, "envisioning gender equality in each community", or working for social justice as well as political justice. There are other internal changes, such as the new existence of the IWC<sup>30</sup>, stemming out from the Jerusalem Link and the involvement of board members in its structure.

The identity of the organization still has to be clarified specially with new developments after the year 2000. Future process of strategic planning has to address these issues, and develop

- o Should it be an **umbrella or networking body**? It succeeded to be an umbrella in first stage, where both organizations were under which, but with the increased strength of both organizations and development of both individual programs, should it continue to be an umbrella?
- o Is Jerusalem Link "**political organization trying to find political solution**, not an NGO" as was mentioned by board member, are they human rights organization, development women NGO or political activists?
- o Would the **mandate and identity** differ after the existence of the IWC?
- o How does Jerusalem Link differ from other NGO, women movement, IWC or political party?
- o What is the "**added Value**" in current status of its identity and mandate?

<sup>29</sup> Activities of the Jerusalem Link, 2006, JCW and Bat Shalom

<sup>30</sup> For more information on IWC, refer to section 4.2.3

mandate further.

#### **4.2.2. Structure of the Jerusalem Link**

The Jerusalem Link is not an organization in it self, but rather an umbrella, or virtual network. The structure, roles and responsibilities of the Jerusalem Link bodies reflected this identity, while it was affected by political changes and the different phases Jerusalem Link passed through. Although the structure remained the same in all phases, but roles and responsibilities in each phase for each body has changed, as follows:

- At the first stage the board decided for both organizations directions, then the implementing body was the two organizations working through joint projects, even reporting was joint at that time. Their work was only that linked to the Jerusalem Link.
- During the second phase, each organization worked alone with no existence of the structure, even if communications were there for the IWC. Separate projects and work existed.
- During the third phase, the board came back into action, the implementing body was the joint coordination between part of the staff of both organization, were joint work is only part of their work.

#### **Governance: Boards of two organizations:**

The joint boards of the two organizations considered the higher body of the Jerusalem Link that discusses directions of the link, joint acts and conduct the Palestinian/Israeli political dialogue. The body also follows the international relations and international networks.

Members of the general assembly some times joins, it adds new dimension to discussions, June 10<sup>th</sup> 2006 meeting. Meetings are held once or twice per annum.

Between meetings, the two boards had ongoing communications, and in specifically between the boards' political committees of both organizations, in relation to developing certain political positions, eg the Jerusalem Link Principles, the political leaflets, communiqués, press releases or statements. All communications are coordinated through the two directors. Boards also were engaged on ongoing communications in the process of developing the IWC.

Regularity of Meetings after 2003 of the two boards have decreased as most of board members would meet in IWC, being part of the board there.

The body worked as a **governance body pre the year 2000**, were it was monitoring the joint projects, and receiving joint reports and discussing functions and directions. While it **became a networking body** after words, discussion were made without formal decisions, plans or strategies.

Although Jerusalem Link board monitored projects at first phase, formal Systems for monitoring of plans, strategies and for holding the Jerusalem Link accountable are not present.

The board has formed two joint sub-committees in May 2003 meeting, the political sub-committee to review basic political principles and joint materials, and the joint local initiative sub-committee.

It is worth mentioning that the difference in number of board members, affected the structure at the meetings, as board members ranged between 23 and 19, while the JCW ranged between 13 and 8.

### ***Management Coordination and Staff Meeting of two organizations:***

Management of the two organizations are meeting once to twice a month, to activate joint projects, actions and to discuss joint political statements.

On going communications between the directors takes place between the meetings, in specifically to follow-up or discuss certain issues. The most time demanding work for the both directors is to finalize and agree upon a political statement as both have to communicate back and forth with their boards and political committees. Both directors have also to organize for the Jerusalem Link meetings.

Staffs of both organizations meet to discuss the joint projects, such as the current EU project, they held bi-monthly meeting, discuss details of implementations, issues raised due to implementation. Actions ahead, and evaluate joint events and actions.

The Jerusalem Link meetings at the different levels was very fruitful in many ways, not only on organization of work and moving it forward, but also on personal level by improving communication and leader skills of both sides. ***On the other hand it had been noted from the Palestinian side on various levels; that the Israeli-Palestinian power relation affected the women relation in JL in many occasions especially in the decision making process.***

#### ***4.2.3. Jerusalem Link relation to IWC***

The International Women's Commission, IWC was developed through Jerusalem Link and from its boards' members during the years 03 to 05. IWC went beyond Jerusalem Link by involving international figures & representatives, with a main vision to reach out to international community and echo the Palestinian/Israeli peace camp concerns, as well as to involve decision makers at the international level in the peace process.

It started through the link, but had its own UN international status, most board members of the two organizations are members of the IWC, director of Bat Shalom, is also a member but not the director of JCW.

The relation between IWC and Jerusalem Link is not formalized through a systematic relation, through Memorandum of Understanding, Updated bylaws, etc. The only link are the mutual board members, therefore if any change of boards happens then there will be no connections between the two organizations.

The existence of the IWC as seen by board members is an important step forward that links Palestinian and Israeli women to the outside world, and activate international support for the peace process, they envision that the role of the Jerusalem Link should now concentrate on grass roots. But there is no clear mechanism of how that relation should be materialized on the ground.

Board members have lost interest in Jerusalem Link after the presence of the IWC, see related sections. The existence of IWC could also affect support to the Jerusalem Link, as similar mandate and identity, with improved elements.

The international relations and the Political dialogue is moved to IWC while widening the scope and participants, which raised questions on role & scope of work of the Jerusalem Link. Should they duplicated the work or complement it? by giving up the duplicated parts. How would the relation be **Conflict of interest or cooperation?**

***The existence of the IWC directs the Jerusalem Link to revise its identity and mandate, to emphasize the work with grass roots and campaigns and to find formal ways and links with the IWC.***



#### **4.2.4. Planning Process and Strategic Directions:**

The Jerusalem Link started functioning with clear objectives in a different political context than the current one, starting the link was achieved through series of meetings and discussions at that time. The Jerusalem Link has developed the Principles, through ongoing dialogue of the boards, which have set the political vision of the link.

During the second and third stage of the Jerusalem Link after the year 2000, and due to change of political context, and in response to the increase human right violations by the occupation in the West Bank and Judization policies of East Jerusalem; the Jerusalem Link has developed strategic directions for women to work on ending the occupation (02 statement, and statements afterwards), and in specifically ending occupation in Jerusalem (07 meeting), although the Principles continued to be the main strategic direction for the link.

Although Jerusalem Link was able to set the strategic directions, but were questioning on ways to deal with specific events or consequences of policies, JL were not able to link the grass roots action with political activism, they did not go through the process of strategic planning to link up directions with programs and tools, to operationalize the strategic directions. While there was clear call for strategizing to deal with changing political situation - Naomi Chazan -JL meeting May 03 and June 06. So strategizing took place only thorough discussion in meetings, and agreement on actions was latter decided during management meetings.

- Directions were set during meetings so that :
  1. **Strategically they are working on ending occupation & going back to 67 borders while resuming peace negotiations**
  2. Act on certain effects of the occupation by certain activities but do not lose focus

The Strategic planning process would have helped the link within the change of political context and the new existence of the IWC, towards a joint move that links strategic directions with programs and means.

### **4.3. Activities and Programs**

#### **4.3.1. Political Activities and Networking**

Jerusalem Link has been active in carrying out occasional and responsive type of activities, as occasional actions are the annual ones linked to the 8th of March, were actions includes joint declaration, Press releases, 8<sup>th</sup> of March demonstration, and lately it has been linked to the human right advocacy project, such as the 06 sets of activities around the 8<sup>th</sup> of March on house demolition.

Jerusalem Link was also active in the Responsive type of actions, specially lately, those actions are linked to certain emergency, emerged violations, or in response to certain incidents such as holding demonstrations against The Separation Wall, Settlement expansion, sets of actions against house demolitions in certain area, or demonstration against the siege in Gaza. Responsive actions also included acts of protests in addition to demonstration, writing letters to Israeli authorities or visiting embassies. Some times just producing press releases and publishing it in the local newspaper.

Jerusalem Link could organize such demonstration and organize participation through its link to different political activists and peace related political parties, present through their board and general assembly, it could also mobilize other women volunteers linked to Bat Shalom and JCW programs and organized groups.

Bat Shalom and JCW managed to enlarge the effects of their actions by being part of other networks, as described earlier, and these networks joined women, human rights and peace activists in both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides.

Organizing actions and demonstrations after the year 2000 in response to violations of human rights became important, and was always requested by the Palestinian side to protest to the violations, after the year 2000 Palestinians from West Bank and Gaza are not able to participate as before, due to the access restriction, various board members of the JCW<sup>31</sup> were speakers in pre 2000 rallies and demonstrations. Its effect is important on both Palestinian and Israeli sides, for Palestinians its showing them supporters from the Israeli side and partners for peace, while for the Israeli side its important that society are aware of occupation measures and are engaged on holding their moral obligations and responsibility. Changes on the ground and the resulting access restriction, makes such mechanisms difficult, for example Ashjan from the Palestinian joint groups, was invited to present the situation at a political discussion by the Bat Shalom, they failed to get her a permit.

#### **4.3.2. Peace Building Programs:**

Jerusalem Link peace building programs are the conventional type of programs that started with the start of the link; it included the JL political dialogue; as well as the peace awareness-raising sessions among young women in both communities including joint groups' discussions and actions. Awareness on 1325 UN resolution was included in awareness sessions for the young women. Addressing young women from both sides is important, as younger generations are victims of separation policies and are not much aware of peace discourse and efforts.

The EU project for Campaigning the slogan" Two capitals for two states" , was also implemented with EU funding of the project as part of peace building programs. Such projects enabled the Jerusalem Link to activate and to market one of their main principles, marketing more of the peace discourse; such slogan was at a latter stage adopted by political parties.

International campaigning and joint international visits were also part of peace building programs. Such visits were important for the international support, but

Palestinian board member, Huda Imam, stated and others agreed with her "Joint International campaigning **presents us as equals and as two nations in post conflict status, while we are still in-conflict status**". 15<sup>th</sup> Jan 2008, JL joint feedback workshop.

Currently and under the same programme, the Joint groups are conducted supported by the EU-Orlando project 06-09, evaluating the joint groups meetings through focus groups, interviews and desk review, has indicated that there were various weaknesses in the project implemented, related to various mismatches of the group and the different status each are suffering, while the non-acknowledgment of the reference point, the Jerusalem Link Principles.

The Palestinian women are women political activists experienced in political work and as the rest of the Palestinians, suffering the daily life of a Palestinian under occupation, all of which supports the peace process. The Israeli group were not women political activists as they are, some are university students, most of them were not aware of the conflict or the peace process. Palestinian and Israeli groups did not know about the Jerusalem Link Principles. So for some of them meetings were mixed up with normalization efforts, as political activists this affect our image in the community, specially that there is no resulting actions and protests out

<sup>31</sup> Zahira Kamal and Amal Khreisheh interviews and documented reports from other member's participation



of it, the number of Palestinian women attending joint meetings decreased, while most were present at the Palestinian only raising awareness sessions part of the program.

Palestinian women were disappointed that Israeli women are not acknowledging their rights, nor talking according to the international law and UN resolutions adopted by the JL principles. That was illustrated in the demonstration slogans that they canceled at the end. They did not want to go back in history to Al-Nakba, 1948, and some denied it but went back to holocaust.

Israeli women were not able to support Palestinian women in their community (except for some), or act with them, in a village near Jenin, there was a call for one day protest against the wall, the Israeli group were afraid to attend while other Israeli groups attended. The Israeli groups were part of the new groups Bat Shalom was trying to mobilize, but it seems they were still at the beginning, and not political activists that disappointed the Palestinians.

It was clearly noted that the Israeli participants when they meet with the Palestinian ones, are always trying to run to the gender issues instead of the political general issues. It was explained by Kholoud Badawi who used to act as a board member at Bat Shalom, she said that some times Israeli-Jewish women would do that because this is the only place where they can feel victims like the Palestinian, hence switching from Duty Barrier to right holders, which could be a common ground but has to address political rights as well.

On the other hand for Palestinian women, the groups empowered them in defending their rights and presenting it, these groups were arena for some to produce women politicians, but their hopes were that the Israeli women could acknowledge their rights, support them through joint activities and reflect their voices in the Israeli society. While the joint groups for the Israeli women was a way to understand the suffering of the Palestinian women, and for some to be more actively involved<sup>32</sup>.

#### **4.3.3. House demolition Campaign: Campaigns to achieve rights:**

During the years 2005-2006 Jerusalem Link was involved in advocacy campaign against the human rights violations in East-Jerusalem, regarding house demolishing of Palestinian houses based on the Israeli municipal plan of 2020. The campaign was conducted through producing legal and media materials, protest actions, raising awareness of the Israeli groups and international community of the issue, through empowering the women committee at the Wadi Yasoul Silwan area. The 8<sup>th</sup> of March activities were around that campaign and protesting against the wall<sup>33</sup>.

The campaign against house demolition- Wadi Yasoul Silwan women has been a **positive experience representing a scenario for RBA projects and campaigns. The campaign has used strategies to enable and empower right holders, but neglected to continue the work with duty bearers** to achieve cancellation of plans rather than only postponement. The Jerusalem Link is well suited for such campaigns due to the dual links and networking on both sides regarding certain campaigns, JCW with CCDPRJ, and Bat Shalom with ICHAD and other Israeli networks, while both are part of the IWC. Points of strength, if utilized can mobilize efforts on the grass roots levels for rights based change.

"I don't want them to cry with me, I want them to support my rights", women from Jenin group

"I want them to know who I am, where I come from, my history without denying it, before I discuss the social issues, I have that right, don't I? **acknowledge me first then I will discuss gender and class issues with you**" women from Ramallah group

<sup>32</sup> Refer to Annex 5.3 for details of Focus groups discussion

<sup>33</sup> Refer to Annex 5.4 for the Joint statement of Jerusalem Link with the women's committee in the area

In Addition to the above Jerusalem Link activities and projects, there are other women empowerment activities and projects held separately by each organization, see chapters 2 and 3.

#### **4.3.4. Strategies Used**

Jerusalem Link, through JCW has **used various Strategies directed towards right holders**, such as Raise awareness of targeted women towards peace issues and right deficits, empowering women, organize to claim their rights, and mobilizing efforts of international community towards their rights, while networking with other women, human rights and legal organizations are achieved.

Jerusalem Link through Bat Shalom has **used strategies directed to the duty bearers** such as protesting to certain incidents and policies, raising awareness of the Israeli public, while networking with other human rights and political organizations on legal and human rights issues.

**But still further rights based strategies are needed to achieve the change** on both the Right Holders and the Duty bearers' sides, in a unified strategy to achieve the change, on political levels and achieve rights.

*There is still a gap in strategies that are directed to hold duty bearers their moral and legal obligations, their still a lack of strategies addressing the power relations and carrying the voice of the grass roots and right holders to the political level achieving a change towards their rights.*

Some people interviewed describes the strategies as **"band-aid"** strategies and strategies to **"relieve the conscious" rather than achieving change**, defensive strategy that pulls back to the right holder instead of addressing the duty bearers.

**Proactive strategies** are needed to achieve the change rather than just reacting, pro-acting based on prediction and analyzing rather than defending is needed, and strategic thinking and planning can involve such strategies. Strategies that would achieve putting the peace discourse forward, instead of adopting the current one.

**Rights based strategies**, strategies that would redress injustice not only relieving suffering, use rights to influence power and hold duty bearers accountable. Strategies to advocate the rights of the grass roots on the political level and achieve the change, more of enabling the voiceless to be defended on the legal and political levels.

#### **4.3.5. Overall notes on Jerusalem Link Actions and Projects**

Strategic directions were set, but some times projects to operationalize the objectives were not set, putting all means and tools and programs to achieve it.

Some of the projects are repetition with same mechanisms, without taking into considerations changes on the ground and resulting effects. The pre 2000 era had totally different facts, public opinion, effects than post 2000. Mechanisms that have worked efficiently could not be so now.

Minimum focused projects that lead to change or lead to achievement of rights, some of the actions and reactions were not linked to certain goals and objectives. Focusing efforts of actions, projects and joint work into certain campaigns could improve efficiency work.

Some of the projects were much relevant to the right holders than others, work towards and with duty bearers is still minimum. Still lacking plans for reaching out to the Israeli public opinion.

Some of the work was project basis, or reactions that ended up in short period without effects or change. Some times continuity is needed, and building up vertically on what has been achieved is important.

Jerusalem Link has gained experience through out the years of implementation of different projects and political actions, focusing these actions and building on it is needed based on lessons learned and gained expertise.

Although powerful prominent political figures women are represented in the boards but were not introducing plans to address decision making powers.

The sharing Jerusalem campaign enabled Jerusalem Link to present the other discourse and to mobilize actions around it. Such effort was not duplicated around other themes, that can lead to change of public opinion and rallying around the Jerusalem Link principles, although talked about media campaigns but was not carried.

Addressing the young generations in awareness raising towards peace, human rights, political and civil society issues is an important aspect, but the trained women did not appear again in the structure of the Jerusalem Center for Women, while they appeared in the Bat Shalom structure.

Future strategizing has to build on the Strength of Bat Shalom in political activism and of the Jerusalem Center for Women in development and human rights issues.

#### 4.4. *Strength & Weaknesses*

Strength and weaknesses of the Jerusalem Link, is stated from the Israeli Prospective, the Palestinian perspective and the overall one based on the evaluation, different interviews and materials analyzed through the desk review.

**Table 2: Strength and Weaknesses of the JL from Palestinian, Israeli perspectives**

Strength	Weaknesses
Israeli Perspective	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The long process of working together created a <b>special relations</b>, strong ones among members</li> <li>● <b>From the JL, grow number of Politicians</b> – women like Zahira Kamal, Naomi Chazan, Tamar Gozanski</li> <li>● The <b>Combination</b> between high profile women and grass roots activists from both sides</li> <li>● The meeting with the Palestinian women <b>enabled the Israelis to understand better</b> the results of occupation and the mechanism of oppression.</li> <li>● The JL <b>created a space where women from both sides could meet, organize and act for peace</b></li> <li>● Develop a <b>critical political analysis</b> for the developments in both sides of the Green line</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Did not manage to open the JL for new young activists (<b>closed Club</b>)</li> <li>● The Political Principles did not develop after the adoption of the main principles by the general public</li> <li>● <b>The influence of the political crisis on the trust</b> inside the JL (between the Israeli and Palestinian members)</li> <li>● The <b>Lack of common activities</b> &amp; common strategies</li> <li>● <b>Lack of strategies for the new situation</b> after building the wall and the restrictions of movement of Palestinians</li> </ul>

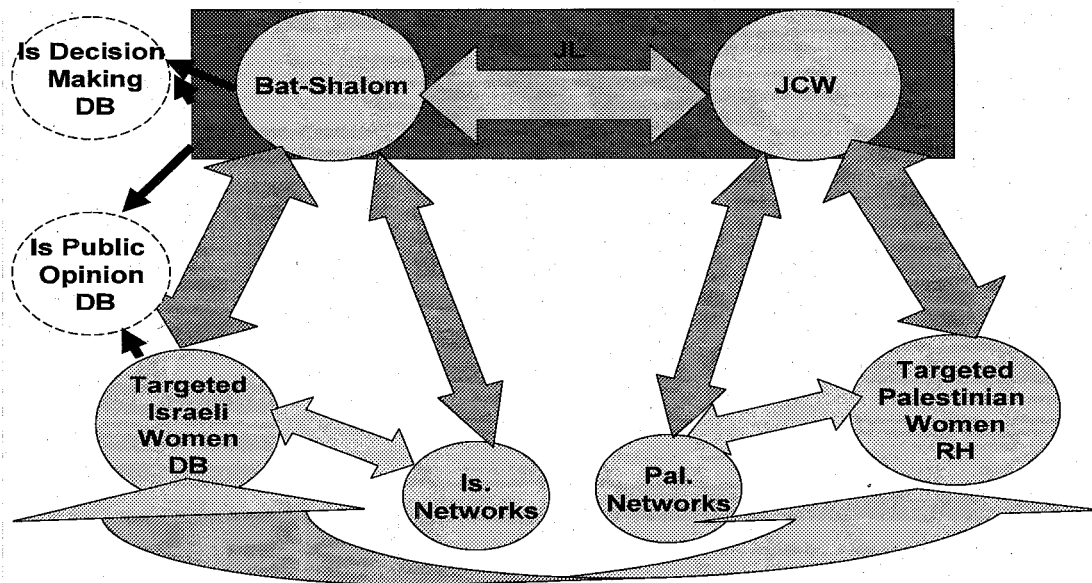
Palestinian Perspective	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Joint effort towards peace, added value in its history and its continual joint work.</li> <li>● A mean to change the Israeli Public opinion towards acknowledging &amp; supporting Palestinian Rights</li> <li>● Means for Palestinian/Israeli political dialogue <b>on feminist perspective</b></li> <li>● <b>Ability to reach Israeli decision makers &amp; public</b></li> <li>● <b>A Mean for shaping women politicians</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>Disappointment from the JL effect &amp; the Bat Shalom effect.</b></li> <li>● The Israeli effect in their community is minimal, <b>Palestinian voice is not reaching</b></li> <li>● <b>The Israeli support is (Band Aid)</b> reacting on certain incidents, as the international supporters not as Duty Bearers(eg : Silwan)</li> <li>● Sometimes Is/ Pal <b>Power relations are reflected</b> in mutual work</li> <li>● The political discussions are a way of <b>"conscious relieving" rather than actual actions leading to change.</b></li> <li>● <b>Political club</b> between the elite of both sides</li> <li>● <b>Grass roots</b> are not part of it</li> </ul>

**Table 3: The Overall Strength and Weaknesses of the Jerusalem Link**

Strength	Weaknesses
Overall	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>The political Principles</b> : for many years the JL political principles were the most challenging principles and the most clear in supporting a real lasting just peace , offered the solution for the conflict .</li> <li>● Boards includes <b>prominent figures</b> that represent political parties &amp; are influential &amp; able to reach decision makers on both sides</li> <li>● <b>It is The First Israeli-Palestinian women cooperation</b> in the struggle for peace in both sides.</li> <li>● <b>a Link between Palestinian and Israeli organization:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ based on clear <b>Rights Based principles</b></li> <li>○ <b>Working for peace</b></li> <li>○ They can mobilize around certain issues</li> </ul> </li> <li>● <b>Mobilized public around the issue of Jerusalem – 2 capitals for 2 states (sharing Jerusalem)</b></li> <li>● Instrumental in forming <b>IWC</b> , IWC has been based on accumulated experience of the JL</li> <li>● Responsive to political status in context analysis, issuing of statements, demos...</li> </ul> <p>Moving towards concentration on East Jerusalem violations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>No joint long term Strategy</b> that links actions with directions.</li> <li>● <b>Work on project basis &amp; responsive</b>, need to be linked to the long term strategy, and focus.</li> <li>● Although prominent figures are present but <b>did not use their influence enough</b>, they are as the other peace camp going to the right, with <b>politicians trying to win voters</b></li> <li>● <b>Could not develop their directions, mechanisms and strategies for the post 2000 stage.</b></li> <li>● <b>Could not involve partners around international advocacy campaign based on their directions.</b></li> <li>● <b>Lack long term strategy and clear focus</b></li> </ul>

#### 4.5. Actual and Expected Role of Jerusalem Link

Figure 3: The Actual and Expected Role of Jerusalem Link



The figure above illustrates the actual and expected role of the Jerusalem Link were all continues lines are the actual links available while the dotted ones are the expected ones that needs further enhancements.

As discussed before and as based on rights based analysis, Jerusalem Center for Women is linked to their target groups, the Palestinian women being the right holders, while the Bat Shalom linked to their target groups, the Israeli women being the moral duty bearers, both groups are linked through joint actions, projects and joint groups. Both organizations are linked with the networks of Palestinian and Israeli groups. The Jerusalem Link is formed from both organizations and the relation between them.

What is still weak and needs reinforcement are the link to the Israeli decision makers and the Israeli public opinion as duty bearers, and can affect the duty bearers. This link could be achieved through links from Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Link as a whole.



## **4.6. Issues Raised and Scenarios**

### **4.6.1. Identity & Organizational**

- **Identity of the JL: Is it a political party, or a feminist development movement with political links, or a different NGO?**
  - How does JL differ from other NGO, women movement, IWC or political party?
- **What Jerusalem Link Governance could be developed that is based on participation, transparency & accountability?**
- **What clear relation with IWC identifies organizational & financial independency & linkages?**
  - Relation of Jerusalem Link to IWC is it Bottom-up or top-down?
  - Are JL and IWC Independent or interrelated?
- **Israeli /Palestinian Power relations reflections?**
  - How can this be avoided in mutual work & relation?
- **How can feminism affects political dialogue & activism? TG, perspectives? Gender Versus Political dialogue & activism**
- **How can Partners' role in international actions reflecting campaigns of JL?**
  - How can JL engage partners in international actions?

### **4.6.2. Strategies & functional**

- **How can we link strategic directions to actions?**
  - How can projects accumulate to achieve the Strategic Direction, the envisioned change?
- **How do we reflect human rights reference into our strategies?**
- **What Strategies we can use to empower Right Holders to claim their rights?**
- **What Strategies we can use to address Duty Bearers & hold them accountable?**
- **What Mechanisms to include public participation in peace negotiations?**
- **In Group's Political Dialogue: how can we reflect the rights based agenda and principles versus normalization practices?**
  - How can Political Dialogue among Palestinian /Israeli groups be based on rights & reflect JL principles?
  - How can the groups be an effective tool for change?
- **How can Jerusalem Link reflect in-conflict status versus post conflict in means and programs?**
- **How can Jerusalem Link activate the UN1325 beyond awareness-raising?**

### 4.6.3. Future Scenarios

The Jerusalem Link would find itself in front of various scenarios that they would have to choose from; as a first step towards strategizing and setting directions. Consultants highlighted three scenarios below, among many possible more. Jerusalem Link is challenged to upgrade or change in order to meet internal and external changes, and the current challenges.

Scenarios-1	Scenarios-2	Scenarios-3
<b>JL continues with new focus and upgrade mandate:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Focus on Jerusalem through campaigns</li> <li>○ Activating advocacy targeting Israeli decision makers &amp; public.</li> <li>○ More women grass roots focus</li> <li>○ Link with IWC, move political dialogue to IWC</li> <li>○ Joint RBA strategy.</li> </ul>	<b>JL dissolves itself,</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Both organizations work <b>independently</b> in their community, strengthen links with own networks &amp; maybe or maybe not have links.</li> <li>○ <b>own strategies</b> , networking &amp; work</li> <li>○ Link with IWC,</li> </ul>	<b>JL &amp; 2 organizations change mandate,</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Both organizations work <b>independently</b> in their community, strengthen links with own networks,</li> <li>○ <b>Network</b> with each other.</li> <li>○ <b>own strategies</b>, networking &amp; work</li> <li>○ Link with IWC,</li> </ul>

These scenarios are to be discussed for various predicted status, If Peace talks was fruitful and would lead to Palestinian state, Peace talks fails , or if Situation prevails. Scenarios should be based on free thinking beyond the current status into the predicted position of the Jerusalem Link within the years to come.

Any chosen scenario should be based on the comparative advantage of the link, through a strategic plan process and to be adopted by the board and the general assembly.

In one of the interviews, it was mentioned that Jerusalem Link would be best suited when the peace talks fails and to fight for equality in the resulting one state:

Unless there is a serious change of course in the coming year or two with Israeli policy (and there is no indication of that), it appears ever likely that the reality of a separate Palestinian state may be being extinguished. ***If that is the case, these two organizations, already working cooperatively may be positioned uniquely for the next phase of the Palestine-Israel peace movement*** which is in the words of Ehud Olmert – a south African style battle for equal voting rights in which the Jewish state of Israel will be lost. As partners, it is important for us to remain faithful to this relationship in this key time of development if we are serious about women's engagement in the shaping of a Middle East just peace.

## Chapter 5. Recommendations

### 5.1. Bat-Shalom

1. Bat Shalom needs a **support on the staff level** , more positions in the organization to develop the work and add to the efforts invested in strengthening the projects and enlarge them especially:-
  - Fundraising position to release the director from the responsibilities on that side of the work and to enable better sustainability in the organization.

- There is a demand to enlarge the groups number which demand more staff hours and organizing the groups .
2. **Capacity Building:** The staff needs supervision and enrichment enabling them to gain better professional skills and deal with dilemmas discovered through projects developing .
  3. **Administrative support:** The capacities designated for administrative work including running the activities , documentation and filing , are not sufficient . It is recommended to support enlargement of this position and developing the capacities of the staff in this field .
  4. **Strategic planning process linked to the Jerusalem Link strategic planning process:** The fact that Bat Shalom has been developing in the last two years new approaches in work is creating a situation where specific strategic thinking process and decisions should be taken. It is recommended to support a process of strategic planning process inside the organization that involve the Staff , the Board and members in the process questions related to the : identity of the organization , Target groups , deciding on short term goals and long term objectives ,Choosing the right strategies for activities , should be answered and decided upon . This process to follow the Jerusalem Link strategic planning process.

## **5.2. Jerusalem Center for Women**

1. To address critical and strategic issues, presented in section 3.4. In Details:

### **5.2.1. Organizational**

2. To capitalize on the unique relation with Bat Shalom through the Jerusalem Link, in strategies related to duty bearers linked to Rights Based Approach, or to revise the relation and clarify it.
3. It's highly recommended to **change and activate the Board of Trustees** of the Jerusalem Center for Women through democratic elections, to enable it to carry out its responsibilities and to support the work of the management and the staff of the JCW. Current board members are founding members, who assisted JCW through out its establishment and growth, but its time for change, it would be useful if founding members would continue to be involved through the General Assembly. Enlarging the board could be one of options to consider. Young women, grass roots and prominent figures should be also included.
4. **To activate the General Assembly body;** the body to take its responsibility in enhancing accountability and ownership of the organization. It is recommended to initiate more involvement from grass roots and volunteers.
5. **To capitalize on Networking** and pressure groups building linked to JCW developed strategy, to involve management and board in local networking.
6. To move towards strategizing, by developing **long term strategy** with program based funding, following the development of the strategic plan of the Jerusalem Link.
7. To conduct **annual or bi-annual donor meeting** to discuss strategy, programs and budgets. In addition to their role in international support.

### **5.2.2. Programmatic**

8. To **stress the importance of the decision taken by the board in focusing on Jerusalem and women in Jerusalem.**



9. To base the planned new projects on successful previous ones and lessons learned,
10. To stress the importance of **working with grass roots** on rights based strategies, and to involve their partners and networks in harmonized effective strategies for change.
11. More Focusing of projects and grass roots is recommended. To achieve better results.
12. Increase capacities of staff, substitute the resigned staff and ensure management and core staff that are gender aware, political activists and development related. Encourage the leading role of project coordinators and political awareness and activism.
13. **The Legal and Media units** to continue to be linked with projects, through highlighting its role within the different projects, and to activate the legal clinic for house demolition.
14. **Activation of the Board and the General Assembly** for JCW through adding new elements from women human rights and peace activists, as well as young women and grass roots, in addition to the existing prominent political figures, will enable it to be more active in political activism sort of activities.

### 5.3. **Jerusalem Link**

1. It is highly recommended that Jerusalem Link would **address all the identified strategic issue** and think of the possible scenarios of the future structure and work, although it is of highly utmost importance to use the comparative advantage of the link.
2. For all scenarios it is very important for the Link to undergo the Strategic Planning process, with high involvement of various stakeholders and target groups through a participatory approach, taking into consideration the evaluation results, achievement and experience gained and lessons learned. **Strategizing is recommended to be based on Rights based Approach** for Rights based analysis and political activism strategies. It is expected that Tools and means for the strategy have to be outside the circle, innovative and different. Strategic planning that can direct Jerusalem Link from reaction strategies and slogans into pro-actions strategies.
3. For all scenarios to clarify the relation of Jerusalem Link with IWC, on the two levels:
  - o Organizational level: There is a need to formalize the relation ( through MoU, Update bylaws...etc)
  - o Functional Level: The Political dialogue could be moved to IWC, if duplicated there while widening the scope and participants.

#### **Other Recommendations obtained from the feed back workshop: JL Evaluation Review & Directions Ahead**

***"What makes us different as women from our political parties is the ability to (cross the boundaries), to even go beyond the principles towards rights, this would add the feminism dimension into the political discourse".*** Maha Abu Dayyeh and Judy Blanc

1. To develop the discourse beyond the public discourse:

It means that we would need to clarify the two-state solution, and how to achieve it, it could mean moving to discuss "Right of Return", and how to make it acceptable to the Israeli public. The "Judaism of the Israeli state" and what does it mean, to go beyond the organized right wing discourse that became public discourse.

To go beyond the politician work, we can leave that to the IWC, "of discussing what is realistic" **towards our feminist dimension of "going beyond what is realistic towards rights"**.

2. To activate the role of partners beyond financial support based on their shared vision based on peace making and gender social justice towards international action and support for peace development and achievement of rights, based on strategic vision and long term advocacy work planning.
3. To maintain and amplify the **younger generation involvement**, due to the time effect on the young generation and the separation role with no space of interaction. To reflect the younger generation involvement back into the structures of the organizations.
4. Mechanisms and approaches used to be conflict based, not post-conflict ones.
5. To select the one issue, **one slogan**, based on the developed discourse, so that the two organizations are working on it through **campaigns** involving and mobilizing the coalitions and networks in both communities. Develop more effective **strategies to achieve** the objectives, based on the slogans, then turn into project that is based on the joint slogan, and develop mechanisms to reach the public with the new discourse and slogan.