

Research Summary

IN THE ABSENCE OF JUSTICE

Embodiment and the politics of militarized
dismemberment in occupied East Jerusalem



DECEMBER 2016

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The report summarizes the findings of a research study examining the socio-political, legal and psychological factors that impact Palestinian women’s access to justice in occupied East Jerusalem.

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Foreword

The first publication in this series, *Access Denied* (2014), examined the socio-political and legal context of access to justice for Palestinian women in the occupied West Bank. The study paid particular attention to the ordeals faced by Palestinian women in Area C and H2, which make up approximately 60 per cent of the West Bank and remain under the full civil and security control of Israel and the Israeli military. In these areas women are limited both physically and procedurally from accessing justice and security institutions.

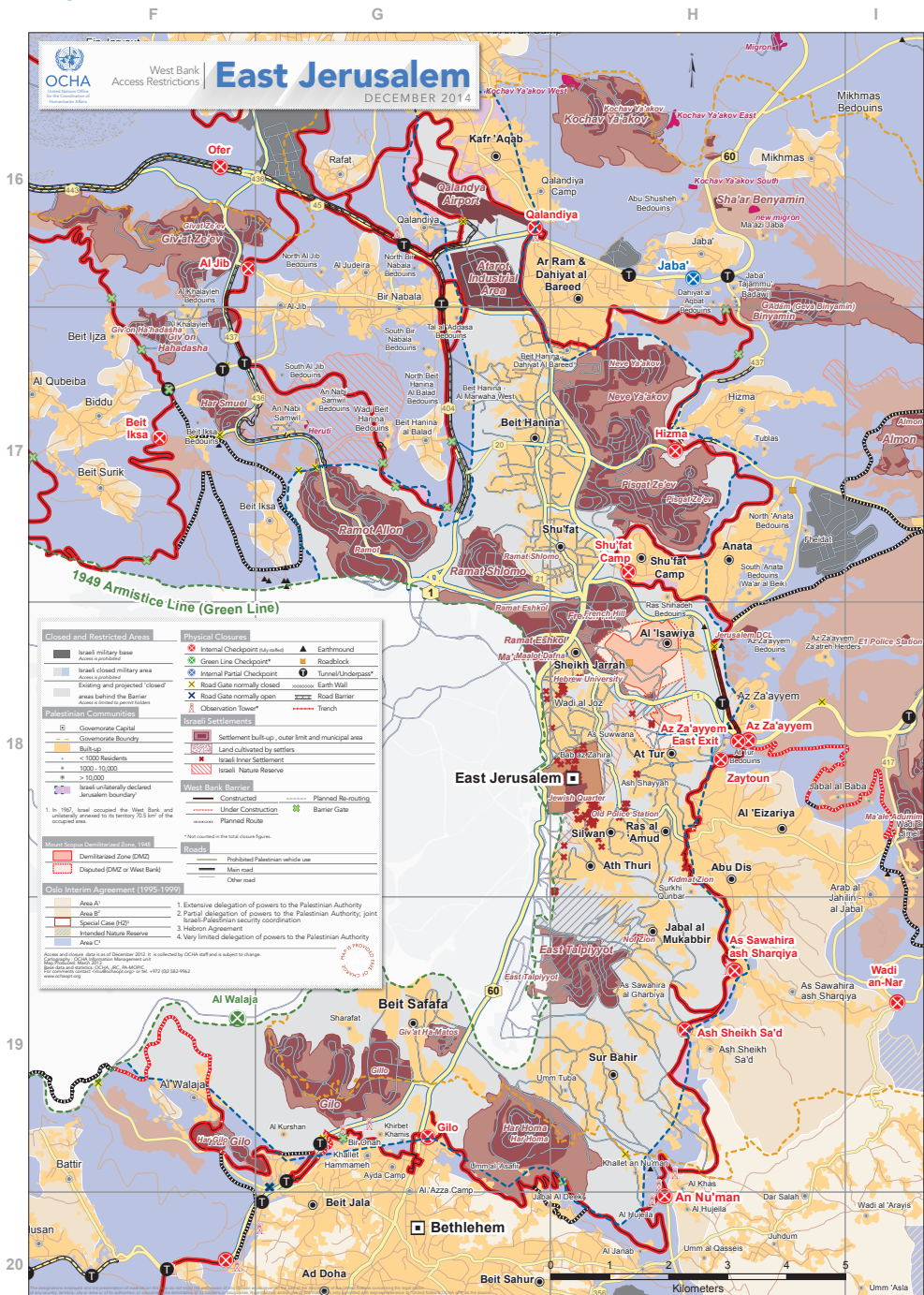
Access Denied's recommendations included the call for similar research on women's access to justice to be carried out in East Jerusalem, which is part of the occupied West Bank, but was unilaterally annexed by Israel in 1967 in contravention of international law. Palestinian residents in Jerusalem are divided into two groups. The larger group holds the legal status of "residency" and lives with the uncertainty of evictions, residency revocations, demolitions, movement restrictions and violent encounters with Israeli security forces and settler groups. The second group faces all that with the increased uncertainty of Israel's refusal to grant them the status of resident.

These uncertainties have specific gender dimensions that are outlined in this study; Palestinian women and girls in East Jerusalem and their access to justice are limited by the interplay between the discriminatory legal regime of the Israeli occupation and the internal mechanisms of patriarchal control within Palestinian communities.

These two factors—occupation and patriarchy—work together to create significant obstacles for East Jerusalemite women to realize their social, legal, political and economic rights as well as physical safety. The Israeli ID system holds women hostage in a bureaucratic trap where they cannot access justice without the "right" ID card or are constantly in fear of their family members being deported from Jerusalem. Women are stigmatized by their communities if they report gender based violence to Israeli authorities. Women don't report workplace abuse and harassment for fear of stigma, ridicule, evictions and/or residency revocations. Women living behind the wall in East Jerusalem have limited access to services or justice even though they are East Jerusalem residents. Women and girls feel the most intimate aspects of their lives are constantly under surveillance and describe living with the constant pressure of racism and discrimination.

The first-hand accounts of East Jerusalemite women in this research study give critical voice to the challenges Palestinian women are facing after more than 50 years of occupation. Concrete progress towards the goals of gender responsive rule of law and improved women's access to justice cannot be made without addressing the occupation regime and its human rights violations as well as the patriarchal control mechanisms women struggle with daily. The hope is that this research study will serve as an important advocacy tool to raise awareness of the challenges Palestinian women face in accessing justice and increase momentum towards a just and sustainable peace.

Map of East Jerusalem



Credit: Map by OCHA oPt, 2014

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1. Background

This study is a continuation of a comprehensive project that investigates Palestinian women's access to justice in the occupied Palestinian territory. While the first phase of the research was conducted in the occupied West Bank (see UN Women 2014), this phase of the study examines women's access to justice in relation to the socio-legal context of occupied East Jerusalem. It is important to note that while East Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory, this study uses the terms "occupied East Jerusalem" (OEJ) and "East Jerusalem" (EJ) interchangeably. The first phase of the study focusing on the West Bank explored how Palestinian women's access to justice is denied. This phase delves further into the complicated situation of occupied East Jerusalem with its regime of intersecting legal systems and multiple systems of denying women's access to justice. While we hope that our study will reach a diverse set of actors including scholars, human rights advocates, policymakers and feminist activists, our desire is that the voices of women shared will not only encourage further investigation of the abuses of women's rights, bodies and sexualities, but also compel all parties to take action to end the regimes of violence affecting Palestinian women's lives.

The research introduces the socio-political factors affecting Palestinian women's access to justice in occupied East Jerusalem. Occupied by Israel in 1967, East Jerusalem exists in a liminal space, where intersecting legal systems contribute to a complex machinery of bureaucracy, law and justice systems. Israel's continued occupation of East Jerusalem, and the Palestinian struggle to survive amidst increasingly challenging and difficult socio-economic and political conditions, provides the backdrop for this study. Thus, women's access to justice cannot be simply defined as a matter of establishing legal protection mechanisms, or expanding rights and opportunities. As a space central to Israel's military occupation of the West

Bank, the processes of securitized surveillance, militarization, and political, economic and cultural exclusion of Palestinians are amplified in East Jerusalem. Moreover, a marked increase in militarization and violence against Palestinian Jerusalemites in Jerusalem over the past two years has made life conditions and access to justice increasingly challenging. Thus, in examining women's access to justice it is imperative that we investigate structural factors that enhance or hinder women's right to legal protections, family, the workplace, land, safety in the home space, education, cultural and religious practices, and more.

Our study aims to develop a more nuanced understanding of how Palestinian women perceive their daily acts of surviving the occupation, and the gendered effects that surveillance, militarization and various modes of exclusion have on their identity, belonging and survival, as Jerusalemite women in relation to their access to justice. We rely on an interlocking feminist approach that attends not only to the visible, but the often invisible "intimate politics of the everyday" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015: 2), drawing attention to the "routine, intimate and private sites where power is both reproduced and contested (ibid.)." In doing so, we aim not only to map the everydayness of violence women face in a context of military occupation and the way it affects women's access to justice, but also women's 'counter-maps'—the everyday strategies women employ to survive and resist violence, and navigate various structures of power in their attempts to access justice.

More specifically the study hopes to; first, identify the primary obstacles Palestinian women face in their daily attempts to access justice in East Jerusalem, which are shaped by competing legal systems, encounters with Israel's demographic and security policies, social, political and economic restrictions, and political violence. Second, identify

how women's access to justice is affected by the relationship between Israeli state power and internal mechanisms of patriarchal control (e.g. Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2009, Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Daher-Nashif 2013), third, develop a deeper understanding of the gendered strategies women employ to navigate the hardships imposed on Jerusalemite Palestinians by the Israeli state—their struggles to achieve justice through both formal and informal mechanisms.

This study approaches these issues through the development of two concepts. The first, “*masarat al-taa’riya*”, or the politics of imposed stripping, aims to understand the various processes through which women are stripped of power and resources. This includes socio-legal, political and economic structural factors, as well as the bureaucracies and practices that limit or curtail women's access to justice. The second, “*masarat al-haaden*”, or the politics of containment, aims to understand the various processes and techniques through which women attempt to regain their power, and alternative mechanisms women create to rebuild and reestablish social networks and protection mechanisms to survive and access justice in everyday life.

When Palestinian women attempt to access justice within the Israeli legal system in occupied East Jerusalem, they face obstacles not only as women, but also as members of a racialized group subjected to a regime of occupation. As such, Palestinian women, like native women in other contexts, neither trust the Israeli legal system, nor believe in its ability to address their concerns, or be attentive to their hardships. Rather, they use the system selectively, to manage and subvert the system of occupation, and counter violence against them, knowing that the mere use of the system might help on one level, but strip them of power and control over their lives on another level. Hence, based on literature on crimes against native women elsewhere, a critical analysis of the socio-legal complexity facing women when accessing justice is imperative.

The aim of this research is to deepen understanding of Palestinian women's experiences in Jerusalem as they attempt to access justice through both formal and informal institutions. The research collected data both prior, during and after the beginning of the escalation of violence in Jerusalem in October 2015. The data was compared and analyzed not only to map the everydayness of violence women face in a conflict context and the way it affects women's access to justice, but also women's ‘counter-maps’—the everyday strategies Palestinian women living in Jerusalem employ to survive and resist violence, and navigate various structures of power in their attempts to access justice.

Context of occupied East Jerusalem

To understand Palestinian women's access to justice in occupied East Jerusalem requires understanding Israel's justice system and legal regimes as influenced by the interests of the state, and as such, inherently discriminatory (see Erakat 2015, Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2012, 2015, Zureik 1979). Israel occupied East Jerusalem in June 1967 and by international humanitarian law the relationship between Israel as the occupying power and Palestinian residents of occupied East Jerusalem should be governed by the rules of international law with regards to military occupation, namely the Fourth Geneva Convention (see Halabi 2012: 15). However, Israel has disregarded its obligations under international law, which “unequivocally prohibits Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and the application of Israeli laws, administration and jurisdiction to the occupied city (ibid).” In the immediate aftermath of the Six-Day War, the Israeli government signaled its intention to implement permanent Israeli rule over East Jerusalem with the application of a series of laws that expanded the boundaries of East Jerusalem, and attached it to the Jerusalem municipality of Israel, described in Israeli law as the “reunification” of Jerusalem (see Lustick 1994: 45).

The Israeli law on entry to Israel (Permission of entry and residence no. 5712 of 1952) was applied by Israel on the Jerusalemite Palestinians at this time. Per this law, Israel treated the occupied population as “newcomers” to Israel and thus granted them residency. Only Palestinians who were physically counted within the annexed area of East Jerusalem were entitled to legal status in the city. Those counted elsewhere in the occupied Palestinian territory and those outside of the country, including Jerusalem refugees, were—regardless of their origin, family ties or habitual residency in the city—excluded from legal status. Approximately 30,000 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem were absent at the time of the 1967 Israeli population census. They and their descendants currently have no right to return and reside in the city under Israeli law (CCPRJ et. Al. 2014: 16). Jerusalemite Palestinians were offered citizenship by the state, but largely refused as a political decision, as doing so would in effect recognize Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem, which Palestinians claim as the capital of a future state. Since 1967, Israel has revoked the residency status of 14,416 Palestinian Jerusalemites, preventing them from returning to live in their place of birth (ACRI 2015, p. 3).

This status of “permanent residency” (the Blue ID), is “a precarious status that does not confer a nationality or full civil and political rights” (St. Yves 2013, p. 6). It can be revoked at any time, does not allow the right to unite with family members, is not automatically passed down to children, and does not allow the right to vote or run for election in the Israeli Knesset. These East Jerusalem ID holders must pay all the taxes that Israeli citizens pay and are entitled to social benefits such as education and healthcare, yet receive substandard services from the state. “Permanent residency can be revoked if Jerusalem is not, or no longer, considered by the Israeli administration as the “center of life” for the concerned person” (ibid.). Other Israeli municipal planning policies have negatively affected Palestinians’ ability to plan and

develop their communities and enjoy the services they are entitled to, further undermining their presence in the city. In addition, Israeli measures have increasingly cut off East Jerusalem, once the focus of political, commercial, religious and cultural life for the entire Palestinian population of the occupied Palestinian territory, from the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.¹

While from 1967 to 1990 residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza strip could freely circulate, this permission was revoked after the first Gulf War (St. Yves 2013, p. 12). Since then, Palestinians from the occupied Palestinian territory have been required to request permits from the Israeli state to access Jerusalem. Practically, this meant that “numerous families which consisted of a spouse with West Bank or Gaza Strip residency and a spouse with Jerusalem ID who had never forsaken the complicated procedure of family unification, had now to find a justification for their presence in the city and apply for residency status under the Israeli family unification procedures (ibid).”

Over the past two years, Jerusalem has witnessed a marked increase in daily confrontations in Palestinian neighborhoods, Israeli security forces deploying use of force, injuring children with sponge bullets, spraying communities with “skunk water”, and blocking neighborhoods, further limiting Palestinians’ freedom of movement (ACRI 2015, p. 14-15). In the second half of 2014 alone, 1,184 Palestinians, including 406 minors, were arrested in East Jerusalem for “involvement in demonstrations and public disorder” (ibid, p. 12). “Cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment” of Palestinians held in military detention, including of children, was widely reported (UNHCR, 2015, p. 17). In addition to increased violence against Palestinians in occupied East Jerusalem, acts of racism and assaults of Palestinians in West Jerusalem have also increased (ibid).

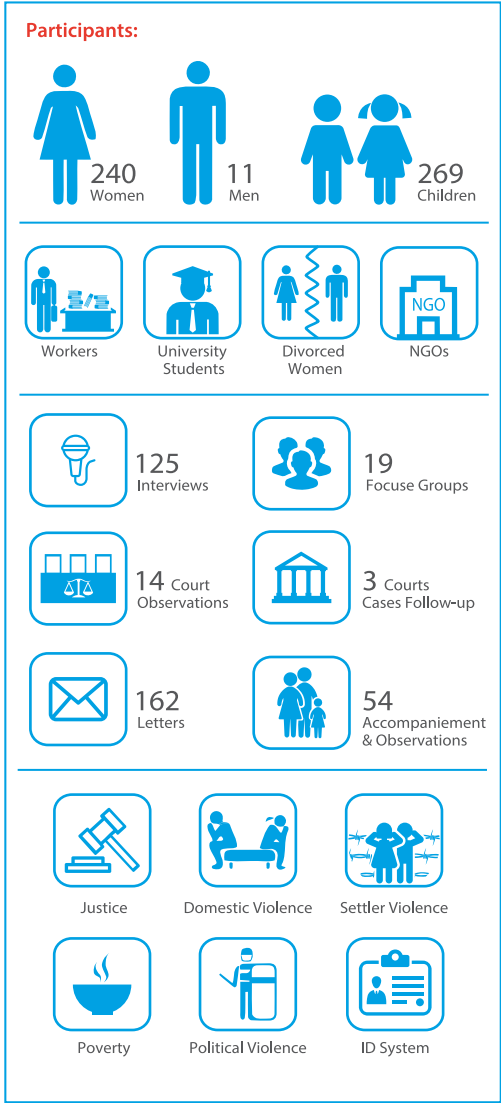
¹ See <http://www.ochaopt.org/location/east-jerusalem> for more information.

2. Methodology

The study draws on a decolonizing feminist methodological approach that foregrounds the voices and experiences of native Palestinian women and girls in occupied East Jerusalem. Decolonizing methodologies challenge the major tenets of positivist research and thus, the very politics of knowledge production. Feminist interventions have made clear that it is impossible for the researcher to occupy an ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’ position in relation to her research subjects. Rather, our representation of ‘others’ is always a product of our own social positioning. In following this methodological approach, we decided that rather than impose a standard definition of “justice” or “access to justice” on our research participants, we would ask them to define justice and access to justice themselves. Our choice to center the voices of Palestinian women and girls in defining access to justice throughout this study was not only an attempt to produce research committed to making the experiences of the occupied heard; this process enabled us to garner the insights of these voices to help build a more effective research methodology in understanding women’s access to justice.

The data collection for the study began in December 2014 and ended in June 2016. The primary investigator was supported by a team of researchers and fieldworkers from the Jerusalem-based Women’s Studies Center. All are feminist activists living in Jerusalem. Members of the research team are experienced in conducting research and fieldwork in conflict contexts, and working with female victims/survivors of various forms of violence. Due to the fragmentation of space and security concerns in occupied East Jerusalem, the team drew on multiple methods of qualitative data collection, including: semi-structured interviews with women and girls; engagement in focus groups, meetings, schools, community centers and other groups; interviews with professionals and legal activists, including

lawyers, human rights activists, feminist activists and leadership of Jerusalem-based NGOs; the collection of letters from Jerusalemite girls; and finally, participant observation. Participants in the study were Jerusalemite women and girls from five areas within the Israeli-defined municipal borders of Jerusalem, including city neighborhoods, the Old City and refugee camps.



Stages of Research

Research was conducted in eight stages:

1. Focus Groups to Set Research Questions and Priorities

To gain general insights into the topic of Palestinian women's access to justice in occupied East Jerusalem, and the complexity of life for women living under military occupation, the research team conducted a series of eight focus groups with women from various areas throughout Jerusalem. The women who participated in these initial focus groups came from diverse backgrounds, including age, educational background, religious identification and other factors. The team asked questions including: How do you define access to justice for Palestinian women in occupied East Jerusalem?

Based on our analysis of the primary issues raised by women during these initial focus groups, we identified the main themes for the study of women's access to justice in occupied East Jerusalem: the Israeli ID system and family unification; women, poverty and the workplace; the girl child; and political violence. The research team realized that violence against women was cross cutting to all these categories.

2. Interviews and Focus Groups

The research team carried out 116 semi-structured interviews with informed consent and 16 focus groups with women residents of East Jerusalem, leaders of civil society active in East Jerusalem, legal entities serving women in East Jerusalem and women victims of domestic violence. The first wave of interviews and focus groups was from February 2015 to August 2015. After the escalation of violence in October another wave of interviews and focus groups took place from November 2015 to June 2016 to capture important new developments in Jerusalem.

3. Participant observation

Participant observation was conducted by the

team of researchers, who took ethnographic notes on daily life in various spaces where interviews were conducted, such as neighborhoods, schools, streets of the Old City, and more.

4. Case Studies

The researchers conducted in-depth case studies of three court cases and five families that were particularly representative of a number of the complexities identified by women living under occupation in East Jerusalem.

5. Collecting letters from Palestinian schoolchildren

Parallel to the research activities outlined above, the research team collected 268 letters from Palestinian girls and boys (162 girls and 106 boys) throughout the various areas of Jerusalem, primarily from schools. 28 letters were collected before the September 2015 period and 240 letters were collected after September 2015. The children were prompted to write a letter in response to the following questions: What does it mean to be a young girl (or boy) in occupied East Jerusalem? What does justice mean to you? The researchers analyzed the girls' letters, which aim to reflect the lives of girls in occupied East Jerusalem and the girl child's access to justice. The researchers also conducted focus groups with girls in primary and secondary school, in both waves of the research.

6. Freedom of Information Requests

In the period of renewed political violence, based on the Israeli law for freedom of information the lead researcher filed a request to the Israeli police to obtain statistics on youth and arrest in East Jerusalem, to learn more about what the media defines as a new trend in young girls getting involved directly in acts of political resistance.

7. Secondary Source Analysis

The researchers also consulted reports published by various local Israeli organizations such as the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), The Israeli National Council for the Child, and the Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies (JIIS).

8. Validation Focus Groups and Interviews

Validation of data collected with the above tools was done through a final series of three focus groups: with Israeli social control agents in Jerusalem (social workers, lawyers and others that work in Israeli institutions); with Palestinian civil society organizations based in Jerusalem; and with Palestinian university students and new graduates living in East Jerusalem. As a last step, to deepen understanding of the way the Israeli criminal justice system works in its internal bureaucracy when dealing with violence against women, the researchers consulted with two local lawyers knowledgeable on this issue.

3. First Hand Accounts of Women and Girls in East Jerusalem

The following first-hand accounts of women and girls in East Jerusalem, organized thematically, highlight some of the main research findings. Pseudonyms are used throughout the text.

On the Impact of the ID system

The Israeli state assigns differentiated identification cards (ID) to Palestinian citizens of the state, Palestinian residents (non-citizens) in occupied East Jerusalem, Palestinians in the West Bank and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Such differentiation is a central aspect of Israeli surveillance and control over the Palestinian population (e.g. Lyon 2010, Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015, Tawil-Souri 2012). The ID system touches on the materiality of state power in the mundane processes of everyday life, affecting not only Palestinians' mobility across borders, but also access to education, healthcare, employment, family unification, and more. This system contributes to the fragmentation of Palestinian society across multiple spaces of historical Palestine (the Israeli state, the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem, and the diaspora), and within families themselves, as family members often hold different ID types.

Hadeel, a woman in her thirties, lives in Jerusalem. She has a West Bank ID and is married to a Palestinian man with a Jerusalem ID:

Just think about a small issue such as getting a driver's license in East Jerusalem. I am not allowed to drive here [because she has a West Bank ID], I can't drive my children to school, and last week when my son fell and hurt his leg, I took my husband's car, rushed to his kindergarten, took him to the hospital, and sure enough while parking the car, a police officer stopped me. If my son was not bleeding, I would have ended up in jail, and I still needed to contact a lawyer, go to the police station, pay the ticket, explain that it was emergency, and deal with the fear of losing my permit in Jerusalem, and my husband losing his license. You see, if a man is facing this situation, he can catch a ride with anyone, man or woman, early morning or late at night, and everyone will understand his condition. I am a woman, I must be careful who I ride with, what I am wearing, when I am leaving, what path the driver is taking, how much money I am spending on taxis and transportation, and much more. I am always begging others to get me medicine, to take me to the doctor, the store, etc. If I could drive, have my own car, I could take care of my own needs and my family's needs.

Hadeel's narrative is a reminder that in East Jerusalem, moving through life "by the book"—in compliance with Israeli law—slows down basic, mundane tasks and obligations. Following the rules of the state however can lead to social and psychological problems, and tension with those in power, within the community, and in families. The capacity of the law to transform Hadeel's life and actions into a life under scrutiny reproduces social and economic challenges that carry severe psychological tolls. Hadeel's narrative also demonstrates structural discrimination, as any Israeli Jewish woman who settles in Jerusalem can get a license and move around with a car freely.

Survivors of Domestic Violence

I hesitated so much before calling the police. But, on that day, I just could not see and live with his abuse anymore...could not handle my children's tears, and could not accept him beating me and pushing me with his legs, treating me like an animal. I stopped myself from crying, took my kids with me to my in-laws side of the house, and called the police. His mother heard me, but did not react. They came fast, in less than 15 minutes, and took him with them. He was shocked, and very angry, and kept on cursing me... yelling at me... "You call the Israeli police on me?! You call the Israeli police on me?!"

Nawal's story explains how calling the Israeli police was a major issue in her family and the larger neighborhood. Palestinian women are discouraged from seeking support from Israeli authorities, as this is perceived as a form of support of the state that is oppressive towards their community. For Palestinian women in East Jerusalem, calling the Israeli police against a family member, or a member of the community, even in cases of abuse, carries a major social stigma.

They [social services] followed my case, got me a restraining order against my husband, and discussed with me how to stop his abuse. I learned and gained a lot of power from their support, but, also I always feared them; feared their visits to our house, feared their knowledge of our intimate problems, such as my brother-in-law's lack of Jerusalemite ID, my mother-in-law's travelling schedule, and our sources of income... I always felt a heaviness in my heart. It was hard... always hard... mainly since the Israeli welfare department became regular visitors to the house.

A year after she made the report, Nawal's brother-in-law was arrested after being accused of being involved in online political activism, and the family's immediate reaction was to accuse Nawal of being at fault for his arrest as she exposed the family to the Israeli police and authorities. Her

brother-in-law's arrest turned the entire family against her, including her own children. She concluded:

Today, I feel I am a stranger in my own house. I feel my entire family, my in-laws, and my husband, mistrust me. Every time we get into an argument, they say, "So, are you calling the Israelis against us?" I really regret calling the police, although I had, at that time, no other choice.

Case studies of domestic abuse investigated for this report revealed similar characteristics. In most cases women's complaints were taken seriously by Israeli police, who rushed to arrest the abuser. In interviews with five welfare officers who work in the Israeli system, the impression was given that arresting Palestinian domestic abusers is much faster than arresting Jewish Israeli abusers. Palestinian abusers are followed, supervised by the welfare department and the social workers that belong to Jerusalem municipality, and as one high ranking official in the Israeli welfare system explained: "even the prosecutors prepare the indictment much faster for Palestinian abusers, than for Jewish abusers." When asked how they explain the disparity, one state social worker replied: "It is possible they want to win Palestinian's trust when dealing with domestic abuse, it is also possible that this is a chance to incarcerate a Palestinian man, and humiliate him, when the complaint comes from his own family." Another social worker stated that this is also a way to invade the Palestinian family, collect information and "shame" the family.

In various stories that were shared with the researchers by a social worker who works in the Old City, Silwan and Shuafat refugee camp, the political complexity of East Jerusalem and how this affects reporting domestic violence and other gender-based violence was clear. In one case, we learned that a mother of two little children was beaten and psychologically abused by her husband, but, the restrictions

to her movement due to her lack of a Jerusalemite ID card, resulted in her accepting humiliation and violence. This also prevented the social worker from reporting the various incidents of abuse, fearing the victim will end up being evicted from Jerusalem. In another case, a 14-year-old, who did not have a Jerusalem ID, was raped by her 16-year-old neighbor. It was only due to the help of a women's civil society organization and the intervention of Palestinian hotline workers that the rapist was reported. The problem remains that the family of the victim are worried that involving the Israeli authorities in the case may result in them being deported from Jerusalem. They are fully supporting their daughter, accompanying her to school, and therapy sessions, helping her in many ways; yet, the fact that they can be evicted from their homes keeps them under constant anxiety.

In one of the cases of domestic violence, a young 24-year-old woman shared with us the abuse she faces from her husband and how her parents and siblings blamed her for her husband's violence and for "failing to keep her family together." She shared how the judges in the Sharia court asked her to put on makeup and look good for her husband as though this would solve the problem of him beating her and her children. The young woman said:

After that court meeting... after the humiliation and degradation I felt from everybody, I decided, I am not going to be a sex slave, a door mat. I am young, strong and clever, and can work, and live my life. Believe it or not, I became a legal expert. I know the law, know my right, and I have a Jerusalemite ID. I filed a complaint against him, I applied to get my alimony and the children's fund, and feel I am better without his control.

It was clear in the various discussions that having a Jerusalemite ID could protect women from further violence, mainly the violence of being deported, or kicked out of her home and community.

On access to services in Jerusalem neighborhoods behind the wall

May and her family live in an area that is part of Jerusalem under Israeli control but is situated behind the wall and after a checkpoint. May was 11 years old when she told her teacher that her uncle was sexually abusing her. The teacher worked for the Jerusalem municipality school system, and based on the Israeli law reported the case to her supervisors, and they in turn informed the Israeli police that the child was a victim of sexual abuse. When the police learned that May lives behind the separation wall and past a checkpoint, they asked the Ministry of Welfare's child investigator to follow up and investigate the case. Both the teacher and the child investigator informed the research team that the Israeli Ministry of Welfare does not allow its employees to cross the checkpoint, and investigate cases in the parts of Jerusalem that are behind the wall, while the police refused to drive past the checkpoint and arrest the offender. May's case went uninvestigated and despite her courage in disclosing the abuse to her teacher, the Israeli state would not help her even though they claim legal jurisdiction over East Jerusalem.

Surveillance

In two different focus groups, which included female teachers and cleaners, the issue of internet surveillance was a major topic of discussion in relation to legal rights and access to justice. Women explained that their WhatsApp and Facebook accounts are under constant surveillance from their employers, a matter that they feel violates their rights. One young worker explained:

My employer was bothering me, he used to come to my workplace, just to tell me how beautiful I am, and ask whether I am happy in my marriage- I am newlywed. I wanted to keep my work, and used to get so scared of seeing him, or hearing his comments, and in some cases, he used to touch

me, my face. One time he even touched my lips. I felt terrorized, so I wrote to a male worker from my village and asked him to come. He did, and he showed my employer that I am not alone and have support. But, after three days, my employer came again, and he told me that he saw what I wrote on WhatsApp, and he read me the text. He told me he worked in the army, and he can get into my account and read everything. They do... they do [Israelis do conduct surveillance on Palestinians]."

Her friend, a fellow worker also stated:

After the martyrdom of Muhammad Abu-Khdeir, we shared the news on our Facebook account. My cousin [who used to work as a cleaner with her] wrote how they [the Israeli settlers] killed him, and how violent they are. The contractor called her shortly afterwards and fired her.

As another explained:

We are a group of women here; we fear sharing our ordeals with each other. Our husbands are unemployed, and we need the salary. My husband does not have a Jerusalem ID, and he can be removed from Jerusalem at any moment. I keep my mouth shut, I do not communicate my hardships, all I want is to maintain our dignity.

Two of the methods of abusing workers that featured prominently in focus groups and interviews was sexual harassment, which was carried out verbally, physically, and electronically using cyber space, and surveillance over internet activities. Women workers responded that they had no recourse to justice for sexual harassment and abuse as their work was precarious, they were in dire need of the salary to support the whole family and often the employer could blackmail the woman if her husband or someone else in her family was living in Jerusalem without an Israeli permit. Many participants in this study mentioned they did not seek legal recourse or file a case within the Israeli court system for fear and distrust

of the Israeli legal system, failing to understand its language, rules, and bureaucracies, or fear of being stigmatized by their community.

On Workplace Rights

Samah on her legal rights in the workplace:

What rights? I could tell you that last year, I worked three weeks; I mean three weeks of cleaning, three weeks of physical work, and then, the contractor decided I did not work. I went and talked to him, and to the other woman supervisor, and she said I was lying, and that I only worked two days, then stopped. She even threatened me that if I want to keep my job, she will pay for the two days - and I worked three full weeks - and she will start paying me full from this month. I agreed. You made me laugh when you talked about rights. Should I remind you we are Palestinian women?

Israel's Permit System and the Maze of Injustice

In 2013, Nadeen, a thirty-four-year-old mother of three children, lost her husband, Raed, to a debilitating illness. Raed was a Jerusalem resident born and raised in the Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan, where they lived together with their family for fifteen years. In the eyes of the Israeli state Nadeen was categorized as a West Banker, and allowed to remain in Jerusalem only with an official family reunification permit. When her husband passed, Nadeen's permit was withdrawn. She not only lost her husband, but in doing so, was denied her legal right to remain in Jerusalem along with her children, who were all Jerusalem ID holders. As a West Banker, she was, in the eyes of the Israeli state, an illegal entity in her own home and homeland, with the same status as a foreign national.

After several months of living in fear of being deported from her home by Israeli authorities

and separated from her children, she sought the assistance of a local human rights organization. She wanted to ensure that her children maintained their Jerusalem residency status, which afforded them state benefits such as healthcare and education, and the right to remain in the neighborhood along with their extended family. The only legal path to enabling Nadeen to remain in her home legally was to apply for an official permit that would allow her to remain in Jerusalem with a special humanitarian status (Code a1(a)(2)), based on the Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order) of 2003 (known colloquially as the “Citizenship Law”), which had to be renewed annually. Nadeen’s request for the special permit was accepted approximately two years after her official application. The approval letter stated:

The special humanitarian reason is the fact that you had a permit to stay when your husband was alive and now following his death you remain the only natural guardian of your children. The permit is valid as long as the center of your life is in Israel and you are not married to a resident of the area or as the second wife of a bigamist man. When renewing the permit [every year], the center of your life and your personal status will be reexamined. In addition, a security and police-oriented investigation will be conducted.

Nadeen’s legal status, and the suffering she and her children experienced while she faced insecurity for two years and attempting to avoid deportation from Jerusalem, is the result of Israel’s legal system of surveillance and population control, which considers Palestinians to be a demographic threat that must be controlled. According to the voices of women interviewed from various areas of Jerusalem municipality, we see that the ID system, as a manifestation of state power, strips away women’s power when seeking access to protection and justice, and “entraps” women in a complex maze of legal systems and bureaucracy. The research focuses on the experiences of women whose ID status differs from that of

their spouse, highlighting the nexus of internal patriarchal power and Israeli power. Importantly, we also attend to the strategies women employ in resisting the mundane control the regime has over their everyday lives and accessing justice.

Fragmented Families

Um Wasim, a mother of two children, is originally from Bethlehem. She lives in Kufr Aqab, a liminal space considered part of the Jerusalem municipality by Israeli authorities, yet separated from other East Jerusalem neighborhoods by a military checkpoint and the wall. When asked to describe a situation where she did not find justice in Jerusalem, she replied:

My husband was ill with a debilitating disease. He was going to Hadassah hospital [in Jerusalem] for treatment and I was not able to go with him each time because I had a West Bank I.D. He needed help, because he can’t walk or talk... and I couldn’t obtain a permit. So, my daughter, who was thirteen, had to go with her father, and of course she was still small and the trip was tiring, and she was scared every time she went to the checkpoint.

Four years before her husband passed away, Um Wasim received a “permanent permit”, a special long-term permit sometimes given to West Bank ID holders by Israeli authorities in lieu of permanent residency since the freeze on family unification.

When I got this permanent permit they called me from the Ministry of Interior and told me to come and pick it up. I wanted to go in [to the Ministry of Interior, located in Jerusalem], but the soldier at the checkpoint wouldn’t allow me to enter because I didn’t have a permit to enter. I was afraid to lose my chance to get the permit, so I went to another lane [at the checkpoint]. I was afraid the other soldier would see me and not let me pass, but he was busy with his phone, so I went to another lane and they let me pass.

Um Wasim's description of being summoned to Jerusalem by the Israeli Ministry of Interior to pick up her permit, yet barred from crossing the border by Israeli military authorities because of not having a permit, touches on the complexities [and absurdities] women face when navigating fragmented spaces, controlled by a complex web of Israeli bureaucracy. Moreover, her decision to try another lane of the checkpoint, to see if a different soldier would let her pass, demonstrates the arbitrariness of the permit system, and with it, the anarchism of state power, which always "surprises" women with more obstacles. Further, her story highlights the strategies women employ to resist state control over their freedom of movement and other aspects of everyday life under military occupation.

After her husband died, Israeli authorities summoned her, once again, to the Ministry of Interior. When she arrived, the official confiscated her permanent permit, and tore it to pieces right before her eyes, denying her access, once again, to Jerusalem. "I felt like this permit was my whole life," said Um Wasim, "and when he [the officer] tore it up, my whole life stopped...They pushed me into a corner and I couldn't go or move."

Women attempting to obtain an ID for themselves, their partners or families face a labyrinth of bureaucratic surveillance mechanisms and processes that impose severe difficulties. As our respondents suggested, women without the ID live in a constant state of uncertainty, and sometimes, fear. The fact that their status is completely dependent on their husband's residency status, and they are often separated from familial support mechanisms as a result of Israel's permit regime, reinforces patriarchal power within the domestic sphere, as they are placed in an inherently subordinate position to their husband. If a woman does not hold the Jerusalem ID and her husband does, for example, or even if she has been able to obtain a temporary permit through her husband's status, she might fear her

husband getting upset and using her ID status against her, losing her children, state support, or other resources contingent on her maintaining her status. Even women who do hold the Jerusalem ID face severe challenges in maintaining their residency status, as they are forced to navigate a labyrinth of bureaucracy designed to make maintaining their residency status difficult.

In addition to not being able to work altogether, find adequate employment, or being made more vulnerable to economic exploitation by employers, as well as the financial costs associated with not having the ID, women were also made more vulnerable to exploitation in attempting to navigate the bureaucracy. It is not only the system that exploits Palestinian women, but also private actors, such as lawyers (both Israeli Jewish and Palestinians with Israeli citizenship). The Palestinian women interviewed for this study described how they are dependent on lawyers for support in attempting to access their rights and justice in Jerusalem, yet often dealt unfairly with by them. As a result of their undocumented or vulnerable legal status (carrying a temporary permit that can be revoked at any time for any reason by the state), they were unable to seek protection from the state or support in holding employers, lawyers and other actors accountable. Trapped in poverty, and suffocated by Israeli bureaucracy, while often being the only breadwinner in the family, Palestinian women without the Jerusalem ID found themselves struggling to survive and meet the needs of their families, while burdened by the constant navigation of a "Kafkaesque labyrinth" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015) of Israeli bureaucracy.

Love in the time of Occupation

When you are Jerusalemite, you need to think about death first thing. There is always stress. And I'm always under stress. Everything is about loss. Even if I'm in love, I need to think about loss. I don't want the people that I love to die. Not even for the

homeland. By staying alive, you contribute to the homeland. Not by dying. It's scary to be in love with someone. And then the next day, they're either dead or imprisoned. Then to start thinking how much time you should wait, how many months, how many years, and maybe they will die. Oh, the burning of my heart... If this is what will happen, how will I get married? I can't find love. I'm always living anxiety, constant anxiety. What will happen if he is from Qalandiya [a refugee camp in the occupied West Bank]? What will happen if he's from the Old City? How long will it take me to reach my parents to see them? What will happen to me... how am I going to see him? How am I going to wait for him? Maybe I will never reach him... maybe they'll prevent me from seeing him. If he will become a martyr, and he is my love and support, and he is my people, and he is my life, how can I continue living without him?

When they tell you "fall in love while you're in Jerusalem", you need to think [this through] very well. How could you ever fall in love, how could you accomplish this and be with each other? How am I going to live... How am I going to keep on being scared? No, no, no... I must be scared... Can you notice the confusion? And then they tell you "believe in love", and I tell you "what is love?" When he wears the kuffiyeh and throws the stones, and then we take our kids, and we tell them "there is no peace", we go tell them, we show them what those settlers and occupiers are doing, and that I am here for them to finish my life... so I want a man to be a fighter, and me and him will ignite the revolution, and that our kids will continue our path, so that we will have a safer generation. But will it be safe? [Happy face] [Hiba, 12 years old]

This is a letter written by Hiba, a twelve-year-old girl from a primary school in Shuafat refugee camp, when asked to write a letter to the world about her experience with and definition of justice as a Palestinian girl in occupied East Jerusalem. Hiba's letter touches on many aspects of everyday life in East Jerusalem: death and loss, and the difficulties

and stresses associated with navigating militarized spaces. What is most striking about this letter, however, is her detailed discussion of love under Israeli occupation. Her fear of falling in love, or of loving someone, because of the likelihood of losing them ("Everything is about loss. Even if I'm in love, I need to think about loss. I don't want the people that I love to die"), illustrates the extent to which violence, fear, and trauma saturate young girls' lives in militarized spaces, creating an overwhelming sense of fear and insecurity in everyday life. It is these intimate details and moments that reveal the complex matrix of oppression facing women and girls in East Jerusalem.

On Justice

Girls' letters expressed apprehension and worries about their siblings, parents and families, showing an exchange of roles, as the children are worried about their parents, mainly a result of the fear that any action they take or do not take might cause severe damage to the family (eviction from home, revocation of residency, imprisonment, death). They also expressed severe disappointment in the failure of the world to protect them. Feelings of nowhere to turn for support pushed many to embrace religious discourse that God and Islam are the only solution. As one child stated: "I wish the world would wake up, I wish they could see the injustices against us."

One letter submitted by a 17-year-old woman read:

I do not know what to say about justice. I never felt it, or experienced justice in my life. Do Palestinians in the Old City live justice? All I know is that the laws, the lawyers, the judges, the police, the courts, all in one way or the other, hide the Palestinian women, and subordinate her to authority. Women know that in marriage, there is no justice for women, at work, they do not get the same salaries or treatment as men. My sister is a teacher, and she is paid less than her husband, who is also a teacher in the same school, and she is also treated in

a degrading manner. My father divorced my mother when we all were young, and they deprived her of her rights, even when the Quran granted her rights... I get high grades, but with the political situation, violence around us here, mainly those settlers that are living close-by, and are attacking us, I can't even dream of applying to study at Birzeit University. Who will pay the tuition? And if I manage to get a fellowship, how can I cross the checkpoints every day? How could my mother cover my transportation? My books? What about dealing with police brutality and nastiness every day in the Old City?

The above letter reveals the pervasive gendered and racial discrimination, structural violence and mundane harassment young women experience in occupied East Jerusalem, suggesting the need for closer theoretical, empirical, and public policy attention. The letters analyzed lamented exclusions from justice, a hostile environment, and other forms of discrimination and marginalization.

Reem

In some cases, girls described how their families lived in small and crowded deteriorating homes, while in others they described harsh living conditions exacerbated by political violence in ghettoized spaces surrounded by the separation wall, such as Shuafat refugee camp, the only refugee camp within the Jerusalem municipality. As 15-year-old Reem from Shuafat refugee camp wrote:

We are three beautiful girls in the flower age... my sister H. is 11 years old, and L. is 13 years old, and I am 15 years old. We are like all girls at our age: we love life, we are filled with optimism, and hope for a nice future, a bright future. But fate had its way, and my father got arrested and imprisoned for a long time... We live with my dear mother and two brothers, and life is very expensive. And life problems are hard. So the burden on my mom became very heavy.... My mom can't rent a house in a good place, in a clean

place. And we have no other choice now but to live in the refugee camp—in Shuafat camp—the worst place. And I don't need to tell you more about Shuafat camp. It's heavily populated from all sorts of people. And our problems grew bigger and bigger. The catastrophe became bigger. Since we moved here we are suffering from the filthiness of the checkpoint, the harassment of the Israeli occupation, the tear gas bombs, the arrests, the constant terror, and then suffering from the ignorant group in our community because we are three girls and we don't have a father. And we don't have somebody to support us. So, they think we are farisa sahla [an easy target]. So, if we walk in the street or we stand in front of our house, those that have bad hearts and sick minds will start harassing us and try to catch us. My hope in life is that we could live away from this very dangerous area because of the occupation, and my father comes back and protects us from the pain of time, from the enemies, from bad people, and from this humiliating regime.

Reem not only explained the difficulties of life in the camp—overpopulation, lack of municipal services, the strain of having to cross the checkpoint to go into or out of the camp everyday (which is surrounded by the separation wall), and the constant “terrorization” of the entire population by Israeli occupation forces. She also explained that her family’s vulnerable economic situation, which forced them to live in the camp, is directly related to her father’s imprisonment by Israeli occupation forces. Where fathers, brothers and other traditional providers for the family were imprisoned, Palestinian mothers had to take on work outside the home, becoming the primary source of financial support for their families, and struggling to survive.

A recent report released by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) describes the poverty rate among Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem as “alarming” (ACRI, 2015, p. 4). The report attributes rising poverty rates not only

to five decades of strategic disinvestment in Palestinian neighborhoods, including restrictions imposed on East Jerusalem development, but also construction of the separation wall (ibid). Further, it notes that despite alarming poverty rates, as well as the deterioration of Palestinian neighborhoods throughout the course of Israeli military occupation, Israel has restricted Palestinian residents' access to welfare services; in fact, "only 11.3% of the residents of East Jerusalem are treated by welfare services" (ibid, p. 5).

Samera

14-year-old Samera from the Shuafat neighborhood wrote:

The problem in being in Jerusalem is the amount of checking... where can we go? They [the Israeli occupiers] keep on surveilling us. They see us when we go out, they check us on our way in and on our way out. They always accuse us. They always investigate us. They always ask weird questions... so many questions. I have personally faced over fifteen investigations. Every investigation is different from the previous one. And with accusations I even know nothing about... One time I was on my way to Jerusalem [the Old City] and the police stopped me and started checking me. And they told me that they were going to imprison me. And that they were going to accuse me of hitting a Jewish [Israeli] guy. And they took me to be investigated [at the police station or detention center], more than half a day they were investigating [interrogating] me. This issue caused so much anger inside me. And I shouldn't talk about it, but they accused me of things, of being in places I was not in, and of accusations we have nothing to do with.

Home invasions, home demolitions, arrest, detention and killing of Palestinian youth, as shared by Reem and Samera, were a constant feature of girls' letters, as was a sense of being

under constant surveillance, lack of security, and a sense of living in danger even in their own home. Samera's experience with being criminalized, held in Israeli police custody and interrogated by Israeli authorities, accused multiple times for crimes she did not commit point to girls' lack of access to justice and faith in the Israeli police and justice system. The daily humiliation girls undergo at the hands of Israeli authorities causes anxiety, fear and a sense of severe insecurity. As one girl stated:

We in the Old City do not live like youth in the rest of the world because we in Palestine are suffering from the Israeli occupation, which does not want us to go to school, and doesn't want us to leave the house, because anyone who leaves the house will be exposed to inspection at every turn. If you go to school, they [the occupation forces] investigate you and if you go to work they investigate you. In Palestine, we are unable to go from one place to another.

Another girl wrote:

The Israeli occupation accuses the Palestinian people of being terrorists, every day in the morning we are investigated by the occupation forces, they stop the youth in the streets and make them wait and wait for long periods of time. It's difficult to go to school. They [the occupation forces] delay you daily, humiliate you with their constant stop and search and inspections several times a day... you feel deeply their racism... so much anxiety, insecurity, one starts to think about the likelihood you will not return except as a martyr [you will be killed].

Girls' exposure to daily forms of humiliation such as inspection by Israeli security forces on their way to school, severe restrictions placed on their freedom of movement, and quotidian experiences of racism and abuse caused extreme fear, including the fear of being killed.

Another letter from a schoolgirl said:

I am a student at school, and I am exposed to daily investigation. I was arrested in Russian Compound [an Israeli police station/detention center] for more than ten days, and more than once have been confined to house arrest. Not being able to go to school every day is increasing my motivation to go to school, to tell them [the Israel Security Forces (ISF)] in my own way that I do not care about the occupation, because you [the ISF] are not strong because you arrest children and women.

Bearing witness to trauma is not simply about acknowledging and offering a testimonial about militarized violence and abuse, but rather, the intimacy and mundane nature of the continuous trauma of unending dispossession. Talking to young Palestinian women, and analyzing the letters of the girl child revealed their daily indignities, and witnessing of trauma and dispossession that deeply affected not only their sense of justice, but, rather their daily experience of injustice.

Justice, indignity and trauma cannot be understood in isolation from young girls' roles and positions in their society, mainly in their families. It also cannot be divorced from the socio-economic structure of the society that affects young girl's suffering. The unequal power relations, added to the biological and physiological factors compounded a risk of paying a high price from the severe injustice they face in their society. As 14-year-old Marwa stated:

Try to run back home, when you have your period, when the shabab [guys] are around, the soldiers on the other side, and your parents are expecting you to behave with proper manners in the street. I prefer to marry an old man, sit at home and be safe rather than facing such bahdaleh, such pain and agony every day.

Another 14-year-old explained:

I wake up in the middle of the night shivering, thinking I was undressed, and caught in the middle of the street bleeding. This is all I dream about, and yes, I agree with Marwa, and prefer to marry early, and live my life raising children, and not moving outside my house.

Young girls' experiences, also explained by university female students who participated in other focus groups, revealed a climate that sustained abuse and multiplied other related gendered risks and vulnerability such as early marriage, harassment, exploitation and more.

On Education and Racism

Focus groups with Palestinian girls also revealed how families, mainly parents and siblings, face devastating racialized incarceration, and are confronted with police and military abuses. The word "unsuriyyeh" (racism) was mentioned numerous times during every focus group, and girl's discussions called for more inclusive social policy. In one of the discussions with a group of eleventh graders, one girl asked:

Why can't we apply for universities everywhere? If you look around you, you realize that Jewish [Israeli] women can pursue their education, and can find jobs, or at least search for a job everywhere. Can I do the same? Can my friend, who is very clever in math, apply to study in the US? Or in London? We all can't. We know that our families are barely paying our school tuitions, and Israelis will drive us crazy before they give us a visa, and of course the US and UK will be reluctant to accept us. The world believes the stereotypes against us. For them, we are Muslims and terrorists... Can we really discuss justice under such conditions?

Young women also discussed the issue of policies, courts, policing, military power, and showed how

they were proven to be a fundamental mechanism of oppression, indignities, and domination rather than justice. They explained how the oppression they suffer under Israeli law is compounded by the oppression they suffer under Sharia law, which deprives women of their right to keep their children, or get their divorce alimony, all while using “political” justification. In one of the discussions one young woman explained:

Look at me, I was married at the age of fifteen, and could not live with my husband. I could not handle living under such constraints, not being able to go out, go back to school, or see my parents. He also lost his job, as they did not want to have Palestinian workers in the supermarket where he used to work. One day, his father told me he couldn't feed me, and he didn't need another burden in his family, and my husband pushed me into the room. I could not handle living such a life, and at night, ran away back to my parents. Now, I am back at school, but, the Sharia law is bad, they are forcing me to go back to him, and we both do not want each other. It is his father that is using all his power to take me back, to punish me, and the judges in the Sharia court are listening to him. When I try to talk, they silence me. I am between the violence of my in-laws and the Sharia court, and my husband, and the violence in the streets when walking to school, and yes, only yesterday, a soldier pushed me, just look at my face... all bruised.

On Finding Strength

For some women and young girls that faced severe violence, the violence was perceived as an opportunity that was not present before, as one woman explained:

“It is true there is so much tension, and suffering... but, at the same time, this daily pain gave me power...yes, they are stronger in their weapons, but, we are stronger with our will.”

This sense of empowerment when facing injustice and unending trauma was also apparent in the words of a mother of political prisoner:

After she was shot and arrested, I was paralyzed, fearful, and very sad. But, now, I feel my inner power, I can struggle against the oppression we all face as Palestinians. I discovered my ability to speak in public, and state exactly what can be done, and how we should not surrender to the viciousness of their never-ending oppression.

This was also found when interviewing Lama, a woman whose husband was abusing her, and decided to divorce her at the age of 19, with her baby. She stated:

All of a sudden I woke up one day...I learned that if I want to live, I must find myself a job, must be strong, take care of my son, and my family. I found a job as a hair dresser, then went to one of the women's organizations, and got legal help. It is true that I gave up all my rights based on the Sharia law, but I feel I gained my freedom and independence.

Young school girls discussed their daily fears when needing to handle the bodily search, their constant anxieties of being shot and killed, but, as one 9th grader explained:

Every day we go through a hard time, with bodily searches, reaching school late, being suspected by the military and police, feeling so down. But I started telling myself, this is not us, it is them. This is an indication that Israel is afraid. I am strong, and should keep on going to school... they want me to drop out of school because I am a woman and my family will be worried from their harassment, and I explained to my family that our muqawameh [resistance] is by making it every day to school. I feel I am strong, we are all strong and can do it.

4. Key Findings

The main findings of the research are organized thematically, based on themes that emerged during data analysis of the primary and secondary data sources.

Palestinian Women Navigating the Israeli Legal System

Palestinian women and girls' experiences navigating the Israeli legal and justice systems, whether it be in the everyday act of being trapped by the law while driving without documents; being blocked by Israeli bureaucracy, then experiencing the state's "legalized" response with the demolition of the home space; or attempting to gain support from the Israeli police or authorities in cases of abuse; demonstrated the extent to which the Israeli legal structure upholds structural inequalities. Women's lives are penetrated by the power of law, yet are consistently stripped of their power before the law.

In cases where some semblance of 'justice' was achieved—for instance, domestic abuse, where women were entitled to some form of protection from the state—this created new layers of violence, as women described the state's infiltration into the intimate spaces of their homes and family lives. Moreover, women and their communities were distrustful of going to Israeli authorities for support, as this was often seen as an act of adherence to, strengthening of, or worse, collaboration with the occupying power. Palestinian women's voices and experiences navigating the Israeli legal system in East Jerusalem, and attempting to access justice through state authorities demonstrates that the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house, but rather create new modes of oppression.

Despite all the difficulties, and the stripping away of women's power by various mechanisms, in particular the ID system, women interviewed came up with new ways of subverting power or resisting state control over their lives. In some cases, women chose to exercise their right to family by staying in Jerusalem even if they, or their loved ones, were not "permitted" to do so by the Israeli state—that is, undocumented. Some women chose not to register their children or apply for family reunification in order to avoid dealing with the Israeli bureaucracy.

The security constraints of the research do not allow descriptions of the coping mechanisms women shared with the researchers, or the strategies they employ in everyday life to subvert the oppressive matrix of power and surveillance of the Israeli permit regime. Yet it is important to note that the very act of survival in these socio-economic conditions by working in the informal labor market, struggling to feed their families, and navigating the maze of bureaucracy must in itself be seen as nothing short of resistance in everyday life to the power and injustice of the occupier.

Women, Poverty and the Workplace

In the age group of 35-44 the labour force participation rate of Palestinian women residents of Jerusalem exceeds that of Palestinian men residents of Jerusalem. This is an unusual phenomenon and can be explained by the challenges Palestinian men face in finding formal work in Jerusalem while the low wage care economy employs almost exclusively Palestinian women who then become the family's primary breadwinners.

The data shares the untold stories of Palestinian women in East Jerusalem, and demonstrates how the occupation and expansion deeply affects the racialized gendering of both the Israeli and Palestinian labor market. On the Palestinian side, the data revealed gendered machineries of economic and legal oppression. On the Israeli side, Israel recruits Palestinian women in East Jerusalem, as cleaners, teachers, and workers. Employing these women in low wage labour allows the state's social control machineries to penetrate Palestinian communities. The narratives from women working in the Israeli system suggest that the entirety of family life is impacted by security, race and socio-economic class. They suggest that Palestinian women's poverty, the Israeli view of their poverty, and the way in which laws are codified, all operate to regulate women's individual conditions in their own homes and families, as well as their productive and reproductive labor.

Overall, the various data analyzed, the documents, interviews, participatory observations, and focus groups conducted with working women, suggest that women are treated in a discriminatory manner based on their race and gender. Our overall analysis shows that women's accessibility to justice in the labor market in East Jerusalem is affected by a multiplicity of factors, including the multiple legal systems, the lack of trust in the various political economic systems, the accessible but discriminatory low wage labour market, local cultural ideologies about women and paid work, the role of education in mitigating women's access to labour markets, and racism against Palestinians.

The Girl Child

Letters collected from Palestinian girls and young women throughout various areas of occupied East Jerusalem, in addition to focus group discussions and participatory observations, suggest continuous mundane trauma, fear, indignity, and insecurity resulting from the socio-economic conditions, the political violence of Israeli security forces and settlers, and daily humiliation resulting from obstacles placed on their freedom of movement, education, and more.

The everyday mundane control over their lives by the state and the continuous injustice of political violence, family violence, poverty and aggression on children were all factors described by girls as stripping away their power. These conditions have affected the Palestinian familial structure, in some cases transforming traditional social roles, and enhancing patriarchal control and abuse within the household. Taken together, these factors severely limit the Palestinian girl child's access to justice and protection, adversely affecting girls' right to a safe and dignified life, and placing severe restrictions on their dreams for the future. However, despite the obstacles and many layers of violence, girls find ways to resist oppression and maintain hope for a better future, in their daily attempts to reach school, support each other and their families, better

themselves through education, and continue dreaming of a better life and fight for dignity.

The last issue raised in the words of the girls' letters and subsequent focus group discussions is the "performance" of the official system, which carries no substance whatsoever, and the "performance" of the Palestinian authority, teachers, bureaucrats, health and social workers. The Israeli state performs as a democracy in the international and national public arena, which presents itself as protecting children's rights, while at the same time discriminating against Palestinians in general, with gendered implications for the Palestinian girl child. Meanwhile the Palestinian Authority, Palestinian teachers and others engage in a performance of advocacy for the expansion of rights for Palestinian women and children, yet have no power to affect any amount of social change due to the intense political obstacles created by Israel and the international community that supports it. Even at a young age these girls demonstrate an intuitive knowledge of the socio-political context in which they live and endure.

Political violence

Law and justice, as explained by women and girls, not only was not there to serve them, but, rather was used to further create new tools and modes of oppression and sanction political violence. Respondents discussed the way law, even if it exists, is not on their side, not even when talking about sexual and physical violence. In fact, the body was a major factor in analyzing political violence, mainly when young women talked about being stripped of their veil by police and soldiers, witnessing the humiliating undressing of men in public by police and soldiers, and more. Undressing men and women was perceived as a mode of undressing the community and the people's right to safety and security. Such attacks, evictions and "bareness" traumatized many respondents, to the degree of portraying East Jerusalem and its people as the world's orphan,

where everyone can abuse, dispossess, and kill, with impunity. The eviction and revocation of residency regimes dismembered society, hindered solidarity and togetherness and exiled families and communities. However, what struck the researchers was strength; the way women and girls consistently attempted to open new spaces of resistance, whether it be through “e-resistance” on Facebook, WhatsApp, and more, through music, writing and dancing, or through their religious beliefs.

5. Conclusion

Our general findings suggest that Jerusalemite Palestinian women and girls are subjected to various technologies of violence, including the violence of law, the violence of bureaucracy, and the penetration of militarized violence into the mundane and intimate spaces of everyday life, through policies that limit women and girls’ access to protection, education, healthcare, basic services, adequate housing, adequate standard of living, economic prosperity, freedom of expression, movement, right to family, and much more. The gendered social, legal, political, economic and cultural expressions of violence emanate from a longstanding structure of Israeli military occupation of East Jerusalem that strengthens patriarchal power within Palestinian society, affecting women’s access to justice on multiple levels in a conflict context governed by multiple, intersecting formal and informal legal structures.

We propose understanding this context as operating through a “politics of militarized dismemberment” as a way of bringing the embodied, gendered social body politics to the fore; the nature of the obstacles preventing women’s access to justice in East Jerusalem; and the constant losses while facing such blockages. Such blockages “amputate” women’s ability to proceed in accessing justice. Yet at the same time, women are constantly caught in the process of attempting to “re-member” the self and the

social body through daily acts of survival and the creation of counter-maps to access justice in the microspaces of the occupation.

Dismembering aims not only to fragment Palestinian women’s individual body and psyche, but also the larger Palestinian social body to which both body and psyche belong. The politics of militarized dismembering, as we define it, has several key features:

- Dismembering is systematic; a continuous, structural process that strips away women’s power to the extent that the very generation of vocabulary to describe one’s suffering, or one’s access to rights in the context of a regime of military occupation—is an impossibility.
- The politics of militarized dismembering requires that we examine the history of injustice and the local and global politics of dispossession that inform present policies, bureaucracies and blockages facing Palestinian women in their attempts to access justice in East Jerusalem. It is important to emphasize the historical roots of the structure of the Israeli occupation where political space is occupied by those that have perpetrated injustice on the bodies and lives of Palestinians in contravention of international laws. Historicizing dismemberment, added to the global politics of denial, as the study revealed, requires that we analyze women’s access to justice not only in the present, but as rooted in the ramifications of a history and structure of unending dispossession. The increased incidence of early marriage of Palestinian girls in East Jerusalem today, for instance, is affected by poverty, homelessness, and unending uprooting; all conditions that grow out of the structure of oppression. This politics operates within a logic that sustains “emergency” and “security” justifications

and regulations. This leads to a constant suspension of the rule of law while the 'right to dismember' the native Palestinian is legalized by Israeli authorities; turning women's bodies into *ajsad asira* (captive flesh) or *jookim* (cockroaches). Operating within a constant state of emergency grants the occupying power the constant right to dismember the member.

Israel's regime of militarized dismembering in East Jerusalem is being maneuvered by political powers that control the space/land, place/home/school, body/flesh and law. Navigating the body/life to work and home through existing discriminatory laws and bureaucracies that hinder mobility and restrict space leaves women in a suspended non-space of existence where there is difficulty creating and maintaining bodily safety, dignity, and social protection. The machinery of militarized dismemberment invading the home, school and public space, as it invades bodily safety, deeply affected some girls and women, and had a severe impact on their life decisions. It also prompted other girls and women to create new psychological, social and political networks. The intensity of the political work of the machinery of dismemberment obstructed and hindered the appropriation of new paths for the self. The very act of expression, of calling on a legal or rights-based vocabulary, was obstructed by the constant penetration, violation and 'dismemberment' of the individual and social body. This regime of militarized dismembering is carried out through several key technologies:

- Surveillance regime (e.g. the ID regime, the permit system, and other demographic and spatial control policies);
- Bureaucracies of entrapment (e.g. Arnona property tax and national insurance, differential school systems, health insurance, economic regulations and maneuvering);
- Various modes of violent inscription of militarized power onto women's bodies, that keep women as either uprooted bodies, victims of abuse that should be saved, and/or "inflammable subjects" that should be punished always and everywhere (e.g. control over birthing, attacks on women's bodies by soldiers or settlers);
- The use of "emergency" and "security" justifications and regulations against individuals and families (e.g. stop and frisk, the freeze on family unification, child arrest, administrative detention);
- Collective punishment (e.g. economic limitations, punitive home demolitions, child arrest, curfews, road blockages, militarization of streets, and public spaces);
- Trapping/imprisoning (bodies, futures and present lives/deaths);
- Using the welfare, work and educational system to normalize violence against women and girls;
- Aesthetics of violence of the state and the settlers that aim at evicting Palestinians from public spaces, such as the Old City, harassing the occupied community, while maintaining spatio-temporal control of East Jerusalem in the hands of the state and the settlers.

Our report highlights that the gendered price of surviving such a system of dispossession and entrapment is high, as militarized violence invades the most intimate spheres of Palestinian women's lives, including their family life, their homes, their bodies, and psyches. Militarized dismemberment, as this study demonstrates, is not only carried out by formally recognized agents of state or military power.

Militarized power infuses existing systems that are not typically perceived as militarized, such as the ministry of health, education, planning, justice and more. It recruits locals as teachers, welfare workers, health and legal professionals into a maze that further traps women and their accessibility to justice. As our study has demonstrated, with little faith in the Israeli justice system, no protection from the Palestinian Authority, and the failure of the international community to hold Israel as an occupying power accountable to international law, women turn to alternative measures to access justice, working to re-member the unending militarized dismemberment.

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