

Gender-Power Analysis of PAIC

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Executive Summary

This gender power analysis (GPA) represents our efforts,¹ drawing on a series of interviews and group discussions held with Palestinian Agricultural Institutions Coalition (PAIC) members and project partners, to assess how harmful social and institutional norms that already restrict individual and collective wellbeing are now intersecting with emerging resource constraints and the ongoing Nakba,² further worsening the quality of life of the most marginal Palestinians. In a project centrally concerned with the extension of justice to Palestinians, and in a Coalition of non-governmental organisations dominated by senior men, it is necessary to think about power as it runs along multiple and intersecting lines. A difficult question at the core of the analysis is how to tackle the intersecting problems of Palestinian patriarchy and its consequences for women, the ecological and human rights violations that result from the ongoing Nakba, and the challenges of movement and coalition-building under severely constrained social, economic, political and environmental conditions.

The GPA supports the work of the Environmental and Climate Justice Programme (ECJP) in Palestine, a partnership between We Effect and the PAIC (established in 2018), comprising six environment, climate and agricultural non-governmental organisation: the (Agricultural Development Association (PARC), Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAC), Palestinian Hydrology Group (PHG), Land Research Centre (LRC), MA'AN Development Centre, and the Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem (ARIJ). PAIC is also supported by the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON) which provides technical inputs to the programme's advocacy efforts.

The ECJP is a 36-month programme (2021-2023) that is being implemented in the most climate-vulnerable rural communities in Palestine (Gaza, West Bank specifically Area C, Hebron District, East Jerusalem and Jordan Valley). The overarching goal of the programme is "To contribute to improving environmental and climate justice in Palestine" and the specific programme objective is that by 2024, "civil society organisations and right-holders have the capability to address and challenge structural barriers to environmental and climate justice in Palestine."

At present, PAIC's has done little to advance the equality of Palestinian women or to address how ecological injustices may worsen the burdens of gender inequality. This is surprising because women significantly contribute to the agricultural sector, playing a unique role as service providers and resilience builders as they combine income-generating work at the farm, where available and possible, with unpaid household responsibilities. Women account for roughly 30% of Palestinian agricultural labour and 13.1% of total female workers but are subject to glaring gender disparities: up to 45% are full-time workers, but only 3% of them are paid, with an average daily pay of only 60 NIS. As owners and therefore decision-makers, their access to land is minimal, with only 7.8% of agricultural holdings being owned by women. Around 84% of women in Palestine do not own land.³ Yet our initial field work finds that entrenched attitudes to social, economic and political norms in PAIC members do not respond to the size and impacts of gender inequality. This limits their ability to account for the gendered dimensions of environmental burdens – a significant problem for a coalition whose primary purpose is advocacy. Unexamined internal values and responses may lead them to create, or rely on and enforce, decisions and actions that will adversely affect the programme's intended outcomes. At a social level, the analysis found an uneven awareness across PAIC of barriers to women's inclusion

¹ The consultant team is comprised of an international activist and researcher on gender, ecology and peace, Vanessa Farr, and a Palestinian senior researcher and activist, Hanan Kaoud.

² I am grateful to the poet Natalie Diaz for her formulation of this phrase, in conversation with the poet Juliette Singh (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPU2qQ_F4iw).

³ See ILO labour force numbers (https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_218024.pdf). For land ownership see <https://pwwsd.org/uploads/15949011091533037615.pdf>

and participation as equal beneficiaries and decision-makers, and little reflection about gender-based violence (GBV) as a mechanism of oppression that prevents women and men from sharing the programme's potential benefits. Institutionally, a good degree of awareness and action among PAIC members' technical staff to counter the negative impacts of social gendered norms is insufficiently supported through the specific allocation of resources to gender equality. Often, across the coalition, a young woman serves as a gender focal point but without resources or gender mainstreaming influence at the policy, strategic and programmatic institutional levels.

In the context of ongoing and deepening military occupation, we note varying degrees of internalised and self-perpetuating colonial attitudes in PAIC organisational structures.⁴ Among some members, this perpetuates a dominance-based organisational approach and restrains both the advancement of improved environmental and climate justice, and the emergence of other imagined possibilities.

Through focusing on the interconnectedness of gender inequality and climate injustice, we began to offer approaches that can more successfully and sustainably open PAIC's interventions so that the goal of reaching all Palestinians who are dependent on their relationships with land, water and air, and who draw on these local natural resources for their livelihoods (e.g., food, fuel and water), can be advanced. Learning how to work at the intersection of multiple injustices is a necessary foundation for PAIC members to gain greater capacity to adapt their current decision-making and program delivery: and to make small, incremental changes in their mind-set and operational approaches that will lead to a more inclusive future for all Palestinians.

The GPA is a foundational document from which to empower all PAIC members to change some of the ways in which they think and work, to address the everyday effects of gender inequality in their work, and to learn through observation and reflection how to remove normative barriers to women's meaningful and generative participation in the ECJP, as part of influencing how Palestinians adapt to the changing environment. The analysis supports PAIC members to explore the historic and contemporary purpose of norms, attitudes and behaviour that perpetuate gender inequality; to recognize how gender inequalities can differ in each context and community they work in; to reflect on community resilience, including the strengths women bring to Palestinian resistance as a whole; and to support the emergence of new paradigms and new ways of communicating. It gathers qualitative and comparative evidence of the harmful impacts of gender inequalities, exposing how and why women and men are being purposefully made marginal and vulnerable. It also draws lessons from how Palestinian women themselves practice resistance and *sumud*.

Preparation for this GPA involved inviting PAIC members, and a sampling of their partner community based organizations, to engage in focus group discussions (FDGs) and key informant interviews (KIIs), with questions designed to support them to make connections between systems of oppression and their overlaps, especially to consider how their own activities might be contributing to social oppression, limiting who accesses to information, denying support, safety and security, and undermining capacities to participate in public life or benefit from development interventions. Spaces have been opened in which to think about how harmful gender norms intersect with climate change; to conceptualise connections between the erosion of soils and of human rights; and to recognise that the military occupier's perpetuation of multi-layered conflict relies on preventing solidarity between individuals, exploits existing fissures between Palestinians, and depends on the perpetuation of self-limiting beliefs and actions, including those imposed by conservative or reactionary gender ideologies.

The GPA contributes to an Environmental and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) process by highlighting the interconnectedness of gender inequality, military oppression, internalized oppression and climate injustice. The vulnerability of Palestinians is multi-faceted: the military occupation undermines the

⁴ See Frantz Fanon, (1952) 2008. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, United States: Grove Press.

health and wellbeing of all, and is destroying ancient relationships with the land, water and air. But within this overarching oppression, many Palestinians, individually and in institutions, persist in upholding unequal gender relations, including through violence. Difficult questions have to be faced in order to address how men and women are being made differently vulnerable by unexamined daily practices, including to climate crisis and natural disasters. For example, women's reduced ability to withstand sudden shocks correlates strongly with the poverty and landlessness they are disproportionately asked to bear. While we do not dispute the destructiveness of the ongoing Nakba of military occupation, we intrigued PAIC members to think about how women's inferiority is being co-produced by socially gendered dominance systems that reduce their collective ability to access self-protection, social protection, and livelihood resilience. We asked how climate change is worsening their situation. And we asked PAIC members what they would like to change about how they work, so that individual organisations and the Coalition can accelerate their potential as catalysts for change.

Methodology

In preparation for this capacity assessment report, in late April 2022, five online key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted by Vanessa Farr, with senior management of members of PAIC, while Hanan Kaoud led five in-person focus group discussions with programme and operations staff of individual organisations. From December 2021 to April 2022, Hanan Kaoud held in-person workshop discussions with PAIC members and with communities they serve in Battir and AlKhader in Bethlehem, Dir Ballout and Beita in the North. Two FGDs were organized by LRC and PHG in Al-Samou' and Deir Istiya, and two were conducted in Tulkarem (Ma'an) and Tubas (ARIJ). A fifth FGD was coordinated between We Effect and PARC. These discussions were attended by women and men farmers, community leaders and local council members. Conversations were open-ended to allow participants to guide the discussion as much as possible.

Interviews were supplemented with an in-depth literature reviews whose purpose was to assess a very broad set of issues that exacerbate the impacts of both gender inequality and ecological deterioration. As PAIC has made little concrete progress (see Annex 4), the GPA draws a majority of its inferences from this literature rather than evaluating on-the-ground activities.

PAIC and Gender (In)Equality

Support has been sought by We Effect to build a shared sense of responsibility for the creation and implementation of gender mainstreaming policies, strategies, and actions that can address the worsening conditions caused by deteriorating ecological conditions in Palestine, and that are coherent both within individual organisations and across the Coalition. This paper reflects on discussions held with PAIC members, offering insights into how they might gain stronger skills to contribute to existing local, national, and international advocacy efforts to connect climate justice (CJ) and social justice (SJ), while building PAIC's shared commitment to benefit rural communities, especially women and girls engaged with the agricultural and cooperative sectors, and to tell stronger stories about the results of their work.

At present, there is not much evidence that PAIC is coalescing as a coalition. Each partner is engaged in various rural development efforts and has its own funding structures, policies, approaches and histories. Each has different capacities and degrees of commitment to deliver gender-responsive programmes. This means each has different training needs to strengthen the capacities of staff members and/or stakeholders. All PAIC members have gender policies, but all are descriptive and do not include concrete strategies such as: guidance notes; advocacy tools and concrete actions; details on how to work on gender equality in a coalition's work plans and practices; how to develop shared messaging; how to develop advocacy strategies and plans. They somewhat vaguely conceptualize ecology and climate change. They do not address intersections between differing forms of inequality and climate impacts.

Before the disruption of Covid-19, PAIC members had agreed to jointly implement advocacy interventions. They agreed on key messages and advocacy tools but had not yet developed a shared language on key concepts. They had begun to cooperate largely through meetings and discussions held with policy makers and government officials. They had not completed any joint activities or set shared policies (see Annex 4, in which we find zero or very little progress against key program indicators) before the Covid-19 lockdown further complicated already-difficult conditions of collective work.

PAIC members have identified challenges to the coalition's smooth functioning, including because of what some perceive as a cumbersome and internal hierarchical reporting process. This adds to other operational difficulties and may be imposing limitations on the free flow of ideas and praxis, especially

from the more liberal to the more conservative of the Coalition's members. Leadership of the PAIC is contested, and personal differences may detract from its advocacy capacity. This may lead to difficulties down the line; the workings of internal communications including reporting lines should be carefully monitored. However, since members have had few opportunities in the Covid-19 years to work together, PAIC has much work to do to find a comfortable and effective shared language or mode of collective engagement, including on how to tackle gendered inequalities in both internal organisational attitudes and in programming. Further institutionalization is necessary, and all partners agreed on this point. We wish to sound a note of caution in the post-Covid period that PAIC's work should not be allowed to become limited to fund-raising or devising of new projects. Finally, given that there are other entities in Palestine working on ecological and Indigenous farming and foodways, we have some broader questions about who in civil society is "inside" PAIC and who is not; and why. This question and its potential implications for powerful advocacy capacity are discussed in more detail later.

While one goal of the GPA is to unearth knowledge and insights that are currently hidden from view by systemic and interlocking forms of oppression, and another is to compile them for easy comparison and reflection, the most important aim of this work was to produce a baseline account of where PAIC members are at present, not as individual organisations, but as members of a coalition. The major challenge we face at present is that measuring the ability and commitment of individual organisations in the coalition to advance gender inequality tells us little about PAIC itself. We will take this as an opportunity, because, having completed few or no shared activities, the scope for overcoming differences, innovation and resource-sharing remains wide open.

Overall, including because it lacks a shared conceptual language through which to frame its joint activities, we find uneven awareness among PAIC members of how to understand and address intersectional forms of oppression, and little evidence of knowledge of how a lack of social, especially gender justice, is exacerbated by the ecological crisis.⁵ Members do want to change this situation, overcome this gap, and strengthen PAIC's advocacy function.

The existing governance architecture of each member has been transferred into the coalition, and one of the steepest challenges faced in individual organisations and the coalition as a whole, is male dominance at leadership level. If they do not address this problem, PAIC will continue to reproduce the oppressive practices that undermine women's rights. This will delay actions towards environmental and climate justice, and undermine PAIC's advocacy efforts. While internal transformation is difficult, the coalition itself could become an engine for change, both because individuals and organisations can set good examples, and because they can exert positive peer pressure. We were heartened to find that all PAIC members indicated their readiness for a conversation about how oppression in organisational structures rely on and reinforce a dominance-driven paradigm. Some could see how gender inequality parallels and reinforces some of the practices of Palestine's colonial military occupier. Deepening PAIC's understanding of the interconnections between oppressive practices at the micro, interpersonal level, and those that operate in macro realms, we think, will support members to make intentional changes so that a just and liberated future becomes more possible.⁶

⁵ This challenge is generalizable to the Western Asian region as a whole, however.

⁶ In addition to drawing from Franz Fanon, future methods of work will be shaped by the anti-oppression approaches devised by feminist theorists in the USA's Movement for Black Lives, in particular adrienne maree brown in *Emergent Strategy* (2017).

Analysis of Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Palestinians sit on the hard edge of coloniality as an Indigenous peoples subjected to a prolonged military occupation that was designed and is upheld by an international community that has proposed no remedy for the plight of the people and the land. As such, manifestations of climate disruption in Palestine are taken, here, to result directly from settler-coloniality and the damages it inflicts on an ancient landscape and way of life. Within this outer framework of colonial power as a driver of human rights abuses and conflict in Palestine, Palestinian society itself has set up barriers to equality, especially between men and women. Among other threats, this is driving social conservatism and undermining women's participation in adapting to changes in the environment. In the conversations we held in preparation for this GPA, we began to tease out how these norms are not only doing the work of oppressing women at home, but influencing how they participate in public life, including by restricting their access to decision-making opportunities at community level and above. We discussed how such norms limit women's access to and interpretation of information that would help them stay productively on the land and benefit from exposure to new ideas and practices, challenge their access to support, compromise their safety and security, and hinder their participation in knowledge production.

We talked about why the current low level of gender equality initiatives among PAIC members might be part of the problem. We discussed why and how, in existing programs and interventions, women may be prevented from acting as agents of change in implementing sustainable agricultural practices, strengthening community resilience, and developing coping mechanisms by enlarging our own understanding of how different actors access, or be excluded from participation in social, political and economic structures they encounter in daily life. Bearing in mind the three endogenous sources of power in Palestine, this GPA considers how multiple and intersectional forms of private and public oppression are produced and entrenched, through norms, attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate gender inequality by subjecting individuals and communities to different, overlapping forms of violence justified on the grounds of age, class, disability, race, ethnicity, migration status, or sexual orientation and gender identity. To ensure that We Effect's interventions are both critical and designed on qualitative evidence, we pay attention to how access to power tends to shift dramatically across the lifecycle, and in relation to individual access to wealth. We also look at the effects of variables such as location (urban or rural; contingent to an illegal settlement or other barriers imposed by the military occupier), level of physical ability, educational level, and family status. Accounting for all these variables is known in the anti-racist feminist community as applying an intersectional lens (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2000). Intersectionality helps explain differential access to power and influence at household level, in the public sphere; and in the decision-making capacities and influence of young, middle-aged and elder individuals, and of people with disabilities, in rural or urban settings.

In our discussions, both consultants drew from existing evidence about the importance of women's contributions to the agricultural sector, and asked where the power and influence of individual Palestinian women involved in various aspects of agriculture and related activities resides. To find out more about land access, networking and collectives, we asked if women's agricultural power is deployed in support of the empowerment of other women, including through membership of a women's movement or cooperative, or other such organised space. We also endeavoured to identify barriers to women's full participation, including through asking what men thought of women's actual and potential contributions to change, and barriers to women exercising their influence.

Overall, we found that:

- a. Women's considerable contributions are still often invisible and unrecognized in the work of PAIC members. Yet women do a lot: they undertake household and farm-related chores, factory work and service provision.⁷ By combining income-generating farm work with unpaid household responsibilities they sustain family and community resilience. Yet it is difficult for them to translate their labour into social and economic power.
- b. Women in this sector play both private and public roles as income generators and reproducers of family labour. Nonetheless, they are faced with the challenge of financially supporting the household and finding alternative income-generating opportunities in order to cope with household economic insecurity. They experience a lack of support, inequality, and unpaid care work.
- c. Discriminatory social norms and financial practices women mean that women in Palestine do not have the same access to financial products and services as men, which limits their opportunities for sustainable income generation activities.
- d. Their power is rendered invisible because their economic contributions are largely overlooked. 40% of rural women of working age are performing unpaid work but their production is not comprehensively covered or calculated as part of national GDP.
- e. This has the effects of making women's power fragile and dependent on political, social and familial networks or other forms of patronage wielded primarily by men. These are only made accessible to women who are able and willing to conform to restrictions that affirm men's dominance.
- f. Personal or inherited wealth may confer a degree of local recognition; but this influence may be limited if rich women are doing little to nothing to support other women's advancement.
- g. The small percentage of women who are landholders or have the right to manage land may still be subject to customary interpretations of different levels of right to land and property of family members. The implications of this precarious power may be seen in how well the land is tended, in planning decisions that depend on whether resources are available to women to improve their land and farming practices to make the land increase in value, and the like.
- h. Women may gain some authority at community level by playing useful public and professional roles that enable them to influence community perspectives and actions.
- i. Men thought women were gaining more power over land, including through the slow extension of inheritance rights to women; but this increased access is paradoxical because land itself is no longer an agricultural resource. Rather, its primary value lies in how well it can be leveraged as a source of investment, including for construction and business development.
- j. They also thought women's land access was made less meaningful because water sources are drying up, irrigation is too expensive, the land is degraded, and Palestinians, as a whole, have turned from being producers to being consumers.

These insights aside, it remains difficult or impossible to apply a normative framework of gender-power analysis that might apply in other contexts, in a situation of prolonged military occupation such as women and men in Palestine endure. Nonetheless, it was helpful to assemble a set of collective observations and start a conversation about the particularities of gendered power dynamics that shape the daily experiences and relationships of West Bank Palestinians with their environment. Including in discussions with communities engaged by partners in the ECJP, PAIC members have now begun to explore the challenges, including patriarchy and age-related hierarchies facing women and young people, that prevent equal access and relationships to land and productive resources. This picture is framed by the restrictive realities of a consistent, decades-old environmental duress imposed on Palestinian land and bodies by the military occupier, whose extractive and punitive economic policies and dominance-based environmental management practices impact on every aspect of human and non-human life.

⁷ Nida Abu Awwad. "Gender and Settler Colonialism in Palestinian Agriculture: Structural Transformations." *Arab Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer 2016), pp. 540-561.

Capacity Assessment of Individual Organisations

The Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ) has a Gender Policy developed in 2017 which offers equal support to men and women to rehabilitate their land. ARIJ takes into account climate change concerns regarding its outreach to local communities is needed. Climate change is not just a natural phenomenon but a political one, exacerbating pre-existing injustice and inequality. The Israeli occupation exacerbates the climate risks facing Palestinians by denying them the right to manage their land and resources, making them more vulnerable to climate-related events. Women in Palestine will have to bear greater impact of climate change because of their traditional, gender-prescribed roles as they are highly dependent on local natural resources for their livelihoods (e.g., food, land, and water).⁸

Ma'an Development Centre has had a gender policy since 2008, but has not updated it since 2010. While it shows strong commitment to operational gender equality, there is no indication of a specific program of response to the gendered impacts of environmental concerns yet. Ma'an's undated report on gender and food security in Masafer Yatta offers an honest appraisal of a program that delivered adequately to women and girls, but did too little to challenge existing gender power imbalances, and its "social norms" report is rich with insights into exclusionary social attitudes, but does not relate these to environmental concerns. Overall, there is a good basis on which to build an even stronger partnership that is more focused on increased social and physical protection of women on farms, and Ma'an is a strong partner from which to draw lessons.

PHG has a strong gender equality policy, approved by the organisation in 2014. There is no updated information on how the Policy has been translated into action.

PARC offers a 2021 Gender Policy whose focus is on overcoming the challenge that 65% of agricultural labourers are women, while men continue to control the financial rewards of this activity. As an aspirational strategy, there is plenty of scope for collaboration.

"Although, basically, the responsibility of civil society anywhere is to protect and defend rights and provide awareness and knowledge to the target groups, and in my opinion, it is the local community, not the legislators, who brings about sustainable change" (Programme Manager, PARC).

Land Research Center is implementing the Environmental and Climate Justice Project in the West Bank. They report challenges in adapting the global concept of climate/environmental justice to the Palestinian context, and little understanding of these concepts on the ground.

In their 44-day training for institutions (8 days per partner), they brought in experts and specialists in environmental policies, lobbying and advocacy. They conducted needs assessment sessions which they report as successful in enabling individuals and communities to define the support they want.

They offered training on funding and resource mobilization. In the town of As-Samou' in Hebron, which is pending the formation of a municipal council, they are offering support to complete the planning and implementation of activities.

Their pilot project includes concepts of smart agricultural practices and climate change impact mitigation, including solar cells, hydroponics, grey water, composting educational modules.

With the Ministry of Education, they conducted educational activities with 50 male and female students from two schools (Tarqum School and Girls School). Students became familiar with

⁸ Climate Change Impact on Palestinian Women: <http://agora.medspring.eu/en/articles/climate-change-impacts-palestinian-women>

environmental practices and transformational methods that they can transfer to their local communities (home, school and family), reaching around 200 families. Through their practical coaching programme, LRC was able to introduce new concepts such as climate justice and environmental practices, among others. Individuals in these local communities began to apply some of these principles and practices, and they noticed more interest from female students.

Gender Responsive Budgeting / Spending

An overall observation of PAIC policy documents reveals a lack of data or other information on gender equality spending. Such information is key to understanding the extent to which policy commitments are being translated into inclusive activities.

With the exception of one PAIC member, all GFP's said they are generally under-resourced at present. Some knew of tools to address this and called on We Effect to support the enlargement of their engagement, including through tools such as the Fair Resources Allocation System (FRAS).

PAIC members were asked to consider whether an effective Palestinian environmental movement can be formed in the face of persistent and unexamined gender inequality. This broad question opened a free-association discussion, built trust, and transferred capacity through our mentorship approach. PAIC members agreed on the importance of building shared values to enable greater inclusion and equality, and, recognising different degrees of commitment and experience between them, agreed to fairly share the responsibility to bring about intentional change at Coalition level.

Discussions established a learning environment in which participants explored difficult, sometimes personally challenging concepts. Through personal reflection and dialogue, we reflected on our own lived experiences of working on environmental issues, and explored stories of changes made to Right Holders' lives, or challenges they face because of gender inequality. This helped PAIC members think proactively about why their interventions are effective at encouraging social change, or why they fail. We drew on examples of social justice and environmental activism from a number of sources to support our approach.

Discussions covered the primary issues facing Palestinians because of the unpredictable and changing environment, building understanding of their existing and potential gendered impacts, which are also related to variable such as age and location. Participants feel constrained by the inadequate attention given by Palestinian Authority (PA) policy makers and other key actors associated with environmental policy-making, to agricultural livelihoods and land-based cultural activities, and the impacts on farmers and food producers – especially small-scale farmers who depend on their agricultural activities for a livelihood. They find policy-makers unaware of and not able to address the impacts of gender and age differentials in the climate change responses they make. They think the PA is doing too little to mainstream climate change adaptation into development planning and decision-making, especially in entities such as the Environmental Quality Authority (EQA), Energy and Natural Resources Authority, Water Authority and Land Authority, and that they do not assess whether the needs and experiences of women, men, old and young, are equally addressed.

GE and agroecology: links

Is it useful, and would it advance PAIC's thinking, to draw a comparison between the slow uptake of gender equality praxis and a slow movement towards embracing agroecological thinking and praxis across all parts of the occupied territory? This analysis suggests that similar problems are attached to both the GE and the CC agendas, and that the potential for social norm change implicit in both movements has been derailed into technicalities such as the development of unimplementable

policies, handbooks and other systems that purport to lead to internal change, but may in reality be a way of appeasing donors and acquiring the matching resources that accompany both the gender equality and the CC agenda, while ensuring that CSO business continues as usual – albeit it more competitively than ever before. More training might well do something to start addressing both problems, but it would need to be grounded in an acknowledgement that both are political issues requiring challenging and possibly unpopular political solutions. Again, we wonder if PAIC is fully engaged with what others are doing in Palestine to foreground the political nature of land defence work. For example, the Centre for Agroecology, Water and Resilience (CAWR) at Coventry University, in partnership with Dalia and Saad Dagher, has already sized up some of the problem in their preparation of a Diploma in Agroecology designed specifically for women urban agropreneurs in Gaza, which starts with a focus on building women’s lobbying skills and only much later allows more powerful individuals (the majority of whom are men), to make inputs that defer to what women know and want. Their presentation of key concepts is already being translated into Arabic, establishing a shared language: an essential basis for shared advocacy. They are also building a strategic approach from which to tackle the Ministry of Agriculture’s tendency to view a return to agroecological methods as anti-modernist, at best a temporary or emergency response to the crises induced by the occupation, and an unfortunate necessity before a scaling up to industrial agriculture becomes possible. PAIC would do well to align itself with the work others are doing, or at least, to ensure its own messages support this broader resistance and regeneration campaign.

Recommendations

a. Advocacy and Lobbying

1. Collect old stories. Photograph and explain “natural” features that are actually the result of generations of Palestinian terraforming. Keep telling the story of how Palestinians shaped and conserved the land over centuries: this is the intangible cultural heritage of an Indigenous people, and it must be consistently excavated and spoken of to counter militarised settler efforts to erase both the history and the centuries of effort that have resulted in the shaping of the land.
2. Undertake an overall capacity assessment of lobbying experience across the PAIC members. Where do they dissent with one another, how do they achieve mutual goals?
3. Build a shared data collection system to identify experiences PAIC members have in common and extract shared stories that are capable of countering the occupier’s narrative and refuting donors’ emphasis on technical “fixes”.
4. Proactively build agroecological and food sovereignty associations beyond PAIC. Address gaps: which other organisations and initiatives already share PAIC’s vision? Develop a staged plan to widen and broaden PAIC. Share resources: in particular, learn more about and potentially align with, CAWR’s newly-developing agroecological training for women.

b. Policy

1. Continue to support PAIC to establish GE policies and strategies, and keep building and sharing existing GE capacity and expertise. Ensure that women experts are deployed wherever possible, especially in public-facing roles. Proactive interventions in this area could include developing human resources and procurement policies that privilege diversity in the hiring of consultants, trainers and workshop facilitators.
2. The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was only adopted by the PA in 2014, yet it has already suffered reputational harm from opponents wielding conservative (and even Salafist) language. The PA is slow to align national laws with CEDAW, which means PAIC members have a greater obligation to build their

knowledge of CEDAW, and to prepare Shadow Reports as part of their advocacy efforts to protect women's and girls' rights, especially in rural areas. A good rubric is the 2011 Observer Paper, "CEDAW, Rural Women and Climate Change." Specific focus should be given to CEDAW General Recommendation 37 (2018) on gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of CC.

3. Especially when there is local backlash (e.g., the fatwa against CEDAW especially in the south), continuously work to emphasise the continued importance of inclusive human rights in all sustainable development approaches. Promoting social and economically sustainable development is not enough when capacities to address politically-induced crisis remain underdeveloped. Community participation fails unless the vulnerability of less privileged social groups is addressed, including by continually building confidence to advocate for human rights accountability and improve transparency and social accountability.
4. Focus on changing social norms at the local community level by continuing to develop gender-responsive, transformative activities which are land-based, and meet the social and economic needs of women and men, old and young.
5. Build skills in non-violent action and communication. Devise credible and proactive empowerment measures so that all recipients can effectively take part in activities. No resistance movements can succeed unless they are broad-based, inclusive and non-violent.
5. Other important international protection efforts are grouped under the UN's Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, which intersects with CEDAW. Build knowledge and capacity should on how to use WPS reporting processes and the anniversary of UNSCR 1325 (2000) to keep international focus on the rights and status of Palestinians.

2. Planning and Programming

1. Gender officers, usually appointed because they are young women, are not gender specialists. They need continuous training in order to be effective analysts who can shape effective advocacy messages and actions.
2. Establish a shared space in PAIC in which a broad coalition of members (not only gender officers!) learn about how to connect gender inequality and politically-induced CC, and to deploy their learning in more effective field-level observation and more effective storytelling/advocacy.
3. Build capacity to set results-based gender indicators against which changes can be monitored and assessed. Align these with the Sustainable Development Goals (do not stop at SDG5 – the goals are cross-cutting) to ensure that positive change can be reported into an existing framework, while supporting the PA's SDG obligations.
4. Gender analysis precedes any efforts to advance gender mainstreaming in a project or program cycle, requiring PAIC members to become conversant with gender equality concepts and build in-depth understanding of how to advance women's participation and ensure their rights. Building a food sovereignty movement is a means of advancing the right to maintain local, traditional foodways while increasing women's ability to make decisions about the disposal of economic resource. The focus should shift from numbers of women included to an assessment of the extent to which women influence decisions and outcomes at the community level, in cooperatives or other civil society organizations, in media representations, and in policy interventions. Build capacities to identify gaps and overcome challenges including negative behaviours and norms that disallow or undermine women farmers' participation and advancement in cooperatives, markets, and learning programs.
5. To reveal power differentials and their impacts, all data collection should be systematic, disaggregated by sex, age, and location, evidence-based and include both quantitative and

qualitative information. Data collection in itself provides opportunities for community engagement in planning, strategizing and programme development, making and implementing decisions, developing their capacities, and benefiting from results.

6. PAIC members should be prepared to identify and respond to any instances of gender-based violence (GBV) they encounter in their daily work, and to build a strategic advocacy mechanism so that PAIC can issue timely and relevant commentary if a case of GBV reaches the media.

3. Individual and Collective Efforts

1. There is often greater resistance at senior management level to learning new concepts, but individual and collective mentorship of PAIC member senior management would make a significant contribution to moving organisations from inertia to action. Building PAIC's research capacity is a crucial first step in advancing effective advocacy about the political dimensions of CC and the equally political constraints that double and even triple women's vulnerability. Given the military occupier's remarkably effective disinformation campaigns, the PAIC needs to focus intently on building a counter-narrative that exposes the extraction and maldistribution that are the real sources of the occupiers CC-mitigation "success".
2. Develop a strong advocacy message and stick to it, no matter how much the military occupier tries to undermine it. Along with others who are already focusing on this movement-building, PAIC should contribute to whole-of-society mobilization to form a regenerative Palestinian food sovereignty movement, which includes learning how to capture and tell stories from a wide diversity of food producers – not only farmers in rural areas, but urban food growers and agro-entrepreneurs. Some issues to pursue could be good news stories about seed diversity, land restoration, urban food growing and other regenerative practices, as well as regaining visibility of the Indigenous land practices that strengthen the ancient claim Palestinians make to their land. Among the initiatives possible could be land-based stories that speak of hundreds of years of non-intrusive human terraforming and Indigenous management. Every effort should be made to expose the military occupation as a recent intrusion, driven as much by capitalism as ideology, not some kind of divinely condoned "return" of Jews to an ancient land. The propaganda of greening the desert, etc. as told by the military occupier, is overwhelmingly similar to most other colonial misrepresentations: the story is not unique to this context, and can be exposed as just one more thread in a global misrepresentation of Indigenous land practices. Global awareness should be raised of the commonality between the tropes used by this and every other occupying force: it is far from unique.

4. Training and capacity building packages

A capacity development action plan will be devised for the coming two years, focused on gender equality mainstreaming and climate justice. Training will be both collective and tailored to each member organization of PAIC.

Action Points

Framing Palestine's environmental crisis as "slow violence"

A necessary cornerstone of Palestinian climate analysis is to track the ongoing environmental degradation, and consequent impacts on human health and wellbeing, caused by the military occupation.⁹ We work from the premise that military occupation is an extreme form of industrial settler-colonial "campaign" that both requires and creates an ongoing and catastrophic deepening of environmental overwhelm (Powys White in Heise et al., 2017: 208).¹⁰ While it is the spectacular effects of the political crises of the military occupation that make the mainstream news, the daily effects of the occupation are best described, using Rob Nixon's useful formulation, as slow violence. This is "a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all" (Nixon, 2011: 2). As such, it is a violence strongly associated with land, and with the bodies that cross or are walled into, live and work on, reproduce, breathe, and eat and drink from the land. Nixon's book offers powerful analytical frameworks from which to assess both the gendered impacts of environmental degradation (chapter 4, "Slow Violence, Gender, and the Environmentalism of the Poor") and of military-settler-colonialism (chapter 7, "Ecologies of the Aftermath: Precision Warfare and Slow Violence"). Because its framework lends itself to a deep discussion of both the socio-political and geographical crises facing Palestinians, the concept of "slow violence" forms the foundational framework of our analysis.

We note that the UN's High Commission on Human Rights (OHCHR) now classifies exposure to toxins, including those produced by poorly-managed waste, as a human rights abuse. This recognises environmental pollutants, similarly to Nixon's "slow" violence, as a "silent pandemic" driving global ill-health that particularly affects marginal women, and their infants and young children.¹¹ However, no special recognition is given by the OHCHR to people living in a state of perpetual military assault. For this analysis, we draw on the work of Indigenous scholars in other contexts of seemingly-permanent colonial occupation, especially Max Liboiron's ground-breaking book, *Pollution is Colonialism*.¹²

Gender-power effects of endless war

Militarily-occupied Palestine is subject to multiple forms of gendered violence. Yet, beyond a strong feminist focus on the interpersonal dynamics of such violence at personal and family level, we find that little or no attention is paid to how its public gendered dynamics play out in the agricultural sector. This makes invisible the gendered violence associated with bodily inflammation from stress and the toxins in the soils and waters,¹³ which differentially impact women and men's health. While there may be more immediate gendered effects in rural areas, urban areas do not escape their effects since urban populations eat foods produced using toxins, which bioaccumulate over time. The

⁹ See, for example, <https://www.birzeit.edu/en/blogs/air-pollution-palestine> (no date, anonymous author).

¹⁰ Powys White, K. (2016). "Our Ancestors' Dystopia Now: Indigenous conservation and the Anthropocene." In Heise, U., Niemann, M. and Christensen, J. (2016) *The Routledge Companion to the Environmental Humanities*, 206-215. Powys-White is an Indigenous scholar of environmental and psychological health, and an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in what is now known as the USA.

¹¹ See

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Environment/SRToxicsandhumanrights/Pages/AboutToxicsandHumanRights.aspx>

¹² Liboiron is an Indigenous scholar from Lac la Biche, Treaty 6 territory in the province of what is now known as Alberta, Canada. Their book was published by Duke UP in 2021.

¹³ See Rupa Marya and Rav Patel, 2021. *Inflamed: Deep Medicine and the Anatomy of Injustice* (Macmillan).

intergenerational impacts of toxin transmission are also gendered, not only because women's and men's bodies respond differently to exposure but because male and female fetuses react differently, with impacts that show up as a child matures. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to revisit the extensive literature on Palestinian reproductive health, we note that because Palestinian women still have one of the highest fertility rates in the world, and because poverty is highly correlated with women's ability to control their fertility, the impacts on poor, rural women of bearing a child or children with chronic and lifelong health issues is likely to be high and to take multiple forms including in posing another obstacle to their full participation in decision-making. These challenges are well-discussed in the literature on how environmental violence affects women Indigenous agricultural workers.¹⁴

Also invisible is the daily mental and physical impacts of institutions that were formed for the purposes of domination and forced removal from Indigenous lands.¹⁵ This GPA includes an analysis of these effects and the unequal suffering imposed on the bodies and minds of Palestinians, which is in turn passed onto Palestine's natural resources and experienced at a macro level in the effects of a rapidly-changing climate.

As is briefly outlined above, the first and most egregious exposure Palestinians endure results from the military occupation and its accompanying, environmentally-destructive regimes of violence and control.¹⁶ War is explicitly toxic, and all the systems associated with war – from the manufacture of weapons systems to the economic and political systems kept in place by military violence – rely on the immediate and long-term effects on human and non-human life of poisons. Since the deliberate deployment of fossil-fuel derived weapons-systems used in the European campaigns of 1914-18, the waging of war has been so strongly correlated with the deliberate and targeted deployment of toxins that there is a body of international and national humanitarian law which attempts to regulate their weaponization, and an emerging effort to seek justice for military personnel affected by exposure to poisons in the line of duty.¹⁷ Their abuse of the rights of nature are less well-recognized at this point, although the “physical, chemical, and explosive remnants of armed conflicts can create lasting threats to communities and ecosystems” (Weir, 2017).¹⁸ Developing a stronger analysis of war's toxins as a form of rights abuse is an urgent task for Palestinians, but will be extremely difficult because the military occupier remains secretive and unaccountable about its biological and chemicals weapons capacities, including its research and development processes, its deployment practices and the lasting impacts of the systems it develops, field tests and sells globally.¹⁹ With terrifying effect in its 2009 Operation Cast Lead, the State of Israel, Palestine's military occupier, dropped White Phosphorus – which is not classified as a chemical weapon – on civilian populations in Gaza (2009). It carefully observes the impacts of such exposure on the bodies it attacks: its advanced military-industrial

¹⁴ See above, UN Report on “Indigenous Women and Environmental Violence.”

¹⁵ See Riane Eisler and David Fry, 2019. *Nurturing Our Humanity: How Domination and Partnership Shape Our Brains, Lives, and Future* (Oxford UP).

¹⁶ Israel has a highly secretive chemical and biological weapons capacity. See, for e.g. <https://theconversation.com/is-it-time-for-israel-to-reveal-the-truth-about-its-chemical-weapons-95604>.

¹⁷ The Hague Convention IV; and Hague Regulations #72 (poisons and poisoned weapons) and #74 (prohibiting chemical weapons). Most recently, 2021 has seen an effort in the USA to recompense soldiers for toxic exposure: but this effort does not recognise harms done to civilian populations exposed, by the USA military or its proxies, to such weapons.

¹⁸ <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780198784630.001.0001/oso-9780198784630-chapter-19>

¹⁹ See the work of Forensic Architecture (<https://forensic-architecture.org/location/palestine-israel>).

complex benefits financially from its reputation for having “tested” weapons in “battlefield” conditions.²⁰

Our literature search and field interviews asked, “what toxins face Palestinians, and how do different bodies differently carry the burdens of these toxins?” In interviews, people spoke of the impacts of poisoned water, air and soils, which they associated with lack of fertility in land and animals, sickness including respiratory disease and an array of cancers in humans, and the disproportionate sicknesses facing the elderly and the very young. However, lacking the capacities for *citizen science*, which teaches people how to measure and report on such toxins including through the use of digital tools, respondents had little specific knowledge of what they are facing. Of particular concern, they do not know about toxins with lasting effects which include a group of persistent organic pollutants (POPs), i.e., toxins that are scientifically formulated in such a way that they do not break down over time, and therefore bioaccumulate in soils, waters, aquatic and other life. Certain POPs are highly associated with militarism, including benzene, dioxins, mercury and polychlorinated biphenyls (or PCBs).²¹ These toxins have gendered and intergenerational impacts as their effects are transmitted from exposed parents to their offspring. The literature discusses some effects, for example that “[h]igh exposure to benzene during pregnancy is associated with low birth weight, an increased risk of childhood leukaemia and a greater incidence of birth defects such as spina bifida” (Caron-Beaudoin 2017).²² Benzene is also linked to breast cancer in men and women although it may not show up for a decade or so after exposure.²³ Similarly, the effects of dioxins are delayed, occurring 7-11 years after exposure. It is a highly prevalent toxin in burnt solid wastes and pesticides; and its presence is associated with military bases.²⁴

Given that Palestinians across the occupied territory, including East Jerusalem, are often forced to manage solid waste through burning, and that military and industrial waste storage sites and military remnants are prevalent across the territory, we can make two assumptions. The first of these is that in addition to toxins transmitted in water and soil, Palestinians are experiencing an unusually high airborne toxin load: the effects of this will be both rural and urban. The second is that the impacts of this exposure are unevenly distributed among women, men, and girl and boy infants and children. People interviewed for this research did make the first connection, although we did not see evidence of the second connection being made, yet.

As an **action point**, Palestinians have the right to know more about the effects of exposure to toxins, to measure their concentration, and to start learning more about their immediate differential and future impacts. The PAIC can contribute to this knowledge by prioritising the transmission of methods of citizen science that are appropriate and manageable at community level. Individuals near settler industrial sites, for instance, should be empowered to test for airborne dioxin loads, because dioxins are transmitted from a mother to her foetus, and to the infant through breast milk. Among their gendered and intergenerational effects are an associated with endocrine disorders, cognitive, language, and reduced fine motor scores and other effects associated with autism, especially in boys,

²⁰ See, for example, <https://www.haaretz.com/gaza-war-is-arms-industry-cash-cow-1.5258893>.

²¹ <https://ehjournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1476-069X-11-49>). These are now banned, but because they are so prevalent, and because of Sol dumping, they should still be considered.

²² <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2017/11/171113095435.htm>

²³ <https://www.bcpp.org/resource/benzene/>

²⁴ <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/dioxins-and-their-effects-on-human-health>

and these effects are known to be most prevalent in the poorest women and children who tend to live in the most polluted areas.²⁵

Especially in Gaza, we should also anticipate high rates of mercury bioaccumulation (especially in contaminated fish), which is associated with military activities on land and sea. It is associated with birth defects, including neurological damage and eyesight.²⁶

While this analysis does not pretend to interrogate the medical literature on Palestine, we note that leukaemia has become the most common cancer of children under the age of 15.²⁷ Dura near Hebron has lymphoma rates 2-4 times that of the broader region.²⁸ Yet apart from the PWWSD report mentioned above, we are not aware of a significant body of research connecting these intergenerational health concerns to toxic activities by the military occupier and its settlers. There is, in other words, a significant differential in the information available to Palestinians, who have the right to know why they (and their livestock) are experiencing declining health. This is an acute form of disempowerment, and it is highly gendered in its immediate and long-term impacts.

Action point: As Nixon observes: “War deaths from environmental toxicity demand patient, elaborate proof. Spikes in renal collapse; infertility; leukaemia; testicular, brain, and breast cancers; and clusters of infant malformations are harder to link to war’s technologies than a bullet through the head” (Nixon 2011: 211). In addition to their health impacts, Palestinians are aware of how the toxicity of the occupation correlates with growing poverty. Yet recompense for exposure to toxins deployed in war is rarely directed to civilians, including those who are conceived and born in proximity to military toxins. We know of no efforts to hold the military occupier to account for its toxic military activities, but with Nixon we ask: “Who is counting the victims of genetic deterioration—the stillborn, malformed infants conceived by parents whose DNA has been scrambled by war’s toxins?” (Nixon 2011: 201). What can be done to force the occupier to pay for the health impacts of the toxins it deploys, fails to control, and actively channels into the “sacrifice zones” it is making of Palestinian lands?

Furthermore, we are unaware of significant work to cleanse the occupier’s military sites from the unexploded remnants of war, including containment and remediation of persistent pollutants associated with military activities. However, given the extensive efforts that have been needed elsewhere to decontaminate former military bases, for example, in post-reunification Germany, we note as an **action point** that the effects of this source of multi-decade (or longer) pollution should also be documented and classified as an ongoing war crime against an Indigenous people. A record of the effects of deliberate toxification of Palestinian land could make an important contribution to final status negotiations as the repair of deliberate damage will be costly and cannot be borne by Palestinians.

Youth, power and economic exclusion

The question of intergenerational transfer of power in the rural areas is particularly challenging. Those interviewed reflected that an emphasis on individual success and wealth accrual has replaced a culture of collective care of land and community. The alienation of young Palestinians from the land as a source of life and livelihood is a recurring cause of concern for farming communities, and plays out in two ways, both of which are tied to the uncertainty of the future. Firstly, families know that land-use planning, and succession, may become impossible because young people are leaving not only to

²⁵ <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/23390198/>

²⁶ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5101266/>

²⁷ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4198238/>

²⁸ <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/ijc.25732>

nearby urban areas, but from Palestine altogether. In interviews, women commented on the personal impacts of children's migration, which has immediate implications for gendered family labour practices, passing on more invisible work burdens to increasingly older women. There are also future implications related to the gendered systems of inheritance preferred under Shari'a law (whose practice affects Christian and Muslim Palestinians alike). They also remarked on the immediate effects on land, pointing out how ancient farmlands that have relied for centuries on human care are losing their fertility, and observing water sources dry up as more trees are cut. Secondly, older farmers watch as young people, especially men, migrate to poorly-paid, unsafe and unregulated work in settlements and settlement industrial areas, where they suffer ill treatment by the occupier, are exposed to toxins, refused healthcare and dismissed into the care of their family if they become too ill to work. Again, gendered expectations of who cares for sick family members mean that women's burdens of care are increased if a family member becomes chronically ill, while gendered expectations of who should undertake work for wages (predominantly men) mean that overall family income is hard hit when a man is injured or made sick in the course of engaging in precarious forms of work for illegal settlers.

At the same time as health burdens increase, the austerity politics implemented by the Palestinian Authority are not only resulting in the deterioration of infrastructure necessary for environmental health, but leading to a loss of, and failure to build skills, especially the skills of women in rural areas. Fewer local-level jobs available for technical experts in municipalities and other government facilities. Palestinian labour figures warn that the effects of losing these "good" jobs will be unevenly distributed between women and men, and it is likelier that young men will migrate in search of better work conditions than young women, with negative results for social and cultural cohesion, as well as economic costs, being passed onto families. Existing academic research on outmigration in Palestine indicates that one impact is to reduce women's commitment to studying at higher levels because they prefer to stay home and feel that they have enough skills to manage their gendered tasks.²⁹ Gender and development literature, in turn, explores the longitudinal impacts of women's continued low education and labour force participation levels.³⁰ The inference can be drawn that the gendered effects of leaving rural areas for better work opportunities are significant and multi-faceted, with differential burdens being borne by young women. A potential **action point** is to identify whether there is a significant differential uptake of outmigration from agricultural areas by gender, and if so, what resources families have to build the farming capacities of young women. There are also likely to be implications for how Sharia'a law is administered, which may be of interest for women's legal organisations to explore.

An immediate implication of declining levels of investment in infrastructure and its maintenance can be seen in increases in seepage and spillage, including from a lack of adequate treatment of sewage, into farmlands. This is speeding up the destruction of environmental resources that farming families rely on, further alienating young people and compromising health and wellbeing from birth, because exposure to sewage is correlated with a higher incidence of childhood illnesses including watery diarrhoea, which leads to stunting and other poor health and learning outcomes in children.³¹ Poor local governance is failing to prevent or manage different forms of pollution from industries such as stone-cutting, on which poor families rely for an income. Lack of awareness of how to dispose safely of waste, as well as lack of recycling facilities, and other poor waste management, leads to the burning of rubbish including tyres and other highly hazardous materials.

²⁹ Mustafa Khawaja, 2011. "Emigration from Palestine: a gender perspective" (available at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/16210>).

³⁰ The policy implications are thoroughly explored in literature related to the advancement of the SDGs.

³¹ See the extensive literature available at www.UNICEF.org (WASH).

Action point: in interviews, young people spoke of the need to build awareness of “waste-to-wealth” practices through which “garbage” is reconceptualised as valuable, allowing nutrient flows to be redirected away from dump-sites and so-called “wastelands” and to be repurposed as part of a series of sustainable economic and environmental practices. As an **action point**, the creation of circular economy policies (see ARDD 2022) through which to devise local economic alternatives to work in settlements should be a significant priority. However, while recycling, as an economic activity, is well established in many parts of the world, including within occupied historic Palestine, the remoter areas of the West Bank are currently harmed by both low awareness of the longitudinal impacts of mismanaging waste, and a lack of initiatives to manage what people discard more sustainably and with an eye to alternative job creation. With an eye on empowering young people, a significant package of economic activities should be designed to support Palestinians to think differently about waste management, including the management of grey and black water. Part of this effort is to build high, medium, and local-level technical and scientific skills to manage the complex task of identifying and managing the flow of toxins, persistent pollutants and nutrients that are harmful when they are out of place (e.g. the separation of organic waste into compost heaps rather than waste-dumps where they build up methane). Not only a changed mindset but a new set of skills is needed, through a focus on building the skills of young, jobless people who need encouragement to diversify the economic opportunities available in farming areas.

Gender, power and agricultural flows

Large-scale technologized agriculture increasingly relies on the deployment of toxins and hazardous farming practices; but in Palestine, agricultural toxins are also deployed by the military occupier in its frequent military campaigns, as extensively documented by Forensic Architecture in the western part of Palestine.

“Since 2014, the clearing and bulldozing of agricultural and residential lands by the Israel military close to the eastern border of Gaza has been complemented by the unannounced aerial spraying of crop-killing herbicides. This ongoing practice has not only destroyed entire swaths of formerly arable land along the border fence, but also crops and farmlands hundreds of metres deep into Palestinian territory, resulting in the loss of livelihoods for Gazan farmers.”³²

Water, air, soil and seeds do not recognise boundaries, borders or walls. They flow, and as they move, they gather up molecules and particles that carry particular, but differential, implications for women’s bodies and men’s bodies, and that affect male and female fetuses, babies and children differently. For example, exposure to contaminated drinking water is associated with increased cancers.

We argue that in Palestine, misuse and excessive reliance on agricultural toxins offer an instance of genocidal warfare: most of the effects of the pollutants that are being sprayed will take several years to show up. Yet every child born in or near a toxic site that has been exposed to military and/or agricultural pollutants, and the mother of every child, is harbouring the seeds of future ill-health in their body, especially in the gut microbiome.³³ **Action point:** while we know that decades of exposure to war violence has left Palestinians and their care systems overwhelmed, we encourage Palestinian scientists to consider the relevance of emerging evidence linking the long-term health crisis of Covid-19 with depleted gut microbiomes, a co-morbidity associated with exposure to toxins.

³² <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/herbicide-warfare-in-gaza>

³³ See the work of Michael Yellow Bird on “neurodecolonisation” (<https://www.indigenousmindfulness.com/about>).

Action point: research to reveal the levels and effects of toxins in Palestinian soils and waters is urgently needed. The capacities of local citizens to test soils and waters, and measure air quality, must be built. The policy implications of addressing this aspect of the military occupation are currently under-explored, presumably because the problem of toxicity has so far been allowed to remain invisible. PAIC members can lead the way, including by developing defensive capacities through citizen science, using the SDGs, the UNHCR's statement, linking to others connecting the abuse of Indigenous People's rights and environmental rights. The reverse of Israeli settler-colonialism is to claim Palestinians as an Indigenous People with particular ties to the land. Is enough being done to make this connection? Is thinking about land and toxicity a way to revitalise this conversation?

Action point: we also ask, how can we be "gender sensitive" to female and male bodies when we work on toxicity? How do we do this work in a way where we recognise the line of wellbeing and good health from mother to child, but do not get trapped into a "WomenAndChildren" discourse that leads to blurred lines between a child's rights and needs, and those of a woman, reinforcing the patriarchal tendency to represent adult women as if they were still children?

Action point: we propose looking clearly at the impacts of agricultural toxins on gendered bodies, as part of a broader claim for the right of women to full protection for their reproductive well-being. In a zone of armed conflict where Indigenous land management practices are in conflict with – but also in proximity with – agrotechnology approaches to agriculture that are characterised by high use of fossil-fuel based fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides, the impacts of these toxins should be examined for their impacts on Indigenous bodies and ways of life.

Gender, power and public institutions

Finally, using Sara Ahmed's useful formulation, we argue that the institutions and the law in Palestine are failing women intentionally. The agricultural system as a whole is hierarchical: it was designed to advance the interests of men, especially those with wealth and connections, and overlook those of women.³⁴ Addressing institutionally-made and reinforced gender inequality requires not only legal reform but a social and political reconceptualization of how the institutions farmers interact with are designed and function. Among the emerging challenges is the current emphasis on "largescale" and "technological agricultural solutions" that are pushed forward by the practices of the military occupier and its largest backer, the United States. While much touted and extremely well-funded, such approaches will do nothing to halt, let alone reverse the effects of climate change on Palestine. **Action point:** awareness must be built of how the increasing alienation of Palestinians from land and place is being driven by the redesignation of agricultural land, and the commons, for the purposes of large-scale monocrop farming, or for housing, industrial and leisure development. In whose present and future interests is such redesignation being made, who benefits, what are the long-term effects of industrial-scale agrotechnologies, and of building over agricultural land, including aquifer recharge zones? How can communities collectively, and with equal authority, resist the private commercial exploitation of rural productive assets?

Gendered expectations play a major role in how institutions are formed and function, and the institutions surrounding the economy, agriculture and the environment are no exception. In Palestine, while there is official recognition of equality between women and men, in practice, women are treated as perpetual minors and denied access to resources that might promote their economic empowerment and independence. A series of questions remains to be asked. How are women farmers and food producers positioned within *men's* economic interests? What happens when women are

³⁴ See, for example, her Feminist Killjoys blog, "Institutional as usual" posted 24 October, 2017 (<https://feministkilljoys.com/2017/10/24/institutional-as-usual/>).

expected to give their labour to communal efforts, while profits accrue to individual men who are allowed to dispose of collective assets? What do women farmers hope for their future and the future of lands, waters, trees in their care, and what happens when these hopes differ from those of men? Why is there such a high degree of recognition of “women’s poverty” and lack, but not enough said about (some) men’s excessive affluence, or, the fact that, generally speaking, men have too much wealth, land and decision-making power, in relation to women?

Action point: if the laws of equality that are on the books were working in reality, there would be relative equality in the wealth (and poverty) of women and men; and laws and social practices would exist that guarantee the transfer of men’s wealth to women until they were approximately as rich, or as poor, as each other. Understanding this wealth transfer in Palestine’s dual system of oppression is particularly important, because the military occupier is making deft use of Palestinian patriarchy to advance its own goal of eradicating Palestinian natural resource usage and conservation. If forms of practical equality in land access and use were in place, an ethically clear position would emerge from which to resist the positioning of Palestinian women and men as “extractable resources” for the military occupiers. Right now, however, many Palestinian men, especially those with an unusually large share of economic and social clout, profit from supporting the extension of the military occupation and its subsumption of historical agricultural lands and practices. Put bluntly, they contribute to the impoverishment and precarity of women, as well as the impoverishment and degradation of the land and waters.

A vicious cycle of power imbalances is taking place: because social institutions deny women control over their own bodies, labour, and resources, women are made vulnerable because they are dependent on the charity, protection and power of men. Insufficiently gender-aware national policy and development interventions exacerbate this problem, because they do little to challenge fundamental power imbalances between women and men, or to address how power is conferred by powerful men onto subordinate men. They replicate the exclusionary paradigms developed over generations in favour of supporting the power, political and personal interests of a few.

Decades of decolonial and feminist analysis have shown that colonial-settler states are intrinsically both capitalist and patriarchal. They are organised around their capacity to extract “value” from women and natural resources. In this logic, the tendency of international donors to regard women as ‘a resource for development’ runs the very real risk of reinforcing their position as commodities through which to advance men’s projects, plans and ambitions, rather than recognising them as individual rights bearers, with unique relationships to land and Indigenous knowledge systems. Without addressing this problem, there is little chance that those with power will shift in their belief that women only matter because of what they can be coerced to produce. Without a transformational gender approach, Palestinian men may accept working with women, but only because they provide productive and reproductive labour. This would perpetuate existing gender stereotypes and prevent necessary shifts, including in men’s thinking that women lack energy and creativity, as individuals or as a subordinated class, and therefore are undeserving of authentic self-empowerment. This tendency will be exacerbated by the persistent positioning in Palestinian society of women as ‘perpetual minors’, acquiring a stunted form of personhood only by association with, and because of the protection of male relatives. The unfortunate, and largely unexamined and unchallenged tendency of many international agencies, governments and civil society to work on interventions for “women and children” exacerbates this problem. It does nothing to challenge the *status quo* or create an alternative image of women as fully enfranchised adults with *capacities* as well as needs and vulnerabilities.

We conclude this GPA by remarking that the current paucity of information on CC and environmentalism in Palestine, and the almost complete exclusion of women from decision-making

and authority in food and farming systems, should be regarded as an opportunity. Women are currently almost completely absent at decision making level and are frequently not represented during the development of national strategies, policies and plans – even those that focus on women's issues. An **action point** is to better involve them in all aspects of decision-making, and this gains even more urgency because women are already facing gender inequalities and CC impacts will be an added stressor that further undermines their capacity not only to cope in the present, but to contribute to future CC mitigation. As public interest in and attention to environmentalism grows, women have to be the direct focus of interventions that they co-design as actors in the Palestinian food system, that are by and for women, and in women's best interests. This is how important shifts in socially exclusionary practices and institutions will take place. Women and their relationships with land, seed, water, Indigenous food and farming knowledge systems, deserve to be taken seriously, to move them 'beyond victimhood' and re-position them as powerful co-creators of a new reality in which all Palestinians are supported to change their inter-relationship with the natural environment. We have begun to test the causal inter-relationship between pollution, loss of land (through patriarchy, militarization and capitalism), climate change, especially its immediate impacts on water supply, and gender equality (or inequality). It is already clear that greater inequality leads to a more significant negative impact on women.

We also argue that promoting the full equality of women in the emerging field of environmental justice is not only important to bring their full potential into climate change-related development, mitigation and adaptation processes, but to fix in place new structures and mental landscapes which will honour, promote and protect all Palestinians, in all their diversity, as partners for peace, community reconciliation and reconstruction, and resilience against both the unpredictable future of climate change – and the all-too familiar struggle against ongoing, ever-deepening military occupation.

Gender Inequality and Ecological Crisis

Hierarchies of power in Palestine sustain gender inequality and climate injustice.³⁵ These hierarchies fall along roughly along two axes, internal and external. In this effort to estimate Palestinian's capacity and interest in shifting power hierarchies, we use two lenses: one that focuses on internal blockages or opposition to flows, transfers, and shifts in individual and collective power between and among Palestinians; and one that evaluates the impacts of the omnipresent pressures caused by decades of military occupation.

There is limited or no understanding of why social exclusion from decision-making and action to recognise and mitigate the effects of climate change (CC) matters.³⁶ Based on our tracking of CC-related topics that attract the attention of Palestinians, we did not expect to step into a vivid public conversation about the differential impacts of CC on Palestinians living in different states of intensity of military occupation. Indeed, our background scan of public discourse³⁷ reveals limited, sporadic and presumably donor-driven interest in CC reflected in the civil society sector.

Yet we find such differences everywhere, and these differences fall along predictable axes of in/security, social, economic and cultural power, in other words, between women and men, old and young, nomads/Bedouin, refugees/internally displaced people (IDPs) and settled populations, Gazans and people living in Area C or East Jerusalem. Above all, we find evidence of a strongly class-based difference in power, which takes shape around the undue influence exerted by men in political and economic leadership roles, including in the Palestinian Authority (PA), who appear to be strongly attracted to emerging global discourses promoting multi-billion dollar agribusiness models and their agrochemical regimes. Ironically, prefer the same large-scale and unsustainable for-profit approaches practiced by Palestine's military occupier, which has a global reputation for privileging technological models of agriculture associated with coloniality, "Big Agribusiness" and the promotion of genetically modified (GM) inputs such as seeds requiring a high degree of reliance on persistent organic pollutants (POPs) including through fertilizers and pesticides. We note the irony that the biggest producers of such toxins (BASF, Bayer, and Syngenta) often market what they produce using the language of security – as "crop *protection* products" – a link that goes back centuries in European models of colonialism and other warfare.³⁸ The disproportionately gendered impacts of such inputs, especially on the bodies of indigenous women, are well-recognized in global fora on the rights of indigenous peoples and we propose, while there is a tendency to associate the term "indigeneity" with various Bedouin groupings in historic Palestine, that it is helpful to extend analysis conducted by Indigenous

³⁵ These two reports provide a basis for future action in the Environmental and Climate Justice Programme (ECJP) in Palestine, a partnership between We Effect and the Palestinian Agricultural Institutions Coalition (PAIC), established in 2018. PAIC is a coalition of six environment, climate and agricultural non-governmental organisations in Palestine: the (Agricultural Development Association (PARC), Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), Palestinian Hydrology Group (PHG), Land Research Centre (LRC), MA'AN Development Centre, and the Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem (ARIJ). In addition, the Palestinian Environmental NGOs Network (PENGON) provides technical inputs to the programme's advocacy efforts.

³⁶ This hypothesis accords with the findings in a new (2022) paper published by the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development recognizing that the Middle East and North Africa region, in general, has been slow in advancing towards environmental analysis. See "Green Economy and Circular Economy: The UN as a Catalyst of Change for Refugees? The Case of UNRWA" (available at <https://ardd-jo.org/Publications/green-economy-and-circular-economy-the-un-as-a-catalyst>).

³⁷ See the Inception Report.

³⁸ See, for example, 2016, "Like Day and Nitrogen: War, Peace, and the Dawn of Fertilizers." (<https://gro-intelligence.com/insights/war-peace-and-the-dawn-of-fertilizers>).

scholars elsewhere on coloniality and toxicity to all Palestinians who retain ties to the land as agricultural workers.³⁹

The dominant agribusiness/industrial farming model is antithetical to ancient indigenous practices attached to the exploitation and conservation of natural resources, as is the case in historic Palestine, where Palestinians have traditionally worked the land on a small scale, using renewable agroecology principles. We hypothesize, therefore, that a central and key power differential at play in contemporary militarily-occupied Palestine is encapsulated in a significant ideological disagreement about natural resource use between Indigenous Palestinians and the military occupier. From within this logic, we might expect to find some degree of organized resistance to the introduction of large-scale industrial agriculture. To date, however, with a few exceptions, there is little or no concerted, home-grown effort on the part of women's organisations to start the work needed to set in motion an Indigenous land, farming and seed movement, such as would be associated in Indigenous communities elsewhere with "food sovereignty" – the ability of people to grow familiar, traditional and culturally-valuable foods in sustainable, healthy soils, and to control and be equitably paid for the distribution of their produce. Furthermore, young Palestinians appear unaware of either CC as an issue affecting every aspect of their lives and futures, or of food sovereignty as a potential space of activism and resistance to encroachment on Palestinian life- and food ways.

Why does there appear to be little interest in the issue of CC, including from women and young people? Based on media observation and a review of secondary research methods, as well as preliminary field and social analysis of Palestinian civil society and government authorities, we surmise that there are several reasons. While the core of the Palestinian claim to independence from Israeli military occupation is the return of land that has been nurtured and cultivated using Indigenous farming methods for centuries; while gendered divisions of labour in farming traditions and methods are as ancient and diverse as the landscape of historic Palestine itself; and while the apportioning of water resources was identified as a central concern in the 1993 Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, the sheer lack of contemporary attention given to environmental issues may indicate a near-complete overwhelm of Palestine's ancient foodways, which is part of the overwhelm of the land itself. In addition to the uncertainty of new weather patterns and increasing water insecurity, and agricultural lands that are shrinking because of the practices of the occupation (including confiscation and enclosure of lands) as well as uncontrolled speculation, sale and development of fertile agricultural land, Palestinians now face the compounded difficulties of living with new challenges such as the introduction of genetically-engineered/modified (GM) crops and the Covid-19 pandemic and its social and economic consequences. Meanwhile, there is also a deepening of old realities: a disengaged, divided and dispirited PA; deepening inequalities in wealth distribution that see the increasing buy-in of wealthy Palestinian landowners to a farming-for-profit modality; and the ongoing catastrophe of militarised settler-colonialism – itself a vector for rapid CC. These challenges continue to subsume and distract the attention of Palestinians of every age. We hypothesize that such accumulated challenges also act against the emergence of an Indigenous environmental movement comparable to those that are seen in other parts of the world.

Our field observations and interactions show that the impact of CC is already apparent at the collective and household levels in east Palestine. Because we do not see a corresponding rise in engagement in debates on climate change at any level (local, regional, or global), in this inception report we begin to

³⁹ See "Indigenous Women and Environmental Violence," submitted to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Expert Group Meeting on "Combatting Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls" (8-20 January, 2012); Max Liboiron, 2021, *Pollution is Colonialism* (Duke UP); and in Palestine, IWGIA (<https://www.iwgia.org/en/palestine.html>).

hypothesize the absence of a visible environmental consciousness or actions to preserve Palestine's environment. We discuss why there is seemingly so little concern about CC, an issue identified by activists in every other global community, in the powerful words of Greta Thurnberg as "the biggest crisis humanity has ever faced." The first way to think about this issue in Palestine is to better understand the interaction between CC and the economy. To what extent might people (poor or rich) perceive CC as an urgent issue requiring official action, compared with already-existing problems such as poverty and loss of livelihood, including because of land degradation and ongoing land grabs?

The weight of this question is intensified because marginalized groups, primarily in developing countries, are known to be disproportionately affected and consequently in the greatest need of adaptation strategies in the face of climate variability and change. While both women and men working in natural resource sectors such as agriculture are likely to be affected, the impact of climate change by gender is not the same. Emerging studies show that women are more vulnerable than men to CC impacts, mainly because they represent the majority of the world's under-served, have greater physical contact with land and therefore with toxins used in agribusiness, but less protection as workers, and are more dependent than the majority of men on threatened natural resources as a source of livelihoods. Gendered differences also show up in differential roles, responsibilities, decision-making capacities and spaces, access to land and natural resources, opportunities and needs. Worldwide, women have less (predictable) access than men to resources such as land, credit, agricultural inputs, decision-making structures, technology, training and extension services that would enhance their capacity to adapt to CC, and Palestine is no exception.

CC should be expected to intensify existing challenges faced by Palestinian and to create new combinations of risks, particularly in communities where there is widespread poverty and dependence on the natural environment. The most important impacts of CC in Palestine are already showing up in the form of water scarcity and soil degradation, with knock-on effects on agriculture and food security.⁴⁰ At household level, these domains are largely the responsibility of women, especially in the rural areas, meaning that Palestine's rural women are among the most vulnerable to the consequences of CC. The question then, is how to most effectively include such women in defining both the adaptation and mitigation solutions for future climatic hazards in Palestine.

To summarize: **endogenously**, Palestine is caught in the effects of:

- entrenched **patriarchal authority** that privileges men/male over women/female in almost every circumstance;
- **gerontocratic authority**, which promotes the leadership of those (both male and female) who are significantly older than most of the adult population. This stratifies society through assuming that power accrues with age, that the oldest have the most power and are irreplaceable, and that succession strategies, including the preparation of young people for authority, are therefore unnecessary and unwelcome;
- **class politics** that confer on those with wealth greater authority than those without, including by giving the wealthy the right to privately decide the management of shared resources (the "commons", including air, water and soil), even when this is detrimental to the wellbeing and continued fecundity of productive land.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Barghouthi Z. and Gerstetter C. (2012). "Climate change and opportunities to reduce its impacts on agriculture and water, and conflict risks in Palestine." *Water Crises and Agricultural Development in Palestine*, M. Rahil and B. Natsheh (eds). Palestine Technical University - Kadoorie, Tulkarm, pp. 39-52 (publication in progress).

⁴¹ This has the effect of undermining *musha'*, or communal environmental resource holding.

Exogenously, as hardly needs stating, how Palestinian relate to social, economic and political power is always shaped and determined by the ongoing and deepening settler-colonial violence of the military occupation. Among other problems, this produces multiple ruptures in the metabolic interaction between people and nature that, as Karl Marx first theorized, is an inevitable by-product of capitalist agricultural production.⁴² Even beyond confronting the challenges Marx first named – including that such metabolic rift forces unhealthy divisions between urban areas and the countryside – Palestinians in the West Bank⁴³ endure rifts produced by ever-expanding illegal settlements. These include the divisive impacts of settlement infrastructure, their excessive exploitation of scarce natural resources, and their support of and reliance on the spectacular violence of periodic attacks on individual Palestinians, olive trees and agricultural equipment. Additionally, many Palestinians live in permanent refugee camps. Illegal settler activities, settlements themselves, refugee camps and other precarious living spaces comprise the spatial elements of the longitudinal “slow violence” of encroachment onto land that had been nurtured over centuries for the purposes of regenerative agriculture. They over-extract and otherwise misuse scarce ground water and springs, and allow the polluting activities of their industrial zones, wastewater treatment, energy production and other infrastructure, to cause widespread air- and waterborne dis/ease. They empty villages and put fields and streams behind barriers where they cannot be tended. And because Palestinians have no recourse against the activities of the military occupier, they are slowly destroying any sense of hope that a better future is possible.⁴⁴

Intersectional oppression

Bearing in mind the three endogenous sources of power in Palestine, we consider how multiple and intersectional forms of private and public oppression are produced and entrenched, through norms, attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate gender inequality by subjecting individuals and communities to different, overlapping forms of violence justified on the grounds of age, class, disability, race, ethnicity, migration status, or sexual orientation and gender identity. To ensure that We Effect’s interventions are both critical and designed on qualitative evidence, we pay attention to how access to power tends to shift dramatically across the lifecycle, and in relation to individual access to wealth. We also look at the effects of variables such as location (urban or rural; contingent to an illegal settlement or other barriers imposed by the military occupier), level of physical ability, educational level, family status. Accounting for all these variables is known in the anti-racist feminist community as applying an intersectional lens (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2000). Intersectionality helps explain differential access to power and influence at household level, in the public sphere; and in the decision-making capacities and influence of young, middle-aged and elder individuals, and of people with disabilities, in rural or urban settings.

⁴² “Metabolic rift” is the term first used by John Bellamy Foster to describe Marx’s insights into the human-nature relationship as these emerge in the posthumously published *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

⁴³ While the scope of We Effect’s Environmental and Climate Justice Programme (ECJP) does not include the Gaza Strip, the research team remains mindful of its political obligation to work on Palestine as an undivided land. It is investigating possible avenues through which to speak to farmers in the blockaded territory.

⁴⁴ As will be discussed, Rob Nixon theorises the interplay of slow and spectacular violence in his *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011; Harvard UP).

In Thenaba / Tulkarem, one young women, a student in Al-Aroub in the environment department, said: “There are many ways we can deal with the poison coming from the settlement and affecting our communities. We can construct walls in a certain ways to get the wind out of the way. We can consult with specialists and we can make this happen. If we cannot remove the factory we can get rid of the wind and poison it creates. This is our message to the world.”

Based on available literature and initial field work, we conclude that in contemporary Palestine at the beginning of 2022, there is limited or no understanding of why social exclusion from decision-making and action to recognise and mitigate the effects of climate change (CC) matters. Based on our tracking of topics that attract the attention of Palestinians, we did not expect to step into a vivid public conversation about the differential impacts of CC on Palestinians – whether women and men, old and young, nomads/Bedouin, refugees or settled populations, Gazans and people living in Area C or East Jerusalem. Overall, including through exercises such as the social listening process, we do not yet see a broad public interest in CC and mitigation that is driven by the civil society sector.

However, we do see signs that men in leadership roles, including in the Palestinian Authority (PA) may be strongly influenced by emerging global discourses promoting agribusiness models. Ironically, these models are the same large-scale and unsustainable for-profit approaches practiced by Palestine’s military occupier, which has a global reputation for privileging technological models of agriculture associated with coloniality, “Big Agribusiness” and the promotion of genetically modified (GM) inputs such as seeds, that require a high degree of toxic inputs including through fertilizers and pesticides.

By contrast, Palestinians have traditionally worked the land on a small scale, using agroecology principles. This indicates a significant ideological relationship between Indigenous Palestinians and the military occupier. However, there is as yet little or no concerted, home-grown effort on the part of community-based, women’s or youth organisations to set in motion an indigenous land, farming and seed movement, such as would be associated in Indigenous communities elsewhere with “food sovereignty” – the ability of people to grow familiar, traditional and culturally-valuable foods in sustainable, healthy soils, and to control and be equitably paid for the distribution of their produce. Furthermore, young Palestinians appear unaware of CC as an issue affecting every aspect of their lives and futures, or of food sovereignty as a potential space of activism and resistance to encroachment on Palestinian life- and food ways.

The question arises of why the agroecology movement seems so underdeveloped. Based on observation and a review of secondary research methods, as well as preliminary field and social analysis of Palestinian civil society and government authorities, we surmise that there are several reasons. While the core of the Palestinian claim to independence from Israeli military occupation is the return of land that has been nurtured and cultivated using Indigenous farming methods for centuries; while gendered divisions of labour in farming traditions and methods are as ancient and diverse as the landscape of historic Palestine itself; and while the apportioning of water resources was identified as a central concern in the 1993 Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, the sheer lack of attention given to environmental issues in 2021 indicates not only an overwhelm of Palestine’s ancient foodways but a lack of broad responses or push back.

We see this inertia as part of, and in continuum, with the overwhelm of Palestinians as well as their land itself. In addition to the uncertainty of new weather patterns and increasing water insecurity

(being felt most significantly in Samou' in Hebron and Akaba in Tubas), and agricultural lands that are shrinking because of the practices of the occupation (including confiscation and enclosure of lands), as well as uncontrolled speculation, sales and development, Palestinians now face the compounded difficulties of living with new challenges such as the introduction of genetically-engineered/modified (GM) crops, the Covid-19 pandemic and its social and economic consequences, and the old realities of surviving both a disengaged, divided and dispirited PA, deepening class divisions that see the increasing buy-in of wealthy Palestinian landowners to a farming-for-profit modality, and the ongoing catastrophe of militarised settler-colonialism – itself a vector for rapid CC – that has subsumed and distracted the attention of Palestinians of every age. We hypothesize that these accumulated challenges are acting against the emergence of an Indigenous environmental, or agroecology movement comparable to those that are seen in other parts of the world, under the leadership of young people and very notably, of women.

Our field observations infer that the impact of CC is already apparent at the collective and household levels. Nevertheless, we do not see a corresponding engagement in debates on CC at any level (local, regional, or global). In this inception report we begin to hypothesize this absence of a visible environmental consciousness or actions to preserve Palestine's environment by tentatively uncovering why there is seemingly so little concern about CC, an issue identified by activists in every other global community, in the powerful words of Greta Thurnberg as "the biggest crisis humanity has ever faced."

The first way to think about this issue in Palestine is to better understand the interaction between CC and the economy. To what extent might people (poor or rich) perceive CC as an urgent issue requiring official action, compared with already-existing problems such as poverty and loss of livelihood, including because of land degradation and land grabs? The quote below, spoken by a woman farming tobacco in Arrabeh, Jenin, gives some useful insight into how this challenge might be playing out for individual smallholder farmers.

"I don't care what happens to this land now. Yes, it is dry. It's dead. It's unusable. But it has given me a house for my son and his wife. It allowed me to make a good marriage for him. I have enough money left to start a new business opportunity that doesn't rely on land and weather" (Woman tobacco farmer, Arrabeh, Jenin, 11 December 2021).

In her comment, however, we also see – aside from the deepening effects of occupation and militarization – an indication of social transformation towards individualism rather than collective decision-making about land. We hypothesize that this is a price paid because social security systems are eroding and being replaced by capitalist imperatives, leading to both reduced shared economic resources and alienation from land, culture and other traditional sustainers of the proud Palestinian tradition of *sumud*. Perhaps this statement also summarises the foundational crisis facing Palestinians: in the face of a seemingly endless military occupation and increasingly unpredictable climate, what good does it do to hope, to remember historical traditions around food and farming, or to work on sustaining land that you may lose in the very near future, either because it is taken away, loses fertility, or dries up; or because you or your children see no future in preserving it?

Nonetheless, we began preparation for this report, and the gender and power analysis to which it will lead, by developing a baseline through which to measure whether and how aspirations towards advancing gender equality are addressed in the political, policy, social and economic spheres related to the environment. We offer an initial snapshot of what women, in women-led cooperatives (food

processing and farming), think about the complex situations they face. In speaking to these smallholder farmers and farming communities/collectives, we will explore how many feel they have the capacity to identify and act on violations of their environmental rights. We will also identify their existing knowledge of the importance of existing natural resources and the preservation of biodiversity, and track differences in this capacity by age and gender.

At present, we can offer an initial gender and age-based perspective on environmental challenges, on food and farming, on existing gender power dynamics, and on the effects of youth exclusion. We have begun to identify possible drivers of change, anticipating that these can be explored throughout the course of the project and lead to risk-mitigation responses, growth in food sovereignty-related activism and possible CC-related actions. We are paying specific attention to the rural sector in Palestine where it is assumed people live in greater proximity to and derive a livelihood from natural resources, and would be expected to have lived, embodied experience of the changing conditions of the environment and resources including soils, land and water. We are also thinking about food-growing practices in built-up areas, or, urban food systems, which are exceptionally important sites of both resilience and entrepreneurship in a Palestine that is fragmented, overcrowded, dotted with crowded, decades-old refugee camps, and increasingly urbanised.⁴⁵

Our initial focus has been on activities associated with normative gendered roles and social expectations associated with food, farming and the environmental practices attached to working on the land.

“We always used to work on the land. Our land has vanished as part of the Palestinian lands have been confiscated for the occupational military and settlement project. We used to produce agricultural products, but now we started buying agricultural raw materials and produce pastries instead” (Woman respondent Betia Cooperative Association, Nablus).

Based on what we know about how Palestinian society organizes itself, including as a result of deeply-entrenched discriminatory gendered norms, we look at how normative frameworks such as gendered and intergenerational divisions of labour influence farming and food production, and shape debates and practices associated with food “security”, which leads us to an analysis of how food practices intersect with violence and collective trauma.⁴⁶ From this lens, we have started to identify potential vectors for changes in human health that are likely to result from increasing biome degeneration, including those which are either directly attributable or imputable to the prolonged and deepening Israeli military occupation, and its accompanying displacement of Palestinian lives and livelihoods. We have begun to explore the differential gendered impacts of deteriorating water quantity and quality; shifts in seed preservation and sharing; soil fertility, farming and land-management practices; the effects of environmental toxins from both militarization and agribusiness; land and water encroachment and other impacts of military and settler infrastructures, as well as those of Palestinian land speculators; and water, sanitation and hygiene concerns including solid waste management. Whenever opportunities have come up to talk directly to Palestinian farmers and food workers, we have used them to explore, through open-ended discussions, the applicability of secondary literature to the specifics of the Palestinian climate crisis.

⁴⁵ In the Gaza Strip, we are aware of a small new women-led Agripreneur network that may be leading the way to a new urban food system. See <https://www.fao.org/family-farming/detail/en/c/1378514/>

⁴⁶ The concept of food “security” is identified by many proponents of agroecology as a mechanism through which Indigenous food systems are replaced with mechanised, large-scale farming and its associated regimes.

The First Challenge: Climate Change is not a technical problem

In this section, we lay out some theoretical insights that guided our expectations as we started our conversations with PAIC members.

Nearly a decade ago, after an extensive survey of the previous decade's supposed climate adaptation measures, Suha Jarrar concluded that Palestinians are in a situation in which they are required to "adapt", not to CC, "but to a continuing unmerited political status quo" (Jarrar, 2015: 22). Jarrar observes how the military occupier's successful rhetorical manipulation of discourses of water and land scarcity continuously "depoliticizes and a-historicizes decades of Israeli control and annexation of Palestinian lands and resources" (Jarrar, 2015: 8). Especially notable is its discourse about water scarcity – a scarcity that is a direct result of the colonially-induced drought with which Palestinians live daily. The occupier, which has spent the past five decades absorbing every water source it can conquer through military means, has simultaneously run a propaganda campaign through which it argues that it has more water than its neighbours because of its superior water-management technologies. As many commentators point out, this story is only possible because the occupier has successfully, at least until very recently, disguised its colonialist-capitalist profiteering. It is clever at hiding the costs of extraction of natural resources for profit, leading to a situation in which, by 2015, the military occupier was able to realize "\$2.2 billion annually in water-related tech and know-how", as well as tons of water-intensive crops, all while Palestinians were starved of the minimum water resources needed for life (Amnesty International, 2009).⁴⁷ This process of depleting the colonised land, extracting, misusing and profiting from its natural and human resources, and the accompanying propaganda campaign that denies and misrepresents what is happening on the ground, not only takes place with the full complicity of the international donor community but with the tacit support of a Palestinian Authority (PA) that both inadequately refutes the occupier's narrative and sometimes deploys similar language and policies for the profits of elites. PAIC members are well aware of this challenge.

What we were not able to conclude is whether PAIC have also understood the next, crucial observation made in Jarrar's detailed paper, perhaps especially the engineers among them. All of the supposed mitigation measures Palestinians are encouraged to apply in response to CC are impractical and unworkable. They cannot be made more technically effective because they are attempts to respond to a state of militarised coloniality as if it were a navigable mechanical obstacle, instead of a deliberately produced political and economic crisis whose resolution appears not to be anywhere on the global agenda. PAIC members need to learn how to speak to this reality even if it is a difficult message for them to convey as scientists and engineers.

One of PAIC's major tasks is to show the rest of the world that CC rhetoric and actions in Palestine, as encouraged by the international community to date, are a smokescreen. They are just one more instance of an ongoing effort not to challenge an appallingly unjust and violent military occupation of an Indigenous people and their land. One tangible consequence is that Palestinians are not yet building comparable expertise around concepts such as regeneration, adaptation and other climate mitigation measures as the rest of the world. They cannot devise, urge or implement meaningful actions towards mitigation and adaptation while they have no political freedom to take these issues on. Yet there is still resistance inside PAIC to advocating for Palestine as an Indigenous nation with a long and tangible

⁴⁷ See Simona Weinglass, "How Israel became a water superpower. Seth M. Siegel, author of 'Let There Be Water,' hopes Israel's world-class water practices create a ripple effect of peace", *Times of Israel*, 1 December 2015 (<https://www.timesofisrael.com/how-israel-became-a-water-superpower/>).

cultural heritage of practices that emphasise greater connection and reciprocity with the land, built strongly on the foundations of human reverence, reciprocity and compassion for the web of life.⁴⁸ We can partly account for this because Palestinians have, as an occupied nation, been deliberately prevented from the benefits attached to practical engagement with global CC efforts.⁴⁹ PAIC members see the consequences of this exclusion. They understand that they are, quite literally, being hung out to dry. All that seems open to them is a shrinking capacity to defend their work from ever-deepening power asymmetries, exclusions and incursions into their air, lands and waters, accompanied by an unprecedented level of aversion from the global community to naming or resolving the real causes of CC effects in Palestine.

PAIC members will need to work out how to refute both the occupier's greenwashing methods and long practice of blaming Palestinians for the problems it militarily imposes, and the international community's responses to decades of propaganda about who has the greater investment in and capacity for land stewardship. Adaptation, for Palestinians, is a distraction. Especially important is to be able to show outsiders and Palestinians (including in 48' and 67' Palestine) how to push back against outsider efforts to patch things up with technical interventions that do not, and cannot ever work. This is not something for Palestinians to be defensive about: no degree of technical, engineering and other supposedly neutral scientific skills will be helpful until the political problem of the military occupation and ongoing theft of natural resources is addressed. As Jarrar observes, in a finding echoed by PAIC members: while the State of Palestine's priority on climate change is adaptation, maladaptation has become the order of the day because it can be no other way. Learning how to say this through reference to a shared platform of evidence – including to the Palestinian Authority itself – would be a key contribution of PAIC.

The Second Challenge: Gender inequality is also not a technical problem

We do, nonetheless, think there is something PAIC can do about one of the maladaptive responses Palestinians are making, which is playing out particularly in the rural farming communities in which PAIC members concentrate their work. All interviewees reported that their partner communities have become more vulnerable to deepening conservatism that is reshaping and narrowing social norms about women's roles, responsibilities and access to public space. The various social impacts of this conservatism, increasing its manifestation in increasing intimate interpersonal violence from men to women, were a continuous theme in the interviews. Many respondents pointed out concrete examples of the ways in which programme delivery to women was becoming more complex, deepening the challenges faced when delivering programs in rural areas.

What is more difficult to gauge, especially from online interviews, is how this generally conservative shift might be showing up inside PAIC organisations themselves.⁵⁰ We can infer from the interviews that most interlocutors have a good basic grasp of gender inequality; and none openly objected to discussing the issue. All were aware of the need to use the conceptual phase of project planning to

⁴⁸ See, for example, J.-A. A. Q. Xiiem, J.B. J. Lee-Morgan, and J. De Santolo (2019) *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*. Zed Books, and J. W. Moore (2015) *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the accumulation of capital*. Verso.

⁴⁹ Palestine finally gained accession to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2016, and signed and ratified the Paris Agreement the same year.

⁵⁰ A strong analysis of gender inequality in rural development organisations is available in PWWSD's 2020 review, "Gender Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming Strategies for We Effect Partner Organizations" and this insightful resource has been extensively cross-referenced in this study. See Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development, 2020, "Gender Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming Strategies for WE Effect Partner Organizations." Report commissioned by We Effect. Included in the report are detailed assessment of ARIJ, UAWC and LRC, who are also PAIC members.

make greater efforts to ensure women's inclusion – or at least, all were able to grasp why donors might respond favourably to their efforts to disaggregate their program beneficiaries by age and sex in their annual and other reports. Yet few could go beyond these basic skills, and a majority “were not aware of what gender policies are and why they are important for the organizations”. This vague and partial knowledge of an issue donors have pushed for at least the past two decades extended from junior staff all the way up to senior management. We take this as an indicator that interviewees at senior level – all of whom are men – have become more practiced at “talking gender” than at actually tackling and changing power structures in the organisation they lead.

Of most interest to us is the fact that, exactly like CC discourse itself, PAIC members have been taught a donor-driven gender language incapable of addressing the political issues at stake. The majority see the work of overcoming gender inequality as a purely technical issue that will be addressed through interventions such as better counting of numbers of program recipients, more funds for activities with women, more training, more retreats to plan equality policies, and the like. That gender inequality, like CC, is intentionally and deliberately produced to maintain relations of social dominance and economic extractivism was visible to fewer respondents than we expected. One or two even deployed language much like that which characterises CC denialism: “where’s the proof of an intersection between GE, CC and CJ?” asked one. “What indicators have we got that show CJ is harder for women to attain than men?” And finally: “I’m a practical scientist, an engineer. When you can show me the numbers behind these connections we’re talking about, I’ll accept that my organisation’s approaches have to change more quickly.”

Aside from these defensive efforts to derail discussions about gender inequality into a matter of technical capacity, the interviews themselves helpfully illustrated what might, in gender equality terms, be changing (or not) inside PAIC organisations. In two of the five discussions held with senior managers, young women, both gender officers, had been invited to help the conversation along as both translators and subject experts.⁵¹ More than just translating, they contributed a deep knowledge and thoughtful analytical capacity to the discussions; and they deftly navigated between languages, generations and power relations as we worked. The interactions were marked by respect and collegiality from older men to younger women, and neither of the leaders seemed to have any trouble deferring to a younger, female expert.

Watching young women work with much older male power-holders illustrates how Palestinian society is adapting, especially among young people, to an ever-changing social order that is changing not only because the deprivations of the military occupation are deepening, but also because young people have significantly more access to ideas about SJ and CJ than older generations. Partly, this is because young Palestinian women have never accessed as much formal education as they can now. This is not regarded by all the leaders we spoke to as an unequivocally good development. In particular, older men expressed concern about how the growing educational disparity between young men and women is reshaping the workplace.⁵²

One of the tactics used in the interviews was to repeatedly expand the discussion beyond a focus on women so that participants would be forced to think about the relational aspects of gender norms. We did this partly to help them overcome a certain amount of defensiveness and overgeneralisation about which Palestinians suffer most from the military occupation. An empowered gender advocate would be able to mount a nuanced discussion of which aspects of the occupation hurt women more, which are harder for men, and why these differences are generally depleting Palestinian resistance

⁵¹ Interviews with LRC and Maan.

⁵² Farr has not spent time inside Palestinian CSOs for about six years.

efforts. One hundred percent of Palestinian society, like a hundred percent of Palestinian territory, suffers. What PAIC members can learn to do is unpack the problem, showing its internal effects and reflecting on how the occupier has both deliberately set up and carefully exploits differences between Palestinians to destroy solidarity. PAIC members can tell stories about deteriorating individual and community cohesion through an exploration of what it means to rural families to navigate a reality in which young men, eschewing higher education, are making the difficult crossing into '67 Palestine in search of better wages, including as agricultural workers.

70 year old farmer in Al-Samou' said:

"Those old days when we used to work in our land as one extended family were so beautiful. Farming practices were the responsibility of all family members including among all, women. Women were the main producers of the land and they were also the money keepers. They decided on how to use the money that we had. Today our children have abandoned their land. They are willing to work in settlements for high income than earn their money through the use of land. Things have changed. Our lifestyle has changed and we are left miserable. Those old lovely days that you are talking about have disappeared and we are now left to take care of our lives with no backup."

This affects women in multiple ways, including because they have increased care burdens when men are sickened and injured at work. But a gendered analysis would allow PAIC to speak more forcefully about what happens to men. The arduous and humiliating conditions in which they labour are a uniquely gendered burden that men feel pressurised to carry in order to meet their own expectations of successful masculinity. They pay a significant personal price for their work choices, including in their deepening alienation from the land. Gendered expectations are harming them and making an already difficult situation of land grabs and military blockades even harder. Addressing realities like these is not a technical issue: PAIC needs to talk about men's suffering and vulnerability, and to advocate better so that men can critically appraise their own expectations of "successful manhood" and make choices that lead to different outcomes.

This will also lead to changes inside PAIC organisations. Like rural communities, most leaders observed a huge shift in career/work choices. They had first-hand experience of the difference made because young women are studying to higher degree level, gaining the beginnings of a political education and praxis as they gain their education, delaying either marriage, childbirth, or both, then successfully entering the (often precarious and politically-charged) CSO workplace with a very high degree of skills and commitment. Yet it was interesting to hear how the increased percentage of female staff inside PAIC was perceived or explained as a change that had brought in new technical skills. Participants thought more women led to changes in project conceptualisation and delivery, and some saw women's presence as changing how CSOs think, plan and work. That the political, social and economic impacts of women's increasing professionalism is challenging the status quo of a country shaped strongly by social norms that reward patriarchy and gerontocracy was less easy to discuss, even if most Palestinians agree that women have played leadership roles in social change for the past two generations, since the First Intifada. Overcoming the habit of forgetting this history, and addressing the new trend of replacing Palestine's politically-egalitarian resistance history with religiously conservative ideologies imported from other parts of the Islamic world, will be a significant part of building PAIC's advocacy capacity.

We are not arguing that promoting gender equality never implies technical interventions. Design changes can, and do, help advance GE, and there was a general acknowledgment that well-

conceptualised gender policies, when they are properly implemented, are an effective mechanism for opening up professional work to women.

Where an organisation's policies are being well-used, participants knew about their effects and argued that the changes in PAIC member's demographics had come about not only as a response to women's greater educational attainments, but because proactive gender equality human resources policies and other internal policies are supporting greater workplace diversity. These experiences are important to acknowledge because they offer a concrete example of how GE policies can change institutions over time, enabling cumulative positive effects that should be replicable inside PAIC as a whole. Reflecting on internal changes, those interviewed who had used GE policies, especially Ma'an and LRC, agreed that creating the conditions for gender equality is a slow process that requires consistent effort, especially from managers. If it is correctly supported, their experience is a collective asset: PAIC members can draw on it as a group as they forge their common GE policies and strategies.

On the issue of capacity-building through training, we were not surprised to hear many requests for more. Because gender training lends itself well to the transfer of technical know-how, a great majority of both the leaders and the project staff had gained whatever degree of conceptual knowledge of the ideas of gender equality and gender mainstreaming they possessed, and some language through which to express these ideas, as a result of specific gender equality trainings they had attended. Most respondents "spoke gender" with relative ease. Yet the majority were only able to define their work to advance gender equality in quite narrowly instrumental terms: they spoke of women's vulnerability and marginality, not of gender as an expression of relational power that routinely overvalues the inputs of men and devalues those of women. While almost everyone spoke of the difficulties of supporting women in conservative rural areas, their main concerns seemed to attach to the drawbacks of aiming for equality in numbers between women and men project recipients, which was seen as a challenge to understaffed CSOs. Some regarded the growth in the quality and degree of their organisation's work with women as a purely pragmatic response to changing realities: the rural areas are emptying of men's labour, so their counterparts in agricultural work, increasingly, are women, and if these women cannot be reached, the project cannot be delivered. Yet that was, in general, the end of their thinking. That social imaginings about gender very powerfully shape social realities, power and influence, sometimes to the detriment of social cohesion now and in the future, did not seem visible – or was not of interest to most. In a corollary effect, few focused on the importance of shifting power relations inside the organisations they worked for, inside PAIC, or in Palestine as a whole. While some knew a bit about the gender equality policies in their organisation and felt supported by these, they did not comment about the failings of these policies: yet the policies, combined with the increase in professional women staff numbers, have done little to change leadership or power structures. Only a few noted parallels between inequalities in the organisation they work in and those faced by Palestinian women in general. A sole respondent talked about how women who are project recipients continue to be refused access to influence, even when they take up more work. Interestingly, when they talked about this palpable effect of continuing inequality, they did not try to position it as resulting from an inadequate technical project design, instead, ascribing it to the political situation:

"the effects of the military occupation are to reshape households all over Palestine. Agricultural co-ops have become more important, and women's role in them has changed because they have to keep taking up more work, because men are migrating for paid labour. But they don't gain more influence and voice, they just keep taking more home-based responsibilities. Men see women doing so much more, but they can't accept a need to shift more power to women. Family decision-making doesn't shift at all."

Does this insight resonate inside CSOs? None of PAIC's partners opposes – or admits to opposing – engaging men and women in all activities, and all believe their governance structures both respect and advance gender equity and equality. But as more women take up more roles in CSOs, has decision-making power shifted in the organisations themselves? It appears not. Although all, at donor request, have developed their own gender policies, none of the PAIC members have developed a gender equality policy manual through which to set principles and guidelines for gender equality in policy creation and implementation. None are led by a woman. There are not enough female Board members. Ma'an's chairperson is a woman. And, most tellingly of all, none have contributed sufficiently to changing social norms at village level: in field-level discussions with farmers who are recipients of interventions led by PAIC members, an overwhelming majority of participants were male – indicating that women have not, in fact, been well-socialised through project interventions, gaining the skills and confidence to participate in PAIC member activities at field level.

As a collective of organisations and individuals, then, overall capacity and interest in advocating for and otherwise advancing gender equality remains uneven. Respondents often said they are doing the best they can with limited resources and too many demands. Some expressed confidence that their interventions do influence changes in women's participation, although they did not claim they could, or tried to deconstruct gender discriminatory norms. Reflecting on the differences between what participants in FDGs said, and what happened in encounters with rural beneficiaries of PAIC, we conclude that some PAIC members are working for communities as receivers and consumers, a challenge common to de-politicised or purely technical interventions. PAIC members solicit contracts, then deliver the services required, but this has little or no empowerment or transformational effect unless the communities themselves do the work of contributing to making decisions that affect their lives, or, better still, learn how to make their decisions on their own because their partners have successfully transferred skills to them and built their confidence. Again, we were struck by the problem that PAIC members are often in the business of partnering with CBOs because they received funding for "safe" non-political activities: capacity development, lobbying, advocacy, building movements, and the like. This seems a far cry from advocating for and advancing the whole-of-society social transformation skills Palestinians need.

Related to this, thinking about and working towards gender equality often appeared to be a distraction in a landscape filled with other, more urgent issues that are considered core to land-related work, and more than one leader expressed exasperation with having to take on yet another donor directive – to advance gender equality – without either the money to build systems through which to track the impacts, or another salary to hire someone to do it. PAIC members work on agricultural development, not gender, seemed to be the general underlying concern. This response, again, speaks to the problem that only a couple of the organisations interviewed see their interventions as centrally concerned with social justice and transformation, both of CSOs and of wider Palestinian society. As an advocacy body, PAIC's existing members will have to re-examine what their beliefs are, including whether they are ready to use their own workspace and activities to challenge practices of social exclusion and social injustice – in person and in Palestine. Members who lack any interest in the political nature of these issues will also mis/shape the Coalition's functioning, especially when more conservative leaders take a dominant role in decision-making about the focus of advocacy work.

More training is not the only answer

What, then, are the urgent issues that take PAIC members' attention? Not surprisingly, at first listen there appeared to be a high degree of accord on this question: skills should be built to better communicate about the effects of the occupation, land and its redesignation from agricultural to housing and other "development", water and air, toxicity and dumping, lack of infrastructure and poor

relations with governments whose policies seem designed to frustrate rather than enable agricultural work. All spoke of the devastating increase in private sector exploitation of Palestinian poverty, and the ways in which businessmen make multiple profits – first from selling the soil, then from selling the land for the dumping of toxins generated by the occupier, and lastly from selling the land for construction, perhaps even with the ultimate purpose of creating housing that illegal settlers would purchase. Beyond this, many of the organisations are struggling to survive as donor attention moves elsewhere and once-predictable funding streams, like Palestinian springs, dry up. Perhaps sensing an opportunity to put ideas before potential donors, a wide range of suggestions was made for more project ideas.⁵³ Specifically, because dismantling gender inequality has so successfully been characterised as a technical issue, respondents almost always ascribed a lack of progress in advancing it to a lack of capacity: a majority stated a need for more training or capacity-building programs to deliver better responses. This is a challenging response because while it seems to indicate interest and engagement with the issue, delivering more training is also an “easy” response that ticks neat boxes in report cards, even when it does little to create the conditions for change. The evidence of both the PWWSD capacity assessment for We Effect (2019) and this capacity review is that training, while donors will support it when they might refuse other funding requests, does not automatically lead to social change. In discussions, few could point to training they had already experienced that had enabled them to produce transformational change, or significantly reorient how they operate at field level.

Nonetheless, a well-designed training is one way to enable people to theorize the challenges they face and to depersonalize their responses, and if supported by mentoring, attained knowledge can be concretized through practice. Palestinian communities have the will to learn new things but feel abandoned by the government, which does little to defend their lands from being stolen; and lack trust in civil society. They receive little in response for defending their rights by opposing the occupier and settlers. They are willing to sacrifice. PAIC must tell their stories more effectively.

PAIC and Palestine’s food sovereignty movement

As this report has outlined, capacity and interest in advancing PAIC member interventions through developing better skills in working with rural women is generally on the low side. This is no surprise. What is more puzzling, for a group of organisations concerned with agriculture and land use in a highly contested space, is a lack of across-the-board capacity to comment on the political aspects of agricultural development work in a closed-loop system that is under increasingly severe pressure. With one notable exception (PARC), little connection was made to the importance and potential of collective work to recover Indigenous knowledge systems and pathways, devise regenerative strategies including urban agroecology to reverse biodiversity loss and advance food sovereignty, to establish food forests and other agroecological practices such as numerous water-preserving applications. Why not, when these are not only well-used in other dryland contexts, but have a long historical evidentiary in Palestine?

Regenerative discourses are not without their challenges, and like anything, can be co-opted; but they are established in Palestine and are the main emphasis of other activist and advocacy coalitions such as PENGON (which also operates in Gaza, and of which many PAIC members are also a part). Yet, while the focus of many PAIC members is on growing water-wise, Indigenous food, seed saving, and moving away from industrial scales and modalities including toxins, only one respondent spoke of participating in a political movement focused on food sovereignty, and only two respondents

⁵³ It was not the focus of this assessment to record project ideas or create expectations that good projects would receive funding. However, a list of suggestions can be provided if helpful.

positioned a return to agroecological farming as the core of a Palestinian land defence movement. Viewed through Jarrar's study, this may be an indicator of the difficulties facing individuals and organizations in taking up and domesticating language associated in the global context with an exploration of regeneration and adaptation. It is also likely to be an indicator, however, of yet more divisive politics preventing, rather than unifying, a shared approach to agriculture. It does raise the question of whether PAIC is a suitably unifying entity to undertake strong advocacy messaging: what might be the negative outcomes if there are other movements and mobilisations that are already established actors and have done more towards advancing goals PAIC wants to take on? Has enough been done to ensure that an effective, conjoined, strategic whole-of-Palestine food sovereignty movement can take hold?

Annex 1. Review of Supporting Frameworks and Documents

In addition to programme documents supplied to the consultants, the literature review behind this report is necessarily broad and interdisciplinary. Existing documents, including from We Effect itself, indicate awareness of the need to connect environmental concerns, including CC, with gender inequality.⁵⁴

Overview of Policy and Legal Framework

From our examination of secondary resources, including policies and publications, produced by Palestinian stakeholders, which include governmental entities, PAIC partners, relevant women/feminist organizations, youth organizations, or student unions working on environmental and/or gender rights, we conclude that environmental and gender issues are not yet discussed as cross-cutting in Palestine.

We looked at official environmental policy and institutional arrangements between relevant government entities, including:

- a. The Palestinian Energy and Natural Resources Authorities (PENRA);
- b. The Environment Quality Authority (EQA)
- c. The Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA)
- d. The Ministry of Youth and Sports
- e. The Ministry of Health (MoH)
- f. Ministry of Local Government (MoLG), focusing on relevant municipalities
- g. Civil Society Organizations: i.e. The Women Rural Development Association, Al-Haq Human Rights Organization, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Maan Development Centre, and the British Consulate General in Jerusalem.

National Environmental Policies, Laws and Regulations

Since its establishment in 1994, the PA has worked to improve the Palestinian environment. The Environmental Quality Authority (EQA) is the main Authority responsible for environmental issues in Palestine. Laws and legislation were developed and endorsed by the first legislative council to manage the environment, water, wastewater, land use planning sectors, among others. Palestine has an environmental assessment Policy in addition to a range of laws and regulations related to environmental issues. The following laws and policies are in place:

1. The Palestinian Environment Law (PEL)⁵⁵: this aims to protect the environment from all sorts and types of pollution; protect public health and social welfare; incorporate environmental resources protection in all social and economic development plans and promote sustainable development to protect the rights of future generations; conserve ecologically sensitive areas, protecting biodiversity, and rehabilitating environmentally damaged areas; promote the

⁵⁴ See, especially, section 2.7 of We Effect's "Environmental and Climate Justice Program – Palestine" (November 2020).

⁵⁵ Palestinian Environmental Law 9/1999: <https://storage.googleapis.com/cclow-staging/a2ljrhiw2b7fjwzap4ltfbkqr2d9?GoogleAccessId=laws-and-pathways-staging%40soy-truth-247515.iam.gserviceaccount.com&Expires=1639734554&Signature=WXIFllGnc2IYZOqXP4tXB1Q4rV%2FsdBZdqW01k%2BJpi4wdc2rmlzIWTzOpKK2Tna0g7%2Fs%2B5%2BhwOvlyc2IJPJg7nY8rS4BCTaSqVPwqnlxS6JisQKFayLy1obBV2WMKHiBYGuMS%2BLnt5p0dkHCAr368jsDCZs5QO8yevlr%2FtP0LJOzED4IEFuN9n3%2BP1yWpnO6YqCAdYc7B9PSZ7Xr04qsnYWmBzwLUFurbWUWo66udWzBuReyGavkDSRyYWcbJnsukjM9RJG5E4LrYZExjX%2FidR%2F3SAfqkowTbjvlbhs8Kjr9dc5SB4frl6ZvXZrliUNihS6EiGi1ZGEllBK2lmsnYEQ%3D%3D&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3D%22f%22%3B+filename%2A%3DUTF-8%27%27f&response-content-type=application%2Fpdf> (Accessed November 2022)

collection and publication of environmental information; and raise public awareness of environmental issues.

While Articles 12 and 13 of the PEL provide for the disposal of hazardous materials only under the approval of the Palestinian Energy and Natural Resources Authority (PENRA), the provision of monitoring and enforcement of the law remains weak (FGD, PENGON Representative, 30 November 2021). The law empowers Environment Quality Authority (EQA) to document environmental violations and crimes. The EQA has the authority to inspect and carry out measurements that ensures the application of healthy and protective environmental standards and conditions. The core issues of concern in the PEL are the protection of public health and social welfare, as well as the conservation of ecologically sensitive areas, biodiversity and rehabilitation of environmentally damaged areas. The PEL also sets penalties for violating any article presented under this law. The Ministry is only empowered to cease any work that violates the law for a period not exceeding two weeks. This period can only be extended by a judicial order from the courts.

2. The Palestinian Environmental Assessment Policy (PEAP), approved through resolution No: 27-23/4/2000 to ensure that all development activities: a) improve the standards of life without affecting the social, cultural and historical values of people; b) preserve and sustain natural environment; c) conserve biodiversity, landscapes and sustainable use of natural resources; d) avoid irreversible environmental damage and minimize reversible environmental damage.
3. The two documents comprising the legal framework of PA health care are the 2003 Palestinian Constitution and the 2004 Public Health Law. The Public Health Law requires the Ministry of Health (MoH) to offer certain types of health services to Palestinians including: ensuring water, environmental safety, and public health infrastructure.
4. Laws and Regulations related to Resettlement, Land Expropriation and Involuntary Resettlement: According to Law No.24 of year 1943 modified by Law No. 2 of year 1953 on “Land Expropriation for Public Projects” and its articles (3) and (21), the Government can expropriate up to 25% of any privately-owned land for public interest reasons - without compensating the owners. Exceptions are made to owners who prove to be largely damaged by this land expropriation. However, owners are entitled to compensation for all crops and trees, buildings and fixed structures on the expropriated 25% area of the land.
5. The PA’s 2016 National Agricultural Strategy for “Resilience and Sustainable Development” briefly mentions that women are over-represented as farmers, and acknowledges the need to include women (and girls) in its efforts, but offers neither a strategic gender analysis of the current situation, nor any insights into whether women were included as a specific stakeholder in the process of preparing the Strategy. It includes few or no gender (or age) disaggregated data and analysis, or specific policies for women. Notably, there is no connection made between Strategic Objective Two (on CC mitigation) and women’s specific experiences of CC impacts. Only its Fourth Strategic Objective (on improving service quality and agricultural value chains) includes a specific mention of women, focusing on enhancing their potential contributions to individual, family and national income. Overall, the Strategy seems focused on women as workers (within families or communities) but not as rights claimants and Indigenous knowledge-keepers who are made especially vulnerable because of the strong culture of gender inequality.
6. The National Health Strategy (2017-22) mentions the importance of implementing environmental health programs and the need to combat environmental pollution, but offers no details on what this implies or who might be most affected by pollutants in various sectors. Details of the proposed prevention of Leishmeniasis with “pesticides” is mentioned, but

without elaboration.⁵⁶ There is an overall lack of detail in the Strategy on the gendered effects, including in reproductive and maternal-to-child transmission, of toxins associated with commercial agriculture. There is significant scope for PAIC members and We Effect to support to the Ministry of Health to conduct studies and design interventions to protect women on farms.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) has not focused deeply on environmental issues to date, and has little or no formal perspective on the gendered implications of climate change, but its available policies and approaches because tell us how broad the gap is between issues that are seen as relevant for discussions of gender inequality, and issues that are understood to relate to mitigating CC.

NGO Sector

We are in the process of assembling an archive of re/sources to help us identify the environmental impacts of gender- and age-related inequalities, particularly in the rural development sector. Beyond a reflection on the emerging feminist analysis of the intersections between gender inequality and CC, we consulted international law. CEDAW passed two General Recommendations -- #30 (2013, WPS) and #37 (2018, environment) that will be drawn on in capacity-building efforts. We also referenced feminist literature on armed conflict – the “women, peace and security” (WPS) agenda officially set in motion by the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), which has recently, at least at global level, begun to focus more keenly on the intersections of environmental and militarily induced crises.⁵⁷ This approach allows us to reflect the unique challenges posed to the environment by the deployment of military-industrial-technologies that are favoured by the military occupier to restrict Palestinian freedom of movement and association, which also enable the ongoing land-grab of illegal settlements. Our review included academic feminist (particularly eco-feminist and other decolonial feminist theories), scientific and environmental reports, and analysis focused on relating CC to human rights. We evaluated this literature for its relevance to Palestine, and used it to shape and direct our field-based enquiries. We also began to identify key policy documents in the broader international literature, including international Conventions and other legal efforts to tackle the interlocking complexities of the global climate crisis. Our field research approach is continuously shaped by our observations on whether and how existing policies are – or are not – being implemented on the ground.

Monitoring of Media and Public Discourse

Finally, we undertook a public discourse analysis to sample the extent to which social and other media in Palestine (in Arabic) focuses on issues of environmental and climate justice as these issues intersect with women’s rights. This task was conducted in the time of COP26 and was designed to establish a baseline of the extent of popular/informal discourse on environmental issues in Palestine as it appears in everyday life. It asked the following questions:

- To what extent can we say Palestinians are becoming aware of, concerned about, active on environmental justice?
- What do they focus on?
- To what degree are connections being made between particularly vulnerable populations & environmental crisis?

⁵⁶ It is usually treated with N,N-diethylmetatoluamide, which is a neurotoxin. It is, however, not a persistent organic pollutant and does not bioaccumulate.

⁵⁷ The Palestine National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR1325 does not address environment and climate change crises, nor does it refer to the importance of addressing such crises and associated women’s leadership roles.

- What signs are we seeing that Palestinians recognize climate or environmental injustice as part of the overall injustice of the military occupation?
- Who has the loudest voice on this issue in public life? Who does not speak about it? What might this tell us about individual and community engagement/awareness/concern about the environment?

Public Discourse Analysis

To understand the current status of environmental and CC discourse in Palestine, and offer some initial analysis of implications for gender equality and youth inclusion, we conducted a social listening exercise for about six weeks from mid-October 2021, monitoring Palestinian social media and public discourse on environmental concerns.

The research team's first decision, given the paucity of official or popular published materials on the environment in Arabic, was to begin to build an initial picture of whether environmentalism has begun to gain, by other means, the attention of a broad range of Palestinians. To give us a baseline, we designed a short and impressionistic social listening exercise through which to monitor social media (SM) to identify the extent to which issues of climate change and environmentalism have entered popular discourse – at least among those who use SM. We timed this research phase to coincide with the build-up to, and the period of COP26 (held in Glasgow from 31 Oct 2021 – 12 Nov 2021). This timing allowed us to monitor the extent to which a widely-covered, and controversial global climate change (CC) event, attracted Palestinian interest.

Overall, we found that Palestinian media and Palestinian users of SM rarely interact and engage on topics related to CC and its effects on the environment. There was slightly increased overall coverage, and more CC-focused SM conversations were noticed during the Palestinian olive harvest season (late September to the beginning of November), which was also around the same time as COP26 began.

Media monitoring did, however, show an indirect response, in limited SM conversations, on the damaging impacts on the environment, and to Palestinian health and wellbeing, of the Israeli occupation in general; and of Israeli settlements and settler violence in specific. A few SM users are connecting this damage to broader CC effects that are being felt in the occupied territory.

During the annual olive harvest season, coverage mostly focused on Israeli military occupation practices and settler violence. As it does annually, this violence intends to, and succeeds in hindering Palestinian farmers from practicing their right to enter their land to harvest their olives. According to core media outlets, settler violence is hugely impactful in harming Palestinian agricultural land and activities across the West Bank. There were reports of Israeli settlers vandalising and/or setting fire to Palestinian olive trees, including a claim that 2021's attacks were the worst in many years.⁵⁸

The irony of the attacks taking place during COP26 is not lost on us. Indeed, the meeting generated a decent amount of local media attention. Outlets reported on the Palestinian delegation's participation in COP26, and highlighted Prime Minister Shtayyeh's successful meeting on the side-line of the

⁵⁸ These attacks were well-covered in local and international news media in October and November 2021. See, for example: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/10/17/settler-attacks>; <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/10/palestinian-olive-season-begins-settler-attacks-arson>; <https://www.timesofisrael.com/palestinian-olive-pickers-attacked-by-large-group-of-settlers-pa-says/>; <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestine-settlers-attack-olive-harvest-most-dangerous-years>

summit, focusing mainly on his statement, via Twitter: “We’re here today to tell the world that the Israeli occupation is the most critical long-term threat to the Palestinian environment.”⁵⁹

Many local papers, including Al Quds and Al Ayyam, reported on the COP26 climate talks, focusing mainly on the new draft agreement to avert the worst impacts of climate change that was expected to be announced at the Summit’s end. They also highlighted PM Shtayyeh’s comments about the impacts of illegal Israeli settlements and their waste, which he defined as Palestine’s most significant environmental threat: “The way in which waste is treated by Israel, particularly toxic waste, as well as solid waste, are the principal causes of pollution in Palestine.” Other headlines focused on his comment about the 2.5 million trees, about 800,000 of which are olive trees, that have been uprooted by Israel since 1967. He also spoke about the destruction of Palestinian ground water, the threat to the Dead Sea, the collapse of Gaza’s aquifer, and the overall inability of Palestinians to implement sustainable technologies while under military occupation. His comments were also reported in English in the Israeli press, the more conservative of which characterised his remarks as “blaming Israel” and as excuse-making for failing to control Palestinian waste-management approaches.⁶⁰

On November 1st, Palestine TV screened a special documentary highlighting how Israeli is extracting around 600 million cubic meters from Palestine’s water reservoirs on an annual basis, which is exhausting the resources of the Dead Sea.

Beyond coverage of the PM’s comments, we found no additional exchanges about COP26. Overall, there was no reportage that alluded to or addressed links between gender inequalities, women’s rights, and the rights of nature. While this is not an unexpected finding, it does give a strong indication of the amount of effort needed to build an accessible dialogue with Palestinians

Active Institutions/Organisations

Local media rely on a few sources of information for their Climate-related coverage, including the Environment Quality Authority (EQA) and a very limited number of local and international NGOs. International sources included Al Haq, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Maan Development Centre, and the British Consulate General in Jerusalem. The latter two were quite active recently due the UK presidency of the COP26, and Al Haq participation in the global conference.

Among CSOs, we found one report on the intersections between gender and CC, which was launched in December 2021 but has not been formally published.⁶¹

Climate influencers/activists

During our listening process, we identified several local climate influencers/activists who are engaged in topics related to climate change, and either active on their social media accounts, or serve as source of information for traditional media. The first four of these have the largest profile as knowledgeable in climate change issues. All the others are currently working as activists at local level. None of these

⁵⁹ This was reported in English by the *Times of Israel*. https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/shtayyeh-at-cop26-israel-is-the-most-critical-threat-to-palestinian-environment/

⁶⁰ See, for example, J-Post (<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israeli-occupation-is-critical-environmental-threat-pa-pm-tells-cop26-683729>).

⁶¹ See Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSD). “Environmental Challenges in Palestine. Gender perspectives.” Unpublished report by Dr. Abdel-Rahman Al-Tamimi, revised by Dr. Aqel Abu-Qare.

influencers identifies as a feminist or gender activist, and their work does not attempt to address how existing gendered inequalities are impacted by CC.

1. Omar Asi, Environmental Activist (he has published many articles/studies on climate issues, mainly on Maan Centre Website)
2. Mazin Qumsiyeh, Professor, Activist at Palestinian Museum of Natural History at Bethlehem University (he has published many articles, especially in Al Quds Newspaper)
3. Nidal Atallah, Activist & Program Coordinator at Environmental Justice Programme at Heinrich Böll Stiftung
4. George Kurzum, Editor for Afaq Environmental Magazine at Maan
5. Ruba Anabtawi, Environmental Journalist
6. Raya Ziada, Environmental Activist & Sustainable Agriculture
7. Thaer Tafesh, works on sustainable business models
8. Lina Ismail, works with environmental programmes at Dalia Association

Media Monitoring Analysis

The monitoring processes observed low social media engagement levels and minimal press engagement with the issue of CC, indicating both that the availability, quality and accessibility of climate-related data is limited, and a low or non-existent level of public interest. The lack of access to either the Gaza Strip or Area C remains a key challenge for journalists and others interested in gathering CC-related data, for instance on water availability and agricultural practices. We found no evidence of interest in gender and CC. The lack of media coverage is a key factor in the low level of awareness among the Palestinian public on how CC impacts on their daily lives.

We did, however, observe that nearly all press coverage and public articles try to deliver the following messages:

- a) The Palestinian Authority has limited resources at its disposal to pursue green investments towards a transition to sustainable energy production for Palestine.
- b) Most natural resources are controlled by Israel, which deliberately and consistently prevents Palestinians from changing their behaviours and practices to prevent or ameliorate CC.
- c) Whilst global efforts to address climate-related challenges have intensified, local coverage has been minor, meaning that these larger debates have gained little local traction
- d) The Israeli military occupation is inflicting greater CC-related suffering on Palestinians.

The lack of narratives around COP26 and climate action, and the limited awareness-raising initiatives available, helps explain the overall low level of awareness of environmentalism and CC in Palestine. This lack of awareness is everywhere, from the national to the sub-national and local levels. Overall, given the enormous challenges Palestinian face in their day-to-day lives, local media have other priorities, focusing their coverage on day-to-day political and social developments. At present, CC issues are at very bottom of their agenda. There is no public awareness or demand for coverage of how gender inequality is exacerbated by CC.

Israeli NGOs and climate change in the OPTs

Our initial review also included a scan of the websites and reports of several Israeli NGOs who monitor the military occupation and settler activity in the OPTs, and document violations. Here, too, environmental policies and climate change are not a main issue of concern, although there is a

peripheral focus on water policies, land grabs and confiscations under the Israeli settlement enterprise. Overall, we found no sources that attempted to understand the intersections between CC or environmental degradation, and gender inequality.

[Btselem](#), one of the most prominent Israeli NGOs, regularly publishes reports on the occupation, settler policies and land grabs supported by the Sol. In June 2021, the NGO published a long form report on the water crisis in the occupied Palestinian territory. The report highlights how Palestinians suffer from acute water shortages due to Israeli control of all water resources. It offers in-depth coverage on the water disparities between Palestinians and Israelis, observing that the Palestinians in WB and Gaza suffer from a continuous water shortage and are not supplied with enough water for consumption or other activities.

[Yesh Din](#) focuses on settlement activities and Palestinian rights. They briefly mention some of the environmental effects of renewing settlements and taking over West Bank land for settlement expansion.

[IR Amim](#) calls for the equitable sharing of Jerusalem, so most of their work is related to policies in East Jerusalem. They have issued a report on water shortages in Kufr Aqab area in East Jerusalem, but mostly focus on housing and Haram Al Sharif.

[ECO Peace Middle East](#), formerly known as Friends of the Earth Middle East, is an environment-focused Israeli NGO that works in Israel, Palestine and Jordan, on water policy and “green” peace building in the region. They recently published an [op-ed](#) in the Economist, authored by the three directors in Israel, Palestine and Jordan, arguing for normalization and claiming that the three nations can work together for a shared future: “climate can trump politics” is their claim.

A coalition for climate and environmental justice

At the same time as COP26, a proposed new coalition for climate and environmental justice by six Palestinian NGOs received good public coverage of its [press conference](#) in Ramallah. It was reported that the project will be implemented over a period of 36 months and take place in the Gaza Strip, several localities in the Israeli-controlled parts of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The following organisations are members of the coalition:

- The Agricultural Development Association
- The Applied Research Institute - Jerusalem (ARIJ)
- The Land Research Center
- The Ma'an Development Center
- The Palestinian Hydrology Group
- The Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UWAC),

The NGOs said this coalition project will include a series of media campaigns and environmental studies. It will also monitor the Israeli occupation's attacks on the environment and Palestinian natural resources, including potential knock-on implications for climate change. The project also vowed to focus on gender and human rights and will also centre on women, children, and marginalised communities. We will follow its work closely.

Annex 2. List of participants in KIIs and FGDs

Organization		Name of interviewee
MA'AN Development Centre	MAAN	Mr. Sami Khader
Agricultural Development Association	PARC	Mr. Izzat Zidan
Land Research Centre	LRC	Mr. Mohammed Hassasneh
Union of Agricultural Work Committees	UAWC	Mr. Moayyad Bsharat
Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem	ARIJ	Dr. Jad Shaq
Palestinian Hydrology Group	PHG	Dr. Abed Alrahman Tamimi (No interview conducted)

Annex 3: Interviews Schedule (FGDs)

What distinguishes PAIC, how do you view it, and what do you expect from it in general?

PAIC is a permanent body. It is not based on a project to be implemented, but rather on a group of institutions that united and adopted a common vision that they will advocate for. Is the vision clear to you? Were the terms and concepts related to climate and environmental justice, including the concept of crisis, unified or discussed?

How do you mobilize people, institutions and local communities so that they can improve reality and bring about change?

Do you see your work through PAIC as development work or humanitarian aid?

What about sustainability, what steps do you follow to maintain the sustainability and continuity of your activities and interventions at the local community level?

Regarding equipment and devices, how do you deal with their disposal or maintenance?

Are builders of bridges or guardians of rights? How do you see your role/s?

What tools does PAIC need to protect and support local communities?

Do you think there is a common language and a common discussion about the “crises” terminology used by PAIC?

Do you have an environmental and climate justice policy in PAIC?

What changes have you been able to achieve so far in the local communities?

Do you think that the Environmental and Climate Justice Program and PAIC in general contribute to the emergence of these social movements?

What training needs do you think you need to carry out the project's activities and programs?

Do you have a gender policy?

Do you think you need to know more about how to integrate gender issues into your interventions and activities?

Annex 4: Logical Framework

1. Support updating of the initial project logical framework's gender indicators, baseline and targets.

The gender analysis (task 5) will serve to explore the current status of the following indicators based on a pre-defined guiding questions and objectives. The results of the analysis will support We Effect and partners to update the initial project logical framework's gender indicators, baseline and targets.

	Indicators	Baseline	Source of information*	Guiding Questions and Objectives
Outcome 1	# of research, position papers, case studies and shadow reports produced by PAIC during the programme.	Zero shadow reports	Desk Review of PAIC gender strategies Individual meetings per PAIC member / Intl. and local consultant	<i>Approaches to mainstreaming gender equality in strategies, research, position papers, case studies and shadow reports. Experience of PAIC in submitting, or contributing to submitting, relevant shadow reports</i>
	Increased capability of PAIC to respond to emergencies and manage risks	Zero	Desk Review We Effect "Gender Transformative DRR" (no date)	<i>Desk review of available emergency plans and management of risks (PAIC's strategies, reports, plans and emergency plans <u>if any</u>) Interviews to determine operational changes resulting from gender policies</i>
Output 1.1.	Increased joint policy making on rights-based, gender and environment mainstreaming by PAIC members	Zero	Desk Review and individual meetings with PAIC members (intl. and/or local consultant)	<i>Desk review of PAIC's documents: Latest Strategy, Gender Policy Documents, Annual reports (at least the last two years), Project reports/research papers/policy papers/position papers/awareness documents/leaflets/other</i>
	PAIC members have adopted the We Effect ESIA conflict and rights-based approach in analysis	Zero	Individual meetings with PAIC members (intl. and/or local consultant)	<i>Baseline will include highlights of knowledge of PAIC members in relation the ESIA; and discuss how and why members support the</i>

	environmental and social impacts			<i>ESIA as a relevant tool to address environmental challenges, socio-cultural impacts</i>
	Increased capacity of PAIC members to mainstream environment, gender equality, conflict sensitivity and HRBA in their projects	Weak and uneven across PAIC	Desk Review Capacity assessment per PAIC member	<i>Strategy, project reports, research studies, policy documents, among others. Development of capacity development plans and coaching & mentoring support</i>
	# of partner organisations that have adopted gender-equality policies	All; most not up-to-date. No integration of CC issues. No CCI gender/CC	Desk Review	<i>Gender Policy documents (if available) Develop shared/joint Gender Policy</i>
Output 1.2.	# of platforms for knowledge generation and information sharing owned by PAIC (focusing on new agricultural practices, ecosystem management, sustainable natural resources and biodiversity conservation practices)	No: lack of clarity in roles & responsibilities. No shared research capacity. No shared advocacy messages. No shared language/ Conceptual frameworks	Individual meetings with PAIC members (Intl. and/or local consultant)	<i>Baseline will explore available platforms and highlight partners' approach to their further development, as well as outreach strategies and responsibilities</i>
Output 1.4.	# of trainings for PAIC held about disaster risk reduction (DRR) with emphasis on the disproportional impact of crises on environment and women's rights	None	Individual meetings with PAIC members (intl. and/or local consultant)	<i>Perception of PAIC members on the impact of crises on environment and women and young people's rights; review of relevant documents to assess shifts in policy and practice Identify technical capacity & devise training</i>
	The GBV referral/response plan is in place	None	Individual meetings with PAIC members (intl. and/or	<i>Perception of PAIC members on utility of GBV referral/response plan</i>

			local consultant) Assess DRR capacity (if any) of GBV response providers	<i>*Cross-reference with existing GBV hotline service providers/NGOs Assess perceptions of how GBV cross-cuts with environmental/CC concerns</i>
Output 1.5.	# of grassroots organisations that have improved their capacities in agricultural sustainable practices and green applications and become aware of ecosystems, natural resources and biodiversity	Very high degrees of localised knowledge exist, including among women. This is not systematically reported or recorded.	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Baseline to report current knowledge and capacities on ecosystems, natural resources, and biodiversity (conservation rights of indigenous agro-biodiversity)</i>
Output 1.5.	# of grassroots active members/volunteers that have increased skills to advocate for climate justice and their environmental rights with focus on women and youth	Young male volunteers (students) have basic knowledge.	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Baseline to explore current knowledge and practices of members/volunteers and identify if advocacy interventions on climate justice and environmental rights are known/being implemented; assess participation in planning and implementing advocacy interventions with key actors/partners with We Effect</i>
Outcome 2	# of recommendations for policy change on environmental justice and environmental rights with an equality perspective	Zero	Desk review	<i>This will be explored in the desk review; gender analysis to focus on whether/how these recommendations are gender-responsive</i>
	Increase awareness of targeted communities about relevant environmental rights, policies and related institutions	Zero	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Baseline to explore existing knowledge; knowledge of rights and policies; establish who is doing what in the sector</i>
	Extent to which grassroots level and organisations have access to information	High degree of anecdotal knowledge.	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Baseline to explore questions of access to knowledge about environmental violations</i>

	about environmental violations	Degree of success of local communities in legal justice is not known.		<i>(among government, private sector, individual, occupiers, etc.); establish how/whether they react and act on violations (social responsibility); and explore if legal or other responses received when they report a violation (social justice)</i>
Output 2.1.	# of national environmental/climate policies mainstreamed for gender/HRBA	Zero	Desk Review	<i>Review available policies and gender equality gaps</i>
Output 2.3.	# of rights-holders (women, youth and small hold farmers) advocating for the protection of the environment and natural resources on the local and national levels with a right based and gender equality perspective	Some degree at local level. No national visibility.	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Baseline to explore how rights-holders apply a rights-based and gender equality perspective in relevant advocacy interventions; we will focus on gender dynamics and who is doing what (men and women), who knows what, and what should be done. Exploring the Indigenous knowledge system, we address farming practices and how they have changed over time; how changes have impacted gender roles and decision-making processes; how changed practices are influencing Palestinian food culture/sovereignty; basic understanding of food security vs sovereignty; what women know; what young people know; whose knowledge is valued; social relevance, individual integrity. Exploring power through a dominance/partnership lens, analysis to assess</i>

				<i>how individuals and communities address violations of environmental rights</i>
Output 3.1.	# of community clusters that have developed and implement collective community resilient plans to environment and climate change with consideration to gender mainstreaming	Zero	FGDs / partners and local consultant	<i>Assess and/or accompany process of plan development, content and gaps</i>