

A photograph of a woman wearing a white headscarf and a blue garment, looking out from behind a metal grid. The scene is dimly lit, with a red light source visible in the background. The woman's expression is somber, and her hands are resting on the bars.

The gendered aspect of Israeli checkpoints in the OPT

Position Paper

About Us

The Coalition of Women for Peace was established by bringing together ten feminist peace organizations and non-affiliated women activists in Israel. Founded soon after the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000, CWP is today a leading voice against the occupation, committed to feminist principles of organization and Jewish-Palestinian partnership, in a relentless struggle for a just society. CWP continuously voices a critical stand against militarism and advocates for radical sociopolitical change. Its work includes direct action and public campaigning in Israel and internationally, outreach to Israeli audiences and political empowerment for women across communities and support in capacity-building for grassroots activists.

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Who Profits from the Occupation is a research center dedicated to exposing the commercial involvement of Israeli and international companies in the continued Israeli control of Palestinian and Syrian land. Currently, we focus on three major areas of corporate involvement in the occupation: the settlement industry, economic exploitation and control over population. Who Profits operates an online database, which includes information concerning companies that are commercially complicit in the occupation. Moreover, the center publishes in-depth reports and flash reports about industries, projects and specific companies. Who Profits also serves as an information center for queries regarding corporate involvement in the occupation – from individuals and civil society organizations working to end the Israeli occupation and to promote international law, corporate social responsibility, social justice and labor rights.

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Introduction

Who Profits Research Center and the Coalition of Women for Peace have joined together to publish this up-to-date position paper on Palestinian women's struggle against the Israeli control of population, manifested in the checkpoint industry. The following paper sheds light on both government and corporate practices and their repercussions on the ground. This will also be reflected through recent testimonies of Palestinian women confronting checkpoints on a day-to-day basis.

While many Civil Society Organizations have been addressing the political context that governs women's lives under occupation, the economic factors that engineer the political system and perpetuate the power relations at hand are still in need of greater attention. The Israeli checkpoints, as military structures, have been a symbol of the Israeli control of the Palestinian population. Yet, underneath these structures lies an economic infrastructure generated by corporate profit. The vast checkpoints industry includes the construction of checkpoints, security personnel and equipment provided by Israeli and international companies.

The following pages address the checkpoint industry in the occupied West Bank as a case study of the integral part played by corporate stakeholders in oppressing Palestinian population and women specifically.

Israeli Checkpoints and the Privatization Process

Background

Under the severe military regime in place in the Occupied Palestinian Territories since 1967, some three and a half million Palestinians are denied basic rights and liberties and subjected to repressive violence by Israeli security forces.

In the West Bank, over two million Palestinians are divided between dozens of fragmented enclaves, which are surrounded by a system of roadblocks, walls and checkpoints, as well as by Israeli settlements and roads designated for the exclusive use of Israelis. The Palestinians who live in these enclaves are deprived of basic rights and needs, such as the right to have a home and a family and the right to work, acquire an education and have access to basic healthcare services. Large areas of the West Bank are either closed off to Palestinian movement altogether or require extremely rare entry permits: the Israeli-only roads, the Israeli settlements' jurisdiction areas; the Seam Zone between the Apartheid Wall and the Green Line; the Jordan Valley; and Jerusalem and rural areas around it. Arbitrary movement restrictions separate families, severely limit the Palestinians' access to healthcare, education and employment, and compromise the economic and geographic viability of Palestinian independence.

The Israeli Checkpoints in the occupied West Bank

According to B'Tselem – The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, by April 2015 there were 96 permanent checkpoints in the West Bank. These include 57 internal checkpoints, located well within the West Bank, and 39 checkpoints that are the last inspection points before entering Israel, although most are located several kilometers east of the Green Line, or just outside

the entrance to Jerusalem (hereafter, “border checkpoints”). In addition, the military erects hundreds of surprise “flying checkpoints” along West Bank roads.¹

The border checkpoints have been undergoing a process of privatization since 2006. According to the Information and Research Center of the Knesset (Israeli parliament), the stated purpose of the privatization process was “to reduce the friction that currently exists today in the crossings and to improve the level of service without undermining the level of security checks.” The checkpoints, as it was stated, “will be defined as borders in every sense and visually resemble common terminals around the world.” These checkpoints are currently operated and supervised by the so-called “Civil Administration” at the Ministry of Defense, under the title “Administration of Border Crossings”. Some of the permanent 32 border checkpoints have been completely or partially privatized, and several are staffed by armed civilian guards employed by private security companies.²

The first week of the privatization of Eyal checkpoint was documented by Machsom Watch. Palestinians who pass through the checkpoint regularly stated that the security checks have become more meticulous, causing further delays in the checkpoint: “... the younger workers were gathered in one room... and their ID cards were taken... When they came out they said that they were inside for more than 50 minutes... or even more than an hour.”³

1 B'Tselem, *Checkpoints, Physical Obstructions, and Forbidden Roads*, May 20, 2015, <http://bit.ly/1qW4DIk>

2 S. Tzwevner, *Background document about the border crossings from Gaza and the West Bank* (Hebrew), Knesset Research and Information Center, Jerusalem, November 2005, p. 3, <http://bit.ly/1IacHBu>; Protocol no. 495 of the Knesset Internal Affairs and Environment Committee (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1QHHC4I>; *Freedom of Information Report by the Ministry of Defense*, 2013 (Hebrew), p. 35, <http://bit.ly/1R6dZzj>.

3 Machsom Watch, *The First Days of Operation of the Eyal Checkpoint by a Private Security Company, Eyal Checkpoint (North Qalqilya)*, July 1, 2009, <http://bit.ly/1TekZcR>, last accessed

The first checkpoints privatized in January 2006 were Sha'ar Efraim (near Tulkarem) and Erez (the northern entrance to the Gaza Strip).⁴ Currently, 14 checkpoints have been privatized and transferred to the responsibility of the Crossing Points Authority: 12 checkpoints in the West Bank (Eyal, Eliyahu, Gilboa, Habik'a, Hotze Shomron, Hashmonaim, Meytar, Maccabim, Metzudot Yehuda, Reihan, Sha'ar Efraim and Tarqumia); and 2 checkpoints between Gaza and Israel (Erez and Kerem Shalom).⁵ The rest of the 22 checkpoints that are defined as the last checkpoint before entering Israel, or "border checkpoints," are due to be privatized in the coming years.⁶

Companies

Often, Israeli wall and checkpoints are being deemed a black box, related exclusively to Israeli policies. However, these policies depend heavily on national and multinational corporations. These companies provide the financial infrastructure that upholds the entire checkpoint industry, ranging from metal detectors and surveillance cameras to actual metal barriers and private security personnel.

At the end of 2005, following the first tender of the Ministry of Defense to operate the border checkpoints, five private security companies were chosen to provide personnel to the operation and security of the checkpoints: "Modi'in Ezrachi", "Sheleg Lavan", "Mikud security", "Shin Bet" and "Ari Avtaha". Currently two of the companies operate in the checkpoints: Modi'in Ezrachi, which operates the checkpoints in the northern part of the West Bank; and Sheleg

on 25 November 2015.

4 The Crossing Authority website, <http://bit.ly/1lhrJLd>; Protocol of meeting no. 495.

5 Ministry of Defense, Report for 2013, p. 152; The Crossing Points Authority website.

6 The Crossing Points Authority website; Van Leer Institute, Policy Paper: The Privatization of Checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Hebrew), 2014, <http://bit.ly/1G9YI8r>.

Lavan, which operates in the southern checkpoints in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Most of the West Bank checkpoints are operated by Modi'in Ezrachi.⁷

Sheleg Lavan

A manpower company that provides cleaning and security services. Sheleg Lavan was contracted by the MOD to operate the border checkpoints⁸ after the company won a NIS 230 million tender.⁹

Sheleg Lavan had previously operated the Erez checkpoint. Since the Israeli authorities declared a general closure on the Gaza Strip, the terminal became inactive and most of its operators were referred to other checkpoints in the southern West Bank.¹⁰

Currently, the company operates and provides guards and inspectors to at least seven checkpoints in the West Bank: Tarqumia, which was privatized in October 2007;¹¹ Meitar, in the South Hebron Hills, which was privatized in December 2007;¹² Maccabim, which is semi-privatized and also operated by Israeli soldiers;¹³ Habik'a, in the north of the occupied Jordan Valley, which was privatized in August 2008;¹⁴ Eliyahu, south of Qalquilia, which was privatized in 2011;¹⁵ and Hashmonaim, near the Modi'in Illit settlement, which was privatized in September

7 Van Leer policy paper, 2014

8 *Ibid.*

9 Shira Havkin, "The Reform of Israeli Checkpoints."

10 Van Leer Policy Paper, 2014.

11 MOD, Crossing Points Authority website, <http://bit.ly/1lkKxtH>.

12 Crossing Points Authority website, "Meitar Crossing" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1XT8yvy>.

13 Crossing Points Authority website, "Maccabim Crossing" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1PMepMa>.

14 Crossing Points Authority website, "Habik'a Crossing" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1INsKjN>.

15 Crossing Points Authority website, "Eliyahu Crossing" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1OBLFXc>.

2013.¹⁶ In addition, the company operates the Sha'ar Efraim checkpoint, which was privatized in January 2006.¹⁷ In December 2014, Palestinian workers refused to pass through the Sha'ar Efraim checkpoint because of its harsh conditions and the maltreatment by Sheleg Lavan security guards operating it. Later that month, one worker died at the checkpoint due to these harsh conditions.¹⁸

Ownership: A subsidiary of E. Orgad Holdings, owned by Eliyahu and Hagit Orgad

Sister Company: 90FM Emtza Haderach Radio

Revenues (2013): NIS 350,000,000

website: www.sheleg-lavan.co.il

Modi'in Ezrachi

A private security company which employs thousands of people and operates branches in the settlement of Ariel and in East Jerusalem. The company provides security services to various Israeli authorities and ministries. Along with Sheleg Lavan, Modi'in Ezrachi was contracted by the MOD to operate privatized checkpoints.

Modi'in Ezrachi operates in the following checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Jalameh (Gilboa), Reihan, Eyal and Hotze Shomron (on Road 5). In addition, the company operates checkpoints in the Jerusalem area, including Qalandia, Sheikh Sa'ad, Anata and Al-Jib (Givat Ze'ev).

¹⁶ Crossing Points Authority website, "Hashmonaim Crossing" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1N4Rx6Z>.

¹⁷ Crossing Points Authority website, "Shaar Efraim" (Hebrew), <http://bit.ly/1GmUeM>.

¹⁸ H. Matar, "Worker dies at checkpoint, one week after workers strike to protest against conditions" (Hebrew), Mekomit, December 31, 2014, <http://bit.ly/1K1k7on>.

For the role of security guards in the checkpoints, the company recruits former combat soldiers who pass fitness exams. After that, per the MOD's demand, they undergo a month-long training course. For the role of security inspectors in the checkpoints, Modi'in Ezrachi recruits people who completed military or national service.

Modi'in Ezrachi also operates in settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The company's activities in the settlements will be described in the next section.

Technologies of control: HP's Basel System and scanners provided by G4S

A great sum of money was invested in advanced technological equipment in the checkpoints, provided by international bodies and foreign governments. For example, a biometric identification system, one of the most sophisticated in the world, has been incorporated into the checkpoint inspection system. In addition, in 2006 the IDF Spokesperson published that "the aid organization USAID has signed a USD 15 million contract with the company AS&E, for the provision of five portable scanners for the Crossing Points Administration in the MOD."¹⁹

Hewlett Packard (HP), a global technology, computing and IT services provider, has provided the Basel System to the Israeli Ministry of Defense (MOD) – including development, installation, maintenance and ongoing field support. The Basel System is an automated biometric access control system, which includes a permit mechanism for Palestinian workers, with fingerprint and facial recognition, installed in checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza. The system was financed by the US government following the Wye River Memorandum.

On 12 September 2011, Who Profits received a response from the MOD to an inquiry that the project had submitted earlier, regarding the Basel System. The response confirmed that HP was contracted by the MOD to operate and maintain the Basel

¹⁹ Van Leer, 2014.

System until 31 December 31, 2012. The MOD indicated that the system is installed at the following checkpoints in the West Bank: Jericho, Bethlehem (Ma'avar Rachel), Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarem, Hebron, Abu Dis, Tarkumia and the Ephraim Gate (Irtach).

In response to a freedom of information inquiry submitted by Who Profits in 2014, the MOD stated that the system is also installed in the following checkpoints: Jalame (Gilboa), Barta'a (Reihan), Tura (Shaked), Eyal, Eliyahu, Yoav, Hashmonaim (Ni'ilin), Maccabim (Beit Sira), Al-Jib (Givat Ze'ev), Qalandia (Atarot), Ras Abu-Sbitan (HaZeitim), HaLamed-Heh and Sansana (Meitar).

In April 2013, Who Profits received an answer from the Israeli Civil Administration, stating that the MOD extended its contract with HP for maintaining the Basel System in checkpoints until 30 June 2013. The response stated that the contract will be further extended until the end of 2013, after the state budget is approved by the Knesset. In 2014, in response to another Freedom of Information request submitted by Who Profits, the MOD stated that HP was contracted to maintain the Basel System in West Bank and Gaza checkpoints until the end of 2015.

Another type of technological equipment in the checkpoints is scanning machines. According to a report by the Israeli organization MachsomWatch about the X-Ray Machine in the Eyal checkpoint,

People with food are the ones who are asked to pass through the machine. They describe it as a glass room over which a soldier supervises the entrance and exit by opening and closing the doors. The person going in stands in the middle of the room at a designated place that is marked and according to them, a machine circles around their head and photographs them. They complained that the rays from the machine are dangerous to people's health and may harm their food as well. Workers who worked or are working in the hospital claimed that in hospitals people are not allowed to be exposed to rays from these machines. One of the workers complained that he had a heart condition and asked not to have to go through the machine. The soldier refused to exempt him and told him that he would be exempted from the machine inspection only if he brought a medical permit.

G4S Israel provides full-body scanners and scanning machines by [Rapiscan](#) and [L-3's Safeview](#) to the Qalandia, Bethlehem and Sha'ar Efraim (Irtach) checkpoints in the West Bank and to the Erez checkpoint in Gaza. This company does not operate any checkpoints, but its equipment is used as part of the checkpoint security apparatus. In the checkpoints, every Palestinian is body-scanned by these machines, stripping him or her of their dignity. G4S Israel is a fully-owned subsidiary of the international corporation Group4Securicor and will be discussed further in this report.

The Gendered Aspect of the Israeli Checkpoint Industry in the West Bank

The checkpoint system clearly demonstrates the colonial nature of the occupation through its classification and labelling of Palestinian subjects. This objectivist pretense notwithstanding, ultimately the decision about whether or not to let any Palestinian through a checkpoint is based on personal non-objective assessments of soldiers. Testimonies of soldiers from *Breaking the Silence* (2012) demonstrate how the checkpoints are being used to randomly detain or delay Palestinians.²⁰ By using these tactics, the Israeli military turns the checkpoints into temporary detention facilities.

Palestinian women passing through the checkpoint system are subjected physical hardship and the constant risk of harassment. They are delayed for long hours, often without food or water, endure verbal or physical abuse, such as stripping semi-naked

²⁰ C. Ryan, *Bodies, Power and Resistance in the Middle East: Experiences of Subjectification in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*, Routledge, 2015.

or being slapped, punched or kicked, shot, and in some cases killed.²¹ According to WCLAC (Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling) (2010), women who live in the Seam Zone report that they avoid leaving their houses because of delays in the checkpoints and the harassments of soldiers and private guards.²²

The extensive system of checkpoints, permits and ID cards makes the simple daily tasks necessary for survival increasingly difficult and burdensome. This intimate encounter of the occupied and occupier in the checkpoints results in an identity-making process. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian argues that Palestinian girls and women crossing at checkpoints experience the surveillance and control of the occupation in an embodied way. They are weary of sexual harassment in the checkpoints and in the investigations, where Israeli security forces – whether privatized or not – also use sexual violence, including threatening these women with damaging their reputation through rumors, disclosing personal information, etc. Moreover, Palestinian girls grow up learning that their own communities are limited in their capacity to protect them from this violence.²³

The checkpoint industry structures the lives of Palestinian girls and women also beyond the daily physical encounter, as the difficult economic situation in the West Bank resulting from the occupation compels some of them to work within Israel proper. In other cases, the permit system and checkpoint delays mean that Palestinian men who work within Israel proper are forced to spend much time on the roads and remain within the Green Line for long periods in which the women are left to take care of the home and children.²⁴ In addition, if a Palestinian

21 R. Sheikh, "Israeli Checkpoints Crippling Palestinian Society", Mar 30, 2014, <http://bit.ly/1XMylV3z>.

22 Ryan, 2015.

23 N. Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009, *Militarization and Violence against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: A Palestinian Case Study*, Cambridge University Press.

24 N. Musalah, 2007, *The separation wall from the point of view of the Palestinian woman*,

woman moves in with her husband in his town or village, the checkpoints limit and sometimes even prevent them from visiting their loved ones. This situation isolates these women from their families.²⁵ By denying access to their families, spouses, children and necessary provisions, Palestinian women become targets of Israeli management.

Qalandiya checkpoint, December 2015

Whenever I have to pass the checkpoint, which is on a regular basis, I can never guarantee what will happen that day. Sometimes the soldiers keep me for a long time and if they are in a bad mood they can keep me for something small like once they made me turn back because they found an empty milk bottle in my car and they said I could not take trash from the West Bank to Jerusalem. Once the soldier made comments in Hebrew on how I looked like and made me feel uncomfortable and once he made sexual gestures with his gun, I felt very vulnerable – I was 17 at the time and I was on my own. I was scared, as he is the carrier of the weapon. At night, none of my friends will cross the checkpoint on foot because we are scared to be alone with the soldiers as they are very young and we hear stories of something. I told my mother once about what happened. Sometimes people tell me, why you did not file a complaint. Once I asked an abusive woman soldier to bring her manager and she said I had no such right. So there's little power when young women are passing through the checkpoint not even the basic idea to talk to a manager, no matter how much you insist, and this was in plain sight of both soldiers and private security personnel.

in: *Palestinian women under the burden of national and social occupation*, Amani Da'ayef (ed.), Haifa: Pardes, pp. 133-135 (Hebrew).

25 A. Da'ayef, 2007, Introduction, in: *Palestinian women*.

Eliyahu checkpoint, October 2015

I am 67 years old and a mother of six. I am originally a refugee from a village in the Triangle area [in Israel proper]. I married in the seventies. I am a resident but have no citizenship. I pass the checkpoints quite infrequently – a few times a year for personal affairs and shopping. But mostly, I try to avoid crossing the checkpoints. Every time I cross a checkpoint, I am delayed. They search all the products I buy. As a woman, I feel humiliated every time I cross a checkpoint, just as I feel in many situations in my daily life as a Palestinian woman. In many ways, you could say we got used to this... to the search, to the humiliation. I would actually be quite surprised if they treated me differently. I still pass through the checkpoints. In the past I used to cross them more frequently, but I have limited my crossings and visits to Qalqilya because of the situation at the checkpoint. The people that accompany me also get searched. If my girls cross the checkpoint without me, they do not experience the same kind of delays and, being citizens, they are treated differently. For that reason, I have started sending them there alone, recently, to avoid crossing that checkpoint myself.

The Effect of Checkpoints on the Reproductive and Health Rights of Palestinian women

Stopping and delaying women at checkpoints affects Palestinian women's bodies through the control of their sexuality and reproduction. Moreover, delay or denial of access to medical care for pregnant women have effects beyond the women directly affected, as evidenced by the increase in women giving birth at home, with women preferring to avoid road trips while in labor for fear of not being able to reach the hospital on time.²⁶ Halla Shoaibi estimates that in 2000-2007, a full 10 percent of pregnant Palestinian women were delayed at checkpoints while

²⁶ Ryan, 2015.

travelling to hospital to give birth. Shoaibi said that no less than 69 babies were born at checkpoints during those seven years; 35 babies and five of the mothers died – an outcome which she considered to amount to a crime against humanity.²⁷

UNIFEM (the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women) cites information received from the Israeli Ministry of Health stating that the time Palestinians spend waiting at border checkpoints has increased dramatically since the beginning of the Second intifada in 2000 and that in many cases women are forced, when the delivery approaches, to move to the town closest to the hospital.²⁸ The village of Azzun 'Atma, which was highlighted in a 2009 report issued by OCHA, illustrates the problem:

On average, 50 babies are born in Azzun 'Atma annually. Particularly relevant to the issue of pregnant women at checkpoints are the obligations set out in articles 16 and 38(5) of the Fourth Geneva Convention, calling for Parties to guarantee special protection to pregnant women and mothers of small children. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, in article 12, paragraph 2, also calls on States parties to ensure access for women to appropriate services in connection with pregnancy.²⁹

²⁷ Israeli checkpoints kill women in childbirth, says new study; see *The Electronic Intifada*, July 6, 2011, <http://bit.ly/1m5iKxA>.

²⁸ United Nations Development Fund for Women, *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the issue of Palestinian pregnant women giving birth at Israeli checkpoints*, 2010, <http://bit.ly/1D2ZS9F>.

²⁹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs, *Five Years after the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion, a Summary of the Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier*, July 2009, p. 17, <http://bit.ly/1SH18Cx>.

Recent Short-Term Checkpoints

In addition to the permanent checkpoints, Israeli forces have also been using short-term checkpoints and barriers as a military tool in response to Palestinian uprisings. This feeds directly into the systemic sense of instability and insecurity experienced by the Palestinian community. Most recently, since October 2015, this is keenly experienced in occupied East Jerusalem during the last months (October 2015). There, Israeli police have begun erecting additional checkpoints and closing roads leading from and to ten Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.³⁰ According to the United Nations, 38 barriers, including 17 checkpoints, have sprung up in nine Palestinian neighborhoods, disrupting the daily lives of at least 138,000 Palestinians.³¹

On September 22, 2015, 18 year-old Hadeel Hashlamoun was shot at the "Container" checkpoint near Shuhada street in Hebron.³² The Israeli army claimed that she was shot after she tried to stab a soldier, yet photos and eyewitnesses contradict this account. Wattan TV that documented the shooting reported that the young woman did not receive immediate medical treatment and was left to bleed for more than 30 minutes³³

30 *Israel/Palestine: Woman Dies after Checkpoint Delay, October 21, 2015, Reuters, <http://bit.ly/1MaF8Rt>.*

31 *Checkpoints stir Palestinian anger in East Jerusalem, AFP by Shatha Yaish, October 24, 2015, <http://yhoo.it/LXMwBtC>.*

32 *S. J. Frantzman, We need to talk about why so many Palestinian women are involved in recent "terror wave", November 9, 2015, <http://bit.ly/1ObPJGX>.*

33 *Video: Palestinian woman shot, left to bleed by Israeli soldiers, Ali Abunimah, 22 September 2015, <http://bit.ly/1NR0p2r>.*

On October 25, another woman was shot at a checkpoint under similar circumstances. Seventeen year-old Dania Jihad Hussein Ershied passed through a checkpoint near the Ibrahimi Mosque (Cave of the Patriarchs) and was shot six times because she was deemed suspicious. On November 9, 23 year-old Rasha Hamed was shot and killed at a checkpoint near Qalqilya and Alfei Menasha. The allegation was that she approached the checkpoint with a knife and kept walking after she had been ordered to stop.³⁴

Conclusion

The power of the Israeli authorities over the Palestinian people is sustained by means of arbitrarily restricting the mobility of Palestinians in public spaces through various mechanisms, such as checkpoints, curfews and arrests. While the physical barriers around the West Bank affect all inhabitants, it has particular impact on women. Palestinian women experience militarized racial violence from the Israeli State both as Palestinians and as women. The racial order upheld by Israeli ethno-nationalism by organizing social structures and everyday life is designed to produce differential treatment of human bodies. Palestinian women living in the OPT experience multiple threats to their bodies. Many of them occur outside the home, as women travel through checkpoints, attend demonstrations or walk their children to school.

As shown in this position paper, corporations are heavily involved in the mechanisms of control over the Palestinian population and women in particular. The private sector enables and sustains this system for profit, and is therefore accountable for the human and women's rights abuses that are a daily practice in the Israeli checkpoints.

34 *Frantzman, 2015.*

