The impact of Framing the laws of President Mahmoud Abbas and its relation to the Palestinian woman.

A discourse study on banners in photographs published on the ضد اتفاقية سياد against CEDAW Convention Facebook page regarding the Framing of President Mahmoud Abbas' laws.

Key words: CEDAW, Islam, Woman, Palestine

Student: Nour Albobali
Supervisor: Elina Chiti
Abstract:
The aim of this study is to investigate the Framing which appears on the banners which were used in two protests in west bank / Palestine 12 October 2020 and 31 August 2020, and which appeared in photographs published in Facebook page. (From the hereon, these will refer to as ‘the banners’)

The banners targeted the draft of The Family Protection Laws. The laws related to CEDAW that the Palestinian Authority represented by President Mahmoud Abbas approved in 2020.

As the United Nations has declared:

_The Family Protection Bill is expected to provide measures to prevent and combat violence, as well as due protection, reparation, and empowerment of survivors of violence, while holding perpetrators accountable for their acts (United Nations, 2018)_

Through Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and by applying a gendered perspective in addition to the Framing Theory by Entman. I analysed the banners that were used by Facebook page (Hereafter referred to as Facebook page) in two demonstrations, one in August 2020 and the other in October 2020, to frame The Family Protection Laws related to the CEDAW Convention that President Mahmoud Abbas passed.

The primary sources for this analysis are 18 banners which were published in the Facebook page. I have found Four main themes that reoccur in the banners visible through terms used repeatedly: "Feminist institutions", "The west", and "Islamic Law", in addition to "Woman’s body".

Keywords:

CEDAW, Islam, Woman, Palestine.
List OF Abbreviations:
CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
FAW: First Aid at Work.
Sida: Swedish International Development Agency.
OCHA: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.
UN: United Nations.
UNDP/PAPP: United Nations Development Programme / Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People.
Contents
1. Introduction: ........................................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Introduction: ..................................................................................................................... 1

2. Literature Review: .................................................................................................................. 5
  2.1 The Gendered perspective: ............................................................................................. 6
  2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis: .......................................................................................... 8
  2.3 Framing: ......................................................................................................................... 9

3. Methodology: ....................................................................................................................... 10
  3.1 Materials: ........................................................................................................................ 14
    3.1.1 List of the banners published on 31st August 2020: ................................................ 15
    3.1.2 List of the banners which published on 12th October 2020: ................................ 16
  3.2 Limitations: .................................................................................................................... 18
  3.3 Delimitations: ................................................................................................................. 18

4. Discussion and Analysis: ..................................................................................................... 18
  4.1 Background ..................................................................................................................... 18
  4.2 Presentation of data: ....................................................................................................... 19
  4.3 Analysis: ......................................................................................................................... 20
    4.3.1 Theme One: شرف ‘A woman’s honour’ ................................................................. 20
    4.3.2 Theme Two: Feminist organizations ...................................................................... 28
    4.3.3 Theme Three: The west ......................................................................................... 33
    4.3.4 Theme Four: الشريعة الإسلامية al-šarīʿati al-ʾislāmiyati ’Islamic law’ ............... 36

5. Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 43

List of References: ................................................................................................................. 46
Primary source: ....................................................................................................................... 46
Secondary sources: .................................................................................................................. 46
1. Introduction:

1.1 Introduction:

The aim of the study is to explore and investigate what the messaging the banners used in popular demonstrations held in West bank in Palestine on 12 October 2020 and 31 August 2020 says regarding The Family Protection Law related to CEDAW and which was approved by Mahmoud Abbas - The president of Palestine- in 2019.

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. (Here after referred to as CEDAW Convention).

The banners were published in 'Against CEDAW Convention’ Facebook page (Here after referred to as “Facebook page”). Many websites and opposing websites from Palestine rejected the Convention in different ways, but I chose the Facebook page because it used a variety of methods, including banners, posts, and infographics.

It is a Convention that was approved and ratified by the General Assembly in December of the year 1979 by Resolution No 34/180. The Convention resolved to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women by implementing a set of principles and laws. Regarding this The Convention contains 30 articles. (OHCHR)

The Convention enjoys the explicit approval of almost every country in the world, with 186 countries ratifying it (Baldez, 2011)

On June 9, 2020, a page "Against CEDAW Convention" was created in the West bank in Palestine. The page link is: https://www.facebook.com/CEDAW.Palestine. This page is one of the most significant social media campaigns against CEDAW Convention and The Family Protection Law. The identity of the page's administrator/s is unknown, and it is unclear which political party they support. None of the posts published on the page showed any indication of the name, gender, or political orientation of the page administration. The only direction was to work to reject CEDAW and The Family Protection Law without referring to any political faction.

The page identified itself in the (Bio) as a page opposing the CEDAW Convention and The Family Protection Law and states that The CEDAW Convention and The Family Protection Law are contradicting the Palestinian Basic Law, Religions and Society. The page published many different publications, photos, and videos, all which were against the Convention and The
Family Protection Law. The Facebook page has shared many of the opinions regarding the CEDAW Convention. All opinions are opposed to the Convention, published by politicians, lawyers, or statements issued by Palestinian family clans.

Among what the page published in were banners related to demonstrations that took place on August 31, 2020, and October 12 of the same year, and this is what we will analyse.

The page uses the main hashtags:

‘CEDAW convention falls’ [My translation]

‘The Family Protection Law emanating from CEDAW convention shall be repealed.’ [My translation]

Many international Conventions, including CEDAW, contributed to the problem of discrimination against women. Being one of the most important conventions regarding discrimination against women, CEDAW includes many provisions and texts that obligate signatory states to equality between men and women, in addition to preserving many rights that guarantee women's right to abortion and child custody and many related texts. (Bonvoisen, 2019) The draft of The Family Protection Law related to CEDAW Convention has undergone many revisions and amendments by the Palestinian government, Palestinian civil society organizations and women's organizations and it was approved in the first reading by the Palestinian Council of Ministers on 11 May 2020 (Abdallah & Ismail, 2020).

The Law and the Convention faced many challenges, the most important of which were the demonstrations against it, in addition to websites and social media pages that mobilized opinions opposing Mahmoud Abbas' laws, and the Facebook page was one of them. The present study aims to analyse the Framing of banners in photographs which published in the Facebook page through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.2 Translation and Transcription:
Regarding the translation, in this research, the translation for the text of the banners which already written and published in Arabic, without any English copies done by the author and marked as [My translation] in the whole thesis.

One the other hand, the transcriptions of the banners presented and done by author, adopting Professor Elie Wardine’s approach mentioned in his paper TRANSRIPTION RULES for Arabic in August 2020, v.5.

The translations and transcriptions in addition to the original Arabic text of banners will be found in the Material section.

1.3 Problem Area:

In Palestine, women and girls suffer from gender-based violence and discrimination, in addition to risks related to partner and family violence, child marriage, rape, harassment, sexual and psychological abuse, and deprivation of economic resources. Violations against women in Palestinian society continued for decades, between the social norms and traditions that prevail in Palestinian society and the violence related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (OCHA, 2022). Accordingly, the practices that occur against women in Palestine and the discrimination they suffer from are deeply rooted in social customs and traditions, and it will be difficult to change or eliminate them (UN, 2018) which according to Butler are historically and socially constructed. and cannot be easily monitored making it difficult to detect and it will be even more difficult to eliminate or change it. According to (UN, 2018) There are continuous efforts in society to consolidate the idea of women’s subordination, which takes many forms, including calls that include specific interpretations of the Islamic religion. Therefore, some attempts to eliminate forms of discrimination against women are rejected, and some of the Western attempts to work on this issue are considered an interference on traditions and customs. It cannot be denied that the issue of women in Palestinian society is a marginal issue and not a priority compared to other political issues, as Palestinian society considers the occupation to be the first and most important case of the Palestinian people. (ibid)

1.4 Previous research:

In my search for previous research regarding the critical analysis of banners or academic articles related to demonstrations against The Family Protection Law, I did not find any previous research in this very specific context. While there were papers related to Family Protection Law and CEDAW that were not related to critical analysis, some of them were related legal papers such as "Criminal Protection of Women’s Rights against Violence in Palestine" by Asmaa
Dwikat Abu Hattab 2019/2020. In addition to a master thesis written by Ahmed R. M Raddad and it is titled Women’s work outside the home: A comparative study between Islamic Sharia, Palestinian law, and CEDAW Convention /2013. There is not much research on the subject of research, which may be due to it being a recent field of study.

The CEDAW Convention which related to The Family Protection Law in Palestine has been presented by Sida:

"Palestine has acceded to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), but due to opposition among traditional forces in the population and parts of the leadership, it has not yet been applied". (Sida)

Many institutions work on the issue of women's rights in Palestine, and the United Nations has listed a number of them on its website (OHCHR), (UNDP/PAPP), (UN-Habitat), (UNODC), (UN-Women), (FAW) (United nation).

Amnesty International has declared:

Women continued to have fewer rights than men in relation to divorce, custody of children and inheritance. Relatives attacked women who refused to give up their inheritance or sued for other rights relating to personal status, with inadequate protection from the authorities. Violence against women increased in the context of Covid-19 measures and the worsening economic crisis. According to the Women’s Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling, 28 women and girls were killed by domestic violence. On 16 June, a woman was killed by a male relative striking her head following a dispute over inheritance in Gaza (Amnesty, 2022).

1.6 Aims:

The aim of this research is to analyse how the banners published in the Facebook page frame the Palestinian Family Protection Law using Critical Discourse Analysis. I chose to search for keywords that I found mostly on the selected banners. In the research I will strive to not be biased due to any personal or preconceived opinions, but rather check the primary sources as mentioned in the page against CEDAW. The research's objectives are to analyse the argumentative approaches used in these banners, instead of providing answers that fully explain the situation.

1.7 Research question:
How the Against CEDAW Convention Facebook page framed President Mahmoud Abbas' laws related to CEDAW from August 2020 till October 2020?

Coding:

In the list below I will present the Inquiries that influenced the analysis:

1. What is being rejected?
2. According to which criteria is it being rejected?
3. By whom is the rejection?
4. Against whom is the rejection?
5. Who benefits from the rejection?
6. What arguments were used to justify the rejection?

1.8 Disposition:

In chapter one, the author presented the introduction, translation and transcription, problem area, previous research, the aim of the research, and the research question.

In chapter Two, the author presented and discussed the three theories: Gender perspectives, Critical Discourse Analysis and Framing theory.

In chapter three, the methodology and material in addition to Limitations and Delimitations is presented and discussed.

In chapter Four, Background is discussed at the beginning of the chapter to get a deeper information about the Palestinian women and the laws in Palestine. A presentation of data has been added in this chapter in addition to themes and Analysis.

The analysis is performed in this chapter and the process is divided to Four subsections: Theme one: ‘A woman’s honour’, Theme Two: ‘Feminist organizations’, Theme Three: ‘The west’ and Theme Four: ‘Islamic law’

In chapter Five, the analysis and the results are discussed. The research question is answered in this chapter.

2. Literature Review:

In this section, the research will present the theories that I used in the research. I used Three approaches to reach more accurate results: The Gendered perspective, Critical Discourse
Analysis, and Framing theory. The reason for applying these three theories is to seek more information, as each theory presents an approach and direction that would enhance access to more facetted results by linking Critical Discourse Analysis and Framing in addition to considering Judith Butler's, Sylvia Walby, and Deniz Kandiyoti theories in addition to Michel Foucault's concept of power. With Framing theory, it will be easier to define the frameworks that I will work on. Through critical analysis I will be able to reach analytical results by identifying the ideologies on which the banners are built. Considering the theory of gender and power I will have multiple aspects on which to base the analysis.

By using the Framing theory, I will be able to find presentations and identify the frameworks that will lead us to solve problems, through the analysis of Critical Discourse, I will be able to reach the ideologies that exist in the banners by analysing potential social wrong, while Butler's gender theory will be taken into consideration in order to analyse from a gender point of view, which will make the orientation more clear and focused.

2.1 The Gendered perspective:

Butler defined gender as an act that brings into being what it names: in this context, a "masculine" man, or a "feminine" woman. She describes gender as a performative and argues that gender is not a single thing but something that is done and implemented, and that gender identity is a set of repetitive actions that come within a regulatory framework (Butler, 1990). Thus, the belief in the idea of stable identities and gender differences came from deliberate and hidden coercion e.g., taboo, and social sanctions (Butler, 1990, p271). The performative construction of identity theory of Butler's identity was influenced by Foucault's genealogical analysis, where Foucault concluded that these categories result from the influence of discourses, institutions, and practices around them (Lechte, 1994).

Regarding patriarchy, Sylvia Walby defined it as a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1989).

One of the main criticisms of patriarchy is that it is unable to deal with gender inequalities in different times and places, nor with the diversity of women's experiences (Walby, 1989, p217).

There are six patriarchal structures that together represent a patriarchal system. These structures represent the most important set of social relationships that build the relationship between the sexes. This is the smallest number of structures that can collect and accommodate the different
forms of women's oppression depending on the place and time of the study by Sylvia Walby (Walby, 1989, p219)

Walby presented the six patriarchal structures, *which patriarchal relations in cultural institutions, such as religion, the media and education, patriarchal relations in sexuality, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in cultural institutions and patriarchal relations in paid work* (Walby, 1989, p220-226)

The patriarchy is divided into two main types, the general and the private patriarchy. The private patriarchy is based on the relative exclusion of women from the spheres of social life. In this system, women's services are allocated directly and individually in the private sphere, i.e., the home. While the general patriarchal system subjugates women in all positions. In this form, women are captured en masse (ibid).

While Deniz Kandiyoti suggested an important point to identify the different forms of the patriarchal system by analysing the strategies of dealing with women, which is what called the patriarchal bargain for any society. Which practices patriarchal bargaining that has a strong impact on the shaping of women’s gender identity and affects the possibilities and forms of active or passive resistance of women in the face of the persecution. They are subjected to, in addition to the fact that these deals are not fixed, but rather subject to historical transformations, and open up multiple areas for struggle and negotiation between genders (Kandiyoti, 1988, p275).

In the Muslim Middle East and North Africa there is what Kandiyoti calls classic patriarchy. This system is continued because of the patriarchal extended family. These extended patriarchal families gave the man more power than anyone else in the family (Kandiyoti, 1988, p278).

Regarding the honour of the women in the classical patriarchal system, there are different notions of honour. In Turkey, for example, a man is responsible for his wife's honour, while the situation is different for Arabs, where a woman's family is responsible for their daughter's honour (ibid).

Despite the obstacles that patriarchal authority places on women. Women often resist the process of transition and change. This is because they see the old normative system as going away from them without any enabling alternatives. Because these changes can threaten some of the short-term practical interests that some women receive, such as protections that cannot be compensated any longer. Thus, at a time when the classical patriarchate is in crisis, some
women are pressuring and compromising men to maintain this system. This patriarchal bargain is done based on obtaining protection in exchange for the submissiveness of the woman (Kandiyoti, 1988, p278).

Applying the Gendered Perspective theory is of great importance in the research, as many banners are based on framing laws on a basis of gender. Patriarchal bargains and structures appear in the banners that will be analysed through the presence of the males in the two previously mentioned demonstrations instead of the text of the banners, which indicates a large Male control over the woman and her body, and anything related to her. Accordingly, I have found that Walby and Kandiyoti and butler theories will be of great importance in analysing these banners from a gender point of view.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA is ‘a theory and method of analysing the way that individuals and institutions use language” (Richardson, 2007) which focuses on ‘relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality’ (Van Dijk, 1993, p 249).

There are different points of view related to discourse, including those of Foucault, which relate to positions of discursive power. While Foucault does not believe that the discourse is a piece of text, he believes that it is "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Priatmoko, 2013, p12).

As one of the most important theorists on the theories of Critical Discourse Analysis, Norman Fairclough in his theory "power behind discourse" looks at the power dynamics between speakers and how their current situation affects their power asymmetry, and He believed that social attitudes are shaped by power dynamics (Kim, 2019). For Fairclough, the text is a product rather than a process (Fairclough, 1989, p24). In the CDA, the context in which the discourse comes cannot be neglected, and thus historical, social, and rhetorical patterns must be considered while analysing the text (Fairclough, 2003). In his theory, Fairclough focuses on the social forces. He distinguishes between external power relations and internal power, while his studies focus on the characteristics of the discursive practices of political discourse and their relationship to other discourse systems (Barkho, 2008).

According to Fairclough, CDA was developed because of the traditional division between linguistics and some sections of the social sciences. While linguistics focused on the micro
analysis of texts and interactions, social science was concerned with social practice and social change, while linguistics was concerned with the interactive dimension of analysis, social science was concerned with the structural dimension, and to reach the CDA of social life this requires investigation a combination of interaction and structuralism (Fairclough, 1995).

2.3 Framing:

"To select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more silent in a communication text" (Entman, 1993, p52) this is how Robert Entman defines Framing.

Frames contain four positions in communication processes: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. Where the role of the communicator is to issue Framing judgments that in turn form the belief. While the text reinforces the judgments and facts as it includes the frameworks by means of certain phrases and words. These frameworks lead the receiver’s way of thinking that is not necessarily in line with the communicator’s intention, and then the culture, which in turn follows the way he thinks by people in a social group (Entman, 1993).

The use of Framing, as Entman believes, comes from the attempt to ensure that some ideas stand out more in the text (salient) while others appear less frequently, so that the main purpose of the text becomes clear. It can be described as a special scheme of text comprehension that guides people's interpretation of information (Entman, 1991, p7). As for the Framing functions, Entman divided them into four functions, namely identifying the problem and determining its causes first, followed by issuing a moral judgment through it, then evaluating it and proposing solutions. Some discourse may contain a set of Framing functions while others may contain a single function, which means Framing does not have to contain all the functions at once (Entman, 1993).

Frame analysis is defined by Charlotte Ryan (1991) as a tool for ordering information about how people perceive political problems. We can use frame analysis to listen and grasp the fears and pains of a class, a community, or a nation, and then to crystallize their understanding of a problem (Janssen, 2010).

In the next chapter, I will display the research approach and methods that will be use in the analysis.
3. Methodology:

I will apply Critical Discourse Analysis to a set of banners that were used in demonstrations against the Family Protection Act and CEDAW and that were posted on the Against CEDAW Facebook page. The sample will be banners that were used in two demonstrations, the first on 31st of August 2020 and the second on the 12th of October of the same year.

I will start the analysis by coding the sources and the help of Ryan and Bernard’s (2003) on identifying themes.

Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to analyse banners and identify frames in addition to determine the ideological bias within discourse and language. (Details on materials and sources shown in section 3.1)

The analysis was supplemented by (Entman, 1993) Framing theory to obtain the apparent vocabulary and the non-significant vocabulary in the banners. I work on analysing banners from Gendered perspective.

Coding:

The guiding questions have been:

1. What is being rejected?
2. According to which criteria is it being rejected?
3. By whom is the rejection?
4. Against whom is the rejection?
5. Who benefits from the rejection?
6. What arguments were used to justify the rejection?

Before I began to seriously treat selected banners, I read the theories and methodologies referred to in their chapters. In the coding process, Techniques to Identify Themes by Gery W. Ryan and H. Russell Bernard Provided useful methodologies and techniques in addition to research questions in the structuring and in the coding process

To process the material and start coding it, I started with textual analysis by using highlighting the words and quotes that help in finding answers to the guiding questions I mentioned above.
My first and main task is to get themes, and here I started looking for repeated phrases and combinations.

By the coding Matrix (Presented below), I identified themes after reaching the key words that are more visible in the text. And I used contextual analysis to establish how the themes and keywords selected for this study related to one another. As I completed each group of banners in accordance with its associated topic.

Coding matrix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Women's associations associated with the West implement its projects to demolish society.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>Women's associations</td>
<td>Feminist organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Defend your honour (‘ird) people of Palestine’ [My translation]</td>
<td>honour (‘ird)</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The Family Protection Law prepared by women's associations aims to spread vice and moral decay.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>women's associations</td>
<td>Feminist organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Feminist associations seek freedom of accessibility to woman’</td>
<td>Feminist associations</td>
<td>Feminist organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Her body</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and her body.’ [My translation].</td>
<td>The provisions of Islamic Sharia protect women from violence.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The provisions of Islamic Sharia protect women from violence.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>The provisions of Islamic Sharia</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The family protection law prepared by women's associations aims to spread obscenity and vice.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>women's associations</td>
<td>Feminist organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The draft family protection law is the garbage that Western countries throw at us.’[My translation]</td>
<td>Western countries</td>
<td>The west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Only Islam and its laws will protect women.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Down with the Family Protection Law, down with CEDAW, women are an honour that must be preserved.’</td>
<td>honour</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Defend your honour people of Palestine’ [My translation]</td>
<td>honour</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The provisions of Islamic Sharia protect women from violence.” [My translation]</td>
<td>The provisions of Islamic Sharia</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The agendas of women’s associations were set by the Western financier. You are revealed.’ [My translation]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Feminist organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘No discussion, no freezing, no development, leave us haters.’ [My translation]</td>
<td>haters</td>
<td>The west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feminist organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Defend your honour people of Palestine’ [My translation]</td>
<td>Honour</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophet said: Women are but sisters (or the other half) of men). No to equality [My translation]</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We will pursue women's organizations for not respecting sharia [My translation]</td>
<td>women's organizations sharia</td>
<td>Feminist organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Islamic Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoever neglects the honour of women it is easy for him to neglect</td>
<td>honour of women</td>
<td>A woman’s honour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Themes:
The banners after coding present some dominant themes, which I will review and analyse. I will list them all below:
- Theme one: A woman’s honour
- Theme two: Feminist organizations
- Theme three: The West
- Theme four: Islamic law

3.1 Materials:

As primary sources, I will analyse the banners that were used in two demonstrations against The Family Protection Law and CEDAW. The first demonstration took place on August 31, 2020, and the second on October 12, 2020. These banners were posted on a Facebook web page titled ‘Against CEDAW Convention’ which was created on 9th of June 2020.

The title and the language which are used in the page are Arabic in addition to the page’s title.

The Facebook page displays 18 banners in the Arabic language, with various discourses, all against the CEDAW Convention and the Palestinian family protection law. Banners written in both FUSHA, with Qur’anic terms and Palestinian dialect with where the target audience will be the Arabic speaking and Palestinian public. Ten of the banners published on 31st of August 2020 and Eight of them published on 12th of October 2020 on the Facebook page mentioned.
About the participants in the demonstrations, what appeared in the pictures shows that the men were separated from the women in the demonstrations, while the women appeared in only two pictures, while the men appeared in most of the pictures carrying banners.

Male participants ranged in age, but the young males were not included in the pictures. Some of the men wore clothes representative of religious attire, such as the white gallabiyah, and some had long beards. All the women who appeared in the photos wore the hijab, though their ages varied, females from the middle-aged group were the most apparent in the images.

I will present the primary sources with an English translation that I did myself, as the language used in the banners is Arabic, without an English translation or any published English versions. I will transcribe the text also as I mentioned before in the Introduction section.

3.1.1 List of the banners published on 31st August 2020:

الجماعيات النسوية المرتبطة بالغرب تنفذ مشاريعًا تهدد المجتمع.
al-jamʿiyātu al-nasawiyatu al-murtabiṭatu bilġarbi tunafīḍu mašārīʿa lāhīdmi al-mujṭamaʿi
"Women's associations associated with the West implement its projects to demolish society"[My translation].

دافعوا عن أعراضكم يا أهل فلسطين!
dāfīʿū ʿan ʾaʿrāḍikum yā ʾahla filasṭīn
"Defend your honour (ʿirdī) people of Palestine"[My translation].

قانون حماية الأسرة الذي أعدته الجمعيات النسوية يهدف لإنشاء الرذيلة والانحلال الأخلاقي.
qānūnu ḥimāyatu al-ʿusrāti al-laḏy ʿa adathu al-jamʿiyatu al-nasawiyatu yahdifu liʾišāʾati al-raḍīlati wa al-inḥilāli al-ʾāḥlāqy
"The Family Protection Law prepared by women's associations aims to spread vice and moral decay" [My translation].

الجماعيات النسوية تسعى لحرية الوصول للمرأة وجسمها.
al-jamʿiyatu al-nasawiyatu tasʿā li ḥuriyati al-wusūli lilmārʾati wa jasadiha
"Feminist associations seek freedom of accessibility to woman and her body" [My translation].
The provisions of Islamic Law protect women from violence” [My translation].

The Family Protection Law prepared by women’s associations aims to spread obscenity and vice” [My translation].

The draft family protection law is the garbage that Western countries throw at us” [My translation].

Only Islam and its laws will protect women” [My translation].

Down with The Family Protection Law, down with CEDAW, women are an honour that must be preserved” [My translation].

Defend your honour people of Palestine” [My translation].

3.1.2 List of the banners which published on 12th October 2020:

"The provisions of Islamic Law protect women from violence" [My translation].

Ajudat the associations of women should support this, the momentum of the West, because we think only Islam and its laws will protect women.
"The agendas of women’s associations were set by the Western financier. You are revealed " [My translation].

لا للنقاش ولا للتجميد ولا للتطوير، اتركنا أيها الحاقدون

"No discussion, no freezing, no development, leave us haters" [My translation]

دافعوا عن أعراضكم يا أهل فلسطين

"Defend your honour people of Palestine" [My translation].

قال عليه السلام، النساء شقائق الرجال، لا للمساواة

"Prophet said: Women are but sisters (or the other half) of men). No to equality" [My translation].

سنلاحق الجمعيات النسائية في المحاكم لازدرانهم الشريعة

"We will pursue women's organizations for not respecting sharia "[My translation].

لا يفرط بالعرض إلا من فرط بالأرض.

"Whoever neglects the honour of women it is easy for him to neglect his land "[My translation].

لو كان في قانون حماية الأسرة خير لأنقذ النساء المعنفات في الغرب

"If there had been any improvement in The Family Protection Law, it would have been able to protect Western women from violence"[My translation].

I obtained the four themes that I will work on by assembling the banners and then searching for the most words that appear most frequently in the banners and writing them, and then accessing the themes by coding them.
3.2 Limitations:

The aim of the study is to find an answer to the study question, which is how the Facebook page against CEDAW framed Mahmoud Abbas’s laws related to The Family Protection Law between 31\(^{st}\) of August 2020 and 12\(^{th}\) of October 2020, and therefore I had to search in the themes using the keywords CEDAW, Islam, woman, Palestine.

3.3 Delimitations:

In the thesis I will not discuss any banners posted on pages other than the ‘ضد اتفاقية سيداو’ page, as I will stick to the text of the banners without being influenced by any views that were posted on the Facebook page about them. The analysis will be neutral and pertain to the selected banners.

In the next chapter, these methods and tactics will be utilised to discuss and analyse the collected data.

4. Discussion and Analysis:

4.1 Background

Laws in the Palestinian territories based on Egyptian, Jordanian, Ottoman, Palestinian and British laws, as well as Israeli military orders. Many Palestinians believe that personal status laws in Palestine do not provide fair and adequate protection for Palestinian women (DCAF, 2012). Many of the articles of these laws conflict with modern Palestinian laws and decisions of the Palestinian National Authority, including the presidential decree that ratified CEDAW in 2009 (ibid).

The so-called Marital Law is the oldest legal tradition in the occupied Palestinian territories which deals with civil or religious disputes based on oral traditions and customs that are built on conciliation, mediation, and family and community honour. There is a whole range of assaults and crimes related to women, one of which is crimes of sexual assault against women, which are called honour killings, where fines regarding such cases may reach thousands of dinars in the Jordanian currency. Feminist researchers find that this treatment of women under the laws of the so-called Marital Law came from masculine hegemony and patriarchy in Palestinian society, where males are seen as physically stronger and responsible for protecting women and the family, and therefore gender roles were determined accordingly (Wing, 1994)

This situation adopted during the times of the Ottomans, the British, the Jordanians and the
Israelis rule, and thus these customs became a means by which the Palestinian society protected itself from foreign penetration (ibid). In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, there are Shari’a courts that settle disputes over personal issues such as marriage, alimony, and custody since the eighteenth century, while these courts are based on Quranic sources. These courts use the Jordanian laws of 1976, which belongs to the Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence, and it is the law from which Palestinian decision-makers launched future amendments to women's rights (ibid).

CEDAW has sparked great controversy in Palestinian public opinion due to a set of provisions related to relations deemed illegal by Islamic law such as the marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man, and same-sex marriage (Alais, 2019).

Violence against women is one of the serious challenges facing the Palestinian Authority, and this is what the UN indicated in the report issued after the year 2016 (UNFPA, 2018). According to the United Nations, both public and private domains are places where violence against women occurs in Palestine. Palestinian women suffer from many types of violence, one of which is the Israeli occupation and patriarchal social norms, in addition to the old customs, traditions and legal frameworks (ibid).

Palestinian women suffer from a set of complexities and contradictions, as secular and Islamic views influence their decisions and attitudes towards the state and regarding personal status laws in the presence of the patriarchal system and the religious perspectives (Alabbadi, 2008, p189).

The patriarchal system is based on the principle of control over women (Christ, 2016) This is what is happening with Palestinian women, as customary, patriarchal, and religious traditions stand in the way of the emancipation of Palestinian women (Aggestum, 2007, p15). The Against CEDAW movement use the strongest and most influential vocabulary in the Palestinian memory to frame these laws by showing words of sensitivity to the Palestinian society, of which, as we mentioned previously: ‘A woman’s honour’, ‘Islamic law’, ‘Feminist institutions’, ‘The west’ is a part of it.

4.2 Presentation of data:

Since the banners were used on two different days, I categorised them based on the dates they were used to make the concepts clear. There are 18 banners, and the elements will be encoded using numbers ranging from 1:2020 to 18:2020 in accordance with the list. As a result, the top
item (Women's associations associated with the West implement its projects to demolish society) is branded 1:2020, and the last item (If there had been any improvement in The Family Protection Law, it would have been able to protect Western women from violence) is labelled 18:2020.

The banners focus on one issue, which is The Family Protection Law and the CEDAW Convention, from different perspectives. Four banners include the word شريعة إسلامية ‘Islamic law’ and six of them include terms related woman’s body and عرض ‘Houner’ (jasad), in addition to the expression ‘feminist organizations’ which appears in Five banners without forgetting the five banners which blamed The west and their interventions and I treat each theme separately in detail.

4.3 Analysis:

This paragraph will be a contextual analysis linked to the four themes presented and discussed in the Methodology section:

- Theme One: A woman’s honour
- Theme Two: Feminist organizations
- Theme Three: The West
- Theme Four: Islamic law

4.3.1 Theme One: شرف ‘A woman’s honour’

The discourse on women's honour revolves around subcategories such as woman's body and ‘irḍ (Sexual purity)

عرض ‘Houner’ is a sensitive topic in Palestinian society and women who are subjected to harassment or sexual violence are often stigmatized. The sensitivity of the topic is also due more to the gender-based methods used by the Israeli occupiers that perpetuate gender stereotypes and patriarchal narratives (Hawwari, 2019). Regarding patriarchy, it is one of the social structures and practices in which men dominate and oppress women (Walby, 1989, p 214). Where patriarchy is based on justifying many oppressive concepts against women such as domestic violence and honour killings, some go even further as they search for new meanings in the Qur’an to justify their concepts and define themselves as being against Western culture (King, 2009, p306).
Women were constantly targeted by the Israeli occupation in multiple ways such as harassment, imprisonment, and sexual violence to prevent women from integrating into society, which made Palestinians more sensitive to شرف ‘woman’s honour’ (Hawwari, 2019). The woman’s honour was discussed in item 2:2020, item 4:2020, item 9:2020, item 10:2020, item 14:2020 and item 17:2020. A woman's honour has always been framed as something that should be protected and defended for example item 10:2020

Down with The Family Protection Law, down with CEDAW, women are an honour that must be preserved.’ [My translation]

‘Houner’ is described as preoccupation with sexual purity and chastity (Dodd, 1973, p40). شرف differs from ʿird, شرف ‘Houner’ can be gained and increased through good behaviour and the great achievements while (ʿird) is only related to the behaviour of women (Dodd, 1973, p42). عرض ‘Houner’ is a secular value, not a religious one. Despite the word being used in the pre-Islamic era, the Qur'an does not include any mention of it (Dodd, 1973, p44).

The control over women increases by linking the honour (šaraf) of the man and the family to the chastity of the woman (chastity as a sexual behaviour restricted to marriage), whereby women must bear the responsibility of parental honour, as the honour (šaraf) of men does not depend on their chastity but on the chastity of women. Therefore, many women have been subjected to great suffering under the traditional patriarchal culture (Badran, 2009, p171). Because of these common beliefs about a woman's sexuality and the threat they pose. In addition to the relationship between women's sexual purity (ʿird) and male and the family honour (šaraf), women have been largely dominated in traditional patriarchal culture. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) was one of the mechanisms used by the patriarchal system to control women's bodies and sexuality. Thus, ensuring honour (šaraf) for male and family. (Badran, 2009)

Thus, the (ʿird) is closely related to the sexual behaviour of the woman and her body, while honour or (šaraf) is related to the masculine part, and the three words are related to each other, but they are not exact synonyms.
The patriarchal system places the burden of protecting the man's and the family's honour on the woman. As a result, the woman's significance and sexual habits have gained significance over everything else.

**item 2:2020**

daʿfuʿa ʿan ʿaʿrāḍikum yā ʾahla filasṭīn
‘Defend your honour people of Palestine’ [My translation]

The word honour here is ʿird which means the sexual behaviour that a woman performs according to *Dodd 1973*, and here the honour of a woman is referred to as something that can be lost, and that women are not free to act in themselves and therefore men must defend their honour represented by women. It is a method that is used to frame President Abbas’s laws as these laws could allow women to break away from patriarchy through equal rights and this, in this view what must be prevented. Thus, according to *Foucault* power does not mean the institutions and systems that subjugate citizens within a particular state, nor the system of hegemony exercised by one element or group over another. Rather, it is dispersed in society and is found everywhere (*Foucault*, 2008).

The verb دافعوا dāfiʿū ‘Defend’ is a command verb meanings drive the danger a way which means that there is a target and attack, so the target of the banner is given a sense of responsibility, and therefore the verb دافعوا dāfiʿū ‘Defend’ is a command verb that provokes enthusiasm and excitement and has been used in many Palestinian political, social and national discourses, One of which is the speech of former Palestinian President Yasser Arafat in his speech at the United Nations when he said، ندافع ندافع  نادافع ‘We defend’ the dream of the future. (*Encyclopaedia Palestina, 2016*) Rhetorically the text appeals to emotions (pathos) and the verb دافعوا dāfiʿū ‘Defend’ is the resistance, the occupation, the land, and many of the components
on which they were raised, therefore the use of this verb specifically is meant to provoke the passion and anger and the feeling of responsibility towards defending the thing and here ʿirḍ.

Here, the classical patriarchal system appears, in which the man is responsible for the honour of the woman according to (Kandiyoti, 1988). Therefore, the speech here aims to appeal to the interpretive analyses that people have, including their ideas and values as well as the social environment in which they live (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore the use of the verb َداَفِعُوا dāfiʿū ‘Defend’ in Palestinian culture associated all the time with the ongoing conflict with the occupation makes the act have power especially with the Palestinians. Therefore, its use has a special impact on the Palestinians. The verb here is a command verb for the plural. It is a (dāfiʿū) not (dafiʿ), i.e. it is directed to the group, to the whole people, and this gives a more serious value to the thing that must be protected. which means that every woman is ʿirḍ and therefore there is a man who must defend. Which confirms patriarchal male domination over women, and it is also an embarrassment for those who refuse to defend, he is therefore outside the system, and his (ʿirḍ) is defiled. CEDAW and women’s rights laws give women greater freedom, so they will not be subordinate to the man as before. Therefore, the expectation is that women will do something outside of customs and traditions. This is an indication that women are also intellectually immature from the point of view of patriarchal structures.

Item 10:2020 has the same discourse which says:

داَفِعُوا عَن أَعْرَاضَكُمْ بَا أَهْلِ فِلَسْطِينَ

dāfiʿū ʿan ʿaʿrāḍikum yā ʾahla filasṭīn
‘Defend your honour people of Palestine’ [My translation]
The honour here is (ʿird) "also and the item includes the same verb dāfiʿū ‘Defend’ All the words that the item 2:2020 includes is repeated in item 10:2020. in addition to item 14:2020 in different date. Item 2:2020 and 10:2020 return to a demonstration that took place on August 31, 2020, While the item 14:2020 dates to 12.10.2020. No changes in any word between the item 2:20, item 10:2020 and item 14:2020 and it is an indication that there are some sentences that are usual or that are used constantly, or that they are almost fixed when it comes to a topic that concerns women, at least in this specific case. It is also an indication that the people who wrote the banners could be from the same group and community. According to (Al-Jaf, 2013) Repetition also confirms and clarifies the meaning.

The banners both use different colours and fonts for it. Which also says that the sentence may be stereotypical because it was written by different people, but they have the same reaction and ideology. According to (Entman, 1993) Frames are manifested “by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.”

**item 4:2020**

الجمعيات النسوية تسعى لحرية الوصول للمرأة وجسمها.

al-jamʿiyātu al-nasawyatu tasʿā li ḥuriyati al-wusūli lilmarʾati wa jasadiha ‘Feminist associations seek freedom of accessibility to woman and her body.’ [My translation].

This Item includes two themes: The woman honour and feminist organizations.
The woman’s body *jasad* was referred to again and the term al-wusūl ‘accessibility’ also frames the woman’s body as something that can be entered, and it needs to be defended and protected, and for the Palestinian men, it is societal property that needs to be handled. There are several techniques employed in patriarchal societies to control and enslave women so that they can occasionally be viewed as the man's property (Magan, 2021). According to *Walby*, there are six structures that constrain women and maintain male dominance: paid work, where men dominate higher-paying work, household production, where domestic work is still the responsibility of women, culture, and sexuality, in which males still condemn sexually active women in addition to violence, and the state which is controlled by patriarchal and capitalist systems (Walby, 1989).

Thus, *accessibility* (ِ’lwūṣūl) here when it is related to the woman’s body, is like a house or place that must be protected from danger and enemies, which confirms the patriarch’s dominance over this discourse.

The danger according to this banner is represented by feminist institutions, and specifically secular feminism, which according to (Badran, 2009) relies on multiple discourses, including secular nationalism, human rights, and democracy, unlike Islamic feminism, which has an orientation based mainly on a religious perspective, at time when secular feminism demands the liberation of women.

As a result of the Israeli occupation, the subjugation of women to male relatives became more ingrained in Palestinian society. For example, if men were asked why they did not allow women more freedom, they would answer: *What is left for us? We have no land, houses, or identity, so let us have our honour* (Wing, 1994). So, for the Palestinians, the preservation of honour (‘irḍ) was intertwined with the protection of the land (ibid). Therefore, protection of a woman's body is tantamount to protecting the most valuable things for the Palestinians.

9:2020

‘Down with The Family Protection Law, down with CEDAW, woman is an honour that must be preserved.’ [My translation].
Like item 2:2020 this item includes the word (ʿird) Which according to (Badran, 2009) is the means to preserve the honour (šaraf) of the family and the honour (šaraf) of the man, and therefore it needs continuous protection from any external danger. In this banner, There is an appearance for what (Kandiyoti, 1988) calls a patriarchal bargain based on protection in exchange for the subordination of women, which is appeared the part of the banner "woman is an honour that must be preserved"

The word "Down" in this sentence is the feminine version of the Arabic verb (tasquṭu), which is translated as "desire" in English. It denotes a strong opposition to both The Family Protection Law and CEDAW. It frames them as a danger to the honour of the Palestinian family and the honour of the Palestinian man and the societal standards.

These standards implicitly carry definitions of the human being, including gender, and therefore the upbringing of the individual on these standards determines their gender. Thus, social upbringing is based on preventing the individual from performing actions that contradict these standards (Butler, 2006, p47). The patriarchal structures try to protect their definitions of gender by using a verb such as (tasquṭu) The repetition of the verb with The Family Protection Law and CEDAW indicates that both represent a threat to the established standards of honour and social respectability and therefore should expire, disappear, and fall. The verb (tasquṭu) or yasquṭu) means wishing for the end of something and its demise, and its repetition also illustrates the intense desire and anger toward Abbas’s new laws. It is a verb that is constantly used in demonstrations by Palestinians and Arabs against the Israeli occupation or Arabic authoritarian regime. An example of this is what Al-Nahar Lebansese newspaper published about what happened in the demonstrations by dozens of Bahrainis in solidarity with Palestine following the last war on Gaza in the year 2021 and against the Abraham accords, where a banner saying ‘Down with Israel’, Down with Normalization’ was on top of the banners that were used” (annahar, 2021) It is one of the most frequent banners used throughout the demonstrations for the Palestinian cause: they often contain the phrase “Down with Israel. Consequently, the Palestinians' use (tasquṭu and yasquṭu) is meant to affect
Palestinian public opinion, and it is a strong verb to frame Abbas’s laws because it is linked to danger and oppression. Thus, it is a sign that CEDAW and the new women's laws are parallel to the Israeli danger for them. This is what makes this banner a strong influence on the Framing process, as the Israeli danger represents one of the most important challenges facing the Palestinians and linking it with The Family Protection Law will have a profound impact on them.

Item 17:2020

لا يفرط بالعرض إلا من فرط بالأرض

Whoever neglects the honour of women it is easy for him to neglect his land.[My translation]

Rhetorically, this banner appeals to the audience emotions (pathos) for its use of عرض ‘Houner’ and أرض ‘Land’ as important components of Palestinian cultural background. The item in its Arabic version contains a musical rhythm. according to (Colla, 2018)

The circulation of the movement’s poetry has multiple functions: "it serves as a privileged idiom of debate and deliberation; it interpellates publics and articulates claims; and it moves people to act" And here this item invites people to move and intervene, it discusses the audience and communicates with them, this banner is close to people, and reaches them faster.

In this item the protests link the عرض ‘Houner’ with the أرض ‘Land’ which is the one of most important word in Palestinian memory. According to (Heacock, 2004) The Palestinian connection to land in Palestine is special because it is the land on which they have lived for
successive generations and partially lost and therefore the land represents to them a high symbolism or what is called rooting. Land for the Palestinians has a high specificity because of the Israeli occupation, which according to the United Nations (Resolution 181 (II) of 1947) Israel occupied approximately 77 percent of the Palestinian lands in the year 48 and displaced the Palestinians from their lands, while their immigration was repeated in the year 1967, when Israel occupied the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Therefore, the land from which the Palestinian people were uprooted is one of the most symbolic terms and meanings for them, and defending it is a continuous and patriotic duty and has a great emotional impact on the Palestinians. Thus, the link between honour/purity (ʿird) and land (arḍ) makes it have a high value in the discourse is used as a means of embarrassing the Palestinian community as part of the Israeli occupation. This sentence may be one of the most powerful sentences that have been used in the banners.

The patriarchal structures appear in this banner also as the woman's body is the property of the family or the community and must be protected, and what appears here is what (Walby, 1989) called the general patriarchy, which controls women collectively.

The identification of women with land in the Palestinian case recalls what happened in Egypt after the dissolution of the Ottoman elite families. This paved the way for the formation of the so-called national family (Badran, 2009). after that, the nationalists discussed the features of the family and used the metaphors of the nation as a family. Nationalists also raised the concept of family honour to develop a discourse of national honour (šaraf) as Egypt had often been imagined as a woman and thus women became a symbol of national honour (Baron, 2005). In this context, the woman was also portrayed as a symbol of the land (ard) as she is the one who creates life through procreation and continuity, just as the land does, as it is the source of wealth, life, and continuity, and it is a symbol of life.

4.3.2 Theme Two: Feminist organizations

The term “women’s associations” was used in the Framing process in more than one banner in the demonstrations against CEDAW, including: item 1:2020, item 3:2020, Item 4:2020, item 6:2020 and item 12:2020

Item 1:2020
This item combines two themes: women's associations and the West. Considering the uncertainty that characterizes the geopolitical relations between the Middle East and the West, and considering today’s debates between anti-feminists and feminists, attention to the historical role and the consequences of feminist Orientalism is very important. In fact, feminist groups are seen by some Muslims as having an anti-Islamic leaning since they depict the status of women as a battle for survival over Islam (Weber, 2001, p 127-128). Thus, the feminist associations and the West are a threat to the patriarchal system in Palestine, where the discourse of the banners analysed here suggested that feminist institutions belong to the West.

Dag Tuastad considers the new ways of portraying Muslim violence in Western media as neobarbarism which includes interpretations of political violence and ignores economic and political interests when describing violence, while presenting violence as an inherent feature of local cultures, highlighting on the deep cultural duality between Islam and the West. This has contributed to justifying the policies of hegemony, as this contributed to legitimizing the ongoing economic and colonial projects, an example of which is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Tuastad, 2003).

For this reason, using the West in the discourse is tantamount to withdrawing any legitimacy from the feminist institutions, because the West’s justification for the Israeli colonialism and occupation of Palestine has a negative connotation for the Palestinians. The phrase "West" is therefore used to shame feminist institutions in front of Palestinians and has a significant impact on the recipients by motivating individuals who hear it to reject whatever the West is involved in propagating.

In the banner 1:2020 the protesters used the term “demolition” of the society as a result of the interference by the West and feminist associations. Here the term ھﺪم ‘demolition’ is also...
linked to the Palestinian memory because the Palestinians have long been suffering from home demolitions and wars during their ongoing crisis with the Israeli occupation, this causes Palestinians to think of their homes and country when the word demolition is used. According to UNRWA, the Israeli practices of demolishing homes, infrastructure, and livelihoods for Palestinians in East Jerusalem and in the 60 percent of the West Bank controlled by Israel, known as Area C, are still ongoing (UNRWA, 2022) According to (Fairclough, 2003) Discourse analysis pays close attention to the context in which this discourse comes and how it is formulated, considering the historical and social patterns of discourse during text analysis. This is what happens in the analysis of Palestinian discourses, as they are closely linked to their memory, their own vocabulary that came from their own experience with the occupation, women, land, and society.

*Item 3: 2020*

قانون حماية الأسرة الذي أعدته الجمعيات النسوية يهدف لإنشاعة الرذيلة والانحلال الأخلاقي.

qānūnu ḥimāyatu al-ʿusrati al-ลำdashy ‘a adathu al-jamʿiyāt al-nasawiyatu yahdifū liʾišāʿati al-raḏīlati wa al-ʾāḥlāqy

‘The Family Protection Law prepared by women's associations aims to spread vice and moral decay.’ [My translation]

The Family Protection Law and Women's Associations are the first two terms on the banner, and it can be inferred that this is done to put them in the spotlight and call attention to them. The framing used a word that touches Muslims, which is the word for رذيلة raḏīla ‘vice’ Some religious narratives define Islam as an instrument that can direct the human spirit from ignorance (jahl) to knowledge (ʿilm) and from رذيلة raḏīla ‘vice’ to فضيلة faḍīla ‘virtue’ (Topkara, 2022). Thus, the word رذيلة raḏīla ‘vice’ raises the anxiety and fear of Muslims because it is linked to the memory of important Islamic vocabulary. The banner adds the term moral decay to emphasize the negative effects that the law will have on Palestinian society. Thus, according to Entman, 1993, frames consist of themes that are identified, highlighted and reinforced through repeated presentation and use of emotive vocabulary. This means that the
The Framing process in this banner aims to direct the opinions of the community towards the idea of rejecting Abbas' laws. The banner says: *Which prepared by the women’s associations*, and this is demonstrating a component that would shape and affect Abbas's laws. The banner linked the preparation of laws to women’s institutions in order to withdraw legitimacy from the law, as the women’s associations, according to (Weber, 2001), are often seen as affiliated with Western imperialism and anti-Islamic stands. Therefore, their preparation of any law represents a danger on the Palestinians, while this is not true, as the law was prepared by the Palestinian government, and what the women’s rights institutions have done according to (Abdallah&Isamail, 2020) is supporting the adoption of the law and review the drafts of the law with the Palestinian government and civil society institutions, not prepare it. It is also a law that follows an international Convention approved by the United Nations General Assembly. Here we find according to (Entman, 1993) that in the Framing process, the caller makes conscious Framing judgments that form the belief, and the text containing the Framing includes certain phrases or words that reinforce these judgments.

The item 6:2020  Similar to item 3:2020 in all words, but it contains a slight change in the phrasing, which is to replace the word al-inḥilāli al-ʾaḥlāqy ‘moral decadence’ with al-fāḥiša ‘obscenity’. But the word al-fāḥiša ‘obscenity’ was placed in this banner before the word raḏīla ‘vice’ as follows:

قانون حماية الأسرة الذي أعدته الجمعيات النسوية يهدف لإشاعة الفاحشة والرذيلة.

‘The Family Protection Law prepared by women's associations aims to spread obscenity and vice.’ [My translation]

The use of the word al-fāḥiša ‘obscenity’ and its placement before the word raḏīla ‘vice’ has an important meaning as the word (raḏīla) is related to the Qur’anic text in different places and it refers to prohibited sexual
acts. The commentators of the Qur’an believe that ‘obscenity’ and adultery (zinā) refer to the same crime in the Qur’an (Hunt, 2010). The crime of adultery (zinā) in Islam – referring to extra-legal sexual intercourse - is considered one of the biggest sins that a Muslim may commit and is punishable by stoning if there are four witnesses confirming the existence of a forbidden sexual relationship between two people (Hunt, 2010).

Therefore, the use of a word such as ‘obscenity’ has a great power because of its association with the Qur’an, with which Palestinian society is closely related, and therefore the protesters may think that the use of Qur’anic words will have a significant impact on the recipients of the banners/the discourse.

item 4:2020

al-jamʿīyāt al-nasawīyat asā lī ḥurayiyat al-wusūli lilmār atī wa jasadihā
‘Feminist associations seek freedom of accessibility to woman and her body.’ [My translation].

This Item includes two themes: The woman honour and feminist organizations and it is already analysed in theme 1.

Item 12:2020

ajīndāt al-jamʿīyāt al-nasawīyati ḥadadāhā al-mumawilu al-ġarbiyu, kāšfīnkum
‘The agendas of women’s associations were set by the Western financier, you are revealed!’ [My translation]
In its report, the United Nations made a list of several international institutions that aid the Palestinian women sector, including: ESCWA, (FAO), (OHCHR), (UNDP/PAPP), (UN-Habitat), (UNODC), (UN-Women) and many other institutions).

The presence of Western support for feminist institutions makes them fall under secular feminism, which according to (Badran, 2009) in the light of colonial history, might be seen as anti-Islamic Therefore, the association of feminist institutions with the West and their participation in pressure for the implementation of The Family Protection Law makes it a law that represents a threat to the Palestinian Muslim community.

The term کاشفينکم kāšfīnkum ‘You are revealed’ is written in Palestinian dialect, where dialect plays an important role in demonstrations, and contributes to the consolidation of friendship and strengthening the relationship in a social group (Woodyard, 2020). The use of a purely Palestinian word is to indicate affiliation, which means that this language of the discourse will make the recipient closer, and feel belonging to the writer of the discourse, and therefore it is influential in the Framing process.

کاشفينکم kāšfīnkum ‘You are revealed’ produces a dichotomy between” us” which here is the Palestinians, and” you” the others. Others here is the feminist institutions and the west. This term is as an intimidation and a signal of danger that comes from these two sides.

4.3.3 Theme Three: The west

Some Muslims believe that feminism is a curse and a form of Western assault on their conservative culture, while many in the West use the term"oppressed Muslim woman" as an essential piece in orientalist discourse to justify colonialism and military incursions incursion into Muslim societies (Badran, 2009, p1). Where women, child marriage and other practices were used to justify the rule of "white men saving brown women from brown men" as British colonialism did in South Asia and similar actions in the Middle East which Laila Ahmed called colonial feminism (Abu-Lughod, 2002) and thus some Muslims support patriarchal and oppressive versions of control over women and perpetuate the traditional hierarchical system (Badran, 2009, p1). Therefore, the use of feminist institutions and the West in the Framing process will have a great and profound impact on the Palestinian public opinion.

The term West appeared in four items including: 1:2020, item 7:2020, item 13:2020 and item 18: 2020. But the West, as we will see, appeared ambivalently in Banner 13:2020 They were referred to as haters. Two of which were analysed because they were associated with the theme
of feminist organizations, which is item 1:2020 and item 12:2020. In the following, I will review the analysis of the number 7:2020, 13:2020 and 18:2020

**Item 7:2020**

`mašrūʿu qānūnu ḥimāyati al-ʾusrati huwa nifāyātu al-duwali al-ḡarbiyati yarmūnanā bihā`

‘The draft family protection law is the garbage that Western countries throw at us.’ [My translation]

In this banner, a reaction to colonialism and Orientalism is clearly visible. As the Orientalists and Western colonial administrators tried a lot to abolish Islamic family law in the Middle East since the rule of the Ottoman Empire and continued to use (the subordination of Muslim women) to legitimize colonialism and their Western presence in the Middle East (Meriwether & Tucker, 1999, p151) which made discussions about women and relations between the gender take an important advantage, especially what made the Middle Easterners consider Islamic family law a cornerstone of the state's continued commitment to Islam (ibid). Therefore, Western interference in Palestinian family laws represents a threat to the Islamic building of the Palestinian state. Here comes the sentence "garbage that Western countries throw at us", to protect the Islamic family law, describing the new draft family protection law as if it were garbage that would disturb the purity of Palestinian society. The use of garbage and Western countries in this item symbolizes the Middle Eastern view of the West and the lack of respect for their laws, considering them as an infringement on the existing patriarchal social customs.

**item 13:2020**

`lā lil-niqāši wa lā lit-tajmīdī wa lā let-tatwīr ʾutrukūnā ʾayuhā al-ḥāqidūn`

‘No discussion, no freezing, no development, leave us haters.’ [My translation]
The demonstrators use the term “haters”, which may refer to the West and may refer to the Palestinian Authority as well and perhaps women’s institutions, but the West may be the largest target, given that the word حقد ḥqd ‘hatred’ They make the Palestinian authority and feminist institutions look as if they belonged to the opposing side. (The banner says, “No discussion”) indicating firmness, impossibility of any compromise, and that the matter is very dangerous and discussion about it is dangerous for the Palestinians. “No freezing” may refer to the basic laws of women. The sentence is somewhat unclear, while “No to Development” says that the Palestinians reject any attempt to change the reality of Palestinian women in any way. The demonstrators understand the unclear sentence, but it is an endeavour to analyse the possible meanings. Development meaning here something provoked from above or outside. And according to Firoze Manji, Editor in Chief, Pambazuka New " Since its invention post-Second World War, the development industry has cultivated a vast ideological vocabulary to confuse, conceal and mystify the reconstruction by imperial governments of the former colonies to allow super-exploitation by the international oligopolies "Therefore, the term development represents a colonial danger for them, which will make the West an authority over Palestinian society, which is a great danger for them.

Item 18:2020

لو كان في قانون حماية الأسرة خير لأنقذ النساء المعنفات في الغرب

If there had been any improvement in The Family Protection Law, it would have been able to protect Western women from violence. [My translation]
In this banner, these laws are not effective from the protester’s point of view. Therefore, Palestinian women are considerably safer and do better without them. In addition, the West must not be taken as a model. These laws as the banner indicate are spreading useless and not beneficial.

"Orientalism" as Edward Said defined it is "a critical concept to describe the West's commonly contemptuous depiction and portrayal of "The East," (Said, 1978).

While the Orientalists, in general, believed that there are big differences between the essential nature of the East and the West, and the superiority and development of the West over the Arabs. A new Arab thought has emerged, which is a reversed Orientalism (Achcar, 2008). This concept shows the superiority of the Arabs over the West, and it is a relatively recent phenomenon that has emerged in the Arab countries. One of the features of this approach is the contradiction between the Islamic East and the West, as the Arab peoples are not only in confrontation with Western imperialism but are against Western ideologies, such as democracy and women's liberation (Achcar, 2008). This is exactly what appeared in the banner, which sends a message of the supremacy of the Arabs over the West, and that their laws are unsuccessful, since they did not protect their women from violence. It is an opposite and defensive message, in which the demonstrators are trying to withdraw confidence from The Family Protection Law by presenting a similar case and presenting it as unsuccessful. This is an attempt by the patriarchy to impose itself, and to strengthen its structures.

4.3.4 Theme Four: al-šarīʿati al-ʾislāmiyati ' Islamic law'

Islamic Law (Sharia) is based on the Qur’an, Sunnah (collection of hadiths of the Prophet) in addition to ijmā‘" The consensus of Muslim scholars" and qiyās" Precedents and measurements to treat any new issues". (Hanson, 1987)

Patriarchal ideas expressed in Islamic language undermined the practice of gender equality propounded by the Qur’an. Pakistani-American Asma Barlas confronted the Patriarchal
structure with this idea head-on when she revealed the structure’s involvement in eroding the idea and practice of Qur'anic equality between human beings regardless of their physical characteristics (Badran, 2009, p284). Here attention was paid to Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) derived from the interpretation of the Qur’an and other sources such as the hadiths of the Prophet (ibid). After examining the Islamic personal status laws, the Iranian researcher Ziba Mer Hosseini concluded that these laws claim that there are well-established foundations in Islamic jurisprudence that support the patriarchal family structure. (Badran, 2009, p285)

Feminists have taken great pains to distinguish between Sharia, as a divine path and inspiration, and Sharia (laws), i.e., laws derived from man-made jurisprudence (fiqh) that are subject to change and modification. Muslim feminists seek to remove the obstacle to those who fear the idea of challenging divine law while questioning the doctrine and the laws that derive from it (ibid)

**Item 5:2020 and item 11:2020** has the same sentence

أحكام الشرعية الإسلامية تحمي المرأة من العنف

‘theless al-šariʿat išlamiyyati taḥmy al-ma'rata min al-ʿunf

‘The provisions of Islamic Law protect women from violence.’ [My translation]
**Item 5:2020** follows August 2020 and Banner 11:2020 follows October of the same year. The banners were written in two different colours and a different font, but the same sentence without any change, which is an indication that the group participating in the demonstrations is the same, and their views on the law have not changed within two months, but rather their views were fixed. The demonstrators used the term Islamic law, which based on the Holy Qur’an, the Sunnah, ijma’ and qiyas according to (Hanson, 1987) They banners might refer indirectly to verses from the Qur’an that are seen by some interpreters as protecting and valuing women, which is what Islamic feminists argue about in their modern discourse, as for example, the Qur’an dedicated an entire chapter "surah "for women.

In addition, the Qur’an described the creation of Eve and described her as a “mate” who was created with Adam, while the Qur’an presents examples of strong women such as Mary and Khadija "the wife of the Prophet"(King, 2009, p309) Surah al Nur 24.3-20 declares: *Glory be to Him (God), for what he has done for us females: for he has bestowed upon us, believing women of unblemished reputation, protection of our honour and dignity from falsehood, calumny, and detraction.* So, the Qur’an explicitly says that its provisions protect women, which cannot be denied, as it is found in the Holy Book of Muslims, which is the basis of legislation.

In the other point in Surat al-Nisa’ (“Women”), the fourth chapter of the Qur’an says that the men are superior to women and women must be subordinate to them as:

"*Men are qawwamun in relation to women, according to what God has favored some over others and according to what they spend from their wealth. Righteous women are qanitat, guarding the unseen according to what God has guarded. Those [women] whose nushuz you fear, admonish them, and abandon them in bed, and strike them. If they obey you, do not pursue a strategy against them. Indeed, God is Exalted, Great.*" verse (4:34)

It clarifies the hierarchy between men and women, while the different interpretations of the verse all emphasize the obligation of obedience that a woman must offer to a man and the limits of a man's power over woman (Ali, 2003). While these traditional interpretations emphasize women’s obedience to men and males’ authority, contemporary interpretations have emerged that emphasize a man’s marital duties and the limits of a man’s authority over his wife (ibid). Many Muslims have been attracted to contemporary views due to the presence of women in other verses as full human beings and partners in marriage. Therefore, this verse and with the idea of a man beating his wife, it is impossible to remove the hierarchy and the difference between a man and a woman (ibid).
Some secular feminists have reached a modernist discourse of a re-reading and interpretation of religious texts. The concept of Islamic modernity provided an opportunity for secular feminists to demand a revision of Islamic personal status laws and family laws. However, in their understanding of modern Islam, feminists have not been able to go beyond the patriarchal family structure in advocating a reformulation of family law or personal status laws (Badran, 2009). Which according to Wallby, patriarchal structures are what constrain women and maintain male dominance, and the survival of these structures restricts women's freedom and chances in life when compared to men.

On the other hand, in the 1990s a feminist model emerged in an Islamic language and managed to capture the attention of Muslim women and began calling it Islamic feminism, as their discourse was based on re-reading the Qur'an. (Badran, 2009) Badran defined Islamic feminism as "a global discourse that is continually fed by the local, while the global discourse likewise animates the local" and the principle of gender equality is considered an integral part of the Islamic feminist discourse (ibid).

Muslim feminists have made convincing arguments that the patriarchal model of the family is incompatible with the Qur'anic principles of human justice and gender equality.

The purpose for Muslim feminists was not just religious and social reform but a big change that reflected the practice of an egalitarian Islam (Badran, 2009). This discourse exposes the patriarchal practices that infiltrated Islam shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and were recorded in fiqh books by the ninth century CE. Thus, the basic tenets of Islamic feminism are the Qur'anic principles of gender equality. Since equality and justice cannot be achieved within a patriarchal system, the task of contemporary Muslim feminists has been to expel the traces of patriarchy and restore the idea that the Islamic Ummah is a common space shared equally by men and women as a progressive global community (ibid).

Therefore, Sharia in this banner is not the Qur'an alone, but there are other legislative sources (including hadith) that Islamic feminists have tried to reject and not deal with as patriarchal. So, the use of Sharia in this banner also reflects opposition with contemporary Muslim feminists as well and with any modernist thought that would change the state of women and any traditional interpretations of religious texts.

**item 8:2020**

*سن بحمي المرأة سوى الإسلام وقوانينه*
lan yaḥmiya al-maʿatu siwā al-‘islāmu wa qawānīnuhu

‘Only Islam and its laws will protect women.’ [My translation]

Islam and its laws here are Islamic Law and the verb protects here is an indication that the woman is something, and an indication that she needs care and protection and not to consider her as strong and able to protect herself. The use of the term Islam is to mobilize against The Family Protection Law by using a powerful and effective tool which is the use of the religion that most Palestinians owe.

Sharia is those directives that arrange all aspects of Muslims' lives, including their daily routine, family and religious obligations, and their financial dealings. It is mainly derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah (sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) as Muslim scholars use these teachings to address any new issues by way of certain precedents and measurements that are applied. The consensus of the Muslim community has a role in determining these directives (Johnson & Sergie, 2014).

While contemporary Muslim feminists have attempted to create new perceptions of the Qur'an, the patriarchal system in this banner appears to use Sharia as a whole in the face of any change in Family Protection Law. Thus, placing Sharia as a tool for Framing Mahmoud Abbas’ laws in this banner is tantamount to a defence of patriarchy contained in some religious texts (hadith), for example, which has been rejected by contemporary Muslim feminists as what (Badran, 2009) said. The verb (protect) remind us also of the patriarchal bargain mentioned by (Kandiyoti, 1988)

Perhaps the term Qur'an is not used alone because there are different interpretations that would weaken this Framing, while the use of Sharia would be more general and comprehensive. Thus, the term Sharia would stand more firmly in front of Mahmoud Abbas' laws.

**Item 15:2020**

قال عليه السلام، النساء شفائق الرجال، لا للمساواة
qāla ʿalayhi al-salāmu al-nisāʾu šaqāʾiqu al-rijāli lā lilmusāwati

Women are but sisters (or the other half) of men). No to equality [My translation]

Using a text from a hadith directly represents a great force on Islamic public opinion, and here comes what (Foucault, 2008) said that power is not necessarily institutions or the domination of one part of society over another, but rather it is everywhere and comes from anywhere. Here the power of the name of the Prophet Muhammad appears also, who represents the most important figure in Islam. Therefore, the use of a text from hadith has a direct impact on the Muslim majority in Palestinian society. The banner utilizes two of the most important vocabulary in the Islamic community, making it potent. But in the Arabic language, the word šaqāʾiqu means sisters, which means no equality is implied in šaqāʾiq (mates) the root is linked to "part". The sentence ends with “no to equality,” which indicates an institutionalized patriarchal interpretation based on different references.

Item 16:2020

sanulāḥiqu Al-jamʿiyāta al-nasawiyata fy al-maḥākimi lizdirāʾihim al-šarīʿa

We will pursue women's organizations for not respecting sharia [My translation]
This item includes two themes which: Islamic Law (shariʿa) and feminist organizations.

Feminism has always been treated as a Western product that stands against patriarchy and Islam (King, 2009, p304) Thus, the sentence of disrespect for الشريعة al-ṣarīʿa’ Islamic law’ stems from this belief, and this banner is based on the use of the term Sharia against feminist institutions. It is a trade-off and confrontation in front of public opinion between the two terms, in which the victor in front of the Muslim community will be Sharia.

الشريعة al-ṣarīʿa’ Islamic law’ in this banner means the Qur’an, Sunnah, and consensus, and therefore the prevailing belief that feminists refuse to deal with a large part of Sharia rulings such as the Sunnah (Hadith) according to Badran. Feminist institutions therefore represent a danger to the teachings of Sharia and a danger to the patriarchal system that defends itself against any change that the Feminist organizations want to achieve.

The sentence we will pursue means that women's organizations are the target, and they are one of the main defendants in the implementation of family protection laws. Therefore, the act we are prosecuting is a threat to women's organizations to raise their hand from interfering with Mahmoud Abbas' laws.

In the next chapter, I will present the findings of this analysis.
5. Conclusion

After President Mahmoud Abbas approved the Palestinian Family Protection law, the law faced many challenges, one of which was the launch of pages on the social media to frame these laws. One of these pages was ضد اتفاقية سيداو 'Against CEDAW Convention’ Facebook page, in addition to demonstrations that took place in the year 2020 to frame this law.

In this study, I conducted a critical analysis of a group of banners that were used in demonstrations against the Palestinian Family Protection Law and against CEDAW and published in the ضد اتفاقية سيداو ‘Against CEDAW Convention’ Facebook page.

The aim of this research was to answer a question:

How the ضد اتفاقية سيداو ‘Against CEDAW Convention’ Facebook page worked to frame Mahmoud Abbas' laws related to CEDAW from August 2020 till October 2020?

The analysis showed that the banners which published on the Facebook page mentioned up framed the laws of President Mahmoud Abbas through different themes. The laws were framed as incompatible with “women’s honour” associated with “Islamic Sharia” and as close to “Feminist institutions” associated with “Western intervention”

In my research I applied the gendered perspective approach. It was based Judith Butler's, Sylvia Walby, and Deniz Kandiyoti theories, Framing theory by (Entman, 1993) and Critical Discourse Analysis by (Fairclough, 1995).

The analysis showed also that there is a clear rejection of Western interference in civil affairs and family protection law. Feminist institutions have been negatively framed, in addition to using the woman's body and religious belief as important and powerful pressure tools in the Framing process.

There was a use of the woman's body and religion in the Framing process while two obvious primary dangers were the West and feminist institutions. Patriarchy and patriarchal hegemony were apparent in the results, in addition to the presence of hidden reasons for the refusal due to the political, ideological, and historical background for the demonstrators, as the Israeli occupation had a hidden impact on the results with regard to land and (‘ird) and the land crisis for the Palestinians.

By examining the results of the analysis of each theme separately :the first theme (شرف ‘A woman’s honour’) collected themes showed a direct and clear intervention of the patriarchal
society with regard to the woman’s body or what was referred to as the honour of women and considering its preservation as preserving the land.

لا يفرط بالعرض إلا من فرط بالأرض.

La yufariṭu bilʿarḍi ʾilā man faraṭa bilʿarḍi
Whoever neglects the honour of women it is easy for him to neglect his land. [My translation]

This refers to the patriarchal society's treatment of women in a patriarchal way which makes decisions on behalf women. The banners contained in this theme consider The Family Protection Law and CEDAW as a threat to this patriarchal structure, and therefore this theme has framed Mahmoud Abbas's laws as affecting honour and posing a danger to the conservative Palestinian society.

While the banners in the second theme (Feminist organizations) showed a Framing of laws as being close to women's institutions, which are therefore close to the West, as indicated in the banners. Thus, it becomes viewed as an outsider and a danger to the society governed by Islamic Sharia. For example:

اجندات الجماعيات النسوية حددها الممول الغربي، كشفنكم
‘The agendas of women’s associations were set by the Western financier. You are revealed.’ [My translation]

The banners which appeared in the third theme (The west) showed the Framing of Mahmoud Abbas's laws, ie The Family Protection Law associated with CEDAW, as a clear and explicit interference of the West in the societal and religious structure of Palestinian society.

مشروع قانون حماية الأسرة هو نفايات الدول الغربية يرموننا به
‘The draft family protection law is the garbage that Western countries throw at us.’ [My translation]

The banners in the fourth theme framed the laws as affecting Islamic Law and contradicting religious values. It framed these laws also are un-Islamic and affect the Islamic Sharia. In addition, they are laws that are unable to protect women from violence.

أحكام الشريعة الإسلامية تحمي المرأة من العنف.
‘aḥkāmu al-šarī‘ati al-ʿislāmiyyati taḥmy al-mar‘ata min al-ʿunfi

‘The provisions of Islamic Law protect women from violence.’ [My translation]

What is being done is a clear rejection of the Convention and a clear rejection of any change in The Family Protection Laws and there is no evidence through the banners of any different ideology or hope for change.

There was no feminine voice in the discourse that was presented, the voice was masculine, and the ideas were in line with a patriarchal view that appear to be dominant in some settings in Palestinian society, while the Framing was also based on comparisons and approaches with Western culture using Reverse Orientalism where part of the speech was criticizing the Western way of treating women and the lack of success of their style in protect it.
List of References:

Primary source:

Secondary sources:
Abdallah, F., & Ismail, T. (2020). Fact Sheet: The Family Protection Law from Violence .. Between Needs and Obstacles (ورقة حقوق: قانون حماية الأسرة من العنف .. بين الحاجات والعقبات). Retrieved from masarat.ps: https://www.masarat.ps/article/5590/%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%82%D8%A9-%D8%AD%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%82-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%81-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D9%86-


Al-Jaf, A. (2013, December 27). Repetition. Its importance, types, functions, and levels in the language (التكرار... أهميته وأنواعه ووظائفه ومستوياته في اللغة). Retrieved from tellskuf.com: https://www.google.com/search?q=%D8%AA%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1+%D8%A3%D9%87%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%A7+%D9%88%D8%A3%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%87%D8%A7+%D9%88%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%81%D9%87%D8%A7+%D9%88%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA%D


annahar. (2021, May 20). They chanted, "Down with Israel." Dozens of Bahrainis are demonstrating in Manama in solidarity with the Palestinians.( هتفوا "تسقط الاحتلال" ... عشرات البحرينين يتظاهرون في المنامة تضامناً مع الفلسطينيين). Retrieved from annahar.com: https://www.annahar.com/arabic/section/80-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A/20052021045059523


Encyclopaedia Palestina. (2016, November 01). *Yasser Arafat (speech - at the United Nations)* - ياسر عرفات (خطاب - في الأمم المتحدة) - الموسوعة الفلسطينية. Retrieved from palestinapedia.net: https://www.palestinapedia.net/%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%B1-%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AF%D8%A9/


