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The Case of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign

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**The Production of Solidarity Frames in
Contested Fields in the Digital Age: The
Case of the Palestine Solidarity
Campaign**

Loreley Hahn Herrera

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2020

Centre for Global Media and Communications

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ABSTRACT

Loreley Hahn Herrera

The Production of Solidarity Frames in Contested Fields in the Digital Age: The Case of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign

(Under the direction of Dr. Dina Matar)

This thesis focuses on the UK-based Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) as a solidarity network and explores how it uses social media platforms to garner solidarity for the Palestinian cause and mobilize activists to achieve political change. Using an ethnography of production practices as well as a frame and discourse analysis, the research addresses challenges the PSC faces with the duality (centralised-decentralised) of its structural organisation and its navigation of socio-political opportunities and constraints particularly in a context plagued by contested narratives, propaganda and fake news. This research addresses how these political opportunities and constraints had an impact on the building and articulation of solidarity frames for the Palestinian cause. The methodology combines collective action frames analysis and discursive analysis of posts from the PSC's Facebook page gathered during select key moments in 2016 and 2017, which included the publication of a damaging UN report labelling Israeli policies in Palestine as apartheid and the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The thesis discusses diverse solidarity frames the PSC uses to articulate the 'Palestinian cause' as a global movement and their articulation according to context. The research showcases the way solidarity frames are articulated depending on the opening or closeness of the political context and the ways in which the PSC attempted to use these frames in both traditional mainstream media and Facebook in order to increase solidarity with Palestine during highly contested historical moments. Thus, this work attempts to provide new knowledge into how a social movement organization, such as the PSC, functions within overlapping local and international contexts and in

contexts marked by continued de-legitimisation of the Palestinian narrative.

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List of Abbreviations

AGM	Annual General Meeting
AIPAC	American Israel PublicAffairs Committee
BDS	Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions
BIG	Brand Israel Group
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMC	Computer Mediated Communication
EU	European Union
FIDF	Friends of the Israel Defence Forces
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IFA	Israel Football Association
JNF	Jewish national Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSA	National Security Agency
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
oPt	Occupied Palestinian Territories
PA	Palestinian Authority
PACBI	The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
PSC	Palestine Solidarity Campaign
RCIC	Red Card Israel Campaign
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
SMT	Social Movement Theory
UDHR	Universal Declaration for Human Rights

UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
WZO	World Zionist Organization

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*I was lyin' in my room and the news came on T.V.
A lotta people out there hurtin' and it really scares me
Love and mercy that's what you need tonight
So, love and mercy to you and your friends tonight*

Brian Wilson

Introduction

In November 2010 the Israeli think tank The Reut Institute published the document entitled “Building a Political Firewall Against the Assault on Israel’s Legitimacy. London as a Case Study” (The Reut Institute, 2010b), which focuses on the threat that pro-Palestine activists and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) pose to Israel’s public image and international standing, in what it termed ‘the delegitimization challenge’. According to the report, those involved in Israel’s delegitimization organize as a network, whose main hubs are located in metropolitan areas, such as London, the San Francisco Bay Area, Paris, Toronto and Madrid, of which London is “the hub of hubs” (The Reut Institute, 2010b:24). Intellectual life and multiculturalism are the general qualities cities possess in order to foster pro-Palestine activism and anti-Israel sentiment; however, The Reut Institute highlighted there are specific qualities in London that allow for it to have a central status within the delegitimization network, beginning with the UK’s location, history and language.

For example, Britain’s historic role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict manifested in the Balfour Declaration (1917) “made London the ‘hub of legitimacy’ for the Jewish homeland” (The Reut Institute, 2010b:27), but now London has become the main venue for groups opposed to Israel. Additionally, the document argues that London’s concentration of media outlets, academic influence, diplomatic weight, and NGO centrality allow activists to organize and develop campaigns in an efficient and coordinated manner. This is complemented with the fact that pro-Palestine activists and supporters work from the bottom-up and from the outside-in, targeting their work around grassroots movements, academia and NGOs in contrast to Israel’s centralized and top-down activities, which revolve around traditional political and elite relations (The Reut Institute, 2010a:14). Consequently, Israel’s attempts to re-brand itself and continue to articulate its narrative in an uncontested socio-political landscape have been undermined in large part due to the flexibility the network allows and the use of the internet and new media by activists and

grassroots movements, as explained in Vera Michlin's working paper 'Winning the Battle of the Narrative':

"The new media poses a series of challenges to the official Israeli communication planner. Widely used by pro-Palestinian organizations, and a vehicle for informal communication, it is not the easiest fit for the Israeli Government." (Michlin, 2020:4).

With the establishment of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement in 2005, pro-Palestine advocates have found a common ground to articulate support for the Palestinian cause and develop a variety of strategies and campaigns in a local, regional and global level, which also gives them the opportunity to exercise collective action individually or jointly simultaneously. As the Reut Institute's report states:

[...] the assault on Israel's legitimacy is not the outcome of a 'headquarters-based conspiracy.' Rather, Israel's delegitimization is driven by a network that shares a common logic; promotes common strategies, campaigns, and agendas; and often explicitly cooperates through key global activists and mechanisms." (The Reut Institute, 2010b:23)

In this regard, both of The Reut Institute's documents (2010a, 2010b) list a series of UK-based organizations as part of the 'delegitimization network', such as the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), War On Want, Stop the War Coalition, Friends of Al-Aqsa, and Respect. In this context the research addresses how Palestinian solidarity movements counter such discourses in their communication practices in order to understand how their online media strategy was developed and implemented and if their coordinated activities

were as networked as the report claimed them to be. However, the research focuses mainly on the Palestine Solidarity Campaign because it is the largest and most active pro-Palestine organization in the UK, with headquarters in London, and with 62 branches around the country. While War On Want is also named in the above mentioned reports and described as a “Leftist-socialist” (the Reut Institute, 2010a:50) organization that campaigns against world poverty and militarism, it has since the beginning of the 21st century advocated for Palestinian rights and against the UK-Israel arms trade.

I began this research with the intention to focus on the online/offline media strategies and networked activities of the PSC, War On Want and Stop the War Coalition. However, when the fieldwork for the study began in the Summer of 2016, just after the Brexit referendum had taken place and at the height of accusations of anti-Semitism against the Labour Party and its leader, Jeremy Corbyn, I was faced with a rapidly-changing and adverse socio-political context that made activists and NGOs suspicious, and led to gatekeeping practices that led the original case study to change. Consequently, I decided to focus on the PSC, as the largest pro-Palestine solidarity organization in the UK, in order to address how and why the movement uses social media, specifically Facebook, to draw support and mobilize solidarity in favor of the Palestinian cause, and to ask what frames it uses to mobilize support in particular socio-political contexts. In fact, during my fieldwork, and as I show later on in the thesis, these contexts could not be ignored in the analysis, underlining how political opportunity structures do really matter for mobilisation in any form. I was also concerned with answering the following questions: Can the PSC be understood as a solidarity movement and can it also be understood as an alternative news organization, particularly because it does produce its own news stories and frames and because these frames do speak to and with other news frames produced by the mainstream media.

The thesis begins with addressing social movement theories and transnational activism that will help in addressing international collective action in support of the Palestinian cause. In this section, the relationship

between social movements and media will be addressed, not only in regards of traditional media and alternative media; but also with regards to the emergence of new information technologies and the relevance of the network society theory. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework of the relevant and pertinent ways in which the theory will be used to answer the research questions. The second chapter provides a history of various struggles around Palestine, thus contextualizing Palestine as a symbol for global struggles against injustice is relevant because historically the narrative of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, which entered its seventh decade in 2016, has been co-opted by Israel and its supporters, rendering the Palestinian hi(story) invisible or, worse, portraying it in a negative light (Philo and Berry, 2004; Tawil-Souri, 2015; Pappé 2015; Matar, 2017). It will be followed by a discussion of the case study of the PSC, one of the biggest non-governmental organizations in the UK advocating for Palestinian rights, that consists of a decentralized structure, with branches in different cities across England, Wales and Scotland, which positions it as one of the biggest networks of pro-Palestine activism in the UK. The second part of the chapter consists of the methodology section, where the different methods used in the research are detailed. This begins with an ethnography of production that was used to analyze how the PSC works as a social movement organization, followed by a frame analysis of the data gathered during the period of the research, in order to understand the main frames the PSC uses to articulate its online message and how they align with the existing socio-political opportunities and constraints at the time of the research, as well as the PSC's institutional aims. Lastly, a discourse analysis of news is used to analyze the PSC's self-produced online media, and demonstrate how the messages are produced to articulate a narrative that was dependent not only on the specific conditions of production and reception that pervaded at the time, but also on the PSC's campaigns development and their stated goals.

The third chapter discusses the PSC's organizational structure and its quality as a social movement organization. The chapter is divided into two main sections, the first one focuses on the institutionalization process taking place within the PSC's Head Office and its newly-implemented media strategy; while

the second section views the organization's grassroots practices and the ways in which media representation and the existing context played a role in determining the articulation of a narrative from the ground-up.

The fourth chapter is an analysis of the data collected for this research and concentrates on the PSC's online media strategy and provides an in-depth analysis of the main collective action frames in which the PSC relies to transmit its message and the opportunities and constraints each of these frames provide in articulating and representing the Palestinian cause in the British context and the ways in which this can materialize in local and international solidarity with Palestine. Finally, the fifth chapter undertakes a macro-structural discursive analysis on the PSC's self-produced media products published on their Facebook page, in order to make the argument that the PSC also functions as an alternative news producer/organization drawing on Teun van Dijk's (1988) theory of the analysis of news. In doing so, this chapter underscores the socio-political constraints and opportunities during the year of the research, which had a deep impact on the PSC's ability to inform and mobilize civil society to support Palestine and advocate in its favor.

The conclusion of the thesis highlights the main findings of the research and reviews how each of the research questions were answered. It also looks at how the particular case study of the PSC can serve to illustrate broader trends taking place within social movement research, as well as to illustrate how social movement theories conceptualizations are applied to a current case study and in that way serve as both theoretical and methodological frameworks to for empirical research.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

The internet is at the heart of the global movement for justice in which Palestine is center stage (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005). To understand how the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) utilizes computer-mediated-communication (CMC) this research will use a theoretical framework based on Social Movement Theory (SMT) and its relationship to media. In this research, I do not argue that the activist group addressed here is a social movement in the traditional sense—in fact, as I show it forms a network in solidarity with an ongoing movement, which means they are nodes within the broader transnational network of solidarity with Palestine. While John Downing (2008) notes that addressing social movements need to be studied along with their media, which in a world of evolving information and communication technologies (ICTs) is difficult, understanding the PSC as a social movement organization in solidarity with ongoing movements is a useful methodological approach that will help guide the empirical research in this study and also build on the theory of collective action and the processes it engages with through new media.

The literature on social movements is vast, but the focus on why movements form has centered on grievances and contestations of power as factors leading to the formation of social movements (Calhoun in Nash, 2000). New Social Movement theories have, however, drawn attention to other factors that lead to the formation of movements such as identity politics, race, gender, sexual orientation, national liberation struggles, and environmentalism (Calhoun in Nash, 2000).

Broadly speaking, research into social movements has drawn on different theoretical approaches within structural and social constructivistic paradigms (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009). On the one hand, resource mobilisation and political process fall within the structural tradition, while the social constructivistic paradigm centered around framing, identity and emotions,

focuses on the way individuals and groups perceive and interpret the social conditions and the role that cognition, affect and ideology have in the process of collective action.

Irrespective of these approaches and their contribution, there remains no concrete single definition of what a social movement is. Indeed, social movements have been theorised in different ways as seen in the different examples below:

- “A social movement is a sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support” (Tilly in Bright and Harding, 1984:306).
- For Sidney Tarrow (2011:9) social movements are “collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities.”
- Snow et al. (2004:11) define them as “[...] collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are part”.
- To John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1977:1217-1218) “a social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society.”
- Meanwhile, Paul Byrne (1997:10-11) argues that social movements are irrational, because they do not seem to arise where there is the greatest ‘need’; unreasonable, since their adherents have no justification for

breaking the law or disregarding 'normal' ways of doing things; and disorganized, as they refrain from formalizing their own organizations.

- Social Movements combine three elements: “an organized and sustained claim making on target authorities; a repertoire of performances, including associations, public meetings, media statements, and street marches; and finally, ‘public representations of the cause’s worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment” (Bayat, 2013:4-5)
- Mario Diani (1992 in Nash, 2000:156) observes there are common elements that all of the perspectives consider while determining what constitutes a social movement, which he defines as “a process whereby several different actors, be they individuals, informal groups and/or organizations, come to elaborate, through either joint action and/or communication, a shared definition of themselves as being part of the same side in a social conflict. By doing so, they provide meaning to otherwise unconnected protest events or symbolic antagonistic practices, and make explicit the emergence of specific conflicts and issues”.
- Social movements are defined by Alberto Melucci (1985:795) “as a form of collective action (a) based on solidarity, (b) carrying on a conflict, (c) breaking the limits of the system in which action occurs”.

It is important to acknowledge that these definitions all derive from a Western academic tradition, that often use a cause-and-effect argument to account for social phenomena. However, some scholars have tried to explain what contributes to the making of a social movement. For example, Tilly (1984) and Tarrow (2011) suggest that social movements are defined by their actions — contestation for power and political representation; McCarthy and Zald (1977) highlight the importance of gaining the redistribution of rewards within society through collective action. Melucci’s, Diani’s and Snow’s definitions of social movement are embedded within the social constructivist paradigm or culturalist tradition, thus acknowledging that the contestation of power takes place within

culture and the broader world order through the construction of meaning and symbolic challenges that can lead to the breakage of the system.

In this research, I follow Melucci's (1996) theoretical approach to understanding social movements and collective action because he differentiates collective action from social movements and considers the first concept as the starting point from which social movements are only one of the manifestations, albeit not the only one, as protests and strikes, just to mention some examples, also share the commonality of being collective action, without belonging to the social movement category. Melucci (1996:20) defines collective action as:

“[...] a set of social practices (i) involving simultaneously a number of individual or groups, (ii) exhibiting similar morphological characteristics in contiguity of time and space, (iii) implying a social field of relationships and (iv) the capacity of the people involved of making sense of what they are doing”.

Tarrow also considers the notion of collective action as the departing point for any type of contentious collective action, which can range from protests and riots to revolutions. He goes on to add that collective action becomes contentious “when it is used by people who lack regular access to representative institutions, who act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities” (Tarrow, 2011:7). As Melucci, Tarrow (2011:16) distinguishes between collective action and social movements and asserts that this last category of contentious collective action can only be labeled as such when the contention spreads across an entire society in a cycle of contention. What matters to this research, however, is the notion of solidarity and how it relates to social movements, which I turn to next.

1.1 Solidarity

Solidarity and social movements have been talked about in different ways. For example, Melucci (1985:794-795) defines solidarity as “the capability of recognizing and being recognized as a part of the same system of social relationships,” while David Featherstone (2012:5) characterizes solidarity as a central practice of the political left that can be interpreted not only as “likeness” for a cause, as in cementing existing identities and power relations but, most importantly “about the active creation of new ways of relating. It is through being attentive to such relations that the dynamism and inventiveness of solidarities can emerge.”

Ruth Reitan (2007:19) defines solidarity as “support for a group cause as well as its tactics.” To her this support can be produced by three different forms of “attribution”:

- 1) Attribution of worthiness: which is when an NGO or a certain group deems a distant-issue as worthy of their altruistic advocacy efforts;
- 2) Attribution of interconnectedness: where different groups with diverse goals identify each other's struggles as related to their own;
- 3) Attribution of similarity: that can also be understood as identity solidarity because activists identify with actors across borders as sharing the same identity, such as ‘worker’ or ‘indigenous’.

Regardless of the nature of the attribution, Reitan explains that all three forms lead to transnational collective action. However, these solidarities can be distinguished into two kinds: reciprocal or identity. The first one consists of drawing a connection between a collective group or movement and the suffering of others, and, in consequence, developing empathy for their struggle. This type of solidarity holds together different activists and issues in a transnational

network. While identity solidarity connects activists that regard each other as sharing a similar fate, threat or harm as a consequence of a common identity.

In this regard, in social movement theorization, solidarity is seen to be intertwined with the concept of collective identity (Hunt and Benford, 2004:439) which Jasper and Polleta (2001:284) defined as follows:

“An individual’s cognitive, moral and emotional connections with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity.”

The idea that solidarity is connected to collective identity also comes across in Melucci’s and Reitan’s approaches in which they acknowledge that for solidarity to emerge (as a practice) it must be accompanied by a ‘recognition’ or ‘attribution’ of either a shared struggle and/or a shared identity.

For new social movement theorists, solidarity is political and not merely an altruistic activity. As Florence Passy (2001:6) suggests solidarity is a political and collective form of altruism, where “political altruism is a form of behavior based on acts performed by a group or/and on behalf of a group, and not aimed to meet individual interests; it is directed at a political goal of social change or the redefinition of power relations; and individuals involved in this type of social change do not stand to benefit directly from the success deriving from the accomplishment of those goals.”

Passy (2001:6) draws on Bar-Tal’s concept of altruism as an individual act which stems from intentions and which “(a) must benefit to other persons, (b) must be performed voluntarily, (c) must be performed intentionally, (d) the benefit must be the goal by itself, and (e) must be performed without expecting any external

reward". Thus, political altruism is "all actions (a) performed collectively, (b) that have a political aim and (c) an altruistic orientation as defined by Bar-Tal". For Passy, individuals who take part in solidarity movements do not serve their own interests and will not benefit directly from their participation in contentious collective action. Passy's classification of solidarity as altruism could be seen as problematic in the sense that she considers Bar-Tal's classification where no reward is expected. However, she recognizes the dilemma posed by Robert Wuthnow (1991 in Giugni and Passy, 2001) who showed that acts of compassion are a channel of self-expression that help people feel better, which means there is a reward in partaking in altruistic activities. Yet, this depends on how that gratification is understood, for Bar-Tal's it must be an external reward and for Wuthnow it is an internal one. Additionally, Passy classifies political altruism as an overall acceptable social activity, failing to bring attention to the fact that in most cases, regardless of the validity of the cause, such as civil rights or Palestinian statehood, there is always a drawback and criticism faced by the actors engaging in solidarity movements.

Passy's conceptualization of solidarity as a political and collective form of altruism aimed at benefiting others can be directly related to the ways in which social movements mobilize, as will be further explained in chapter four.

Other scholars, such as Featherstone, see solidarity as a transformative relation which emerges not only from below but also from without. To him, solidarity as an activity, must necessarily come from the grassroots and must be seen, as practices intended to reshape the world in more equal terms, which also means that these actions tend to be marginalized.

As such, both Featherstone's and Melucci's definitions of solidarity can be discussed when considering how sidelined groups construct solidarities only if they are capable of acknowledging that they work, develop, and are oppressed by the same social system. Thus they can recognize the struggles they face as

well as the struggles other oppressed people face and build solidarities based on that. This necessarily means that the emergence and maintenance of solidarity is inextricably linked with the framing activities of the group and the way in which it acknowledges the context in which it exists and seizes opportunities to embed its narrative and articulate its positions.

In addition to this, solidarity needs to also be understood in the broader context in which it exists, which is why Featherstone (2012) and Passy (2001) view solidarity as an international or global activity *par excellence*. Its nature of mobilizing on behalf of populations in other countries provides it with the possibility of expanding outside nation-state boundaries, which consequently makes it a multi-level networked collective activity, which means it is connected to different power strata as well as different geographical locations. This way it establishes a network of local, national and international groups, with the possibility of linking individual actors to marginalized groups, but also to powerful players and institutions, and put pressure from within as well as from without, such as in the case of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and also pro-Palestine activism in London and elsewhere.

Additionally this multi-sited form of activism allows for the decentralization of contentious collective action, granting agency to local activism and positioning solidarity as a process that is not only linked to the other nodes in the global network, but to political struggles in a particular setting (Featherstone, 2012), this can be exemplified with the different campaigns the PSC has developed in the UK, where they have connected local elements of everyday life to the wider struggle for Palestinian rights. As Barghouti (2011:33) explains, “activists and solidarity groups set their own BDS targets and choose tactics that best suit their political and economic environment. Context sensitivity is the overriding principle for planning and implementing successful BDS campaigns.”

In Featherstone's (2012:38) view, solidarity as a transformative process means that there is an ongoing production of relations between places and people that offers different possibilities. This also means that solidarity, like any other form of collective action, is not static or fixed, but a political relation "that can be articulated and configured in different, potentially conflictual ways". He positions solidarity as a universalizing political relation. The result of different political trajectories at a crossroads. In this sense, Featherstone's notion of solidarity differs from Passy's because the latter author sees solidarity as a goal oriented activity, while the first one, understands it as a contested, ongoing and under construction process. To Featherstone, the universalizing nature of solidarity means that:

"These processes of universalization are partial, multiple and fractured; they are never fully formed, but rather can be articulated and generated in different ways. This account allows political movements some of the action in shaping the terms on which they are shaped". (Featherstone, 2012:38)

This conceptualization of solidarity as a changing process that is (re)negotiated and (re)articulated, can be seen in the way in which supporters of Palestinians have framed and reframed their demands and struggles. As Tawil-Souri (2015) demonstrates, one of the characteristics of the Palestinian struggle is that it has shifted its rhetoric from a national liberation movement against colonial oppression into a human rights/international law based discourse that is easier to fit and tailor for Western audiences and supporters.

Notwithstanding, there is also the aspect of solidarity being inventive, not only through the creation of new political and spatial configurations, but also in attempts to create what Featherstone (2012) calls histories from below. In this regard, the Palestinian cause and its worldwide supporters work on the recuperation and articulation of their narrative, one that has been silenced for many years and that not until recently has been resurfacing, first within the

diaspora and later with advocates of the Palestinian cause. In this last regard, the network of solidarity with Palestine and their use of new media plays an important role in shedding light onto the recuperation of a part of history that needs to be known and acknowledged if the world is to be a more just and equal place.

1.2 Social movement perspectives

As mentioned before, from the 1960's onward, there have been different approaches to the study of social movements. On the one hand, the structural paradigm tends to focus on the how of collective action, while the social-constructivist approaches attempt to explain why individuals decide to participate in collective action (Van Stekelenbug and Klandermans, 2009). Traditionally, scholars of SMT tend to focus their research on one aspect of a movement, such as the constraints and opportunities in movement emergence or how movements organize and manage their resources. However, collective action is a more complex process; thus its study needs to encompass the different aspects that intervene in its emergence, development, and continuity. In that regard, the approaches to the study and understanding of collective action should be seen as interactive and dependent on each other, as political opportunity cannot be perceived as such if the group is not organized enough to frame it that way, and at the same time, it is harder for individuals to mobilize if they are not organized enough or have an emotional interest or attachment towards the movement. Furthermore, frames can only emerge from more structured and organized groups, and, in consequence, this will lead to a better mobilization. Nonetheless, framing processes are also dependent on society's access to mobilizing structures, as well as the openness or closeness of the political system for them to articulate their claims, and their resonance is dependent on the cultural stock and the narrative expertise of the movement's actors.

1.2.1 Resources and organizational characteristics of social movements

According to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, (1996:3) mobilizing structures are “the collective vehicles, both formal and informal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action”. Material and human resources are the most researched by scholars and valued by activists since they are at the core of movement formation. Nonetheless, in order for the movement to evolve and advance, these resources need to be coordinated and organized for them to transform from individually held resources into collective ones and be effectively used during contestation processes (Snow, et.al, 2004).

In addition to human and material resources, moral and cultural resources are important to movements, since they can help the movement grow by acquiring legitimacy and create cognitive tools for the movement to gain members and thus augment its pool of human and material resources. These latter resources are part of a cycle that can lead for the movement to evolve from loosely based associations into more organized and durable structures termed Social Movement Organizations (SMO's) (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996).

In order for a movement to transform, local dissent emerges from the most basic structures of everyday life, in particular families and networks of friends (McCarthy in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996; Gerlach and Hine, 1970) into SMO's. However, even as the movement evolves and adopts different organizational structures it is always dependent on these basic organizational bonds to continue existing. Groups sharing strong distinctive identities and dense interpersonal networks exclusive to group members are highly organized and hence readily moved, as opposed to groups with weak identities, few intragroup networks, and strong ties to outsiders, which are less likely to mobilize (Jenkins, 1983).

Thus, as the movement transforms, actors tend to adopt mobilizing structures familiar to them or that have been successful for other movements (McCarthy in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). In this sense, the organization of social movements has been divided between the centralized bureaucratic model (McCarthy and Zald, 1973,1977) and a decentralized informal model (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 in Jenkins 1983). Bureaucratic structures provide technical expertise and coordination in institutional change efforts, but are less effective at mobilizing “grassroots” participation; while decentralized structures are better at mobilizing “grassroots” participation and ensuring group maintenance with the drawback of strategic effectiveness (Jenkins, 1983).

However, Jenkins explained that most SMOs tend to develop a structure that combines the bureaucratic and decentralized models since this affords the mobilization advantages of decentralization as well as the tactical ones of centralization. Adding that most social movements contain multiple SMOs or what Diani and McAdam (2003) called the network of organizations, which provide informal coordination between different SMOs based on shared ideology and goals, as well as the exchange of information and pooling of mobilization resources.

SMOs devote extensive efforts towards mobilizing people and augmenting its pools of adherents. In order to do so, they appeal to what Klandermans and Oegema (1987:519) defined as the mobilizing potential which is “the people in a society who could be mobilized by a social movement”. The mobilizing potential appeals to the pool of bystanders and opponents through “consensus mobilization” (Klandermans, 1984) or “frame alignment” (Snow et al., 1986) consisting of lengthy campaigns where the movement propagates its view that certain states of affairs are unacceptable and can be changed through collective action. Consensus mobilization leads to the formation of recruitment networks, based on working with the already mentioned individual and organization networks (Diani and McAdam, 2003). An important aspect of consensus

mobilization is that they always see as a success the recruitment of human resources to the overall movement, despite competing among themselves to have adherents devote time and money to their particular organization (Edwards and McCarthy in Snow et al., 2004).

According to Klandermans and Oegema (1987), consensus mobilization targets people through mass media, direct mail, and individual and organization networks. However, Edwards and McCarthy (in Snow et al., 2004) highlight that this type of mobilization relies heavily on media attention to disseminate the different cultural resources the movement produces, for example, music, literature, magazines, newspapers, films, and videos, as well as campaigns and actions of the movement, such as public awareness, public education, and issue awareness.

Notwithstanding the advantages of the resource mobilization theory, it is important to signal its shortcomings, particularly because as Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) signal, RMT borrows its concepts from economic vocabulary, and depicts social movements and its actors as rational entities that weight the cost and benefit of their actions. As I show in the next section, it is the political opportunity structures that are fundamental for mobilization to take place.

1.2.2 Political opportunity structures

The underlying premise of the political opportunity structure (POS) is that “social movements or revolutions are shaped by the broader set of political constraints and opportunities unique to the national context in which they are embedded” (McCarthy, McAdam and Zald, 1996:3). Kriesi (2004) acknowledges that this approach has become one of the most popular ones in the study of social movements. However, scholars also acknowledged that there is no consensus on how the term is applied to the study of social movements, as well

as in interpreting the scope and actual role that the opportunities or constraints within the system facilitate collective action.

The central concept of the political process framework, the POS, is that “political opportunity structures influence the choice of protests strategies and the impact of social movements on their environment” (Kitschelt, 1986:58 in Kriesi, 2004:69). According to the POS, there is a basic notion that social movements emerge out of a grievance or issue facing a particular group or community, which coincides with a particular political context in relation to political institutions and overall relations of power in a national political system. As Eisinger (in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996) explains the incidence of protest is related to the nature of political opportunity structure, which he defined as the degree to which groups are likely to be able to gain access to power and to manipulate the political system. In this sense, there is a distinction between “open” and “closed” structures, with the first term defining the easy access to the political system and the latter term associated to access being more difficult to secure.

For Tarrow (2011:8) “particular historical, cultural, and power conditions of their society in part determine and in part are determined by contentious politics”. His argument builds on the notion that in order for collective action to take place, individuals need to be able to perceive political opportunities while at the same time be emotionally engaged by their claims. Additionally, they need to be able to perceive the constraints so they can refrain from taking part in such actions.

Thus, “contentious politics emerge when ordinary citizens, sometimes encouraged by leaders, perceive opportunities that lower the costs of collective action, reveal potential allies, show where elites are most vulnerable, and trigger social networks and collective identities into action around common themes” (Tarrow, 2011:33). Once these opportunities have been perceived and seized a new cycle of contention can emerge. Depending on the reaction of the political system towards the contentious action, new opportunities can be created

both for the original insurgents and for the late-comers, as well as for the opponents and power holders (Tarrow, 2011).

However, Kriesi (2004) recognises that there has been criticism of the structural bias and determinism involved in this theoretical approach, with academics such as Goodwin and Jasper (1999) calling for more emphasis on the specificities of movement-specific contexts, the interactions between actors in the same context and the subjective interpretations of the actors involved. Additionally, and of particular importance for this research, is the role that media, public space and public opinion have within the political process approach. In this regard, Kriesi (2004:86) highlights that the media are another critical component of the POS with its structural and dynamic elements can affect the opportunities and constraints under which movements operate.

The heavy reliance of social movements on media underlines the asymmetrical relations between the two (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993) because social movements have fewer options for spreading out their messages, while media have a wider spectrum of options to “make news”. According to them, social movements are dependent on mainstream media for three interrelated purposes: to mobilize, to validate, and to widen the scope of conflict. The ability to which a social movement is able to effectively use media for these purposes is what Cammaerts (2012:119) defined as “the media opportunity structure”.

The concept of media opportunity structure provides a way to analyze not only how mainstream media represents a movement, but also the self-mediation efforts of activists and the technology as a source of resistance. Cammaerts (2012) asserts that the actual context of ultra-saturated media provides an array of opportunities for activists to not only convey their message but also to resist, exert agency, self-represent and defy structural constraints. Yet, activists also need to take into account the structural constraints inherent to mediation, such as

the negative bias of mainstream media, the volatility of public opinion, and the limits imposed by technology.

The constraints encountered by social movements in accessing mainstream media lead them to adapt their mobilizing structures to what they know from previous experience; but, most importantly, it can also lead them to adopt the innovative forms of mobilization that through time can alter the mobilizing structural configurations (McCarthy in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). As a consequence, movements try to bypass mainstream media by becoming the media and publishing their own cultural resources.

1.2.3 Framing processes

It is not possible to talk about the role of media without thinking of framing as a strategy for successful mobilization of social movements (McCarthy in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). Framing refers to “the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understanding of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action” (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996:6). The concept of frame is borrowed from Erving Goffman (1974) and is rooted in the idea that meaning is derived through interpretive processes mediated by culture (Snow et al., 2018).

Snow et al. (2018) explain that in the context of social movements, the concept of framing “problematizes the meanings associated with relevant events, activities, places and actors, suggesting that those meanings are typically contestable and negotiable, and thus open to debate and differential interpretation”.

For Snow et al. (2018), it is collective action frames that provide “coherent sets of action-oriented beliefs and meanings that legitimise and inspire social movements campaigns and activities” (Snow et al. 2018:395). Collective action, as such, is a mode of articulation mechanisms that focuses on certain aspects of

the movement or the context in which it develops and transform the meanings associated with said event. Collective action frames are context and movement specific, but they can become master frames, meaning they can be borrowed and translated, when they also serve to articulate other social movements' demands, examples of master frames that are amply used are the human rights frame, the civil rights frame and the justice frame to name a few.

Another key concept/process of the framing perspective is the notion of core framing tasks, which impact the degree of mobilization success a collective action frame can have. The three core framing tasks are diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. Zald (in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996:291) explains “that movement frames typically embody two essential components: the diagnostic element, or the definition of the problem and its source; and the prognostic element, the identification of an appropriate strategy for redressing the problem”. Snow et al. (2018:396) add that motivational framing is the “call to arms or rationale for action”, which can be understood as the agency component of collective action frames.

Keck and Sikkink explain that activists frame the issues they advocate for in a comprehensible and attractive way, thus exercising framing activities to provide information, mobilize support, and change discourse. They classify these strategies into four categories:

- 1) Information politics: which is the act to generate information as fast as possible and move it to where it will have more impact;
- 2) Symbolic politics: the framing of issues in a manner that resonates with the intended audiences;
- 3) Leverage politics: the attempt to gain political effectiveness and influence by calling upon powerful actors; and

- 4) Accountability politics: holding powerful actors accountable by calling on them to publicly change their position on issues, and calling them out if they break previous commitments (Keck & Sikkink, 1998:16).

Notwithstanding the analytical opportunities that the framing perspective provides for understanding how social movements and its actors understand their context and articulate their grievances and demands, there are shortcomings to how framing has been used by researchers. In its critique of framing, Robert Benford (1997:411), one of the main proponents of framing theory, argues that most research has focused on specific case studies and it would be valuable to have systematic empirical studies across cases, movements and time. Another issue arises with the fact that most empirical work is descriptive and its treatment has become reified, treating frames as things rather than as processes. Finally, he calls on social movement researchers to expand the study of framing beyond nation-state borders, in an attempt to fully understand how the framing strategies remain and change throughout the life of a movement or a historical moment.

Indeed, one of the main tasks of SMOs and social movements is to generate solidarity and a moral commitment to the collective in whose name the movement acts (Jenkins, 1983). Notwithstanding, framing can become a contest, where movements, countermovements, and, in some cases, the State are each attempting to persuade authorities and bystanders of the rightness of their cause (Zald in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). Consequently, one of the challenges of framing in social movements lies on the fact that meaning in itself is problematic, as it is derived and transformed through social interaction, making it the product of a negotiated, contested, modified, articulated and rearticulated practice (Benford, 1997). Additionally, these contests are most likely to take place in the media, where the framing process will have to be filtered based on its merits as well as in the media sympathies, independence, and procedures.

More recent scholarship has drawn attention to the role of emotion in mobilization, which Goodwin, Jasper and Polleta (2004) argue are shaped by cultural understandings and norms, and which political activists often use to strategically signal things about themselves to each other and to outsiders.

They explain that there are emotional dimensions to the life cycle of social movements, thus affect, which is the way individuals feel towards people, places, ideas and things can be a starting point to participation and, later on, commitment, to collective action. Additionally, affect plays a role in the relationship and establishment of networks as individuals and groups tend to agree with statements and actions of individuals and organizations they have positive affects to (Goodwin, Jasper and Polleta, 2004).

Another important element of the emotional dimensions of social movements is the concept of 'moral emotions' which are a result of the cognitive process and moral awareness, but most importantly, they reflect how individuals and groups taking part in collective action view the world and situate themselves in it. (Goodwin, Jasper and Polleta, 2004). Moreover, moral emotions are central to the cultural production of a movement, as it is through their articulation that movements can frame their objectives, call to action and legitimize themselves.

Consequently, discourse, narrativity and storytelling are not only central to the framing activities of a movement, but can also be strategically used as vehicles to channel emotion and as a result aid the movement in recruiting and mobilizing new members. As Polleta and Chen (2012:487) explain "[...] telling stories can help movements elicit public interest and support." This idea can be extended to Zizi Papacharissi's (2015) notions of how social media can increase social movement participation. Through the concept of affective publics, which she defines as "networked publics that are mobilized and connected, identified and potentially disconnected through expressions of sentiment" (Papacharissi, 2015:5), she argues that collective action can be "activated and sustained by

feelings of belonging and solidarity, despite of how evanescent those feelings may be” (Papacharissi, 2015:4). To her, the narrativity that takes places within social media platforms is a structure of feeling and storytelling, which gives the possibility to first establish a public, an engaged public —affective public—, which is engaged with the movement as it develops. Secondly, social media provides these publics with the opportunity to construct meaning and collaboratively build a story that not only informs but also continues to engage its audience through the transmission of emotions. And, thirdly, she argues that social media allows us to experience and feel worlds that we cannot experience directly, and build meaning through that feeling.

To reiterate, the different approaches within SMT should be seen as interdependent and as providing a clear, yet not holistic, vision of the process through which collective action or, in some cases, a social movement develops. In this respect, resources can be perceived to be not only human or material, but also cultural and emotional, and the openness and closeness of the political spectrum can depend on how the movement’s actors are able to understand it and frame it as such. At the same time, emotional attachments to the cause need to be present from the incipience of the movement as they can be the reasons as to why people protest and continue to do so. Lastly, the framing activities of the movement are not only dependent on their access to the political and media spheres, but also to the cultural stock available to them and the way they channel and elicit emotion through their discourses and actions.

1.2.4 Social movements and new technologies

The internet has provided social movements with new platforms for spreading uncensored messages and attempting to influence mass media (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005), as well as the mediation opportunities to inform independently, to debate internally, and to link up directly with those interested in their cause in a cost-efficient way, potentially across the time-space continuum (Cammaerts, in

Silverstone 2005). Notwithstanding, they also add that along with these opportunities, there are also challenges, such as the loss of face-to-face interaction, internet access and media literacy, online surveillance by internet providers and social media platforms, and the ability to transfer online engagement into offline action (Della Porta and Mosca 2005 and Cammaerts, 2012).

Cammaerts (2005), as well as Della Porta and Mosca (2005) agree that transnational social movements use the internet for three key activities: organize, mobilize and inform. In the first instance, the internet gives social movements a fast and low-cost way to communicate individually as well as globally, which facilitates the logistics of coordinating virtual and offline collective action. Notwithstanding, Cammaerts (2005) notes that the organizing, networking and communication activities that take place online are not different from what social movements have historically done, except for the fact that they are able to do it faster and cheaper online. Additionally, he highlights that virtual communities are more successful when they also interact in real life, which is why face-to-face communication is still important for the establishment and maintenance of social movements.

With regards to mobilization, Della Porta and Mosca (2005) as well as Cammaerts (2005) explain that online protest and dissent allow social movements to sustain direct action, lobby political actors, and form public opinion. Through online petitions, website defacement or cloning, netstrikes, mail-bombing and electronic advocacy social movements can implement transnational campaigns. Despite recognizing the important role online media plays, the authors agree on the fact that it should not be exaggerated, and they recognize “that offline and online protests are strongly related and tend to reinforce each other” (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005:177).

Lastly, the internet gives social movements the opportunity to debate internally and articulate their message to a global audience. As such, activists continue to use ICTs as discursive weapons and implement a “cognitive function” (Della Porta and Mosca 2005:181) by gathering and disseminating information thus allowing movements to circumvent mass media. In doing so, movements have the opportunity to create and distribute unfiltered information flows that can be framed accordingly to the target which the movement wants to mobilize.

The importance that ICT's and the networked infrastructure of the internet for social movements is that it affords them the possibility to organize internally, communicate globally, bypass mainstream media and establish transnational links of activism in a time-efficient and cost-effective way. Notwithstanding, it is important to remember that in order for movements to establish and sustain their presence and implement effective direct action, offline and face-to-face networks need to exist.

1.3 Networks of collective action

There is no doubt that collective action is activated and sustained through individual's face-to-face groups, social networks, and connective action (Tarrow, 2011). For Diani (2003:6-7) networks are defined “as sets of nodes, linked by some form of relationship, and delimited by some specific criteria.” Thus, the nodes of a social movement network can include individuals, organizations, entities and, occasionally, states. Nodes can also be events or elements of speech. The relations between these nodes can be direct, as when two nodes have an explicit interaction and interdependence; or indirect, when they share activities or resources; the relations can also be single or multiple, depending on the overlapping activities and interests of the nodes. The final aspect of his definition relates to the boundary of the network, which can be realist or nominalist. The first case is when the nodes have an actual relationship with each other, while the second boundary is determined by the analyst.

Networks exist even before collective action begins as individuals are connected through private and public ties, as well as through indirect ties generated by their involvement in specific activities and/or events, where there may or may not be direct face-to-face interaction (Diani, 2003). As collective action becomes sustained, organizations emerge, constituting another set of nodes within the network. Organizations interact with each other through direct ties, such as the exchange of information and pooling of resources; as well as indirect ties, such as shared personnel, participation in joint events, and exposure to media, in particular CMC, where they can also link to third parties both private and public (Diani, 2003). Finally, the third set of nodes is embodied by the events or actions. In this sense, events are linked to individuals and organizations that promote and participate in them, but also events can be linked to one another in a symbolic way that can attribute continuity to what otherwise could appear as a string of disconnected and independent events (Diani, 2003:12)

For Melucci, however, what is important for mobilization are “movement networks or movement areas”, which he defined as “the network of groups and individuals sharing a conflictual culture and a collective identity” (Melucci, 1985:799). As such, social conflicts are not only political but also part of the broader social system, since they affect cultural production, which translates in posing a symbolic challenge to the system, in both their media output and in the essence of the action itself.

For Keck and Sikkink (1998) what remain relevant are activist networks that act as transnational advocacy networks that have

“[...] the ability of nontraditional international actors to mobilise information strategically to help create new issues and categories and to persuade, pressure and gain leverage over much more powerful organisations and

governments. Activists in networks try not only to influence policy outcomes, but to transform the terms and nature of the debate.” (Keck & Skink:1998:2)

1.3.1 Network society

Considering that collective action networks, be they national or transnational, are information exchange systems helps understand their visibility in contemporary society. Information flows with the possibility of a developing ‘network society’ that represents a system of opportunities and constraints that increases communication between movement actors as well as society in general in a low cost, high-speed form; but at the same time presents the risk of countermovement surveillance and weak compromise from activists. Nonetheless, this does not mean that national and transnational collective action networks are a recent phenomenon, but that new information networks are important spaces for organizing and expanding solidarity.

Manuel Castells’ argument suggests that a network society is the particular social structure of the Information Age, a historical period that replaced the technological paradigm of the Industrial Age, and which characterizes itself by societies performing their activities in a technologic-informatic paradigm, as opposed to the production and distribution of energy. However, he argued that this is not to say that technology determines society, since technology *is* society and, therefore, it cannot be understood or represented without its technological tools (Castells, 2000a). As he notes:

“[...] for the first time, the introduction of new information/communication technologies allows networks to keep their flexibility and adaptability, thus asserting their evolutionary nature. While, at the same time, these technologies allow for co-ordination and management of complexity, in an interactive system which features feedback effects, and communication patterns from anywhere to everywhere within the networks. It follows an

unprecedented combination of flexibility and task implementation, of co-ordinated decision making, and de-centralised execution, which provide a superior social morphology for all human action” (Castells, 2000b:15).

As such, the organization of society within information networks leads to its structural transformation in space and time, or what Castells (in Amoore, 2005) defined as the space of flows, or the material arrangements that allow for the simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity.

Although the new social structure relies heavily on the space of flows, society still develops in a particular territory or space of places. Therefore, the emergence of the space of flows does not mean that social activities are only electronically based, as even the space of flows includes actual places. In this regard, the network society's social structure allows for quick interconnectivity between time and place; but because of its territorial base, it can also translate into a reinforcement of dominant cultural and social practices within the network. Consequently, just as territory becomes a contested space, so too does the space of flows.

While Castells explained that individualized interactive communication occurs in the contested space of flows, particularly in CMC networks that lead to the creation of virtual communities based on shared interests and values; Hardt and Negri (2003) spoke of the multitude as the social basis for what they conceived as the new global social order or Empire. To them, Empire is the all-encompassing global process of power, economic, and cultural relations, that is supported by the productive force of the multitude. But since the multitude is its sustainment, it can also be able to destroy it by creating a counter-Empire, which is why Empire polices the multitude, to prevent it from destroying the order (Hardt & Negri, 2003).

In this new paradigm, information and communication play a foundational role in production processes and give way to immaterial labor, such as the production of services, cultural products, and knowledge (Hardt & Negri, 2003). In this regard, information and communication become both the commodity and the medium, making the network the site of production and circulation.

“The new communication technologies, which hold out the promise of a new democracy and a new social equality, have in fact created new lines of inequalities and exclusion, both within the dominant countries and especially outside them” (Hardt & Negri, 2003:300).

However, they recognize the multitude as an agent of political resistance and social change that is able to challenge and resist Empire by creating an alternative political organization of global flows and exchanges. Hardt and Negri's (2003) model differs from Castells' in that it never recognizes the individual existence of social actors or the different values and ideologies around which they can organize their struggles. Instead, it always speaks of a multitude that does not work on sustained and organized campaigns around well-articulated issues, media representations or identities (Lievrouw, 2011). In this sense, the multitude can be related to Melucci's (1985) “movement networks”, which represent a change in the structure of collective action.

Just as the multitude is made up of innumerable networked singularities (people acting in concert in the name of their various concerns, grievances, commitments, values, relationships, and so on) and is able to organize and disorganize rapidly and unpredictably using global media and information networks (Lievrouw, 2011); Melucci's (1985) collective action is a submerged network of separate small groups that emerge only on specific issues and exists within a system of exchange, where persons and information circulate along the network, along with cultural products, such as books, magazines, and free radios. In this type of network, actors are allowed multiple memberships,

militantism is only part-time and short-term, yet personal involvement and affective solidarity are required as a condition for participation.

In this regard, Melucci's submerged networks have two qualities: latency and visibility. Latency allows people to experience new cultural models that are often opposed to dominant social codes. While visibility shows the opposition and society at large that the specific problem that is being contested is connected to the broader logic of the system, but that there is an alternative cultural model, the one which was created during the latency period. This translates into the movement being a goal in itself, as the movement becomes a symbolic message that challenges dominant social patterns. In Melucci's (1985:809) words "movements are not qualified by what they do, but by what they are", which means that the events are important because of the symbolic impact they have on the world system.

1.4 Conceptual framework

In this study, I draw on the literature above to analyze how the PSC, as a social movement organization in solidarity with the broader social movement for Palestinian freedom and self-determination, produces collective action frames and its own media as modes of solidarity.

My approach is guided by the following questions: Can the PSC be understood as a solidarity movement? How does the PSC use Facebook to mobilize solidarity? Why does the PSC use Facebook to mobilize solidarity? What frames does the PSC use to mobilize support in particular socio-political contexts?, and can the PSC be understood as an alternative news organization?

The PSC, as the following chapters will show, does not satisfy the main characteristics of a social movement, because it still exercises its action within the system and its pool of adherents do not share an identity. What distinguishes

it is that mobilization is based on solidarity for human rights and justice for Palestinians. Consequently, it can be described as a solidarity network. When using this concept throughout the thesis it is used first under Melucci's (1996) notion that is first and foremost a form of collective action as well as an act of reciprocal recognition of the other, it is additionally considered under Passy's (2001) explanation that solidarity is a political activity and thus extending it to Featherstone's conceptualization of it being a political practice emanating from the Left, the bottom-up and the outside-in. Consequently, it is also understood as an international political activity (Reitan, 2007 and Featherstone, 2012) that expands from outside the nation-state borders and is a multi-level and, multi-sited, networked activity. Finally, is the recognition that solidarity is a process and not a static idea which is subject to change and transform relations, be challenged, re-negotiated and re-articulated, making it a sustained form of collective action that can and will change throughout time and, in consequence, its manifestations will do so too.

In chapter two, I discuss the political opportunities and constraints to explain the socio-political and historical context in which the PSC emerged and currently exists, as well as to provide a background on the history and development of the Palestinian cause as a quintessential global movement for justice and human rights. I believe that whenever addressing the Palestinian cause it is of utmost importance to begin with an explanation of the historical and current socio-political context as local, regional and international political structures have played a role in the way the Palestinian struggle has unfolded since its origins and until today.

The third chapter focuses on the resources and structural opportunities the PSC can use by explaining the organizational structure and decision-making process using the notion of resource mobilization theory (RMT) and social movement organization as developed by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and applying them to the PSC as a way to understand how the organization works and the

membership and mobilization obstacles it faces. This is followed with the analysis of the PSC's transformation process using Mayer Zald and Roberta Ash (1966) Weber-Michels model, which theorizes the way in which social movement organizations transform and the advantages and disadvantages of having them do so. In this chapter, I also use the political opportunities and constraints approach to explain the British context in which the PSC's transformative process took place at the time of the research, with events such as the EU Referendum and anti-Semitism accusations against the Labour Party and its supporters permeating the British political and media landscapes. This is followed with an analysis that relates how the political context in which the PSC exists affects its core framing tasks as defined by Benford and Snow (1988). Lastly, the chapter concludes with an analysis of some of the visible grassroots practices of the PSC membership through a combination of the mobilization and framing approaches, using Doug McAdam's (1996) topology of framing processes to explain the relationship between the grassroots members of the PSC and the leadership, as well as the obstacles faced by the membership and the ways in which they capitalized and seized opportunities to exercise and increase the ranks in solidarity with Palestine.

Collective action frames are the focus of attention in chapter four. Using Benford and Snow's (1988,1992) theory and concepts on the process of framing the chapter provides a frame analysis of the main frames used by the PSC in their Facebook output and the core framing tasks —diagnostic, prognostic and motivational— behind the use of each frame. Because frames are context specific the analysis acknowledges and explains the context and reasoning behind using each frame, as well as the situations in which context played an important role in the salience of a specific frame, such as with the occurrence of the settler colonial and anti-Apartheid frame. Additionally, this chapter also uses the emotional dimension of SMT (Polleta 2002, Polleta and Chen, 2012 and Papapacharissi (2015) as part of the frame analysis, to explain the instances when collective action frames relied on storytelling and narrativity to instil

sentiments of empathy and moral outrage and channel them into mobilization and solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

Chapter five centres on the analysis of the PSC's self-produced Facebook content by applying Teun van Dijk's (1988) theory on the analysis of news. For Van Dijk, news is a specific type of discourse that is produced within a determined context, notions relating to the political environment, its opportunities and constraints underline the analysis. Additionally, the chapter combines the other approaches within SMT —resources and organization, framing and emotional aspects of social movements— in the first instance by recognizing that media, be it mainstream or alternative, is a resource in itself as well as a cultural structure and product, that movement organizations, such as the PSC can use to articulate its narrative. In the second place, relating Van Dijk's concepts of scripts and themes to the idea of collective action frames and how these aim to articulate the PSC's position on Palestine vis-a-vis the British and Israeli governments, the Palestinians and British society. At the same time, notions related to the emotional dimensions of social movements are present within the analysis through the ways in which the narrative structure of the articles is organized and also in the storytelling and discursive appeal to the readers' emotions, calling for empathy, moral outrage and social consciousness; thus combining the four perspectives into the ways in which the PSC attempted to mobilize and increase solidarity with Palestine in their online media strategy.

Lastly, the conclusion summarizes the main findings of the research as well as the obstacles and limitations that arose from the specific socio-political context in which the research took place and the case study in itself. In this section I also discuss how research on a current case study has broader contributions to the academic literature on Palestinian studies, social movement theories, and media and communication studies.

Chapter 2: Case Study and Methodology

2.1 Background and context

Since its origins in 19th century Europe, the status of the Palestinian territory and of its native inhabitants has always been decided by foreigners. From the courting of European governments by Theodor Herzl; to the lobbying of the British Empire by Zionism's leader in Britain, Chaim Weizmann; followed by the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), the Balfour Declaration (1917), the establishment of the British Mandate of Palestine (1920), and the United Nations Partition Plan (1947).

As a global concern, Palestine's historical trajectory, as several scholars have shown, is the outcome of global processes that not only have shaped its evolution, but that also have impacted, and continue to impact, the social, political and economic landscape of the rest of the world. John Collins (2011a) categorizes these processes as colonization, securitization, acceleration, occupation, and decolonization. Zionism, as a 19th century ideology, evolved out of a process that Collins (2011b) defines as "exocolonization, or geographical expansion".

Indeed, the creation of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine was framed in similar terms from its inception by Theodor Herzl (1896:53), who defined it as "a portion of a rampart Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism". Followed by the establishment of a "pure settlement colony" and the "conquest of labour", which allowed the settlers "to regain the sense of cultural and ethnic homogeneity that is identified with a European concept of nationality" (Shafir cited in Pappé, 1999:84).

Collins (2011a) argues that colonization often leads to securitization, which is embedded in the process of endocolonization, which simply means that

as colonial powers grow they must also turn inwards to maintain the system. In the case of Palestine, these processes began post-1948, the year the state of Israel was founded, and continued until 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a result of the Six Day War. From 1948, a military government was imposed in the newly created state of Israel; after the Six Day war of 1967 and until today the Israeli military structures are a crucial part of the system of domination. Additionally, after the events of September 11, 2001 Israel's security discourse has become framed in that of the 'war against terrorism' through which it can link itself to Western powers while at the same time exercise military might on resistance movements both within and outside its territory (Collins, 2011a).

Acceleration is the next process that affects the colonization of Palestine. Based on Paul Virilio's (1986) work, Collins (2011a, 2011b) writes that "dromocolonization" or the ability to accelerate and decelerate the exercise of violence, affects not only the actor who is subjected to it, but also the executor of the action. In this sense, techno-scientific advances make it possible for societies to experience things faster, whether it is communication or war, and the fact that the colonizer tends to be the actor who can accelerate the actions grants him domination. Dromocolonization also gives the colonizer the possibility to develop cutting-edge techniques of rule and maintain a broader system of control. This leads to the creation of enclosures, such as bantustans, ghettos, and reservations that restrain a certain racial group of the population, while creating open spaces and profitable conditions to the colonizers.

The final step in this process for Collins (2011a) is decolonization. To him, it means the creation of a new set of institutional arrangements and the transformation of the territory into a single society, or what is commonly called the one-state solution. Decolonization also means the practice of solidarity with Palestine, and the re-articulation of the struggle in anti-

apartheid terms, as well as civil and human rights. As Edward Said has argued:

"The Palestinian struggle for justice is especially something with which one must express solidarity, rather than endless criticism and exasperated, frustrating discouragement, or crippling divisiveness. Remember the solidarity here and everywhere in Latin America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australia, and remember also that there is a cause to which many people have committed themselves, difficulties and terrible obstacles notwithstanding. Why? Because it is a just cause, a noble ideal, a moral quest for equality and human rights." (Said, 2003:166)

Global support for the Palestinian struggle against colonization has its roots in the processes addressed above. Since Palestinians are not the only peoples to be subjected to these power dynamics, links have been established with other oppressed groups. As Helga Tawil-Souri writes:

"[...] the global appeal of the Palestinian cause is a product of its origins: the message resonated with the rest of the world because much of it came from the rest of the world." (Tawil-Souri, 2015:148)

Indeed, there is a consensus (Collins, 2011; Tawil-Souri, 2015; Abu Sita, 2015) that international support with Palestine began in the 1960s after the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement and the surge of anti-colonial and national liberation movements in the Global South. Salman Abu Sita (2015) writes that "[Ernesto 'Che'] Guevara's visit to Gaza in 1959 was the first sign of transforming the Zionist colonization of Palestine from a regional conflict to a global struggle against colonialism". Scholars such as Tawil-Souri (2015) and Collins (2011a) suggest that the globalization of the 'Palestinian Question' began with the creation of the Palestine Liberation

Organization (PLO) in 1964, and most significantly with the 1967 war and the occupation of the remaining territory of historic Palestine.

During this time, the PLO created links with revolutionary movements from around the world. Furthermore, just as Collins' (2011a) different colonization processes relate with one another and with capital and technological structures, so do the discourses of the Palestinian resistance, which broaden the scope to identify not only with the concepts of national liberation struggles and human rights, but also with the oppressed and the poor (Tawil-Souri, 2015).

In the early days of transnational solidarity with Palestine, different Palestinian guerrilla factions associated themselves with revolutionary leaders like 'Che' Guevara and Fidel Castro in Latin America; Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, advocating for black civil rights in the U.S., and, most notably, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. The links with these different groups translated into the Palestinian resistance borrowing tactics previously used by other members of the network of liberation movements as a way of achieving its aims. In consequence, their activities became part of the "media-terrorism" (Tawil-Souri, 2015) spectacles, as the airplane hijackings and the attacks during the 1972 Munich Olympics show.

In this context, the relationship between the Palestinian armed struggle can be defined as:

"the convergence of not one, but two dialectically related occupations. First, Israeli Jews occupied Palestine, extending their settler colonial project to the remaining territories of historic Palestine following the 1967 war [...] Second, Palestinians began to

occupy the world not only diasporically, but also mediatically: the media became their territory" (Collins, 2011a:69)

Indeed, images of Palestinian stone-throwers against heavily armed Israeli soldiers during the First Intifada of 1987 would help spread solidarity with Palestine beyond militant groups (Gresh 2011). As Gresh writes:

"What, then, is the meaning of Palestine? What does it represent? First, colonial domination by the West. Next, an ongoing injustice characterized by a permanent violation of international law. Finally, the logic of double standards applied by various governments, adopted (in essence) by the United Nations, and theorized by a significant number of Western intellectuals. At the crossroads between East and West, South and North, Palestine symbolizes at one and the same time the old world, marked by the hegemony of the North, and the gestation of a new world founded on the principle of equality between peoples." (Gresh, 2011:69)

In 1993, and following the end of the Cold War, the Oslo Accords were signed and with it the institutionalization of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Oslo changed the paradigm of diplomatic relations between both sides of the conflict, as well as the situation on the ground, with tighter occupation policies, illegal Israeli settlement expansion on occupied land, and a subservient and corrupt Palestinian Authority (PA).

In 2001, Zionism was equated to racism and apartheid in the United Nations World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, which for Omar Barghouti (2011:53) "confirmed that grassroots support, even in the West, for the justness of the Palestinian cause was still robust, if not yet channelled into effective forms of solidarity".

Connecting the situation in Palestine to the one in South Africa during apartheid is important, because, as Håkan Thörn (2010) notes, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa is not limited to a geographical context, since it developed into a wider transnational movement, with a network and collective action forms that still make an impact on national and transnational political cultures. He explains that the anti-apartheid movement had three dimensions —national, transnational, and global— which can be also seen in the Palestinian struggle.

In the context of South Africa, the national dimension of the anti-apartheid movement was not only to overthrow the racially discriminatory government; it also had national solidarity movements in countries all around the world that influenced public opinion and their own national governments to put pressure on South Africa. The transnational dimension is concerned with the network of organizations where information, campaign co-operation and coordination took place. Finally, the global dimension is the engagement in public communication across continents, where a global audience was addressed.

Thörn's (2010) multi-dimensional definition of the anti-apartheid movement is useful to explain Palestine's current condition as even without an actual state, Palestine has a national movement, both in the occupied territories and inside Israel, which exercises pressure on the ground; while additionally establishing bonds with Palestinians in the diaspora and with transnational activist networks. Edward Said notes:

“[...] that kind of solidarity [with Palestine] is no longer confined to a small number of intrepid souls here and there, but is recognized the world over. [...] What brings them together is Palestine and the struggle of the Palestinian people which is now a byword for emancipation and enlightenment, regardless of all the vilification heaped on them by their enemies.” (Said, 2003:163)

Based on the effective tactics used by the anti-apartheid movement inside and outside South Africa, Palestinians issued the Call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions in 2005 (Palestinian BDS National Committee, 2005). In this document, Palestinians asked the global network of activists that support their struggle to implement a consumer boycott on Israeli and Israeli-settlement products, as well as demand from their governments, and international bodies to exercise pressure on the Israeli government in order to stop the ongoing occupation and colonization of Palestine, grant the right of return for Palestinian refugees as stipulated in the United Nations resolution 194, and give full equality to Palestinians inside Israel.

Since then, the BDS movement has garnered some international support. In the UK, as Barghouti notes: “the British Trades Union Congress representing more than 6.5 million workers unanimously passed a motion in September 2010, supported by the public-sector union Unison and the Fire Brigades Union as well by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (UK), calling for the boycott of products and divesting from companies that profit from the occupation” (Barghouti, 2011:25). While Irish and British student unions have approved BDS motions, with the most recent one being Edinburgh University in April 2016 (Dewitt, *The Student*, 2016).

Activists have attributed corporate actions to end business relationships with Israel or relocate production sites in illegal settlements to ongoing BDS campaigns that target international companies. One important example is the case of SodaStream, a carbonated drinks manufacturer, that moved its factory from the illegal settlement of Mishor Adumim to the Negev in 2014. Another example is the one of security firm G4S selling its business interests in Israel in 2016. However, both companies declared that their decisions were based purely on commercial reasons. Similarly, in 2015, the European Union (EU) approved labelling guidelines for products coming from Israeli settlements in the West Bank, with European diplomats publicly declaring the measure was intended to provide clarity for customers, but

privately they “made it clear the move is designed to put pressure on Israel over its continued settlement building in the occupied territories and the absence of a peace dialogue” (Beaumont, *The Guardian*, 2015). Additionally, BDS activists welcomed the United Nations Human Rights Council (OHCHR) decision to establish a database of businesses involved in Israeli settlements that was passed in March 2016¹. As Barghouti states:

“The BDS movement, more than anything else, is the most ambitious drive yet launched by Palestinians to connect the struggle for Palestinian rights with global struggles for social and economic justice, freedom, sustainable development, environmental protection, and universal rights. Mass civil —and intelligent— resistance inside, coupled with effective and creative global solidarity from outside, is the recipe for success, the movement understands.” (Barghouti, 2011:75)

This idea has led to the resurgence of the internationalism of the 1960s and to the Palestinian movement drawing parallels with other struggles around the world. A clear example is the cooperation and support that developed during the summer of 2014, while Israel heavily attacked the Gaza Strip when African Americans in Ferguson, Missouri, protested the killing of Michael Brown by police brutal actions. Many Palestinians accustomed to Israeli army practices used Twitter to provide advice and tips to African-American activists. On January 2015, a delegation of activists for racial justice, including representatives of Black Lives Matter, Black Youth Project 100 and Dream Defenders visited Palestine and Israel for ten days in an attempt to connect with Palestinian activists on the ground, as well as experience the realities of the Israeli occupation in Palestinians’ everyday lives.

¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2018) Database of all business enterprises involved in Israeli settlements. Available at: <<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G18/021/93/PDF/G1802193.pdf?OpenElement>> [Accessed: 24 April 2018]

As struggles around the world have arguably become ‘Palestinized’, there has been a shift in discourse supporting Palestine from those concerned with national liberation and the right of return for refugees, to human rights, a shift which Tawil-Souri (2015) notes has hollowed the Palestinian cause because this shift does not achieve long-held aims for statehood.

The internet has provided new avenues for Palestinians and their international supporters to articulate their narrative and connect with each other, enhancing the transnational network of solidarity and enabling the Palestinians to reconfigure and strengthen internal Palestinian communications —between Palestinians inside Israel and the occupied territories of the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, and the West Bank, as well as the diaspora (Aouragh, 2010). As Ananda Mitra explains:

“[o]nce the digital discourse is produced, it is often available to a global audience and if the call is eloquent enough, there is a good possibility that other dispossessed would respond to it and add to the call eventually presenting the dominant with a crisis —to acknowledge or not”. (Mitra, 2001:32)

2.2 Case study

The original aim of this research was to analyze the online/offline media strategies and networked activities of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), War On Want and Stop the War Coalition. Notwithstanding, when the fieldwork for the study began in the Summer of 2016, there was a heightening of accusations of anti-Semitism against the Labour Party and its leader, Jeremy Corbyn, as well as the aftermath of the Brexit referendum. These events created a political environment where activists and NGO’s were suspicious and operated cautiously, leading to gatekeeping practices that made the initial

objective of the research change and led to the PSC becoming the sole case study for the research project.

Consequently, this research focuses on the Britain-based pro-Palestine organization the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) as a social movement organization. I chose PSC because it is the largest pro-Palestine organization in the UK as well as the most visible such group in terms of its membership and support for Palestinian rights. There are other groups, such as London Palestine Action, Palestine societies in university campuses, War on Want's chapter on Palestine, and Friends of Al-Aqsa, but these will not be discussed here because of the socio-political constraints I have previously explained.

The study of collective action and social movements has traditionally focused on their motivations or organizational abilities, leaving its relationship with media, and in particular mainstream media, as only one of the many resources on which these movements rely. However, as Downing (2001, 2008) argues analyzing collective action through a media lens, especially their self-produced media, helps build on the scholarship of how social movements work and evolve, since both social movements and media are embedded within a broader 'democratic' context, which means they should be studied in conjunction and not as separate entities. This research acknowledges that the PSC has offline activities, and face-to-face networking events that are important to its overall strategy and that these do not take place in isolation from the online production of information and campaigning, as well as the decision-making processes behind it. However, the main focus here is digital activism, because digital platforms not only aid the traditional activities of social movements, such as to inform, network, mobilize and advocate; but also because they diminish the reliance on third actors for mediation (Cammaerts, 2005). In other words, their use enhances the scope of action and decentralizes activities, and, more importantly, allows for the production of self-narratives about the movement.

The PSC is the largest pro-Palestine group in the UK. Its central office is in London, but it has 62 branches in England, Wales, and Scotland where it works in coordination with the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign. According to its Facebook page, the organization was founded in 1982, at the beginning of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The PSC is directed by an executive committee that is elected by the organization's members on the Annual General Meeting (AGM) that takes place at least every 15 months, with the last one held on 26 January 2019. The positions that can be voted for are Chair, Vice Chair, Secretary, Treasurer, Trade Union Liaison Officer, Student Liaison Officer, Campaigns Officer, Publications Officer, and eight ordinary members of the committee. The PSC is chaired by Hugh Lanning, who has retained the position since 2009. The PSC has a public and online presence. It has a website (www.palestinecampaign.org), and in 2010 started a Facebook page that has a large following. When this research began, on 19 April 2016 it had 477,694 likes and now on 13 May 2019 this number has increased to 488,704. Since 2009, the PSC has managed its own Twitter account (@PSCupdates) followed by 24,200 Twitter users in 2016 and currently being followed by 36,300 users.

The PSC website states that the group is “an independent, non-governmental and non-party political organization” with members from different communities across Britain that oppose to all forms of racism, including anti-Jewish prejudices, an accusation to which its supporters have been subjected to by its critics. It aims to campaign for Palestinian self-determination, the right of return, support of Palestinian rights, oppose the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories as well as the oppression and dispossession of Palestinians, and the Zionist nature of apartheid Israel. In 2016, the PSC was running six campaigns. The first was concerned with monitoring the coverage of the Palestine-Israel conflict in the UK media, particularly the BBC. The representation of the Palestinians and the coverage of the conflict has been found to be biased, according to academic research (Philo and Berry, 2004,

2011), which has shown that British media have traditionally provided biased news coverage of the situation in Palestine-Israel. In challenging these representations, the PSC is active in calling on its members to submit complaint letters to media outlets when they detect any bias. As an example, in the summer of 2014, during Israel's latest military campaign against the Gaza Strip, they launched an online petition that gathered 45,500 signatures to denounce the BBC's reporting of the situation, which was followed by a protest outside the company's headquarters in London on 15 July, 2014 (Plunkett, *The Guardian*, 2014).

The PSC also has a permanent campaign against the ongoing 'ethnic cleansing' of Palestinians by Israel. Regarding the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt), they have a specific campaign that focuses on the decade-long Israeli siege of Gaza.

The fourth and fifth campaigns concern Palestinian prisoners and Palestinian child prisoners. Detention and imprisonment of Palestinians inside Israel and in the oPt is a systematic oppression tactic carried out by the Israeli government. According to the Israeli NGO B'Tselem (2016a), at the end of February 2016, there were 6,204 Palestinians in Israeli prisons, with 327 of them being administrative detainees, which means they can be imprisoned indefinitely without charge or trial. Meanwhile, 438 Palestinian children are in prison, seven of them on administrative detention (B'Tselem, 2016b), with Defense of Children International (DCI-Palestine) estimating that between 500 to 700 children are arrested, detained, and prosecuted by the Israeli military court system each year.

Finally, the campaign which probably has received the most attention is the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign, which advocates for consumer, academic, cultural and sporting boycotts of Israel, which means it serves as an umbrella campaign for other actions, as such, boycotting technology company Hewlett-Packard for collaborating with the Israeli military can be classified as a consumer boycott, while calling for the UK government

to stop the arms trade with Israel can be located within the sanctions section of the movement.

BDS has gained support in the UK, not only with committed pro-Palestine activists but also with British civil society, which in recent years have witnessed Israeli attacks on Palestinian civilians, particularly with the latest offensive against the Gaza Strip in 2014. This has led to growing criticism of Israel from ordinary citizens and for mounting pressure on their local and national governments to call on Israel on the illegality of their actions against Palestinians.

Because of the threat the BDS movement poses to Israel's hegemony and their diplomatic and business relationship with the UK, on 17 February, 2016 during a visit to Israel aimed at promoting business links between the two countries, British Cabinet Minister, Matthew Hancock, announced a procurement policy note for local authorities to prevent them from boycotting countries or companies based on ethical grounds (Stone, *The Independent*, 2016a). The context of the announcement is symbolic, as the particular aim of the new guidelines is to deter public bodies from boycotting Israel, by claiming they would face "severe penalties".

However, the examination of the new procurement guidance found that aside from inflamed rhetoric, it does not state an actual ban on boycotts, and its meant to scare activists and local politicians from taking action against Israel. It was also reported on *The Independent* (Stone, 2016b) that the policy is being implemented without having been voted or debated in Parliament, and that it contradicts the government's own advice on doing business with Israeli settlements in the West Bank, which are classified by international law and the UK as illegal and an obstacle to peace. Additionally, the news story explains "the Foreign Office's Overseas Business Risk assessment for Israel states that the Government does 'not encourage or offer support' to business with the occupied territories".

The historic background of the Palestinian movement along with the current socio-political context provided in this section inform the research into the use of digital platforms by the PSC to articulate a narrative in solidarity with Palestine online. In what follows I address the methodology used for the research, which was developed to address the specific contextual issues that arose during the time the fieldwork and analysis took place, as well as the specific challenges posed by the selected case study.

2.3 Methodology

This research aims to explore and analyze the way in which the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) frames its communicative output on its institutional Facebook page, in order to inform and mobilize the British public and further advance the Palestinian cause in Britain, as well as aid in the growth of the global solidarity movement with Palestinians. The research began with the assumption that the social media output of the PSC is part of a bigger communicative strategy of the organization that comprises traditional (TV, radio and mainstream newspapers) and alternative media (independent and local newspapers, self-produced pamphlets); as well as offline communication (face-to-face interaction) and online media (mainstream social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram; mailing lists; alternative news websites, such as *Electronic Intifada*, +972) .

In designing the methodology, I considered the socio-political context as an extremely relevant element in the production of discursive structures and overall communication strategies, particularly in relation to the Palestinian cause and the way in which it has been portrayed and continues to be in the media. As such, it was assumed that context would play a determining role throughout the development of the research and that being aware of the local and global political events and developments would provide insight into the discursive production of the PSC, and the role it plays not only in the international solidarity movement in favor of the Palestinian cause but also in local, regional and international politics.

Another assumption that underpinned this research was the notion that the PSC's Facebook content would be considered as news items and discursively analyzed as such. The main reasoning behind this decision is based on the fact that the PSC's Facebook page, as a tool of their communicative strategy, serves the purpose of raising awareness and informing of developments in politics, campaigns and long-sustained protests taking place on the ground in Palestine-Israel, the UK and the rest of the world. The way in which the page does this is by posting and sharing news articles produced by mainstream and alternative news organizations. Additionally, they also publish their self-produced content, which consists of opinion pieces and essays published in mainstream news outlets, as well as press releases, and brief calls to action that are in line with their current campaigns.

The consideration of the PSC's Facebook output as 'news' directed the theoretical framework used to approach the research and the methods required for its analysis. The approach this research took uses Social Movement Theory (SMT) as a theoretical referent and a methodological tool, thus paying attention to the different paradigms that inform social movement theorization —Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) Political Opportunity Structure (POS), Framing and Emotion and Affect. The methods used for the research include participant observation, ethnography of production, virtual ethnography, frame and discourse analysis.

2.3.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is a qualitative research method in which the researcher participates overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time. In order to do so, access has to be secured with both gatekeepers and informants of the researched group, because data will be drawn not only from observation, but from listening to everyday conversations, collecting documents and artifacts, and asking questions through formal and informal interviews (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

An important aspect of this method is that the researcher is seen as having an insider/outsider role. On one side, he/she is trying to be part of a group (the informants) and establish relationships with group members to gather information, and on the other side, he/she must distance him/herself from the group in order to analyze and be critical of the gathered data. During this period of the active research, the researcher will collect information as well as describe his surroundings, interlocutors, daily activities and anything that might be useful to shine light into the everyday life of the group.

Inevitably, because description can be subjective and both the researcher and his informants are subjects too, the researcher will have to assume a reflexive position, since it is undeniable that regardless of the group that is being studied, the researcher does enter the research with pre-conceived ideas, and possibly interests will have an impact on the development of the research from the onset.

Broadly speaking, participant observation and even interviews or conversations with group members are defined by what Berger and Luckmann (1966) classified as typifications, which are ways in which social beings apprehend reality. Typifications need to be taken into account while doing ethnographic research because they affect the way in which the researcher will approach the object of study, but also because the sum total of typifications and the recurrent patterns of interaction that derive from them are the basis of the social structure, from which everyone involved in the research are part of. In Berger and Luckmann's words:

“The common objectifications of everyday life are maintained primarily by linguistic signification. Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowmen.” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991:51)

Participant observation was a method used during the time of the fieldwork (June 2016 - 30 November 2017) and analysis of the data. I had significant challenges gaining access to the PSC's Head Office, which included phone calls and emails that went unanswered during the month of August 2016. After these failed attempts I visited the PSC headquarters in Holloway, North London to explain the aim of the research and request access in person. It was Deputy Director Tricia Rich who answered the door, and again denied me access, claiming the organization received many requests from academics and they could not allow all of them to gain insight into the inner workings of the PSC, and promptly closed the door afterwards.

After this issue took place I attended a meeting at my local PSC branch in Haringay, north London on 5 September 2016, where the members agreed to have me present in the monthly business meeting and I was able to have access to their discussions about the challenges they were experiencing at the time, as well as their event-planning. As a paying member of the PSC and an active member of the local branch, I was also able to have access to the PSC's Annual General Meeting (AGM) and represent the branch in the PSC branch forums where different branches inform the PSC's Head Office of their local activities, campaigns, and challenges, and the Head Office provides training and information on nationwide campaigns and targets. It was during these meetings that I conducted participant information proceedings and took notes, thus providing me with the necessary background for carrying out the other methodologies used in this research, ethnography of production, virtual ethnography, interviews, frame and discourse analysis. However, the main advantage of my attendance was that I gradually gained the trust of the grassroots activists I was interacting with through engaging in casual conversation and then interviews for the research. The trust I gained as well as my membership meant I participated in online communication networks, received print material and newsletters from the Head Office.

Using participant observation helped me understand how the PSC functioned as a solidarity movement and as a news organization particularly because I

was able to witness and record the ways in which the organization worked from an insider point of view. Additionally, by gaining the trust of the local branch members and through participating in local actions as well as the organization of local events I was allowed to represent the branch in the PSC's branch forums. This, of course meant I performed an insider/outsider role, which is particularly useful for understanding from an insider point of view the workings and decision-making processes while also critically reflecting on them as an outsider.

2.3.2 Ethnography of production

Participant observation is one of the principal methods in ethnographies of production both online and offline. As the focus of this research is how and why the PSC uses social media, I supplemented the participant observation method described above with an ethnography of news production, which, as Simon Cottle writes:

“[...] refers to the research method that involves the researcher spending considerable time in the field, observing and talking to journalists as they go about their daily tasks and documenting their professional practices and culture.” (Cottle, 2007:5-6)

Given the argument advanced in this research that the PSC's Facebook can be seen as news, a digital ethnography of news production, as it is normally referred to in the situated study of newsrooms is a suitable method in this case, particularly because the Facebook posts generated by the solidarity group are intended to provide information and knowledge in order to mobilize support for collective action. Cottle suggests (2007:12) that news ethnographies should not solely focus on traditional media discourses, but should also pay attention to the production of news by alternative and minority media and groups. Cottle argues that news ethnography as a research method is useful for:

- *Recording and making the invisible visible*: which relates to being able to go backdoors into the editorial rooms of media organizations.
- *Countering the 'problem of inference'*: because as he notes that participant observation allows the possibility of observing, describing and analyzing selection decisions and practices that can result in materials being published or not, as well as explain 'news silences'.
- *Improving upon other methods through triangulation*: this means using more than one method in the research because an ethnography of news production includes participant observation, interviews, and discourse analysis of the output.
- *Qualifying or correcting speculative theoretical claims*: Cottle suggests that participant observation helps make visible practices that are usually obscured.
- *As a reminder of the contingent nature of cultural production*: or to show that this process is more complex.
- *Providing evidence for the dynamic as well as embedded nature of cultural production*: in this regard, participant observation provides an insight into how historical changes affect cultural production.

Combining a digital ethnography of news production and on-site participant observation helped me address the key research questions of this work: How does the PSC use Facebook to mobilize solidarity, why does the PSC uses Facebook to mobilize solidarity, and can the PSC be understood as a solidarity movement and an alternative news organization. Participant observation and ethnography of production are methods that interact and overlap with each other, and give the researcher the opportunity to see, understand and explain the ways in which the organization works, its shortcomings and the challenges it faced.

Participant observation took place during the monthly meeting held at the local PSC branch in Haringay, London as well as during national PSC meetings, such as the branch forums and the AGM. I decided to join the PSC as a member which meant I received their publications, such as *Palestine*

News, and yearly reports. I also became an active member of a London PSC branch, where the members agreed to let me attend their monthly business meetings, during which pressing issues were discussed and local and national actions were organized. At the same time, I attended three other branch forums, in Liverpool (29 October 2016), London (25 March 2017) and Birmingham (15 July 2017), where representatives of PSC branches around the UK met to address concerns, agreed on the course of action for the organization, and received training in the different topics. I also conducted interviews with the PSC's Secretary, Ben Soffa (12 April 2017); a former PSC branch secretary, Adam Waterhouse (14 October 2016), and a local activist (17 August 2017). Waterhouse was the first person I interviewed, and he answered all my questions and also provided me with some of the PSC's past publications, such as their constitution, and printed reports from the Annual General Meetings for the year 2015 and 2016. Additionally, he was the one that put me in contact with Ben Soffa, so I could interview him as well. Soffa's interview took place at SOAS and it is largely through this conversation that I was able to have insight into the logistical aspects of the PSC and its inner workings.

It would have been desirable to have more than three interviews; however, the socio-political climate during the fieldwork made it very challenging for activists to be willing to speak on the record about their activities and their membership to the PSC. In the case of the PSC's leadership, the political climate along with the appointment of a new director and the inside restructuring of the organization led to gatekeeping practices. Notwithstanding, the interviews that took place were extremely helpful to understand how the PSC works, as will be shown in the empirical chapters that follow, because they provided an approach to the organization from very distinct points of view: the leadership, the local membership, both in support of the PSC and critical of it, and a grassroots member that had competing allegiances within several Left-wing groups and operated in an activist capacity whenever time would allow them.

2.3.3 *Virtual (Online) Ethnography*

As previously mentioned, one of the main challenges that underpinned the research was the adverse socio-political context in relation to activism in support of Palestine in the UK, which made virtual (online) ethnography of news production one of the main methods I used to gather data for the research. Because of the gatekeeping practices, having access to the PSC's public Facebook page was the most reliable way of having access to a continuous supplement of the PSC messaging. By relying on a virtual ethnography of news production, I was able to bypass the challenges posed by the gatekeeping practices of the PSC's Head Office and its grassroots members, and use the observations and information gathered through participant observation and ethnography of production as a reference as well as to supplement the virtual ethnography and analyze the gathered data.

Christine Hine (2000) describes the internet as a discursively created object as well as an artifact. In this sense she argues that a technology such as the internet cannot be understood as meaningful until its use(s) can be seen as such, and, at the same time, portraying the use(s) of the internet as meaningful can only be done if it is represented to others through valuable recognizable ways. The discursive nature of the internet and the contexts in which its contents are produced and consumed displays the processes in which messages are not transmitted straightforwardly from sender to receiver and how that can impact the active process of meaning creation that surrounds. As Hine writes:

"It could be said, then, that what we see on the Internet is a collection of texts. Using the Internet then becomes a process of reading and writing texts, and the ethnographer's job is to develop an understanding of the meanings which underlie and are enacted through these textual practices" (Hine, 2000:50)

In that sense, online texts should not be seen as portrayals of reality, but as ethnographic material that can help understand the author's reality, and by doing so, the text is linked to a particular circumstance of production and consumption. It is important to make the text, in Hine's words (2000:52), "ethnographically (and socially) meaningful once we have cultural context(s) in which to situate it." To achieve this, there is a need to use discourse analysis to analyze the material produced online.

2.3.4 Frame and discourse analysis

The above methods were complemented by frame and discourse analysis as the main tools for analyzing the data collected and linking the production of the socio-political contexts within which material and information are produced. Frame and discourse analysis are popular analytical methods in social movement research since the 1980s (Lindekilde, 2014) as a means to understand the way in which social movements communicate, and the outcomes it can have on activism. As Lasse Lindekilde explains:

"[...] the idea is to analyze how movement actors through various discursive practices and framing activities attempt to strike cords of existing cultural experiences, narratives, and knowledge within the cognitive landscape of targeted audiences. Thus, both discourse and frame analysis are preoccupied with investigating the relationship between movement "texts" and their broader contexts." (Lindekilde, 2014:197)

Frame and discourse analysis helps understand the "discursive battles" (Lindekilde, 2014:197) that take place over the construction of meaning and the definition of reality. Consequently, both methods of analysis are involved in addressing the "dynamic relationship between texts and the wider social, cultural, and political context" (Lindekilde, 2014:209). This is at the core of what the PSC, and more broadly speaking, the global movement in solidarity with Palestine, are involved in, as activists, and the movement at

large, have to systematically fight in order to articulate their discourse and narrative, and are therefore engaged in a constant battle to construct meaning, and for this meaning to pervade in a highly contested socio-political landscape.

Notwithstanding the commonalities, discourse and frame analysis serve different purposes, and Lindekilde (2014:198) argues “that frame analysis can be seen as a focused sub-variant of discourse analysis”, which can be useful when studying social movement actors as agents implementing a strategic approach to their use of language and overall communicative activity in a specific context; whereas discourse analysis is used when researching social movement actors in a dialectic discursive practice that can challenge or reproduce the social structure. However, he also explains (2014:224) that when studying the communication and construction of meaning activities of a social movement, discourse and frame analysis can be combined.

For Creed et al. (2002:37), frame analysis is a technique for approaching a text where the different idea elements that form it are analyzed through the question of what holds them together, meaning that the objective is to understand how different ideas and cultural elements are linked together into “packages of meaning” that become signifiers in themselves and are then implemented in context-specific discursive practices. Similarly, Lindekilde (2014) explains that frame analysis is concerned with the way in which ideas, culture and ideology are used and interpreted with specific situations or social phenomena in order to construct a particular framework through which the world is represented to audiences.

Frame analysis is used in different disciplines in the social sciences. In social movement research, it has been associated with Snow and Benford's (1988) notion of frames as a collection of ideas that are tied together through a unifying concept that helps to punctuate and motivate action on a specific topic (Creed et al., 2002). As such, frame analysis allows for the study of how

specific ideas are deliberately used by social movement actors to mobilize supporters and bystanders, and to counteract adversaries.

Seen this way, frame analysis centres around the notion that social movement actors use a strategic and deliberate use of language, where certain ideas, events, culture, and ideology are actively put to work with the aim of ascribing meaning or challenging the existing meaning of a topic as a way of focusing it in a specific direction. The result of social movement actors framing activity are collective action frames, which Snow et al. (2018:395) define as “relatively coherent sets of action-oriented beliefs and meanings that legitimize and inspire social movement campaigns and activities”. Consequently, Lindekilde (2014) explains that collective action frames are able to further narrow down ambiguities of interpretation concerning specific social phenomena by activating and evoking larger discourses that situate the phenomenon in a specific light and in this way guide how society understands these particular events and mobilize collective action.

He further argues (Lindekilde, 2014) that the study of framing means not only looking at the fully articulated collective action frame, but actually investigating and understanding the cognitive process that happens before the frame manifests in the movement’s discursive practices by looking at and researching the movement actors’ interactions and the context in which they take place through participant observation.

In his critique of the framing perspective within social movements, Marc Steinberg (1998) proposes a discursive and sociocultural psychology model to analyze the production of meaning as a dynamic and conflict-ridden process within a specific socio-cultural context and interaction patterns. Consequently, Steinberg (1998) suggests that frame analysis should focus on the notion of discursive fields, rather than frames, within which framing takes place. The idea of discursive fields allows for a broader area of interaction with more flexible boundaries inside of which mobilization can be structured around ‘action-specific discursive repertoires’.

In this regard, discursive repertoires are produced between individual and collective actors and emerge, are sustained, and transformed during a cycle of contention. Consequently, the dialogical relationship amongst actors results in the production of meaning that is able to permeate all levels of a social movement, from individual and grassroots collective action all the way to mainstream media.

As a result, the production of frames and strategic framing departs from the notion of it being a stable process of meaning construction, because as Steinberg (1998) explains the traditional view is that meaning is constructed, transmitted and easily interpreted and enacted to mobilize; however, if meaning is constructed and frames emerge as tools that can challenge hegemonic discourse, then there cannot be a consensus on the stability of a frame as assumed by theorists. As such, frames are not stable and static, but dynamic processes of meaning construction that serve to delimitate the possible use and combination of discourses with a discursive repertoire, and against the counter narratives and hegemonic discursive repertoires.

Lindekilde (2014) suggests discourse analysis can help understand how movement texts (press releases, websites, flyers, media statements, interviews of movement actors and any other type of communication articulated by social movement actors) draw on existing discourses in an attempt to articulate particular meanings and how the production and reception of these texts are shaped by the context in which they are produced and received. In this regard, it is understood that there is a dynamic, as well as dialectic, relationship between the context and the production of discourse, in which “discourses are at the same time constituted by and constitute social reality” (Lindekilde, 2014:205).

In this research, I follow these approaches and also draw on Teun van Dijk’s approach (1983, 1988, 1993) which is more relevant to addressing news texts. As Van Dijk (1983) notes:

“Discourse analysis can make more explicit the classical approaches to ‘content analysis’. It can also stimulate a research paradigm within mass communication that sees textual analysis not only as a method of research—for example, in the study of media effects—but also as an autonomous endeavour toward the construction of a sound theory of media discourse”. (Van Dijk, 1983:20)

One of the significant arguments Van Dijk makes is the relationship between critical discourse analysis, power and ideology. For the purpose of this research, the critical approach to discourse analysis of news articles proposed by Van Dijk (1988), emphasises the analysis of conversation and text in context. As Van Dijk explains (1983), there are different analytical units within a discourse, such as individual words (lexical items), various structures of the clause, whole sentences, sequences of sentences (paragraphs), or whole discourses. He goes on to explain (1988) that the semantic macrostructures, are the main topics or themes of the discourse, and, as such, can only be studied at a semantic level of the discourse as a whole, and not at the level of individual words or sentences. Moreover, themes play a cognitive role, that determines not only the way in which the discourse can be articulated, but also understood. Van Dijk (1983) writes:

“Such packets of organised conventional knowledge, called ‘frames’ or ‘scripts’ are important determinants of the inferences necessary to understand each word, sentence, or sentence connection. In addition, such scripts may pertain specifically to the political ideologies of the parties involved in international conflicts.” (Van Dijk, 1983:30)

To Van Dijk (1983) the methodological importance of performing a macrostructural analysis of media output is that it aids in identifying and defining the main themes present in media messages, even when they are not manifest in structures such as leads, or word choices and sentences, used in word texts. He categorizes themes as crucial in the news production processes because they are used by reporters and editors for

comprehension, storage, and memorization. They explain, how media newsmakers continuously and routinely summarise the myriad of source texts (other media messages, wires, interviews, reports or press conferences) that are used in the production of specific news reports. However, these macrostructures are subjective, since they are drawn from the basis of knowledge and beliefs, and that translates in the differences of news reporting, where importance can be attributed or denied to certain information. Thus, the production and understanding of news reports presuppose vast amounts of shared social representations, including specific prejudices and ideologies. It is through this shared knowledge that the link between text and context relies upon, and where the attribution of meaning and the correct and full understanding of the news can fail.

2.4 Data gathering

The data for this research was gathered directly from the PSC's Facebook page (www.facebook.com/palestinesolidarityuk). The posts were manually collected and organized on a spreadsheet that contained the following information:

- Date
- Title of the news article
- Source
- Reactions (i.e. Like, Love, Angry, Sad, Surprised, Laugh)
- Number of comments
- Number of times the article was shared

Initially, every single Facebook post for the months of October, November and, December of 2016 was collected. After this preliminary data collection, it was decided that because of the vast amount of online content produced by the PSC and how time-consuming it was, the subsequent posts collected would be those published around specific dates that were relevant to the Palestinian cause, or events that arose during the time of the research. The collection took place one week before and one week after the event, to be

able to see if there were any changes to the content triggered by these specific events. The dates chosen were:

- 27 January 2017: Announcement of a travel ban on Muslim citizens of Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen by the executive order of the newly appointed president of the US Donald Trump.
- 6 February 2017: Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu's state visit to the UK.
- 6 March 2017: Israel's passing of a law that prohibits the entrance to the country of advocates of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement.
- 15 March 2017: publication of the UN report labeling Israel's treatment of Palestinians as apartheid.
- 15 May 2017: Commemoration of Nakba Day.
- 8 July 2017: Anniversary of the 2014 Israeli military attack on the Gaza Strip, better known as Operation Protective Edge.
- 2 November 2017: 100th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

2.5 Data analysis

The data I collected over the period of the research between September 2016 and November 2017 was analyzed in different ways. First, I used the information I collected through participant observation and the ethnography of news production of select online material to address how the PSC functions as a social movement organization. Secondly, the data gathered through virtual ethnography, which consists of 776 Facebook posts was analyzed using frame analysis, in order to identify the main frames articulated by the PSC and their relation to the socio-political context in which they were produced. Lastly, I used Van Dijk's (1988) proposed discourse analysis of news to analyze the PSC's self-produced media, which consisted of 10 long-extension publications, such as press releases, opinion articles and blog posts, to identify the main frames the PSC used in their discursive strategy during specific contexts of production.

Understanding the PSC as a SMO is helpful because it allowed me to consider the adaptations the group made in relation to the shifting socio-political landscape in the UK, thus underscoring how social movements are not static, but always evolving. In the case of the PSC, and as I show in subsequent chapters, it evolved from being grassroots into a structured organization to ensure survival and support. My research, as I show, also provides crucial insights into the challenges that a social movement organization such as the PSC faces in the digital age, as it tries to increase its membership through digital channels, spread its messages online, while also facing the challenge of hacking.

In order to address the shifting nature of the PSC, I collected 776 posts on the PSC's Facebook page and divided them into two main categories: news articles shared by the PSC but produced by other sources, and the PSC's self-produced media. The section concerned with news articles produced by other media outlets consisted of 621 posts that after being analyzed with frame analysis were classified into eight different frames: Settler colonialism, human rights, Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS), Violence, Solidarity, Emotion, Apartheid, and Anti-Semitism.

I then used discourse analysis on the Facebook posts produced by the PSC, focusing on relating the macrostructural themes I found to socio-political contexts in which they were produced. In this section the PSC's self-produced media was categorized into short posts that called to action, longer editorial pieces and essays published in mainstream and alternative media, and press releases.

2.6 Limitation and problems

The scope of this research was limited to the Facebook posts produced by the PSC. I did not analyze the PSC's content production for Twitter, although it is acknowledged this social media platform plays an important role in mobilizing

collective action (Lotan et al., 2011 and Tudoroiu, 2014) in other contexts, most saliently during the Arab Spring in 2011. My rationale was that the PSC has a considerably bigger following on Facebook than on Twitter, and the organization itself attributes more weight to Facebook than to Twitter or any other social media platform for the publication of their content.

I focused on PSC with the awareness that other pro-Palestine activism groups exist in London, such as Palestinian societies in universities, as well as organizations that advocate for Palestinian rights, like trade unions, research bodies, and think-tanks. Apart from constraints related to space and scope of the research, my decision was influenced by the lack of access to some of these organizations, such as the War On Want chapter that focuses on Palestine, as well as to Stop the War Coalition. Moreover, after the initial virtual data collection during the first three months of the research (October-December 2016) it became clear that the PSC published more content about Palestine and had a larger public presence in the UK than the other organizations that were initially contemplated for the research.

I faced access issues when researching the PSC, both at the top level and in the grassroots. From the beginning, it became very clear that the PSC's leadership had reservations about its communication strategy being observed and analyzed. The research took place at a time when the organization was undergoing administrative changes, with the appointment of a new director as well as a new communications team, who were seeking to increase their media presence, both through mainstream and alternative channels. As such, it was clear they were not open to granting me access. Grassroots activists at the local branch were also worried about giving interviews, even if these were to be anonymized, because of the political climate in which the research developed. However, I was granted access to business meetings and local actions as these activists became more familiar with me and my intentions.

However, I was faced with an additional challenge during the research —the rise of accusations of anti-Semitism against individuals and groups supporting

Palestine. This campaign caused divisions within the British Left and within the British Labour Party, but these debates are too complex to be discussed here.

Finally, I was also conscious of the challenges and problems of discourse analysis, which as Van Dijk (1983) has himself suggested are only illustrative, given the language differences and, at the time, access to media from different parts of the world. In this sense, I acknowledge that the analysis presented in this academic work is merely illustrative of bigger trends, not only in the coverage of Palestine in mainstream and alternative media but also in the way any social movement organization functions to increase social media presence and gain access to mainstream media.

Additionally, the scope of the data gathered posed its own challenges because it became clear to me that there were too many posts that could not be analyzed individually and thoroughly, and that the macrostructural components of these posts would be preferred to other microstructure ones, such as lexical or grammatical aspects. Moreover, it is always acknowledged that even when a theme is considered to be the main one in a news article, there are other themes or frames that are still present within it, and, that particularly in the case of Palestine, they play a cognitive role in the way the news item is analyzed but also received and understood by the researcher. In Van Dijk's (1983) own words:

“A full-scale analysis of even one news article would be very complex, depending on the degree of formality desired, so my analysis must be fragmentary and merely illustrative. In a description of a large corpus, particularly, selective analysis of some relevant features is practically always necessary. [...] [T]he analysis will not only be purely ‘structural,’ but will also involve some cognitive implications. This is necessary because the actual ‘understanding’ of a news discourse depends not only on its manifest structures, but also on already presupposed

cognitive formation and processes (strategies) of interpretation and representation.” (Van Dijk, 1983:29)

2.7 Timeline

This research began in October 2016 and concluded in November 2017. The virtual ethnography of news production was carried out on a monthly basis, — I collected all posts that corresponded to October 2016 on the first week of November 2016, and did the same for the following months. I decided to do so because the numbers of reactions, comments, and shares changed from one day to the other, and as the days passed the final number became more reliable because that post stopped being at the top of the Facebook timeline.

Once the posts were gathered, the analysis began in the final months of 2017, trying to separate them into the different frames that appeared to be more prevalent, and beginning to organise the way in which both the ethnographic research and the virtual ethnography would be presented in an organized and clear way, for outsiders to fully grasp the way in which the PSC works, and how this reflects in its media output.

2.8 Ethics

This research abided to the SOAS research ethics policy in order to produce a rigorous investigation. I informed PSC of the objective of the research and secured interviewees’ consent always making sure they are informed and willing to participate voluntarily. For security purposes informants’ personal information was not to be revealed in the contents of the research. When quoted, interviewees have agreed to have their names published, including PSC’s Secretary, Ben Soffa, who is a public figure in British politics and who has granted informed consent for this.

For disclosure, I am a long-time supporter of the Palestinian cause and have actively participated in protests, events and lifestyle politics advocating for

Palestinian human rights and freedom. Although these activities could lead to allegations of personal or ideological bias permeating the research, previous experience in the field of journalism has helped me establish a distance between personal beliefs and investigative work. Therefore, my reflexive position as a researcher and my awareness of my ideological affiliations are useful in attaining a critical, independent and analytical position towards the research. In using discourse analysis, I was also aware that I am not an objective figure, but a political and ideological subject who, in this case, is concerned with the voices of the oppressed and marginalized and who sees herself as an academic activist.

Chapter 3: Mainstreaming Solidarity with Palestine: The Organizational Challenge of the PSC

In his first address to the membership of the PSC, the newly appointed director, Ben Jamal, called in August 2016 for the mainstreaming of the campaign within British public opinion and society, in an attempt to alter the political decision making in the UK and internationally, to finally hold the Israeli government accountable. In order to do so, he explained in the PSC's internal media, *Palestine News*, that a procedural strategic review of the PSC would take place:

“One of my key tasks will be to lead a wholesale strategic review of the PSC, addressing the structure of the organization, relationships between the EC [Executive Committee] and branches and where we need to focus our campaigning energies to achieve the level of change we seek.” (PSC, *Palestine News*, 2016a:3-4)

Jamal's proposed review took place at a time when the Palestinian cause and its supporters in the UK and around the world underwent a heightening of attacks from official State actors and pro-Israeli lobbyists and activists; while at the same time there appeared to be a surge in support and building of alliances from international grassroots movements calling for global human and civil rights.

There is no doubt that PSC, as the largest organization advocating for Palestinian rights in the UK, is at a crossroads of a broader national debate regarding anti-Semitism. In this specific context, support or opposition of British politicians to the Palestinian cause would challenge their standing within an already unstable and contested political landscape, in which at the time of writing a weakening Conservative government could be constantly challenged by a strengthening opposition led by the UK Labour's Jeremy Corbyn. Furthermore, Brexit negotiations threatened the UK's regional and international standing, while at the same time Donald Trump's presidency dictated the international agenda.

Is in these socio-political contexts that I discuss the inner workings of the PSC's leadership and its administrative procedures in order to discuss the mobilization challenges faced by the organization and the way in which these challenges impact the framing of its communication strategy, particularly its campaigning activities and social media outputs. In order to do so, the first part of this chapter will address the PSC's inner logistics and relate them to the concepts of social movement organization (SMO) developed mainly in the Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) perspective and defined by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Edwards and McCarthy (in Snow et al., 2004). Additionally, Zald and Ash's (1966) proposal of the way SMOs undergo transformation, named by them the Weber-Michels model, will be used to analyze the current procedures of the PSC. This will be followed by an analysis of the organization's institutional media practices substantiated through interviews and relating them to the framing perspective of Social Movement Theory (SMT) as explained by Benford and Snow (2000).

The second part of the chapter will explore the PSC's grassroots movement by focusing on how a London-based PSC branch developed and implemented tactics to gain and mobilize support for the Palestinian cause. This section will begin by explaining the political context that prevailed during the time of the research as well as the political opportunities and constraints that emerged during this time and how they transpired into the operations of the PSC, both institutionally and with activists. This will be followed by an examination of how the political opportunities and constraints were faced by the PSC branch by using McAdam's (1996) topology of framing processes, which is explained in his study of the American Civil Rights movement.

3.1 Understanding the PSC as a social movement organization (SMO)

Classifying the PSC within a collective action framework and, more specifically, as a solidarity movement allows its study through the lens of social movement theory. In this regard, Florence Passy's (2001) argument of the transformation of

solidarity movements from assistance-motivated groups into political claimants permits their equation to other new social movements, and by extension to its theorizing and conceptualization within the same theoretical approach. Passy explains that:

“The action repertoire of the solidarity movement has changed. The old repertoire was dominated by acts of assistance and relief. [...] While most of the organizations of the new solidarity movement still provide this kind of assistance, now their actions also include political claim making addressed to power holders. In other words, *their traditional assistance-oriented praxis is now paralleled by a political praxis based on the same political cleavage in which the other new social movements are anchored.*” [My emphasis] (Passy, 2001:10-11)

Moreover, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald’s (1977) perspective on social movements argued for a change in the traditional view of their constituency. According to them, the traditional view of social movements underlined that membership was composed of aggrieved populations, which then provided the resources and labor to build upon the activity of the movement. This view acknowledged external support but did not consider it as a central component of the movement.

In contrast, resource mobilisation theory (RMT) recognized that social movements do not necessarily need to be formed by the aggrieved population that would benefit from such movement, but instead be formed by “conscience constituents” —individual and organizational— that play a crucial role and provide support, economic resources, and labor. In this regard, Alberto Melucci’s (1996) definition of social movements is useful for this case study because he sees social movements as a form of collective action that are based on solidarity, thus recognizing external support as a key component in a movement.

In order to illustrate how this perspective applies to the study of the PSC it is important to explain McCarthy and Zald's (1977) proposed typology of social movements (SMs), social movement organizations (SMOs) and social movement industries (SMIs), as these concepts will help in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

- “A social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1217)
- “A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1218)
- A social movement industry (SMI) is the group of SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement. (McCarthy and Zald, 1977)

McCarthy and Zald (1977) add that each SMO has a set of target goals, which may be broad or narrow. Furthermore, the SMO must possess resources to work towards goal attainment. Bob Edwards and John McCarthy (in Snow et al., 2004) explain that resources can go from the most basic ones, such as material and human resources to more complex ones, such as moral resources (legitimacy, solidarity, support, and celebrity), cultural resources (tactical repertoire, self-produced and/or mainstream media outputs), and social-organizational resources (infrastructure and social networks). To further the study of SMOs, McCarthy and Zald have also categorized the individuals in society as adherents, non-adherents, and constituents. In their view:

“Adherents are those individuals and organizations that believe in the goals of the movement. The constituents of a SMO are those providing resources for it.” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1221)

They explain that these categories play a role in determining the type of SMO as classical or professional. A classical SMO is that in which the beneficiaries are also the adherents and contributors to the organization, while a professional one appeals for conscience adherents for resources, but utilizes few constituents for organizational labor. Craig Jenkins (1983:533) adds that this type of SMOs relies on “outside leadership, full time paid staff, small or nonexistent membership, resources from conscience constituencies, and actions that ‘speak for’ rather than involve an aggrieved group”.

Based on the previous categories, the PSC can be understood as a professional SMO that is part of a broader social movement for justice for Palestine. It is guided by the following aims as stated in its Constitution:

- a) “for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people;
- b) for the right of return of the Palestinian people;
- c) for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli State from the occupied territories;
- d) against the oppression and dispossession suffered by the Palestinian people;
- e) in support of the rights of the Palestinian people and their struggle to achieve these rights;
- f) to promote Palestinian civil society in interests of democratic rights and social justice
- g) to oppose Israel’s occupation and its aggression against neighbouring states
- h) in opposition to racism, including anti-Jewish prejudice and the apartheid Zionist nature of the Israeli State
- i) in opposition to Islamophobia” (PSC, 2015: 1)

As a formal SMO, it is organized on an institutional level by a Head Office, which Ben Soffa, PSC’s National Secretary, explained during an interview held at

SOAS, University of London on 12 April 2017 (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017) consists of eight full time permanent posts, some part-time staff members and some people that are hired for certain projects, for four to six months at a time. He highlighted (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017) that they recently appointed a Media and Communications Officer, whose role includes coordinating the social media strategy for the organization, but whose central role is advancing PSC's message in the press and mainstream media.

Additionally, the organization is governed by a democratically elected body called the Executive Committee (EC) that is formed by constituents or members of the PSC, and that is accountable for implementing the chosen policy of the organization. In order to be elected to the EC, each candidate should have a member proposing them and another seconding their nomination. All EC members work in a voluntary and unpaid capacity.

The policy-making body of the PSC is the Annual General Meeting (AGM) where each January national members of the PSC gather together for a day to vote on the proposed motions that will guide the PSC's actions for the following year. The motions can be proposed by members, local branches, the EC or internal committees. It is also during the AGM that elections for all EC positions take place.

PSC classifies its pool of adherents between members, or constituents as per McCarthy and Zald's terminology, and supporters, or the equivalent to adherents. This is the grassroots side of the organization and will be further explored and explained in the second part of the chapter. However, distinguishing between members and supporters is important, because they play an integral part in the decision-making process that guides PSC's overall strategy, as will be shown in the following section of this chapter.

Members are the individuals that pay a yearly fee to be part of the organization, which grants them the possibility to vote in the AGM as well as belong to one of PSC's branches in England, Scotland or Wales, depending where they live, as well as be voted part of the EC, receive direct communication from PSC's Head Office in the shape of regular e-mails and through a semestral self-produced magazine, *Palestine News*, which arrives through the post. On the other hand, supporters are people that give occasional or regular donations to the PSC, without paying the membership fee; or who have subscribed to the official mailing list of the organization as a way to stay informed on campaigns, activities, and news regarding Palestine.

As explained by Edwards and McCarthy (in Snow et al. 2004), and McCarthy and Zald (1977) SMOs can develop local or federated chapters in an attempt to increase their organizational capacity and their mobilization potential.

“The development of local chapters helps bind constituents to SMOs through networks of friendship and interpersonal control. But [...] a SMO which attempts to link both conscience and beneficiary constituents to the organization through federated chapter structures, and hence solidary incentives, is likely to have high levels of tension and conflict.” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1231)

McCarthy and Zald (1977:1232) elaborate that a way of avoiding conflict would be to only accept conscience constituents, however, that could cause the SMO to lose legitimacy as it would be speaking for a beneficiary group with a lack of beneficiary constituents. On the contrary, relying solely on beneficiary constituents would reduce the resource pool and pose a challenge for goal accomplishment. In addition, they recognize that conscience constituents tend to have conflicting loyalties, which translates into them being part of more than one SMO and more than one SMI.

The PSC is formed of 40 federated chapters referred to as branches. Its membership is formed mostly by white British individuals, although there are members of the Palestinian diaspora that form part of the organization and that occupy important positions inside the Head Office and the EC, such as the new director, Ben Jamal, and former Vice-Chair, Kamel Hawwash, just to name a few. In addition, members have different political allegiances within the national political spectrum; although several EC members and a majority of the membership are supporters of the UK Labour Party, and Momentum —the party's wing that supports the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn. Nonetheless, Adam Waterhouse, a former Southampton PSC branch Secretary interviewed on 14 October 2016 declared: "you cannot assume anything about a person's view on Palestine on the basis of their party political affiliation".

His stance is supported by Soffa, who when interviewed at SOAS, recognized the diversity of political opinions within PSC's membership:

"I will just say that most PSC members were on the Left, but probably, mostly, unaffiliated. Yes, they may have voted Labour, but also quite a lot would have voted Green, or people would have voted further to the Left. There would have been a lot of supporters of Respect or TUSC [Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition], some members of other parties. And then, in Scotland there is obviously a different political complexion and a lot of people would be strong SNP [Scottish National Party] supporters, so that has been a change and it is still definitely not universal. In one of the branches I am involved in, there are key people who are members of the Liberal Democrats, we do have Conservatives. Ideally, we would like anyone and everyone, so PSC as an organization we do not take a position on UK domestic politics and we are very very happy to receive anyone, to be welcoming to people right across the political spectrum as long as they are not racist or involved in racist parties". (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

Both noted (Waterhouse, personal communication, Southampton, 14 October 2016; Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017) there were different approaches on how to frame and develop certain campaigns, which have caused conflict in recent annual general meetings. As an example, in the 2015 AGM, there was a proposal to call for the expulsion of Israel from the UN based on the fact they have systematically violated the UN Charter and failed to implement United Nation's General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 181 that created the partition of Palestine, as well as UNGA Resolution 194 that calls for the right of return of Palestinian refugees.

3.1.1 PSC's process of bureaucratization

SMOs have two main forms of organization: centralized and decentralized. Jenkins (1983) explains that a centralized structure has a clear division of labor and maximizes its mobilization potential by transforming loose commitment into defined roles as well as reducing internal conflict which instead increases readiness. Meanwhile, Gerlach and Hine (1970) argue that decentralized organizations are more effective, as they increase mobilization through a networked approach of personal bonds that generate solidarity and make this type of structure highly adaptative, which can also lead to more inventiveness in developing tactics and the ability to evade surveillance and suppression by authorities. But, as Jenkins (1983:542) notes most organizations work based on a combination of both models as this "potentially affords the mobilization advantages of decentralization as well as the tactical ones of centralization".

As previously mentioned, PSC, understood as an SMO relies primarily on the economic contributions of conscience constituents, and utilizes professional staff and volunteers to run its central operations in the Head Office, while leaving the organization of the branches to its members. Through this organization strata, they can develop the tactical coordination that is needed to develop and sustain campaigns, while possessing the ability to rapidly mobilize its grassroots base.

However, the division of labor within the organization has also caused a breach within the way the branches and grassroots activists perceive the role of the Head Office and its leadership. As Waterhouse said:

“I think there has been quite a lot of mistrust between some branches and Head Office. I think that branch groups operate largely autonomously of Head Office, they don’t receive our monthly meeting minutes, they don’t know what we are doing, what we’re saying; except to the extent to which we submit reports at the Branches’ Forum, and even then, I’m not sure that they actually read our reports. They only really find out if something goes awry. I would imagine so. I wouldn’t say the organization is functioning as well as it could be at the moment, necessarily.” (Waterhouse, personal communication, Southampton, 14 October 2016)

This issue became more palpable on 15 July 2017 during the Branch Forum held in Birmingham. At this time, the first results of Ben Jamal’s proposed strategic review were shared with the members in attendance and focused particularly on the involvement of branches in organizing and planning campaigns. The findings were that PSC does not have a clear strategy to develop and run campaigns, thus it was proposed that a template should be used for all campaigns and that this process should be coordinated by PSC staff. This proposal was not supported by the majority of grassroots activists and branch representatives as it was considered a bureaucratization of the organization.

To understand why this process might be taking place within the PSC, it is important to consider Mayer Zald and Roberta Ash’s (1966) model of transformation within SMOs. The point of departure for their proposal is what they have termed the Weber-Michel’s model, named as such because it takes as a starting point the work of Max Weber and Roberto Michels. This model suggests

that when SMOs have attained economic and social support, the leadership, that is usually headed by a charismatic individual, is replaced by a bureaucratic structure that proceeds to accommodate to society as a way of preserving the organization, regardless of its possibility of attaining goals. In this respect, it is relevant to refer to Weber-Michel's typology, which as Zald and Ash (1996:327) write is comprised of three elements:

- 1) Goal transformation: which includes the diffusion of goals so the organization can pursue broader targets. In this regard, the model argues for a change of direction towards more conservative goals.
- 2) Organizational maintenance: translates into the organization shifting its original goal into a more conservative practice where maintaining membership and managing funds becomes the primordial activity and where there is a societal accommodation as to prevent the demise of the organization.
- 3) Oligarchization: understood as the concentration of power into a minority of members. Zald and Ash equate this typology to bureaucratization which attempts to implement a hierarchy and rules to conduct affairs.

In order to relate the Weber-Michel's typology to PSC's procedures, it is important to explain that since 2014 the organization developed a framework to guide their work towards achieving their previously quoted aims. According to PSC's Annual Report (2016), the framework consists of four principles on which campaigns are developed and the annual work is organized:

- 1) To build solidarity
- 2) To build alliances for political action
- 3) To strengthen the campaign
- 4) To organize for growth

While the Weber-Michel's model argues that SMO transformation will always go towards a more conservative direction; Zald and Ash (1996) explain that this is not necessarily the case and that the organization could end up being more radical. The PSC, according to my research, is at crossroads. Although the previously mentioned principles are quite broad, the final aims are still specific. Furthermore, with Jamal's appointment as director, the PSC's leadership undertook a strategic review (Jamal, 2017) which began in July 2016 and ended in November 2017. The purpose of the review was to look at the PSC's work and identify its successes as well as the areas for improvement, in order to better organize and implement future activities and accomplish the goal of mainstreaming the campaign in the British socio-political environment. Thus acknowledging the fact that by no means is the Palestinian cause a universally accepted one and that taking part in activism connected to this cause, is still socially costly and in some cases even dangerous.

Nonetheless, the Weber-Michel's model does state that an organization will change towards activities that become more socially acceptable, or less challenging to the social system that is in place. While the model sees this as a conforming attitude taken by the movement's leadership, it could also be said it is a strategy implemented to maintain and even increase the movement's membership, as the de-radicalization of the targets could translate into increasing the appeal of participating in the actions of the movement or at least making it less costly. Indeed, as Waterhouse said:

"I think that the problem is the reason these conflicts, these differences of opinion arise, and the reason why they cannot be resolved easily [...] is that PSC as an organization finds itself having to negotiate competing imperatives basically. [...] There are two competing imperatives that are particularly significant here and the one is to be a fearless truth-teller, and to be extremely forthright in the manner of speaking truth to power, challenging the status quo; and the other is seeking to build a broad base

of consensus among people who are broadly sympathetic of the Palestinian cause, but who are by no means necessarily totally fearless in that position.

[...]

“PSC is having to negotiate these competing imperatives and people are seeing different parts of the picture. People in the branches and grassroots activists are thinking: ‘we need to fearlessly speak truth to power’. People in the Head Office and the Executive Committee are thinking we need to effectively manage our relationships with these outside actors who are pledging their support [...], people like the heads of trade unions, and people who want to support Palestine, but can’t afford to be seen being too radical for the sake of their own positions, so this is an inevitable conflict of interest”. (Waterhouse, personal communication, Southampton, 14 October 2016)

This division has led to a certain centralization of PSC, creating some mistrust between the Head Office and the local branches, a problem that could potentially lead to what Zald and Ash (1996:328) have termed bureaucratization, which they define as a “form of oligarchization which stresses a hierarchy of offices and prescribed rules for conducting affairs”.

In the PSC’s model of campaign planning, campaigns are planned and drafted by a staff campaigns team. Each campaign would have a specific working group driven by PSC and chaired by the campaign manager or a member of the EC. Additionally, there would be a campaigns’ coordinating group, chaired by the director that would meet and review progress as well as funding for each campaign. At the same time, the campaign manager would produce reports to inform the rest of the EC of the progress of each campaign.

If implemented, the stratification of work would convert PSC into a centralized and less flexible organization. As Jenkins notes:

Bureaucratic structures provide technical expertise and coordination essential in institutional change efforts but are less effective at mobilising 'grassroots' participation. Decentralised structures maximise personal transformation, thereby mobilising 'grassroots' participation and insuring group maintenance, but often at the cost of strategic effectiveness" (Jenkins, 1983:542)

Thus, if the measure were to be approved it would result in furthering the London-centrality of the PSC and its Head Office, an issue that has been recognized by the leadership in its Strategic Review (Jamal, 2017) and which local branches have previously complained of.

3.2 Political constraints and opportunities for the PSC's cause

Zald and Ash's (1996) proposal emphasizes that the transformation of SMOs is not only caused by the three processes of the Weber-Michel's model (Zald and Ash, 1996) but that additional factors contribute to it. For them, the movement's pool of adherents —members, supporters, financial backers and the SMI—, and the society where the movement exists play a role in the potential changes that the SMO will go through. In their words:

"[...] the larger society affects the MO [movement organization] because the attitudes and norms of the larger society affect the readiness of movement sympathizers to become members, and the readiness of members to participate fully". (Zald and Ash, 1966:330)

They add that at least three aspects of the environment can affect the growth and transformation of a SMO. Firstly, conditions in society increase or decrease the

potential support base of the organization. Secondly, the society may change in the direction of organizational goals, or events may clearly indicate that goals will not be attained; which affects members and potential members as they consider the failure or success of the movement. Thirdly, SMOs exist in an environment with other organizations aimed at rather similar goals, what has been previously called a social movement industry. This similarity of goals may cause alliances and bridging of movements, but it can also cause competition between organizations.

The analysis of the pool of adherents and members of the PSC will take place in the second half of this chapter. Yet, the explanation of the way in which society affects the PSC's organizational transformation will take place in subsequent paragraphs. In this regard it is important to consider that the PSC exists in a highly contested political landscape, where the existing political constraints and opportunities largely contributed to the actions taken by the leadership and activists on the ground.

The UK, and particularly London, have played a historical role in the Palestine-Israel conflict. The centrality of the UK and London has been recognized by the Israeli government and its institutions, for example, the Israeli think tank, the Reut Institute (Michlin, 2010:27), stated that the Balfour Declaration (1917) "made London the 'hub of legitimacy' for the Jewish homeland", but nowadays is the main location of opposition towards Israel. The report (2010b:24) goes on to classify London as "the hub of hubs" of the so-called delegitimization network that works toward diminishing the public image and international standing of the Israeli State. It adds that the UK's location, history, and language are among the factors that help promote Palestinian support in London. Furthermore, the media concentration, academic influence, diplomatic weight and non-governmental organization (NGO) centrality of London make it easier for activists to organize and develop campaigns.

The emergence of the BDS movement in 2005 and its growth in the West raised the alarm in Israel's political echelons of becoming a pariah state. As a consequence, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office, and the Israeli Ministry of Finance along with American marketing executives launched on 2 October 2005 the Brand Israel Group (BIG), a communications and public relations strategy that attempted to distance Israel from the conflict with the Palestinians and portray the country in a more favorable light by highlighting its technological and cultural activities (Pappe, 2015). The public relations offensive was followed with the creation of the Ministry of Strategic Affairs in 2006, whose secretive and low profile activities are concerned with the coordination of security, intelligence, and diplomatic initiatives to counteract any perceived legitimacy threats to Israel, of which BDS is the most prominent one. Gilad Erdan, the head of the ministry was quoted by the *Jerusalem Post* saying that "Great Britain is the world center of the anti-Israel BDS campaign" (Weinthal, 2017) and the same article reported that in 2016 alone the ministry's budget to fight any delegitimization attempts was 120 million shekels.

Israeli governmental institutions are not alone in combatting the delegitimization challenge posed by pro-Palestinian groups. In the UK, organizations such as the Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre (BICOM), the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Jewish Leadership Council (JLC) have developed a coordinated strategy that targets the British government and media to counteract any discourse in support of Palestine. BICOM was created in 2002 in an attempt to control the self-inflicted damage carried out by the IDF and Israel's political leadership after the Second Intifada, it was funded by some of the wealthiest members of the British Zionist community, led by Chaim 'Poju' Zabludowicz, a man ranked 57th on *The Sunday Times* rich list of 2014. The think-tank is staffed with some of the best public relations' experts, Zionist academics as well as former government officials—both in Israel and the United Kingdom—, making it one of the primary institutions in the UK to advance Israel's interests in civil society and diplomatically.

Although BICOM is not well known to the British public, it is considered the most sophisticated of the pro-Israeli advocacy groups in the UK, because it attempts to place itself as the centrist and moderate voice in the spectrum of the Israeli lobby. In order to achieve its mission of improving Israel's public image, this organisation "works behind the scenes to cultivate elite opinion on Israel and focuses on the British media, attempting to ensure that reporting is more favourable to the interests of the Israeli state" (Miller et al., 2013:11). It has employed public relations professionals and lobbyists since its establishment and has adopted a strategic approach to communications, retaining leading consultants as advisers and using detailed public opinion surveys to craft its communications strategy.

While BICOM focuses on lobbying the British media, it has connections to two Zionist institutions who work on doing political lobbying: the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Jewish Leadership Council. The first defines itself as the official representative of Britain's Jewish community and the latter is an umbrella group for Jewish organisations and charities, as well as BICOM's main partner (Miller et al., 2013). Along with its associations with the main British Zionist organisms, BICOM has a good relationship with the parliamentary groups called "Friends of Israel", who lobby the three main political parties in the UK. Miller et al. (2013:32) specified that BICOM's strongest ties are with Labour Friends of Israel (LFI). The relationship is rooted in an empathy from British labour towards Israel's "leftist" politics during the first years of its creation. This cooperation was boosted with the emergence of New Labour, with former prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown becoming Labour Friends of Israel.

Noting these findings, the Israeli government and the pro-Israeli lobby in the UK are attempting to undermine pro-Palestine activism in Britain through a series of political and media schemes, some of which were uncovered in the four-part *Al Jazeera* documentary *The Lobby* (2017b). The mechanisms to undermine grassroots support in favor of Palestine have also been aligned with the

ascension of pro-Palestine supporter and member of PSC, Jeremy Corbyn, as the leader of the opposition with the Labour Party in 2015. National PSC's Secretary, Ben Soffa, who is a member of Corbyn's inner circle as well as Labour's Head of Digital Organizing said in an interview (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017) that although the Labour Party was already under heavy scrutiny by Israeli supporters, Corbyn's leadership has amplified it:

"[...] the UK was already a concern and the Labour Party was already a concern under Ed Miliband. If you look back at the reporting from things like the *Jewish Chronicle*, under Ed Miliband, it was already sort of like: 'How is this wonderful previously pro-Israel party under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown descended into this awful thing where it's just gone totally to hateful, full of anti-Semites under Ed Miliband; and this wasn't stopped by the fact that Ed Miliband is Jewish, son of a Holocaust survivor, none of that prevented people already trying to whip this storm out to try and stop any progress in the Labour Party at that time.

So that obviously became much more surveillant to Jeremy Corbyn, that for some people it's totally unacceptable to be a leader of the second party in any major country that unequivocally stands for the human rights of the Palestinian people, and that has definitely driven a lot of other things that happened subsequently. [...] I think extra resources are being given to this and it has extra salience in the mainstream media because of the positions of Jeremy Corbyn, and that has had complicated consequences for the movement". (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

One of the main ways in which pro-Palestine activism and the Labour Party were undermined at this time was through anti-Semitism accusations causing concern for both the leadership and grassroots activists.

The accusations began on 26 April 2016 when it was revealed that Labour MP Naz Shah had written a Facebook post arguing for Israel's population to be transferred to the U.S. Later that day more Facebook posts emerged where she called for her followers to vote in an online poll that asked if Israel had committed war crimes, and another where she used the hashtag #ApartheidIsrael and compared Israel to the Nazis (Elgot, *The Guardian*, 2016). By the next day, it was reported that Shah was suspended from the party and faced an investigation over her social media activity (Stewart, *The Guardian*, 2016).

On 28 April, former Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, appeared on several radio programs attempting to defend Shah. The media highlighted his comments about how Nazis supported Zionism, as initially, they intended to send Jewish people to what is now Israel, which led to him being accused of anti-Semitism and being suspended from the party. However, his comments about how the Israeli lobby targets anyone that criticizes Israel's policy:

“As I’ve said, I’ve never heard anybody say anything anti-Semitic, but there’s been a very well-orchestrated campaign by the Israel lobby to smear anybody who criticises Israeli policy as anti-Semitic. I had to put up with 35 years of this”. (Stone, *The Independent*, 2016c)

or the ongoing attempt to undermine Corbyn’s leadership were disregarded:

“Frankly, there’s been an attempt to smear Jeremy Corbyn and his associates as anti-Semitic from the moment he became leader. The simple fact is we have the right to criticise what is one of the most brutal

regimes going in the way it treats the Palestinians.” (Stone, *The Independent*, 2016c)

Four days later, the political blog Guido Fawkes revealed that three Labour councilors had been suspended over controversial social media posts. First, Ilyas Aziz, councilor for Nottingham, had several Facebook posts where he suggested relocating the State of Israel to the U.S. and comparing the Israeli treatment of Palestinians to Nazi Germany (Guido Fawkes, 2016a). The councilor for Blackburn, Salim Mulla, also called for the relocation of Israel, said it was behind ISIS, and in relation to a photograph of an IDF soldier at a checkpoint wrote: “Apartheid at its best. Zionist Jews are a disgrace to humanity” (Guido Fawkes, 2016b). Finally, Shah Hussain, Burnley councilor, tweeted to the Israeli football player, Yossi Benayoun, that his country was doing the same thing that Hitler did to his race in World War II (Guido Fawkes, 2016c). Furthermore, *The Telegraph* published that Labour had secretly suspended 50 members over anti-Semitic and racist comments (McCann, 2016); however, it was confirmed to *Labour List* that 18 members had been suspended (Pope, 2016).

Following these incidents, on 29 April, Corbyn launched an independent inquiry into anti-Semitism within the Labour party chaired by former Director of Liberty, Shami Chakrabarti. Its findings were published on 30 June and stated that: “the Labour Party is not overrun by anti-Semitism, Islamophobia or other forms of racism” (Chakrabarti, 2016:1). The report abstained from defining anti-Semitism, but made specific notes about the mistake of using the term Zio, stereotyping Jewish people, utilizing Hitler, Nazi and Holocaust metaphors; as well as the problems of using the notion of Zionism abusively or as a euphemism for ‘Jew’. It went on to provide new procedures for dealing with complaints and sanctions for its members and recommended further training for members of the Party.

Notwithstanding, Labour was targeted again in Autumn 2016, when Jackie Walker, the vice-chair for Momentum, the grassroots organization supporting Jeremy Corbyn, was secretly filmed by *The Daily Telegraph* during a Labour

Party anti-Semitism training event saying that she still had not heard of a definition of anti-Semitism she could work with and calling for Holocaust Memorial Day to be more inclusive “to all the people who experienced Holocaust” (Cowburn, *The Independent*, 2016). Walker was later suspended from the Party and removed from her post in Momentum.

These accusation follow the publication on 13 October 2016 by the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee of its report on anti-Semitism in the UK. The report (2016) has raised concern for activists supporting the Palestinian cause, members of the Left and people advocating for human rights, and democracy, because of the definition of anti-Semitism it suggests as well as for its demonization of criticizing the State of Israel. The report (2016) has a heavy focus on the previously mentioned anti-Semitism row within the Labour Party, although it states that historically anti-Semitic abuse and crime have been committed by far-right groups, an affirmation that could be used to prove that the debate about the Labour Party being anti-Semitic is just a way of undermining its leader.

Another major problem of the report is the proposed anti-Semitism definition, which is based on the working definition of the now defunct European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and the definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), and it should be emphasized that they are both working definitions that are non-legally binding, although Prime Minister (PM) Theresa May announced on 12 December, during a meeting with the group Conservative Friends of Israel that the UK will formally adopt this definition.

The initial part of the definition is correct as it states:

“Anti-Semitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or

their property, towards Jewish community institutions and religious facilities”. (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, 2016)

However, the document goes on to list examples of anti-Semitic actions, such as:

- “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
 - Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation”.
- (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, 2016)

After it was announced in December 2016 that the government would adopt the IHRA's definition, and its guidelines, an action that would help silence the debate around the topic of Palestine-Israel, a coalition of UK organizations that support Palestine —Jews for Justice for Palestinians, Independent Jewish Voices, Free Speech on Israel and PSC— sought legal advice from Hugh Tomlinson QC to counteract the government's actions. In March 2017 they obtained an Opinion from Senior Counsel on the impact on freedom of expression and assembly the IHRA definition could have and had already had by conflating anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism to curtail campaigning on behalf of Palestinians. As expressed in the press release:

“The Opinion states that the definition is badly drafted, creates scope for confusion and inconsistency, and potentially ‘chills’ the debate around Israel/Palestine. Tomlinson stresses that the definition is not legally binding, public bodies are under no obligation to adopt it, and those that do must take care applying it or risk ‘unlawfully restricting legitimate expressions of political opinion in violation of statutory duties to ensure freedom of expression and assembly” (Palestine Solidarity Campaign, press release, 2017c)

Additionally, in November 2016 May's government announced new guidelines for local councils for procurement of goods and services, as well as for investment of pension schemes. As the press release mentioned: "the move aims to stop councils from introducing restrictions on the companies and countries they use — particularly by introducing boycotts on goods from Israel" (Javid, 2017). This move was targeted to counteract the divestment aspect of the BDS movement. In response, the PSC, jointly with War On Want, Campaign Against the Arms Trade and the Quakers launched and won a judicial review, where the judge determined that: "the guidance was unlawful and that the government had acted for an improper purpose" (Osborne, 2017).

On the broader political context, the Brexit vote of 23 June 2016, where a 52% majority in the UK voted to leave the European Union (EU) and the election of Donald Trump in the U.S. contributed to a political shift to the right that affected not only pro-Palestine activism, but a wider range of human and civil rights causes. In the case of the UK, the electoral climate in the months preceding the referendum enabled and amplified an anti-migrant, Islamophobic and overall racist discourse emanating from the "Leave" campaign.

After the vote, Conservative Prime Minister, David Cameron, resigned from his post and Home Secretary, Theresa May, took over his role. May's accession to power can be seen as preoccupying, since her record as Home Secretary saw the creation of the Prevent Strategy in 2011 (UK Home Office, 2011), which is part of the broader counter-terrorism strategy to prevent people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism and has led to the creation of a "suspect community", the stigmatization of Muslims, and the inhibition of freedom of speech (Casciani, 2014 and Awan, 2016). Prevent and the Extremism Bill are of particular worry to the British movement in support of Palestine, as well as to the general British citizenship that wishes to dissent and protests government policy.

The victory of the “Leave” campaign provided its supporters with the confidence to articulate and exercise racist actions. The Home Office Hate Crime Statistical Bulletin for England and Wales 2015-2016 shows that 2016 saw the highest numbers of hate crimes since 2013. “Whilst January to May 2016 follows a similar level of hate crime to 2015, the number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police in July 2016 was 41% higher than in July 2015”, states the report (Corcoran and Smith, 2016:18).

In addition, the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) reported that: “anti-migrant and anti-Muslim racism, in particular, intersected in the context of the EU referendum” (Burnett, 2016:7). However, this narrative is only a continuation of the British government’s national security and migration policy, that since the events of 9/11 and the “War On Terror” has targeted Muslims, and by extension, immigrants and asylum-seekers. Moreover, the increase of racism can also be attributed to mainstream media, with tabloids like *The Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* voicing some of the most racist discourse, equating Muslims to terrorists, blurring distinctions between migrants and asylum-seekers and talking about the threat/invasion of foreigners (Burnett, 2016).

This general climate of suspicion, demonization, and clustering of Muslim and Arab immigrants or descendants made it particularly difficult for a fringe organization like the PSC, which supports a national liberation movement and human rights cause in the Middle East, to exercise their activism without raising concern among a broader public. As an example of the challenges this environment created, it was reported by the online news site *Middle East Eye* (Ullah, 2017) that in 2015 the PSC had been added to the World-Check database, a non-governmental list used by financial institutions around the world that assess individuals and organizations who use or wish to use financial services, as having terrorist links. As a consequence, in November 2015 the PSC and its affiliated branches in England and Scotland had their Co-operative Bank accounts closed. It was only in June 2017, after a legal battle, that the PSC was

removed from the list, as it was shown that the terrorism accusations were unfounded.

At the same time, the Brexit vote triggered a division within the Labour party, with several MPs questioning Jeremy Corbyn's leadership and his failure to address the topic of immigration with the electorate (Mason and Asthana, *The Guardian*, 2016). This led to a vote of no-confidence on the Labour leader and more than 65 resignations from his shadow team (Chadwick and McTague, *POLITICO*, 2016). However, Corbyn was elected as Labour's leader for a second time on 24 September 2016. The Labour "coup" complicated things for the party, which now had to face not only its internal division but the uncertain future that meant leaving the EU, in addition to the previously mentioned anti-Semitism accusations raised against its members.

Additionally, the election of Donald Trump as the next American president and his campaign declarations supporting the policies of the Israeli State caused an even more open attack on pro-Palestinian activism. One of Trump's most salient promises concerning Israel during his campaign was in March 2016, during his speech in front of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) where he said that under his government they would "move the American embassy to the eternal capital of the Jewish people: Jerusalem", and added that Israel was its "most reliable ally" (Johnson, *The Washington Post*, 2016). The recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and the order to transfer the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem took place on the 6 of December 2017 (Borger and Beaumont, *The Guardian*, 2017).

While campaigning Trump also voiced his support for settlement construction when in May 2016 he said Israel should "keep moving forward" (Martosko, *The Daily Mail*, 2016), which led to a congratulatory video by Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu (AFP, 2016), where he called him "a great friend of Israel". Meanwhile, the Israeli Minister of Education, Neftali Bennet, said that Trump's

victory was “an opportunity for Israel to immediately retract the notion of a Palestinian State in the center of the country, which would hurt our security and just cause” (McKernan, *The Independent*, 2016).

Trump’s support for settlement expansion became evident when leaders of the settlement movement were invited to his inauguration on 20 January 2017 (Federman, 2017) and in the subsequent two weeks, the Israeli government made a series of announcements for over 6,000 new settlement units. On 22 January it was informed that 566 units would be built in occupied East Jerusalem (Beaumont, 2017a), and on 24 January the construction of 2,500 more housing units in the West Bank were added (Beaumont, 2017b). Furthermore, 153 settler homes were proposed to be built in East Jerusalem (Al Jazeera, 2017a) and on 31 January 3,500 more house units were announced in the West Bank (Beaumont, 2017c). The announcements were followed by the Israeli Knesset’s approval of a law that legalized settlements in privately owned Palestinian land (Fisher, 2017), which meant that over 8,000 square kilometers in 16 different settlements would be annexed to Israel.

Moreover, Trump’s selection of David Friedman as the new American ambassador to Israel and the appointment of his son in law, Jared Kushner as his senior political advisor, whose among his many duties is brokering the Palestine-Israel peace deal, seems to go in line with his support for an expansionist Israeli policy. According to online news site *Mondoweiss* (Weiss, 2016), Kushner and his family’s foundation, The Seryl and Charles Kushner Family Foundation have given \$325,860 to the Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces (FIDF). It was also reported by *The Washington Post* that the Kushners donated \$58,500 to different illegal settlements in the West Bank (Morello, 2016). The report added that Friedman serves as the head of the organization American Friends of Beit El Yeshiva, another Israeli settlement in the West Bank, to which the Kushner foundation contributed \$10,000 in 2011 and \$28,000 in 2013.

The settlement expansion was addressed during Netanyahu's visit to the U.S. in mid-February 2017 during a joint press conference between Netanyahu and Trump, where the latter said: "As far as settlements I'd like to see you hold back on settlements for a little bit" (Borger and Beaumont, 2017). Moreover, Trump seemed to move away from the decades-old U.S. policy of supporting a two-state solution by declaring:

"I'm looking at two-state and one-state and I like the one that both parties like [Israel and Palestine]. I'm very happy with the one that both parties like. I can live with either one. I thought for a while the two-state looked like it may be the easier of the two but honestly if Bibi [Netanyahu] and if the Palestinians, Israel and the Palestinians are happy, I'm happy with the one they like the best." (Borger and Beaumont, 2017)

Notwithstanding, these political challenges also provided fertile ground for collective action to emerge and organize. Opposition to Donald Trump's policies as well as the rise of far-Right movements in the U.S. and Europe have served as triggers to renew and relaunch calls defending human and civil rights for women, minorities, indigenous groups as well as the LGBTQ community. These contested spaces are useful for raising the Palestinian cause and linking it to broader struggles. In the PSC's Strategic Review, Ben Jamal notes that:

"There is also a growing space for intersectional political alliances and to forge links with others campaigning on a broader anti-Imperialist, anti-racist narrative particularly in relation to issues relating to foreign policy. The growth of the Stop the War movement in opposition to the invasion of Iraq has been a key factor in the growth of support for the campaign for justice for Palestine with the injustices to which Palestinians are subjected understood within a framework of unethical and neoconservative foreign policymaking where the rights of indigenous peoples are made secondary to Western economic and political interests". (Jamal, 2017:5)

3.2.1 Framing the Palestinian struggle in the current context

Environmental opportunities and constraints do not only manifest in the way an SMO alters its goals and campaign tactics they also influence the way an organization refers to itself, the grievances it wishes to change, as well as its opposers. The attribution of meaning to the collective action repertoire of an organization is what social movement scholars have defined as framing, and its value relies on its ability to confer and amplify the SMOs message to a wider audience and mobilize support.

According to Benford and Snow (1988) there are three core framing tasks: Diagnostic framing, which refers to the way in which an organization identifies a grievance; prognostic framing is the articulation of the solution to the identified problem, and the strategies for implementing it, and motivational framing which relates to the “call to arms” to take part in collective action, and includes the construction and articulation of the right language for the cause.

In the case of the PSC, the diagnostic framework is the Palestinians’ lack of human rights, freedom, and self-determination caused by the illegal occupation and systematic abuses and oppression carried out by Israel since its establishment in 1947. In this regard, PSC utilizes a historical framework to substantiate the Palestinian’s grievances based on events such as the Nakba; the further occupation of East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in 1966. With regards to the current political climate that governs the occupied Palestinian territories (oPt), the PSC equates the situation to apartheid South Africa. However, it is important to remark that the PSC stirs away from positioning itself on the Palestinian leadership

divide that has existed since 2006 when Hamas won the Palestinian legislative elections, which led to international economic sanctions as well as infighting between the two main Palestinian political factions Al-Fatah and Hamas, with the first one governing in the West Bank and the latter in control of the Gaza Strip. Yet, the PSC does condemn the blockade of the Gaza Strip that ensued Hamas' takeover of Gaza and has condemned Israel's military attacks as well as the consequences of the siege, such as lack of medical and food supplies, damage to infrastructure, and the violation of human rights.

The prognostic framing of the PSC can be linked to the organization's aims, the context, and the campaigns developed at specific historical moments. Benford and Snow (2000) suggest that diagnostic and prognostic framings correspond, which can be an explanation for how the PSC develops and adapts its campaigns to the reigning context in which they will take place. Thus, in the time of the research, the campaigns emanated from the BDS movement as well as from a rights-based framework, the latter being a ubiquitous framework for movements advocating for political and or economic change according to Benford and Snow (2000). Regarding the anti-Semitism accusations, the PSC's leadership expressed in the Strategic Review (2017) that they have developed the following strategic response to the attacks:

- "Keep our narrative rights-based and framed within an antiracist struggle
- Ensure all our messaging and actions reflect this narrative
- Take robust action to respond to attacks as required, including legal action

- Devote more time to building alliances with key mainstream, sympathetic opinion formers —eg key members of House of Lords, civil liberties organisations such as Liberty; strategic targeting of key people within political parties, both to legitimise the message, but also PSC's reputation as a voice promoting liberal values”.

Finally, the motivational framing can be understood as the actions that support each campaign, for example in the case of BDS this can be seen as an umbrella strategy from which different campaigns can emerge to support it, for example the current campaign to boycott technology company Hewlett Packard (HP) for its collaboration with the Israeli regime in providing capabilities to surveil, block and control the Palestinian population in the oPt, or call on British grocery stores to stop stocking Israeli produce sourced in the West Bank such as dates, vegetables, and fruits. Additionally, calling on musicians, artists, actors, and entertainers to deny appearing in Israel as part of a broader campaign calling for the cultural and academic boycott of Israel.

Benford and Snow also argue that it is the motivational framing where the construction and articulation of the right language for the cause take place. For the PSC it is important to build and frame their goals within a rights-based narrative, which Benford and Snow (2000) have labeled a master frame, as it is a flexible and inclusive collective action frame that is useful to increase mobilization and link movements. They add that master frames are important because of their cultural resonance, which is a concept that relies on three factors:

- 1) Frame consistency: which refers to the congruency between an SMOs articulated beliefs, claims, and actions

- 2) Empirical credibility: which is concerned with the fit between the framings and events in the world
- 3) Credibility of the frame articulators: a notion that is granted by the status or expertise of the constituents and adherents of the SMO

This conceptualization is useful and important to explain the way in which the PSC crafts its communication to both its constituents and the broader bystander public in the UK, as its aim is not only to be able to swiftly and enduringly mobilize and already committed membership, but to also increase the support for their cause in the social milieu where it is attempting to make a change. For this particular goal of mainstreaming the organization's aims, media plays a central role not only to have outreach capabilities for increasing knowledge and information about the grievances faced by Palestinians, but also to internally organize and accurately self-define itself and its campaigns.

Regarding the latter notion of campaign development and measuring popular support for it, when interviewed Soffa explained :

“If we’re getting a good pick up on a story, we would probably put more resources into that and follow through on that, and vice versa. If we’re not getting [resonance], media is not the only measure of this, but would be a significant one, so it’s unlikely that something would play very well on mainstream media and not at all with members or branches, which is obviously better feedback, even if it’s not a total one-to-one relationship.

“If something’s playing well in the media, we would probably continue to push on that. So during one of the recent Gaza wars the issue of child casualties became a big issue, obviously it’s terrible in its own right amongst many other horrors, but the fact that that was playing significantly strongly in the UK media means that our tactics will continue to reflect that and try and push forward that agenda, if it’s one that we agree with. It’s not that we take these things uncritically, but where we see an opening we will try to push this as far as we can through that. So you can definitely see some areas where media will shape what we do on a short term basis.

“For the longer term planning, we operate in a campaigning environment which is not only dictated by media, but can have a significant impact or reach beyond our standard supporters, our overall aims and values are not going to be dictated to by what seems popular or by what gets discussed. So the right of return in the mainstream media, that’s a non-issue in domestic politics, in international politics it’s totally off the agenda, [...] but we believe in the right of return, we believe that’s a fundamental right and, therefore, we wouldn’t drop it. [...] So there’s some fundamentals which can remain regardless of media attention”. (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

As such, the PSC enhanced its media capabilities and intensified their use of social media. The increased use of social media coincided with three Israeli attacks on Gaza which has helped the PSC change its image and enhance its position, allowing it to recruit more support. As Soffa notes:

“We can have hundreds of thousands of people who mostly won’t have heard about it through mainstream media, they won’t have

heard about it through PSC's printed publications or membership mailings or anything like that. Some of them would have heard about it through our email lists but that's also a product of social media. But they would have heard about it through, mostly, Facebook and things reaching out into other people who are friends who follow PSC as activists or things were we break out into wider sections of Muslim community, Arab community, other people who are involved in other progressive or human rights causes, and where literally things will be shared tens of thousands of times calling people to demonstrations, people inviting their friends, people outside of London organizing coaches, just with people they've come in contact through social media and not an existing branch or anything like that". (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

The organization's online communication strategy is both active and reactive. The active planning is linked to the development of online campaigns, where events and actions will be launched and advertised on certain moments to coordinate with the broader offline campaigning strategy. The PSC has a significant amount of responsive activities where staff and volunteers will search for news stories concerning Palestine, as well as issues that connect Palestine with UK domestic issues. It is in this case that the empirical credibility that Benford and Snow (2000) talk about takes place in the PSC's framing strategy, as Soffa notes:

"[...] You will see more stuff where we are gonna post an article from *Haaretz* or whatever when it's talking about something that we are campaigning on as opposed to corruption in Israeli politics, or something that's important, but not one of the main things that we are pressing on. Water rights or something like that, you're less likely to

get that compared to prisoners or settlement expansion". (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

Finally, when addressing the credibility of the frame articulators it must be explained that although the PSC produces reports and information about events in Palestine, as well as about the relationship between Palestine/Israel and the UK, they are still an organization based in the UK that lacks the ability to conduct independent fact-checking about issues taking place on the ground in Palestine. Although, Soffa mentions they have a good network of people on the ground, they still rely on credible news media sources. He says:

"It will be sources which have built a body of trust through consistent publication of facts that aren't being challenged, so if that's *Ma'an* or *Al Jazeera*, or others where they've built credibility through their history of reliable work, as opposed to some random blog or a Twit from a Western activist who may have got confused, or be misinformed, or believe rumors that weren't true, or anything like that. [...] I guess that's mostly about assessing the track record of organizations". (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

Understanding the PSC as a social movement organization that is undergoing structural changes in a contested socio-political landscape, allows the analysis of the development and implementation of its activities and campaigns in a comprehensive way. Moreover, it provides the foundation needed to analyze the way in which grassroots activists use the

internet and social media, as well as the opportunities and constraints they face in the evolving political British landscape.

3.3 The PSC as a grassroots movement

The internet and computer-mediated-communication (CMC) provide social movements and organizations in solidarity with them a cost-effective and fast — immediate— way of communicating and mobilizing support for a cause. (Downing, 2001; Della Porta & Mosca, 2005; Cammaerts in Silverstone, 2005 and Cammaerts, 2007). The battle waged by movements and SMOs against bias and to gain mainstream media coverage and legitimacy has not disappeared with the emergence of online alternative media and online social networks, such as Facebook or Twitter. However, the internet has given them an opportunity to bypass the hegemonic narratives of traditional media and not only attempt to reframe the terms of the debate, but to slowly influence mainstream media agendas and public opinion (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; McCarthy in McAdam, et al., 1996; Cammaerts, 2012).

At the same time, it is important to remember that the internet and online social media also pose difficulties for the continuation of movements. While some theorists (Della Porta & Mosca, 2005; Bennett, in van de Donk 2004; Castells, 2000a) focus on the lack of compromise and social change that activism can bring through a loose and flexible network like the internet, a bigger threat to activists around the world in the current context is the surveillance and monitoring of their online activities by the government, oppositional groups or adversarial States (Villareal Ford & Gil in Downing, 2000; Morozov 2011; Fuchs, 2014).

As mentioned before (see Chapter one), to fully understand how collective action can be activated, sustained and articulated, the four different approaches for the

study of social movements —RMT, POS, framing and affect— need to be analyzed as interdependent on one another. Furthermore, for the purposes of this research, it is also important to recognize how media and communication are embedded within these theoretical approaches and help better understand social movements in a more encompassing way.

In what follows, I discuss the media activities of one of the PSC's branches in order to examine the different tactics used to garner support for the Palestinian cause and the ways in which these strategies adapt, coincide or diverge from the institutional guidelines and strategies created by the PSC. The object of this analysis will be the online communication strategies employed and the role the internet plays, nonetheless, certain offline activities will be discussed in conjunction to the online ones, as they took place at the same time or were part of the same action.

3.3.1 Context dictates content

Communication is often a relegated aspect in the study of social movements. Theories tend to focus on the political openness or closeness of the system, or focus on communication as only the media, be it traditional mainstream media, self-produced activist media or the internet. The failure to acknowledge that communication is an underlying activity, whether it is in face-to-face engagements, collective action, social movements, politics or the media, undermines the idea that communication is at the core of movement formation, development and success. What needs to be understood is that all of the previous interactions, regardless of the scope they can have —one person or a global, transnational audience— have at the very basis of their existence and emergence a communicative process. Additionally, it must be remembered that communication, as the process it is, is not isolated from the system and context in which it takes place; it is at the most basic level a two-way model, with an output and input cycle, that makes the production of messages a result of

previously acquired information. With these factors influencing each other, the communicative process is a cause and consequence of the interlocutor(s) as well as the time where it occurs.

In this research project, understanding communication in relation to context as an underlying, omnipresent idea is not only necessary but also relevant, as this impacted the way in which the researcher approached its subjects, and, as it will be shown in the final section of this chapter, the way in which the grassroots strategizing for collective action was developed and tailored to the specific circumstances in which their messages would be crafted, articulated, and received.

3.3.2 Online surveillance and hacking

As previously mentioned, the internet and social media provide an array of opportunities for organizing a protest and wider transnational activism; on the one hand, this medium is an incredible tool for networking with other activist groups and reach out to the wider population who also uses social media. Yet, as Christian Fuch's (2014) research shows there is also a downside of using the internet and relying on corporate social media, where activists and the movement as a whole could be endangered of being silenced and shut down because corporate social media collaborate with governmental agencies, as the Edward Snowden revelations on the National Security Agency (NSA) spying demonstrated. Not to mention that if the general population can access the digital contents created by the campaign, so can government officials, lobby groups or people on the opposing camp, which could lead to online/offline conflict and even threats.

This has been one of the problems faced by the PSC in the last year. Under Theresa May's government, Parliament passed the Investigatory Powers Bill on 29 November 2016, which grants the UK government the biggest spying powers

in the world. The “snooper’s charter”, as it has been called, requires Internet service providers to gather detailed information from customers’ web browsing history for the last year, it also forces phone companies to make their phones less secure so that they can be listened on by spies, and would allow the government to ask companies like Google and Apple to hack into phones (Griffin, *The Independent*, 2016a). *The Independent* reported (Griffin, 2016b) that 48 government agencies will have access to records.

Hacking and spying have also been a problem for the PSC’s head office and the local branches. On 2nd February 2017, an email was sent to the branches secretaries by the head office Campaigns Officer asking them not to open an email, which they suspected came from a pro-Israeli organization or individual that wished to gather activists’ e-mail addresses and send viruses/malware or spyware.

Moreover, on 8 March 2017, the PSC’s Twitter account was hacked (Figure 3.1) and used to tweet messages in support of Hamas. As revealed by the *Electronic Intifada* (Winstanley, 2017) the first tweet said that PSC “was ‘looking forward’ to ‘working fondly’ with” Hamas’ new leader Yahya Sinwar. While the second read: “Together we will build a more supportive UK”. Winstanley writes the messages were deleted by the PSC staff and the account deactivated for two days to investigate the source of the attack. Three days later, on 11 March 2017, the PSC informed (Figure 3.2) its followers that its Facebook account had also been hacked, and as reported by the *Electronic Intifada* (Winstanley, 2017) its page was defaced with the message “Mossad has infiltrated you”. As a precaution, the local PSC branch that was the subject of the research added an additional level of security on its Twitter account and updated their Facebook profile.



Figure 3.1

Post notifying the hacking of PSC's Twitter account

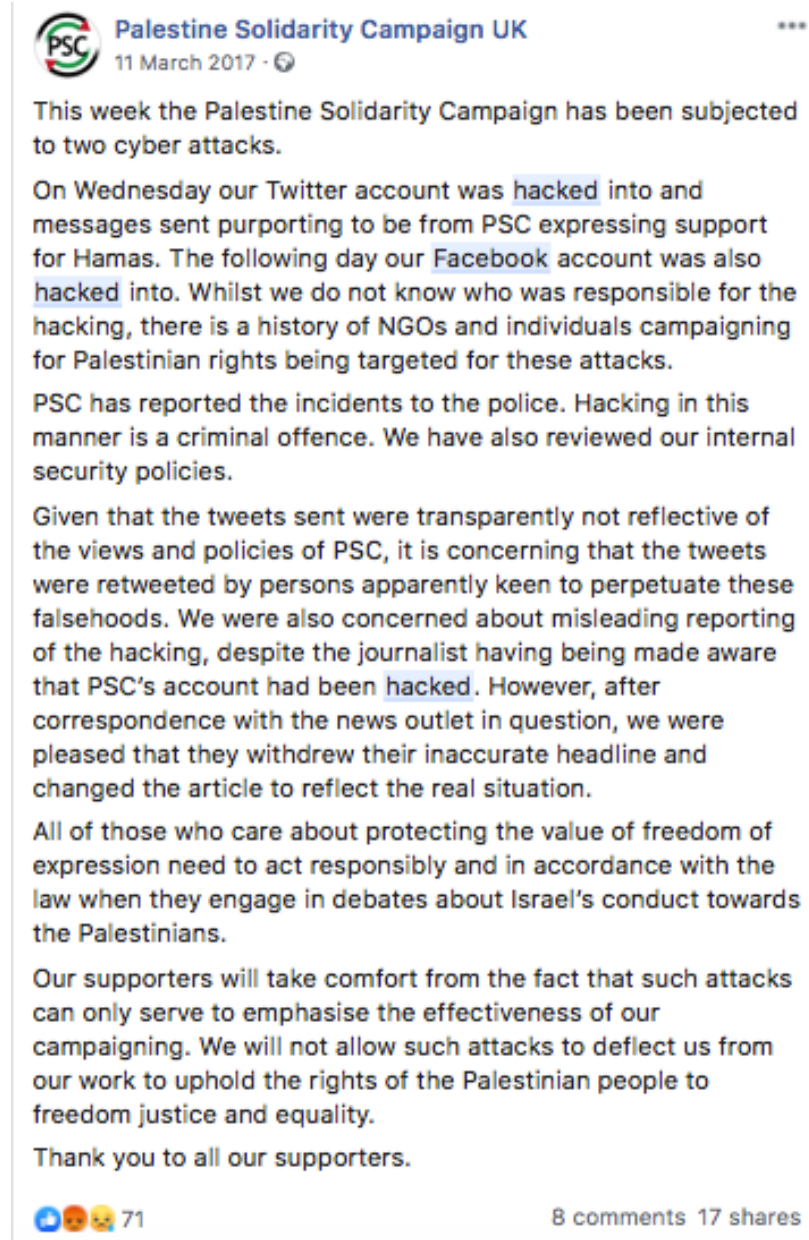


Figure 3.2

Post informing of cyber attacks against PSC's Twitter and Facebook accounts

The PSC was subjected to more attacks on their online platforms during the month of February 2017, when the PSC revealed that the lobbying group Campaign Against Anti-Semitism and the pro-Israeli blogger David Collier had published reports targeting local branches' Facebook pages, websites and

Twitter accounts. The attempt was to delegitimize the PSC and its supporters by picking up any contentious comments, publications and expressions of support for problematic accusations against Israel, such as conspiracy theories, violent resistance, and anti-Semitic notions.

As a response, the PSC called on its Facebook supporters (Figure 3.3) to abstain from making such comments, and implement stricter monitoring social media policies to prevent this issue from happening again, as it undermines their work and aims.



Figure 3.3

Post denouncing Anti-Semitic and Islamophobic comments on the PSC's Facebook page

Additionally, the PSC provided attendees to the London Branch Forum of 25 March 2017 with a document (PSC, 2017b) where guidelines for communication

and social media were outlined. The document reminds PSC's members that all their communication should maintain a professional tone, and make sure they use fact-based, clear and concise language.

When discussing social media and online communication the PSC highlights that in personal Facebook and Twitter accounts members are entitled to have their own views when discussing Palestine, but they should always respect the organisation's values. The PSC adds that when reposting content, such as articles or videos, members should do it through a hyperlink and make sure the content emanates from a reputable source. Additionally, the PSC warns its membership of fake news and conspiracy theories, and recommends using only reliable news sources and credit them when using their information. Finally, the PSC advises its members to avoid inappropriate comparisons that are sensitive to the Jewish Community, such as comparisons to the Second World War, comparative allusions to the Holocaust as well as statements which could play into anti-Semitic thinking, such as suggesting hidden conspiracies or suggesting someone's views can be assumed due to their religious or ethnic background.

The document (PSC, 2017b) also added technical information regarding cyber security and monitoring for the branches' Facebook pages, explaining how filters for particular words could be implemented, helping the page administrator(s) block certain users and prevent abusive comments from being posted on their page. The document also called on the members to "proactively moderate" their Facebook page and explained how to hide and delete comments, block and report users.

3.4 Communication strategies: The case of PSC's local branch

Doug McAdam explains that once collective action emerges, it is the SMOs work and challenge to confront an established political environment and exploit its vulnerabilities in order to accomplish change. However, as they strive to do so

they will face a varied public with different interests, which is why their main weapon is the strategic use of framing processes (McAdam et al., 1996).

In this sense, collective action frames have two roles. Firstly, they serve as articulation mechanisms that attempt to produce and maintain a set of meanings, which leads to the conveyance of one narrative over another. Secondly, they perform a transformative function by altering the meaning of the object, in this case, by problematizing a routine grievance or injustice in the context of collective action (Snow in Snow et al. 2007).

Furthermore, the relevance of frames lies in the fact that collective action, and, by extension, social movements rely heavily on media to continue the challenging task of growing their numbers and actually having a political impact in the system, which is why Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) describe that relationship as an asymmetrical one. It is also why access to media as well as framing become a contest, where movement representatives, the State, and any countermovement will play a role and gain salience depending on the media's sympathies, independence and procedures (McAdam, et al., 1996).

Having said that, it is important to remember that frames and its contestations are present in all types of collective action communication, not only on their portrayal or re-transmission of their message by mainstream media. Thus, framing takes place in face-to-face interaction as well as in any self-produced media, which is why Cammaerts (2007:7) emphasizes that "although media and communication are increasingly important in different ways [...], the offline or the more banal micro-level of having a drink together and building trust, developing a collective identity and framework of reference, and negotiating different identities, is not to be neglected in any account of activism". Furthermore, McAdam (1996:341) explains that in his consideration of frames, he believes that: "actions do speak louder than words", therefore, the tactics implemented by activists are

an important contribution to the signifying work of the movement. He goes on to say:

“[...] it is impossible to fully understand the ‘signifying work’ of a movement group without close attention to its tactics and the actions in which it engages.” (McAdam et al., 1996:354)

Taking this last idea into account, as well as Snow’s notion of discursive framing, the following analysis of a London-based PSC branch’s communication strategy will look at both actions and narratives utilized by the activists in order to overcome the “environmental challenges” (McAdam in McAdam et al., 1996:340) the movement faces. In order to do so, McAdam’s (in McAdam et al., 1996:339-340) topology of framing processes, and movement-environment relations will be used:

1. Attract new recruits
2. Sustain the morale and commitment of current adherents
3. Generate media coverage, preferably, but not necessarily, of a favorable sort
4. Mobilize the support of various ‘bystander publics’
5. Constrain the social control options of its opponents
6. Ultimately shape public policy and state action

3.4.1 Attract new recruits

Increasing membership and movement numbers is a constant challenge for social movements and their organizations. For PSC a highlight of its supporter base growth is largely owed to the 2014 Israeli attack on Gaza, which not only contributed to increase its pool of members, but also its resources. However, sustaining growth has proved difficult. When Ben Jamal was appointed the new director in 2016 one of his proposals was to undertake a strategic review of the

organization's practices and processes whose results are just being informed to its members. Part of the Strategic Review was the revision of membership and supporters (PSC, Membership Survey, 2016b and PSC, Supporter Survey, 2016c), and the differences that exist between them.

The findings show that the PSC's membership, understood as the people that pay an annual fee to be part of the organization, lacks diversity and consists of mostly men (54%); aged 50 years or more (80%) of which 46% are 65 years old or more; white (83.6%); politically engaged (54%) people (PSC, 2016b). Most of the supporters are actively involved within the Labour Party (PSC, 2016c). These findings coincide with what was observed in the monthly branch meetings, where most of the regular members that attend are over 50 years old and involved in both national and local politics, with all of them being Labour and Momentum supporters. The only discrepancy would be that women are highly visible and active within the branch.

As a contrast, PSC supporters, understood as the by-standing public that is interested in the cause PSC advocates for, may sometimes participate in their activities, and might make monetary contributions or donations to the campaign, but not pay the yearly membership fee, are slightly more diverse with 55% being male, 73.6% white, 39% are over 65 years old and a further 23% are between 55 and 64 years old. Additionally, there are more Muslim supporters than members with 24% and 8% respectively (PSC, 2016c).

It is relevant to note that the people within the branch have been active members since a long time, with the branch been created as a project that up until now is part of the Britain Palestine Friendship and Twinning Network, where British cities, and, in the case of London, boroughs, establish a relationship with cities in Palestine to develop aid and cultural exchange projects. The results of the survey also show word of mouth (27%) as being the main way in which current PSC members found out about the organization, followed by public events or

demonstrations (20%) (PSC, 2016b). These results support Diani's (2003) idea of networks as the foundation for movement formation, with face-to-face interaction, as well as private ties, being highly relevant for the sustainment of the movement.

Regarding media, there appears to be a very contrasting difference between members and supporters. Media —mainstream, alternative and self-produced— appear to lag behind as ways of recruiting adherents, with only 15% of members finding about the PSC through their website, followed by mainstream media (newspaper, magazine or television) as well as leaflets in 10%, and social media (Facebook and Twitter) with just 8% (PSC, 2016b). In contrast, 26.4% of supporters found out about the PSC through social media, as well as through online searches (14.9%). Word of mouth was successful in 19.9% of cases and mainstream media only 5.1% (PSC, 2016c).

Another important concern for members as well as for the leadership of the organization is the recruitment of a younger audience that can be actively engaged within their local branch, contributing to the everyday administrative and logistical work that it entails. In this regard, social media might be a way of increasing a younger supporter base that can eventually become active members of the organization. This goes in line with Cammaerts' (2007) explanation that the Internet serves as a way to pull sympathizers from the periphery into the core, yet, he agrees with Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) that mainstream media will also help push the message to a mass audience. Therefore, although the PSC's social media presence has gained strength, as will be shown in the following chapter, the organization is aware that:

“Social media is an underused resource. The rate of engagement on social media from our supporters is much higher than our members. If we are to engage with a new and more diverse audience this will be key. We also now know that many of our supporters think we should increase the

level of communication by social media.” (PSC Supporter Survey, 2016c: 7)

3.4.2 Sustain morale and commitment of the movement

Gaining new members is difficult, but keeping them is even harder. In a movement as the PSC, where the stated goals imply a drastic change in policy, the campaigns have an array of short-term goals; that pave the road for the main objective, which could take years to fulfil. This means that the movement must maintain its members and provide a proper environment as well as incentives that prevent members from wandering off into different causes with more immediate and easier to reach targets.

This seems to be a problem for PSC to a certain degree. What could be observed is that once the members are integrated and active within a local branch, which 77% of them are, their engagement is strong and remains constant (PSC, 2016b). However, the PSC reports that their membership is falling, with a 70% retention rate where every three members renew their status for every one member that is lost; and for every one new member, two members are lost (PSC, 2016b).

Within the case study, what I will refer to as the core members are highly active, informed and motivated. Their communication strategy is dynamic, with both online and offline activity. As Cammaerts (2007) explains face-to-face interaction is important to build trust, as well as efficiently plan their actions and discuss the political landscape in which they perform. Regarding online media he goes on to add:

“[...] websites, e-mail, forums, and mailing lists are used extensively to distribute and share alternative information, to mobilise and organise

internally or in coalitions with other organisations, and to a lesser extent also to debate issues and strategies.” Cammaerts (2007: 6)

Thus, the branch has face-to-face interaction among members on a monthly basis, when they hold a meeting at a local coffee house, and organize and assess past and future events and actions. Additionally, they utilize e-mail and mailing lists to continue the conversation in between meetings, update the core members of campaigns and event-planning, as well as share news stories, information, and e-petitions concerning both on the ground events in Palestine and Britain.

Furthermore, the online communication implemented and sustained by the core activists within the branch is an excellent example of Melucci’s (1985) “submerged networks” that while maintaining the latency of the movement are able to organize rapidly and gain visibility around an event or campaign. As Cammaerts’ (2007) research shows, the internet has the property of sustaining a network in the long term. In the words of one of his interviewees:

“The sites, the mailings, the press-releases keep the network going, prevents it from falling asleep. It serves to remain vigilant even if nothing happens... to be prepared for when the enemy re-emerges... to service the machine, oil it, so that it can be started-up again quickly, if need be!” - Luc Vaneste (in Cammaerts, 2007:11)

3.4.3 Generate media coverage

Social movement academics from all perspectives acknowledge that gaining media salience is one of the tools social movements strive for in order to spread their message but also be able to gain leverage in the political system and eventually change it. They all agree that gaining mainstream media attention is a

constant struggle for SMOs, yet, when doing so, they face media bias that can become a detriment rather than an asset. As the saying goes: “Not all publicity is good publicity”.

In the case of PSC and its local branches accessing mainstream media has proven difficult, and it should be added that the amount of space and coverage largely differs between what a branch receives as opposed to the national organization and its head office. The analysis for the latter will be discussed in chapter five, but suffice to say that the national organization of the PSC receives more space in national mainstream media than local branches, and the way it is portrayed has also improved. The fact that the grassroots lack access to mainstream media is because of the way the PSC is organized as a national movement, where official communication is centralized and for the most part redirected to the head office in London. Additionally, how much access local branches have to local mainstream media varies depending on the size of the branch and the number of members that belong to it and contribute to the everyday administrative and public relations practices of it.

Additionally, it is important to emphasize that it is on this arena where the accusations of anti-Semitism against the PSC and its supporters have flourished. This has made it even harder for local branches to gain access, as there is fear of misrepresentation within mainstream media. For example, during the month of July 2017, the researched branch received information about the local council's intention to adopt the IHRA's anti-Semitism definition, something that could affect the branch's activities in the area and their ability to implement their campaigns. The branch members proceeded to email all the local councillors with the information of the legal opinion that warns about the uses of said definition and requested a right to a deputation to speak in front of the council to defend their position. Their request was denied and the IHRA's definition along with the guidelines was approved without any opposition by the Labour councilors.

On a now unavailable video (Dsyach, 2017a) activists were seen and heard protesting inside the council building by shouting “shame on you” to local councilors and one activist shouted: “We will see you at your Constituency Labour Party”. Outside the building, activists protested the lack of debate of the motion and a rushed vote (King, *Ham & High*, 2017). The *Jewish Chronicle* (Dsyach, 2017b) reported the event and the activists actions as “horrific and extremely intimidating”, further adding that the “London borough has become ‘a cesspit of antisemitism’” (Figure 3.4)

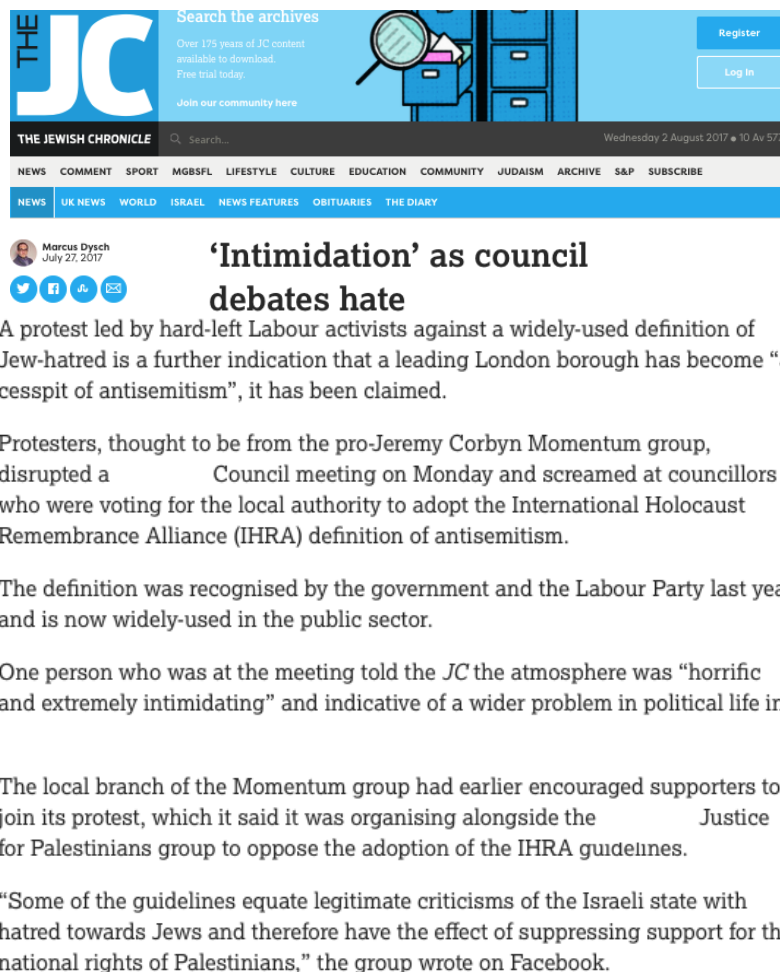


Figure 3.4

The Jewish Chronicle's account of a local council vote on the IHRA definition

3.4.4 Mobilize bystander publics

As previously mentioned, PSC supporters are more likely to learn about the PSC through social media (26.4%) or an internet search (14.9%); than through mainstream media (5.1%) (PSC, 2016c). These results can be related on the one hand to the lack of mainstream media coverage the organization receives and on the other hand to the fact that the internet is a “pull medium”, and as such, it needs for the citizens to already be informed and interested to go and seek information about activists, organizations and their aims (Cammaerts, 2007:6). Furthermore, it also means that even when the organization has a highly successful internet-based campaign, it still needs to look for other communication outlets, be they radio, print, community media, and of course offline and face-to-face.

The idea of the internet as a pull medium is supported by the PSC Supporter Survey (2016c) with the main reasons for signing up to their mailing list being:

1. I am passionate about rights and justice for Palestinians (70%)
2. I liked what PSC does and wanted to get more involved in supporting the campaign (32%)
3. I wanted to be kept informed on actions and events (31%)

And in this regard, the high internet activity among supporters translates into the way they interact with the PSC and the way in which they engage with it, as opposed to members; with the main activities they do being signing petitions and e-actions (87%), reading their e-mail updates (85%), donating to the PSC (44%), and sharing posts on social media (39%). Out of the top five responses only one: attending demonstrations and events (28%) could be done offline (PSC, 2016c). These participation patterns are also indicative of the non-invasive nature of the Internet. As Cammaerts writes:

“[...] the Internet is a non-intrusive medium that allows citizens to determine and control the degree of their involvement, as well as balancing out their engagement with other roles they have”. (Cammaerts, 2007:17)

In the case of the PSC branch, their communication strategies use online and offline media. Their online media presence consists of a website, as well as Twitter (746 followers) and Facebook (416 likes) pages. However, their most used resource is their mailing list., which as previously mentioned is used for internal organization and coordination of the movement. Nonetheless these resources are also utilized to inform people on the periphery and attempt to bring them to the core group, which can be seen as another form of pull media.

For their supporter and mailing strategy, the branch relies heavily on sending a constant flow of e-petitions, some of them just being forwarded from the official PSC mailing list messages and others originating from other activist groups, such as the Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association (CADFA), Innovative Minds (Inminds) and Friends of Al-Aqsa (FOA) to mention a few. In addition, they also call for action to attend events as well as protests, and produce a monthly newsletter that covers the more salient topics concerning Palestine and the UK by selecting the news and reports already available in the public domain. According to the branch's report, the newsletter was being sent to over 650 residents of the borough, but in January 2017 another PSC branch asked them to also send their newsletter to their approximately 1,000 supporters and members.

The rest of their communicative strategy is done offline. They set up a stall every month outside a London Underground station because it is a good place to interact with high street shoppers. This is usually done on Saturday from 12:30 to 14:30, although the hours vary. Depending on the campaigns being highlighted at that time the stall might have a particular goal, such as promote the BDS campaign against HP and gather signatures, or have a more informative aim and

provide leaflets and information about different aspects of the PSC, such as the history of Palestine and the Israeli occupation, BDS, child prisoners, and currently the Balfour Declaration. Additionally, they always have sign up sheets for people interested in being added to the branch's mailing list, which is different from that of the PSC.

Furthermore, they set up an informative and handicraft selling stall the third Friday of every month outside one of the local mosques, which is an excellent way to link with the big Muslim community that lives in the borough. Additionally, they set up the stall in different events around London, such as the Anarchist Book Fair, and the Marxist Fair, this way, they gain visibility and sell crafts produced in the Palestinian town with whom they twin in order to obtain money to support the women's cooperative that produces the crafts, while also raising money to organize the branch's activities.

3.4.5 Constrain social control

According to McAdam (in McAdam et al, 1996:348) who researched the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. the victories obtained by the movement depended largely, but not solely, on its ability to implement what he defined as "strategic dramaturgy", understood as the attribution of meaning to activists' actions, as well as to the possible responses their opponents would have. For the Civil Rights movement it was the way in which their non-violent resistance was confronted with violence from segregationists, and the meaningfulness these actions gained when portrayed by the mass media.

In the case of the on-the-ground situation in Palestine, it could be said that the strategic dramaturgy is present, with Palestinians opposing the occupation through non-violent resistance and calling on the international community to boycott, divest and sanction Israel until it complies with international law, while Israel encounters them with violence and retaliation. However, the way the

Palestinian struggle is reported by mainstream media has been negative to the movement, as Philo and Berry (2004, 2011) have shown. With the addition that the Palestinian cause, has been sidelined by different crises in the Middle East, which has left the conflict outside the media agenda.

For UK activists, it has been even more challenging to bring the Palestinian cause to the forefront of the public and the media's attention in a very competitive environment where a wide array of topics try to become part of the media's agenda. Additionally, as it has been mentioned extensively throughout the chapter, the organisations and citizens in solidarity with Palestine have faced a relentless campaign against them, wielded by the pro-Israeli lobby, that has reached the highest political sphere in the country (Al Jazeera, *The Lobby*, 2017b) and has mainly taken place in the media, making it extremely difficult to strategically frame their cause and avoid the downward discursive spiral of addressing anti-Semitism accusations. Thus, changing their communicative strategy from a reactive and defensive one to a proactive situation has proven to be extremely difficult.

3.4.6 *Shape public policy*

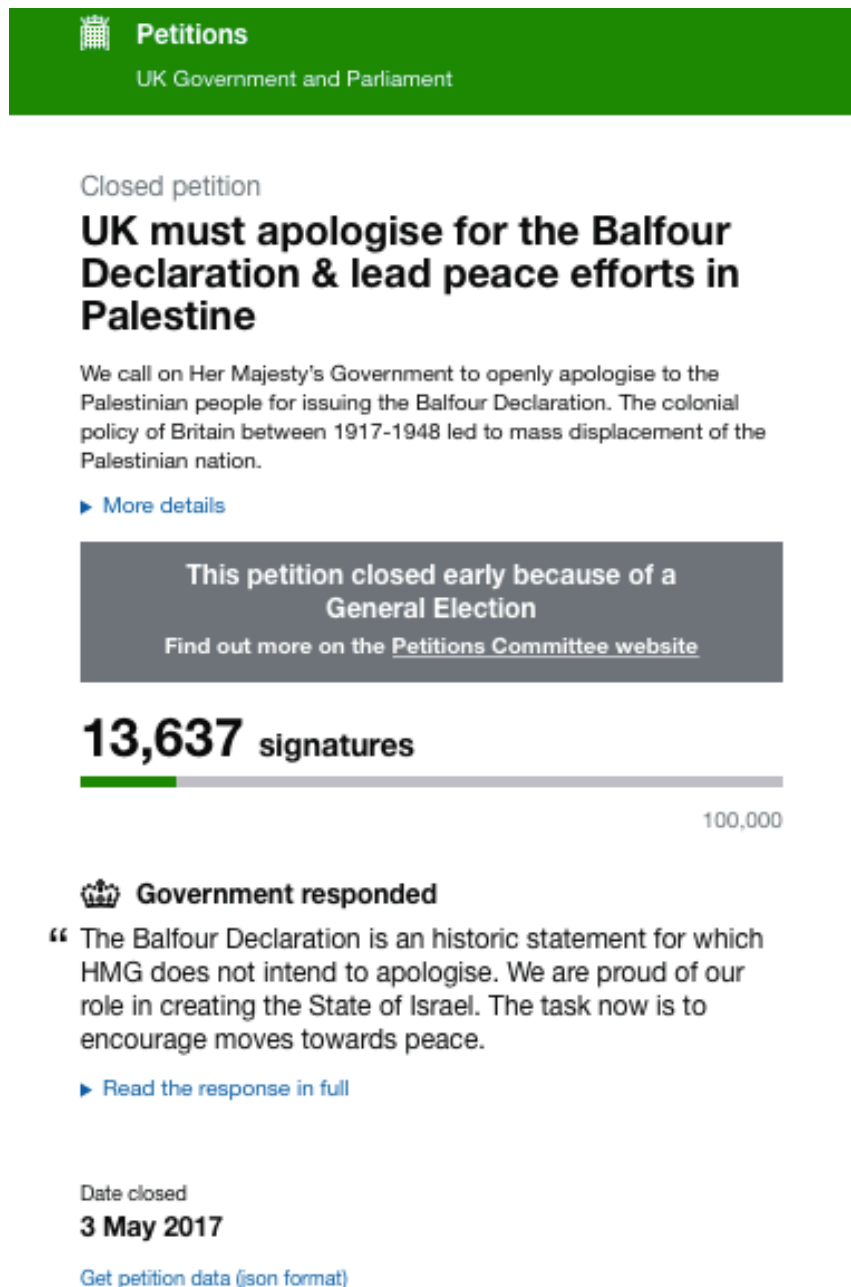
Shaping public policy is a progressive battle that relies heavily on direct action. Additionally, it is an activity that seems to rely more on offline activities, such as protests and lobbying of politicians than on online campaigns. As Cammaerts writes:

“Local citizen support and the involvement of formal political actors has most probably been more important to the success of a direct action or the introduction of innovative ‘alternative’ discourses in society than the Internet as such.” (Cammaerts, 2007:18)

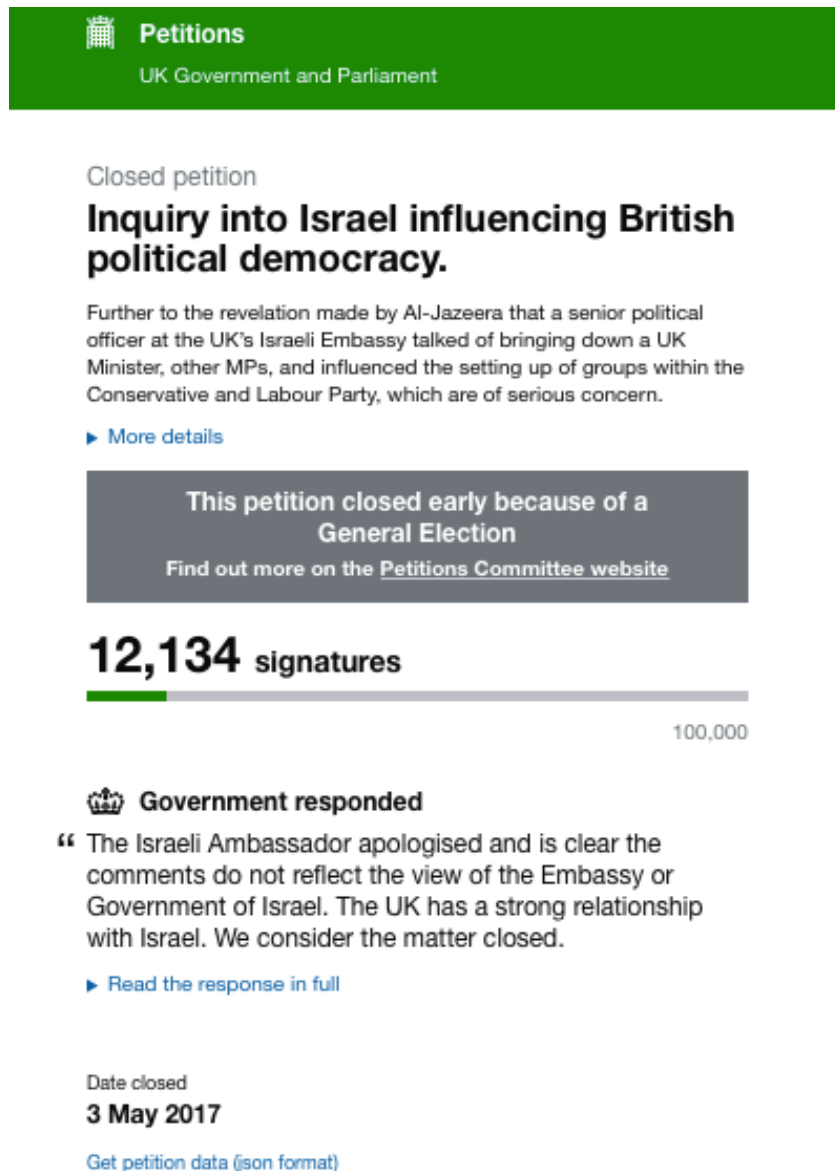
At the time of the research, the PSC branch were all activists with a long-term membership to the organization and a commitment to the Palestinian cause. They were aware that policy change needs time and sustained action, which is why throughout the year they engaged in several offline activities to pressure the government. Some of these campaigns were advanced by the PSC's head office, who calls on the branches and its members to enact coordinated actions that advance the Palestinian cause in the British parliament and the broader civil society. As an example, there is the annual 'Lobby of Parliament for Palestine' event, with an online request from the PSC through their mailing lists and social media that required members to visit Parliament and speak to their local MPs about how they can support Palestine.

Other examples include a letter-writing action made through an e-mail that asked members to write to their local MPs about the demolition of the Bedouin village of Umm al-Hiran in the Negev, as part of the implementation of the Prover Plan or the more than 10,000 members and supporters that requested their MPs presence for the parliamentary debate on settlements that led to the approval of the motion reaffirming their illegality on 9th February 2017.

Moreover, the successful offline campaigns have also been supported with online activities like the signature of e-petitions (Figures 3.5 and 3.6), that have so far not been successful, but remind the government that the Palestinian issue should still be maintained in the foreign policy agenda, as well as the fact that there are activists keeping watch of governmental actions concerning these topics.

**Figure 3.5**

Online petition that calls for the UK government to apologize for the Balfour Declaration

**Figure 3.6**

Online petition that requests an inquiry into Israel's influence in British political democracy

The analysis of the PSC through a social movement theory framework shows that during the specific time when the research took place, the organization was at a crossroads, where the socio-political context in Britain and beyond, and the PSC's goals and aims intersected. Consequently, this created constraints and

opportunities that manifested in the PSC's use of the BDS and human rights frames as the predominant frameworks guiding its communication strategy, both within mainstream and social media.

This chapter has also provided insight into the challenges faced by the PSC in its attempt to mainstream its message and political objectives of supporting and advancing the Palestinian cause in Britain. Additionally, the research showed that the PSC is going through an organizational transformation that has the potential to shift the PSC into a more centralized and bureaucratic social movement organization, that could make it a better organized and coordinated entity, but could undermine the ability of its membership to swiftly organize collective action. The centralization and professionalization of the PSC also has the potential to further divide the grassroots members from its leadership and prove costly for the future of the organization.

Chapter 4: The PSC's Collective Action Frames

The analysis of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign's (PSC) online media strategy gives insight into the way the organization advances the Palestinian cause in the UK as well as the way in which they match their values, goals, and aims as a social movement organization into their self-produced media. In doing so, the organization's framing strategy takes a central point not only to understand the previous notions but also to understand how is it that the PSC frames the Palestinian cause to the British public.

The present chapter seeks to analyze the frames used in the PSC's Facebook posts as a way to understand their overall social media strategy during a fluid socio-political context. Additionally, this chapter looks into the PSC's ability or lack thereof of seizing the political opportunity or creating one depending on the existing context. In order to do so, this chapter will first briefly explore the notion of collective action frames as explained by Robert Benford and David Snow, (1992) and relate it to the existing frames that were detected in the research. Finally, it will explore each of the collective action frames found in an attempt to better understand the advantages and disadvantages of each one of them, and the reasons why the PSC uses them in their media strategy.

4.1 PSC's collective action frames

In their work *Master Frames and Cycles of Protest* (1992) Benford and Snow explain that frames are selected ways to understand the world. Framing is a reductionist activity that is used to categorize the world and make it comprehensible by placing it within certain categories. In their words:

"It [Frame] refers to an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and

encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment." (Snow and Benford, 1992:137)

They further add that framing is an active process that implies both agency and contention in the construction of reality, whose product is collective action frames. As such, collective action frames can function as modes of attribution and articulation because they highlight and give meaning to events in the world. It is through framing we can see an activity as social injustice and label it as such, categorize it along with all the other social injustices, while also highlighting why we think this particular social injustice should be addressed. Nonetheless, Benford and Snow explain that just framing the condition as an injustice is not enough to guarantee that something will be done to prevent it from happening, thus labeling a condition or event as injustice does not necessarily lead to collective action. There needs to be attribution of culpability or responsibility for said injustice, as well as suggestion on how to address it and solve it.

This last part is related to the attribution aspect of framing. Thus, frames need diagnostic and prognostic attributions. In this case, activists attribute blame to the entity responsible for social injustice, this entity can be an individual, a group, a collective process or a structure. While the prognostic attribution is concerned with the ways in which to alleviate and resolve the injustice. Therefore, prognostic attributions need to identify the root cause or causes of the problem and suggest lines of action to resolve it.

Finally, Benford and Snow (1992) explain that the importance of collective action frames is the articulation ability they provide to activists and social movements. They allow them to, first of all, denounce a social problem and also address how to solve it. They write:

"Collective action frames enable activists to articulate and align a vast array of events and experiences so that they hang together in

relatively unified and meaningful fashion. [...] Thus what gives a collective action frame its novelty is not so much its innovative ideational elements as the manner in which activists articulate or tie them together.” (Snow and Benford, 1992:137-138)

In order to find out which collective action frames the PSC uses, I performed a frame analysis of the PSC's Facebook posts. I analyzed 776 Facebook posts published on the PSC's Facebook account between October 2016 and November 2017. I gathered the entire PSC publications in the last three months of 2016, but then opted to focus on material around key dates and events related to the Palestinian struggle. As such, I gathered data over two weeks around these events, one week before and one week after.

I focused on seven salient dates, some of which were decided at the beginning of the research as they mark significant events in the history of Palestine, such as the annual commemoration of the Nakba on 15 May 2017, the anniversary of the 2014 Israeli attack on Gaza and the 2nd November anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. However, several significant but unexpected events also occurred, including the announcement on 27 January 2017 of a travel ban by the new U.S. president Donald Trump for Muslim citizens of Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen; the visit to the UK by Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu on 6 February 2017; Israel's passing of a law on 6 March 2017 that prohibits the entrance to Israel to advocates of the BDS movement; and the publication on 15 March 2017 of a UN report that states that Israel imposes an apartheid regime on Palestinians. These past events' dates coincided and were compiled together from 27 February until 22 March 2017 (See Appendix I).

The frame analysis of the material showed the PSC relied on eight collective action frames: Settler colonialism, human rights, Boycott

Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Violence, Solidarity, Emotion, Apartheid and Anti-Semitism (Charts 4.1 and 4.2).

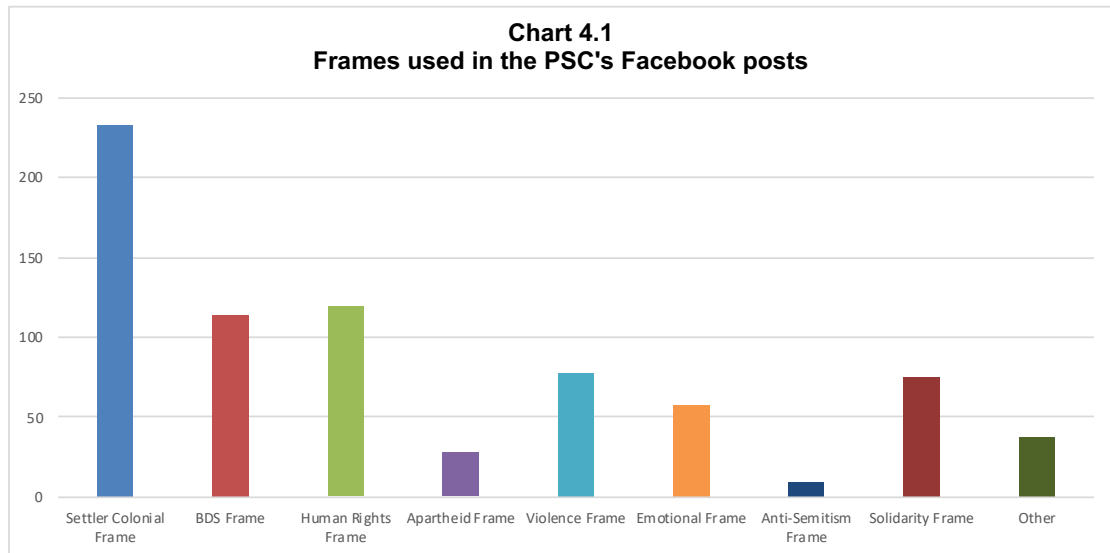
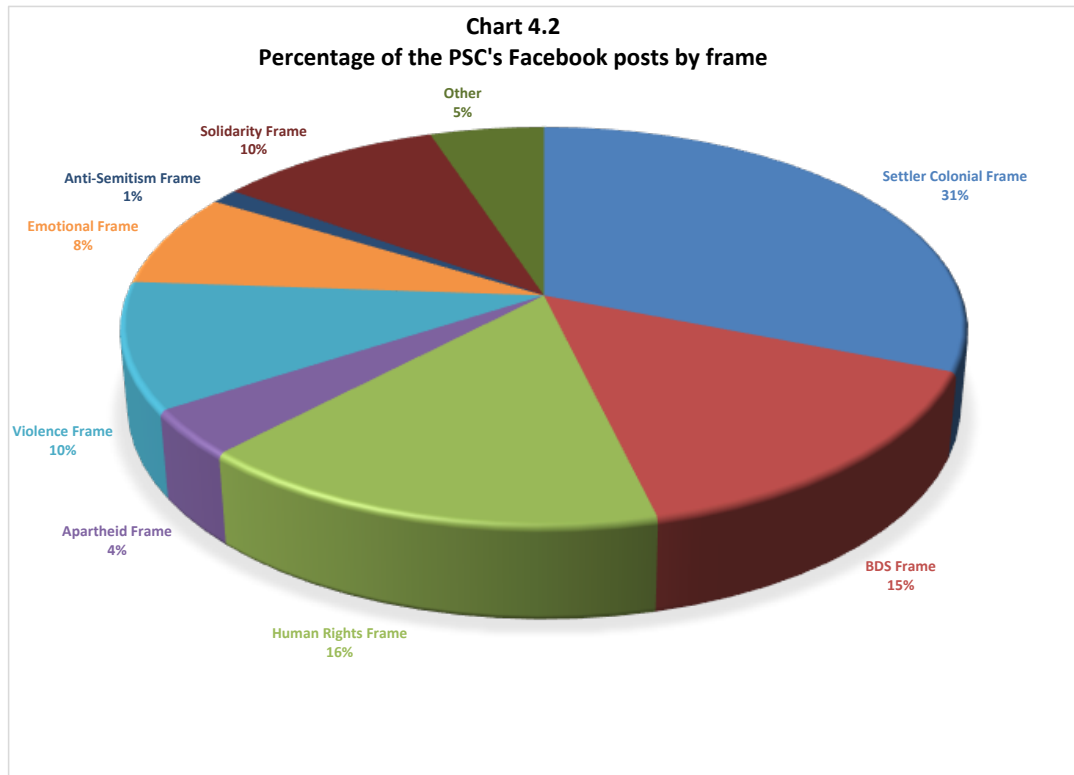


Chart 4.1
Frames used in the PSC's Facebook posts

**Chart 4.2**

Percentage of the PSC's Facebook posts by frame

4.2 Settler colonial frame

For the PSC, the most visible frame that appeared in their Facebook content was the settler colonial frame, with an overall 233 posts (35.3%) out of 776 posts that were gathered and classified. Under this category, there were four subtopics that were considered as constituting of this frame and which will be explained later in the section. In the first place was the content addressing the illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which amounted to a total of 106 posts or 13.6% of the overall content. The high number of content related to settlements is connected to the fact that the PSC has an ongoing campaign that advocates for a halt in settlement construction in the oPt and that there was a focus on this campaign during 2016. As such, posts denouncing the construction of new settlements or the extension of existing ones are prevalent in the PSC's Facebook content. Moreover, the posts summarise the consequences that have arisen from Israeli settlement construction, such as displacement of

Palestinians, as well as attacks and theft from the part of settlers. The messages are also accompanied by images that showcase machinery required to destroy Palestinian structures (Figure 4.1) or contrast the comfort and architecture of Israeli settlements to the less favourable conditions of Palestinian villages existing side by side (Figure 4.2).

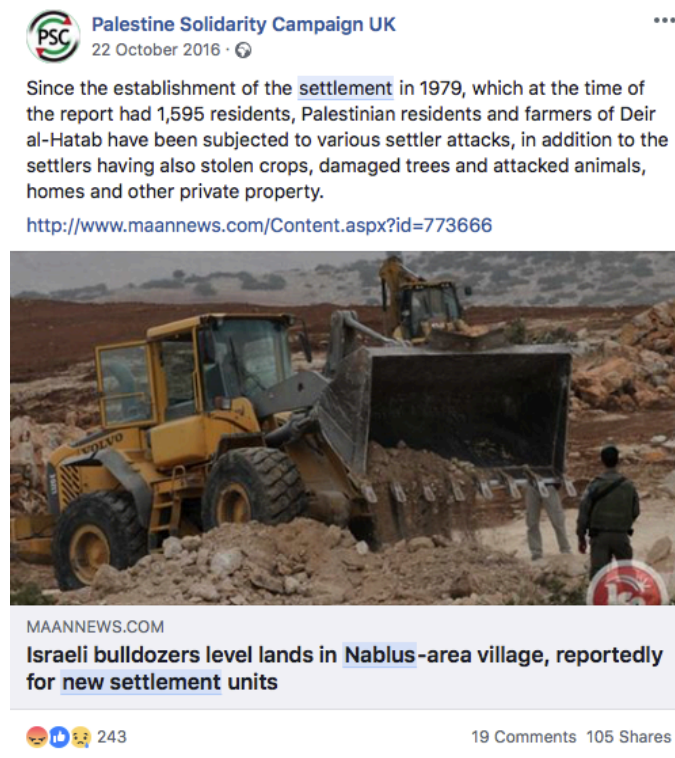


Figure 4.1

Israeli bulldozers level lands in Nablus-area village reportedly for new settlement units

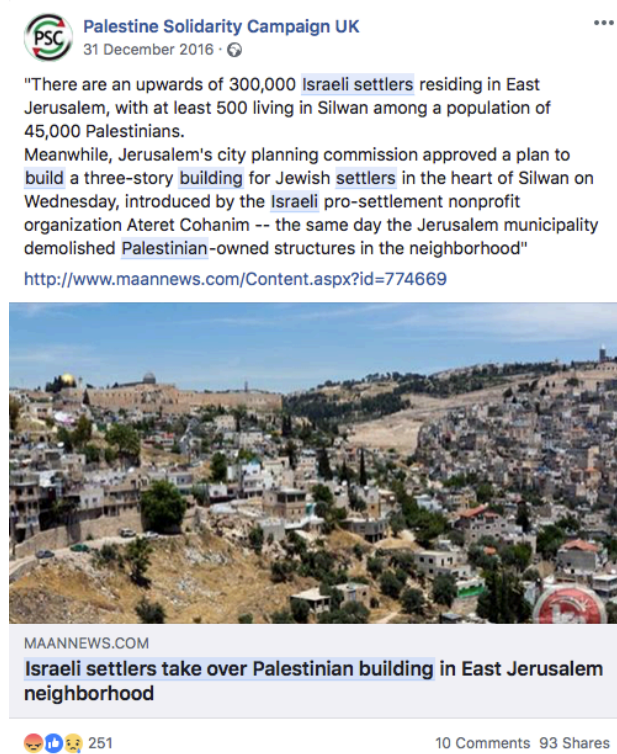


Figure 4.2

Israeli settlers take over Palestinian building in East Jerusalem neighborhood

In the second place, the posts that showcased the effects of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem (Figure 4.3 and 4.4), and which totalled 63 posts or 8.1%. In this case, posts focusing on the daily harassment experienced by Palestinians at the hands of settlers or the Israeli army were common, such as the ones that denounced permanent and temporary military checkpoints established by the IDF as a way of preventing Palestinians from free movement and as a means to further complicating their daily lives. Additionally, the posts that used specific cases of how Israel's Civil Administration is implemented demonstrate how Palestinians' daily lives are systematically oppressed and at the mercy of the Israeli military that uses every opportunity to establish their power against the civilian population in the occupied territories.

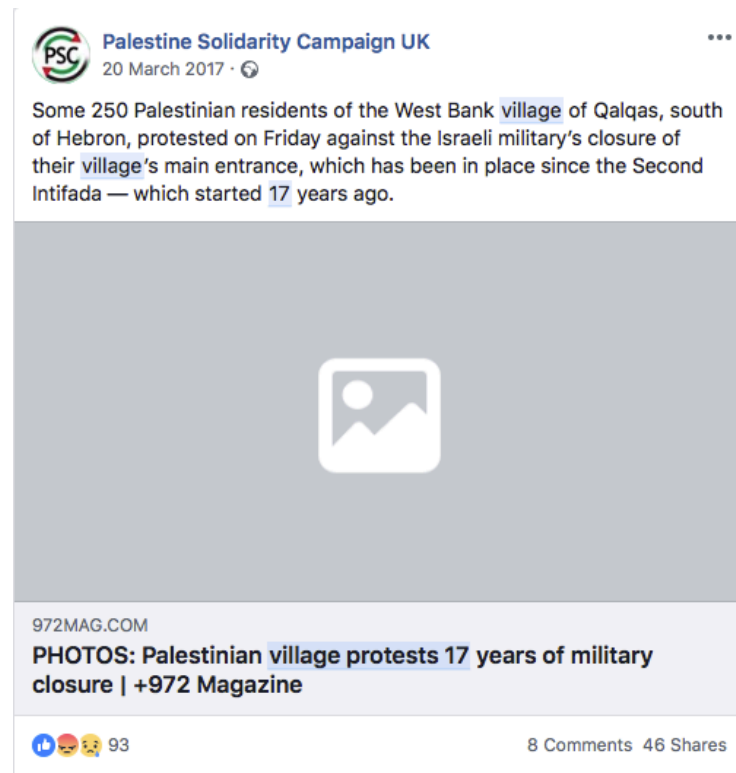


Figure 4.3
Palestinian village protests 17 years of military closure



Figure 4.4

Yet another Palestinian family fragmented by the Israeli occupation

In third place, were the posts that portrayed the blockade taking place in the Gaza Strip since 2007 (Figure 4.5) and which amounted to 38 or 4.8% of the total posts. These posts portrayed the harsh conditions under which Palestinians in Gaza live. High population density, a destroyed infrastructure after three large-scale armed incursions in the last twelve years and an ongoing low-intensity warfare, in addition to widespread psychological and physical trauma, and the blockade have left the Gaza population in a very precarious condition that has affected and continues to affect their living standard.



Figure 4.5

Denied a human standard of living: The Gaza blockade has entered its tenth year | UNRWA

Finally, there were the posts addressing the specific Israeli policy of home demolitions in the West Bank and East Jerusalem (Figure 4.6) that came up to 26 or 3.3% of the posts. Although home demolitions are one of the many elements through which Israel manifests its domination over the Palestinians of the West Bank and East Jerusalem it was important to distinguish it as a sub-category because of the space that the PSC gave to this particular practice in their content.

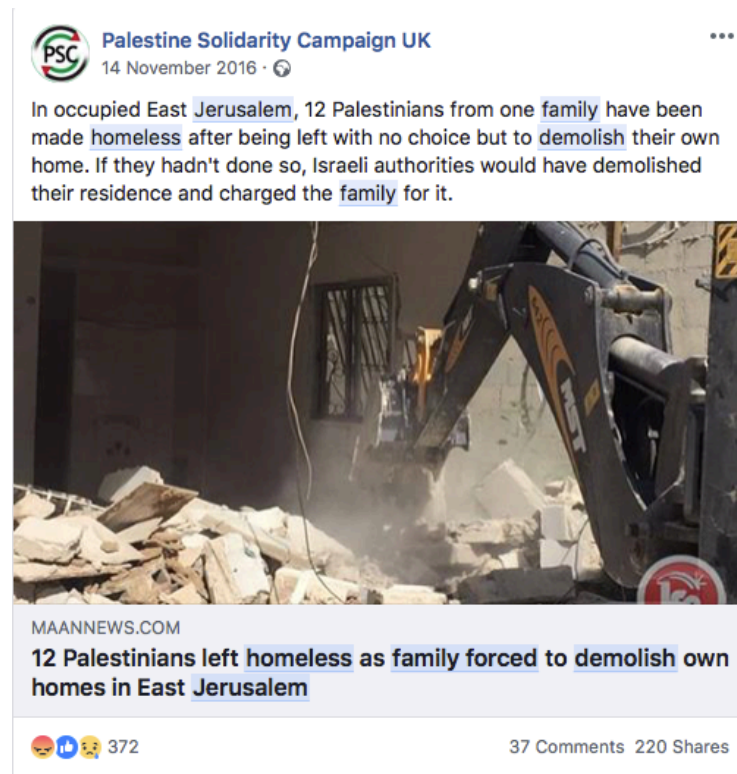


Figure 4.6

12 Palestinians left homeless as family forced to demolish own homes in East Jerusalem

Within the settler colonial frame, the four subcategories previously mentioned occupied the following percentages: Illegal settlements 45.4%, the occupation 27%, the Gaza Strip blockade 16.3% and home demolitions 11.1% (Charts 4.3 and 4.4).

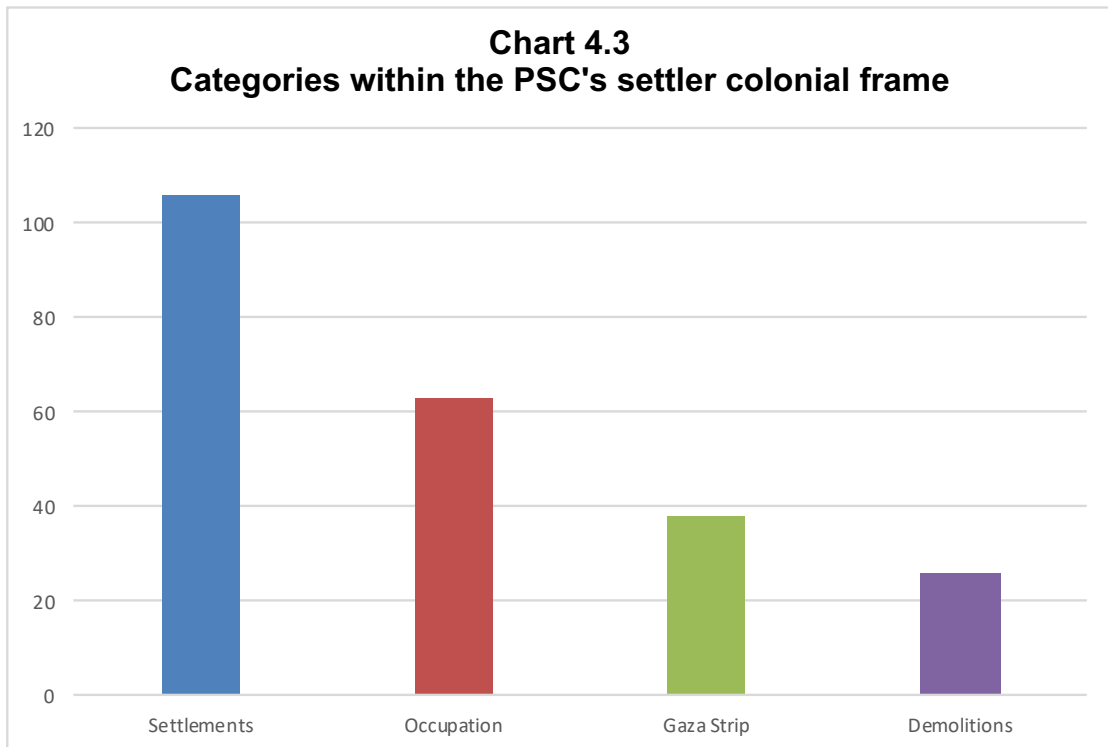


Chart 4.3
Categories within the PSC's settler colonial frame

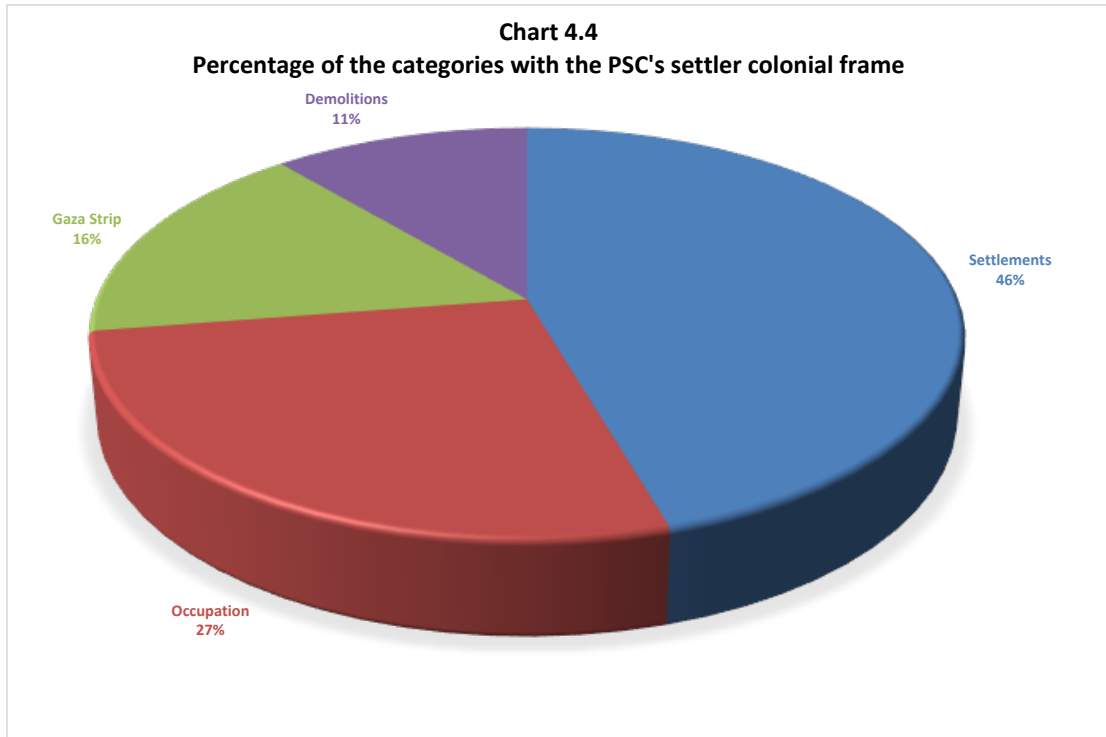


Chart 4.4

Percentage of the categories within the PSC's settler colonial frame

Although there was no special category designated for posts that targeted Britain's responsibility in creating the Palestinian problem, the posts related to this topic were classified under the colonialism label, as it was under the British Mandate of Palestine that the UK held colonial power over the territory and it was during this specific time that the Jewish colonization of Palestine occurred as well as the Nakba. Therefore, some of the dates for gathering data were chosen to coincide with the commemoration of historical events in Palestine where Britain played an important role: the Balfour Declaration (2 November 1917) and the Nakba (15 May 1948). In the case of the Balfour Declaration, November 2017 was an important moment, as it was the 100th anniversary of the document that supported Jewish emigration and colonization of Palestine, under the auspices of the British crown. The data showed that in both instances around the dates to commemorate the Nakba and the Balfour Declaration the posts tackling the occupation of Palestine were prominent with seven posts (22.5% of the

total posts during that time) inviting followers to events (Figure 4.7) and explaining the history of the event (Figure 4.8). It is of note that the images that accompanied these posts were symbolic, such as the map of historic Palestine showing the progression of the Israeli occupation and the diminishment of the territory under Palestinian control, along with the key dates of the Balfour Declaration, the Nakba and the Six Day War that led to the occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. The use of this map allows the PSC to clearly provide an illustration of the consequences of British diplomacy in Palestine.



Figure 4.7

Invitation to the PSC-organized series of events from Balfour to the Nakba



Figure 4.8

Article explaining the Nakba

On the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, eight posts (29.6% of the total posts during that time) denounced the Balfour Declaration (Figure 4.9), while the PSC organized and called a national demonstration (Figure 4.10). This last post serves as an example of the PSC's social media posts to not only call to action online but offline as well, through the lobbying of politicians or marches and protests. By using a still image from a video taken during a march organized by the PSC and other not-for-profit organizations, the PSC illustrates that their members and followers can organize and mobilize in large numbers and participate in offline collective action to manifest their solidarity with the Palestinian people, as well as demand the British government's historic and current activities that have permitted the establishment of the state of Israel and its ongoing occupation of Palestine.

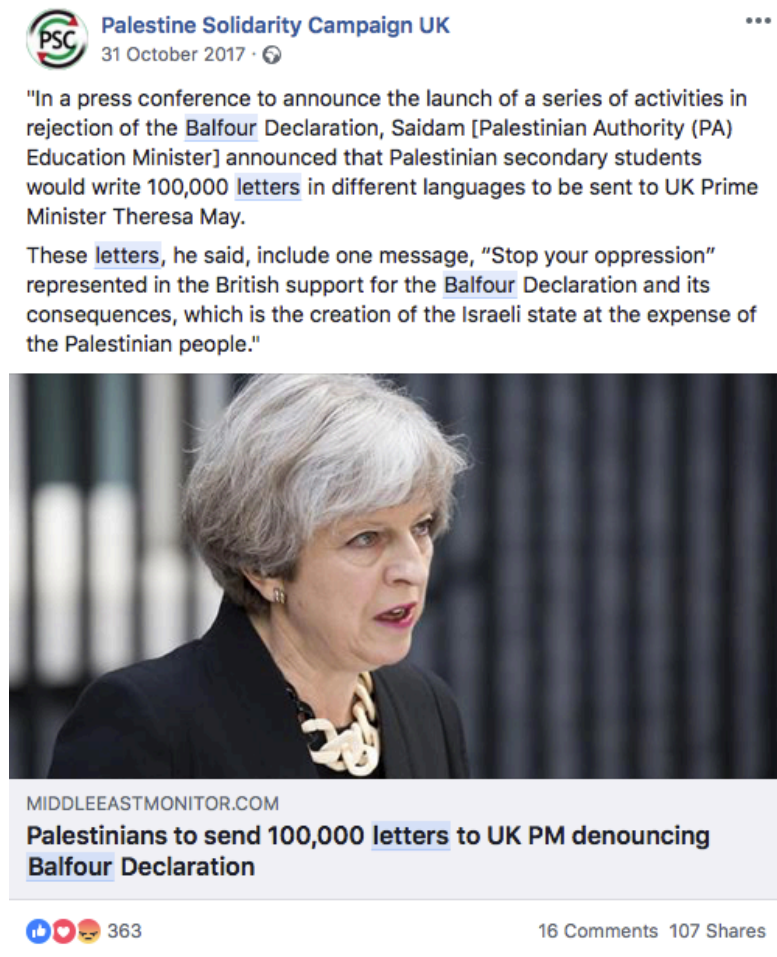


Figure 4.9

Palestinians to send 100,000 letters to UK PM denouncing Balfour Declaration



Figure 4.10

PSC-organized national march to condemn the Balfour Declaration

In their analysis of the different frames in which Palestine can be studied, Nadia Hijab and Ingrid Jaradat Gassner (2017) explain that the settler colonial framework is strategic, as it allows to capture the historical experience of Palestinians as the indigenous people of the country, while also asserting that their cause is one for freedom and human rights. Furthermore, the response to this framework, in the shape of decolonization and self-determination, also permits the movement to mobilize solidarity with formerly colonized nations. Meanwhile, Omar Jabary Salamanca et al. (2012) argue for the use of the settler colonial framework as an academic tool that is able to address the different elements that constitute the conflict, and portray them as part of a system of control and oppression, and not as isolated occurrences. They also agree (Jabary Salamanca et al., 2012:5) that the settler colonial framework is a powerful political tool to “re-orient and recreate genuine-bidirectional solidarity alliances and political fraternity”. In their words:

“The advantage of advancing settler colonialism as a relevant interpretative framework for the study of Zionism is not only that it can offer conceptual and political possibilities for how we read Palestine today, but that it also dismantles deep-seeded analyses and assumptions sustaining claims of exceptionalism. It brings Israel into comparison with cases such as South Africa, Rhodesia and French-Algeria, and earlier settler colonial formations such as the United States, Canada or Australia, rather than the contemporary European democracies to which Israel seeks comparison. For Palestine, it means the reiteration of the fact that Palestinians are an indigenous people, and an alignment of Palestine scholarship with indigenous native studies.” (Jabary Salamanca et al., 2012:4)

However, in his article about Israel's exemplary practices as a settler colonial project, David Lloyd (2012) argues that what distinguishes a settler colony is the settlers' aim at permanently appropriating the land, as opposed to wanting political and/or economic subjugation of the indigenous people. He goes on to say that by controlling the land Israel has had two options, the first one, the reliance and exploitation of Palestinian labor, and the second one, the extermination of the native population. As it turns out to be, Israel has engaged in both of these practices. Nonetheless, as the historical development of Israel and its changing relation to Palestinians shows, Israel has engaged not only in the appropriation of the land, but on the exploitation of Palestinian labor and later its exclusion, as well as subjugation of the local population, both economically and politically, while additionally taking control over the natural resources.

In his study of Israel's changes pre-1948 and post-1967, Lorenzo Veracini (2013) explains that Israel's regime has morphed from a settler-colonial ambition into a colonial one and distinguishes the differences between both

types of frameworks. Veracini defines settler colonialism as a process where a foreign collective attempts to replace an indigenous one, while a colonial project aims to impose a foreign rule over the territory, while maintaining a clear separation between the foreigners and the dominated natives. He writes:

“In theoretical terms, one crucial distinction between colonialism and settler colonialism as separate formations is that the first aims to perpetuate itself whereas the latter aims to supersede itself. The difference is absolutely critical: while a colonial society is successful only if the separation between colonizer and colonized is refined, a settler colonial project is ultimately successful only when it *extinguishes* itself—that is, when the settlers cease to be defined as such and become ‘natives’, and their position becomes normalized.” (Veracini, 2013:28)

In this regard, Veracini explains that pre-1948 and until 1967 Israel successfully established a settler colonialist regime in Palestine. However, after 1967, with the occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, Israel’s ambition to reproduce the conditions that exist on the other side of the Green Line failed, as Israel attempts to facilitate Israeli settlement in the newly acquired territory through a military occupation, and as a consequence relies on the separation between colonizer and colonized, negating the possibility of establishing a successful settler colony because the separation will never allow it to finally replace the indigenous population. As such, Veracini explains (2013:29) that “the ‘classic’ model of settler colonialism, where the indigenous population has been reduced to a ‘manageable’ remnant does not apply in the 1967 territories”.

4.2.1 *The Jewish colonization and settlement of Palestine*

Veracini's proposed processes can be identified since before the first Jewish European settlers arrived to Ottoman Palestine, and it is most clearly articulated in Theodor Herzl's pamphlet *The Jewish State* (1896), where Zionism is formally developed into a political and nationalist movement calling for the establishment of a Jewish state and proposing the means to attain it. Having decided that the future Jewish state would rest on Palestinian territory, Herzl planted the seed of what would turn out to be a settler-colonial movement embedded with the expansionist ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth-century European imperialism (Rodinson, 1973) that would clash with the self-determination aspirations of the native Arab inhabitants of Palestine. In his own words:

"We should there [Palestine] form a portion of a rampart Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." (Herzl, 1896:53)

As such, the battle for land has always been one of the main reasons of the Palestine-Israel conflict, as Baruch Kimmerling explained:

"From the very beginnings of the Zionist movement, its leaders were aware (a) that the acquisition of substantial areas of land in Palestine was an essential basis for the development of a future Jewish society or state, (b) that the desired land was then in someone else's hands and, (c) that it would be necessary to raise and allocate economic and political resources to obtain the land." (Kimmerling, 1983:13-14)

Maxine Rodinson (1973) added that the difference between European colonialists and Zionist nationalists was that the latter had to create a social base, as well as take over a national territory. Thus, despite the failure of

the First Aliyah in mobilizing massive Jewish immigration to Palestine (Morris, 2001) it was able to accomplish the initial Jewish colonization of the territory, with white Europeans living and employing the Palestinian natives. Moreover, the World Zionist Organization (WZO) set up in 1901 the Jewish National Fund (JNF) in order to nationalize land in Palestine. During this time, they purchased Palestinian-owned land and transferred it into Jewish hands so that in the future it would be accessible only to Jews (Masalha, 1992; Shafir, 1999). To this day the JNF owns approximately 13% of the land in Israel and contributes to the settlement enterprise in the oPt by purchasing land and developing infrastructure, according to a report from Israeli group Peace Now (August 2017).

The colonization and settlement of Palestine continued with the Second Aliyah (1904-1914), which is regarded as the more ideological of the Jewish immigration waves to Palestine (Gelvin, 2007) and whose members laid down the foundations for the creation of the state (Shafir, 1989). It was the Second Aliyah the one that solidified the pure settlement type of colony advocated by the WZO and, with it, the establishment of parallel societies—Jewish and Arab—in then Ottoman ruled Palestine. Hence, by making the “conquest of labor” a central issue in the Jewish settler society, this wave of immigration increased the alienation of the tenant fellaheen from the land purchased by Jews (Kimmerling, 1983). Although Shafir (1989) asserted that the “conquest of labor” was not an effective strategy until after the First World War, it left the legacy of Jewish exclusivism and by excluding the Palestinian Arabs from the labor force and expanding the territory they owned, the Yishuv strengthened its positions and advanced its struggle.

Notwithstanding, Palestinians still remained a demographic majority in the territory, with the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) stating that in 1946 there were 1.2 million Arabs as opposed to 608,000 Jews. According to Benny Morris (1988:60), who published one of the most detailed accounts of the expulsion of Palestinians during the

creation of what would be Israel, the Partition Plan stipulated that 400,000 Arabs would remain inside the territory allocated to the Jewish state, along with 500,000 Jews, which posed a demographic problem for the Zionist ambitions of having as much territory with as little of the original inhabitants in it. In this context the Nakba (the Arabic word for catastrophe) took place. From the UN's Partition Plan adoption on the 29 November 1947 and until 15 May 1948, when the British Mandate of Palestine would officially end, more than 750,000 Palestinians had been expelled and made refugees, while Israel had expanded its control from 55% to 78% of the historic territory of Palestine.

Between 1948 and 1967 Israel solidified its power as a newly created state. By self-describing as a Jewish state, it only accomplished a Jewish demographic majority thanks to the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians (Pappe, 2006), yet around 150,000 have remained within its borders. As Veracini writes, during this period Israel was able to successfully establish a settler colonial regime by imposing a military government that would remain until 1966, while imposing a state of exception on the remaining Palestinians in order to deny their inclusion into the social and economic life of the state. As Magid Shihade writes:

“Israel designed several policies and strategies aimed at repressing, marginalizing and dispossessing its Palestinian citizens on the basis of national identity and religious affiliations” (Shihade, 2012:110)

Some of the main ways in which this happened were:

1. Law of Return (1950) through which any Jewish person is allowed to immigrate to Israel and automatically become a citizen of the state while denying the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their ancestral lands, as stipulated in UN resolution 194.
2. Absentee Property Law (1950) which defines the persons that were expelled, fled during the war or left the country after 29 November 1947 as

absentees and transforms its property (land, houses and bank accounts as absentee property). This was the main law used by Israel to take possession of the land that belongs to Palestinians. At the same time, Israel coined the term 'present absentee' to identify the Palestinians that remained in Israel, and through this definition also expropriate their territorial possessions.

3. Citizenship Law (1952) that establishes a difference between 'citizenship' and 'nationality'. Through this law, nationality is allocated on ethnic grounds, as Israel defines itself as the state of all Jews and, as such, nationality can only be received by being Jewish.

4.2.2 Settlements

After the Six Day War (1967) and the occupation of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Israel developed a system of control of the population as well as of natural resources and land. From this moment on Israel begins the creation of settlements in the oPt through which it will transfer population and seize Palestinian territory. It is important to note that the settlements are illegal under article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), which states that an occupying power should not deport or transfer parts of its own population into the territory it occupies. According to an *Al Jazeera* (Tahhan, 2017) report from 21 November 2017, there are between 600,000 and 750,000 Israeli settlers living in 150 settlements and outposts (illegal settlements under Israeli law). This population number amounts to 11% of the total Jewish Israeli population, while the number of settlements means that 42% of the West Bank and 86% of East Jerusalem is under settlement control.

With regards to the PSC's Facebook content, two important aspects that contributed to the high number of posts concerning illegal settlements were first in December 2016 when the U.S decided to abstain from vetoing a UN Security Council motion that called for Israel to halt all settlement construction in the oPt (Figures 4.11 and 4.12). This was considered a landmark decision, because according to the *Middle East Eye* (2017), the US has vetoed 43 UN Security Council resolutions condemning Israel in the last four decades. The UN's decision was followed by Donald Trump becoming president of the US and promising to support Israel's settlement expansion, which materialized during the first three months of his presidency (January-March 2017) when Israel announced the approval for 5,500 more housing units in different settlements of the West Bank, according to a UNSC Meeting report (2017). (Figures 4.13 and 4.14).



Figure 4.11

A symbolic resolution against Israeli settlements



Figure 4.12

PSC welcomes Security Council resolution

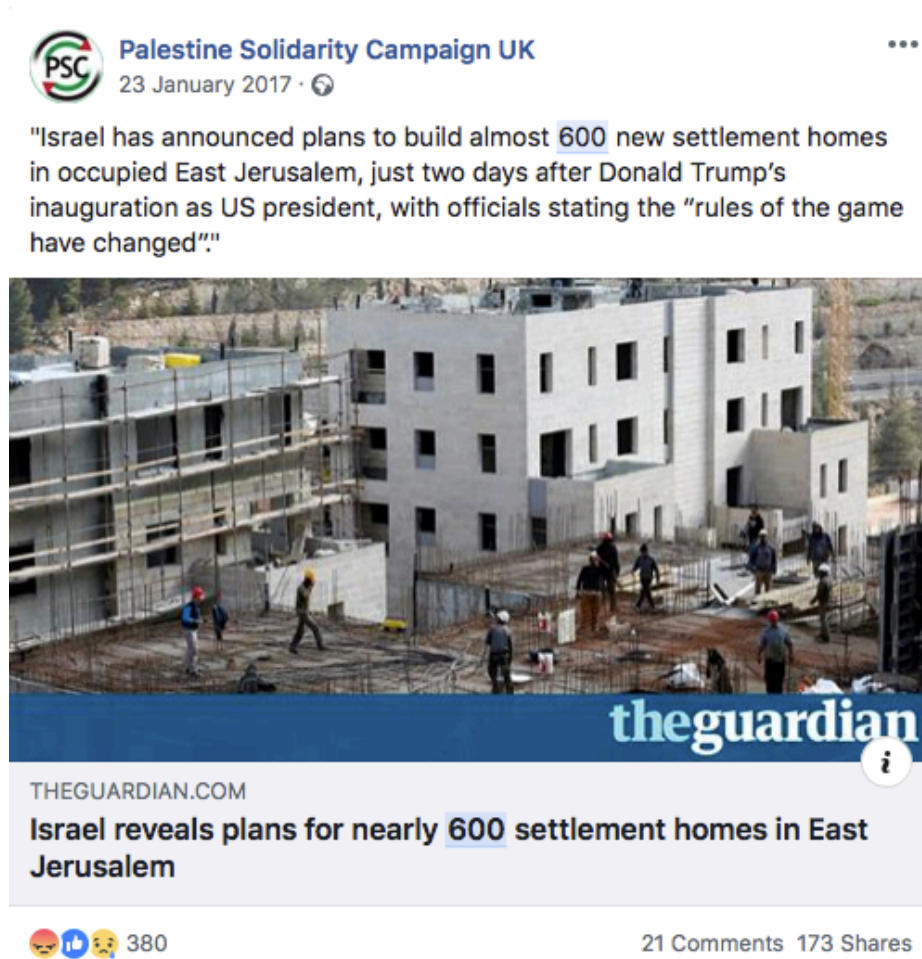


Figure 4.13

Israel reveals plans for nearly 600 settlement homes in East Jerusalem



Figure 4.14

Israel approves construction of 2,500 houses in illegal West Bank settlements

By building settlements, Israel has successfully prohibited the territorial continuity of any future Palestinian state in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Furthermore, it continually displaces Palestinians from their land with the objective that eventually the living conditions under the occupation regime will be so harsh that Palestinians will cease to fight and defend their territory. This is why it is important that the PSC, through the continuous publication of news and reports concerning the continued building and expansion of the settlements and the extremely difficult conditions that the Israeli military occupation has created on the ground for Palestinians can inform its followers, members and supporters, as well as the larger British public of the reality faced by Palestinians and the undermining of any peace solution in a conflict that is largely, but not

uniquely, territorial. Additionally, the PSC has also worked with the Red Card Israeli Racism (RCIR) campaign to demand that the International Fédération of Association Football (FIFA) suspends the Israeli Football Association (IFA) from FIFA and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) until Israel respects the human rights of Palestinians and observes international law. Its condemnation of FIFA's recognition of football teams in illegal settlements was manifested in posts such as the one shown below (Figure 4.15) where the PSC's Director, Ben Jamal, wrote about how allowing football teams from settlements to compete in international events, is harmful for the concept of fair play in sports, and extending it to the idea of justice and fairness for Palestinians. By establishing this link, he then proceeded to advance the notions of BDS as a strategy that makes Israel accountable for their actions and can help Palestinians achieve justice and equality.

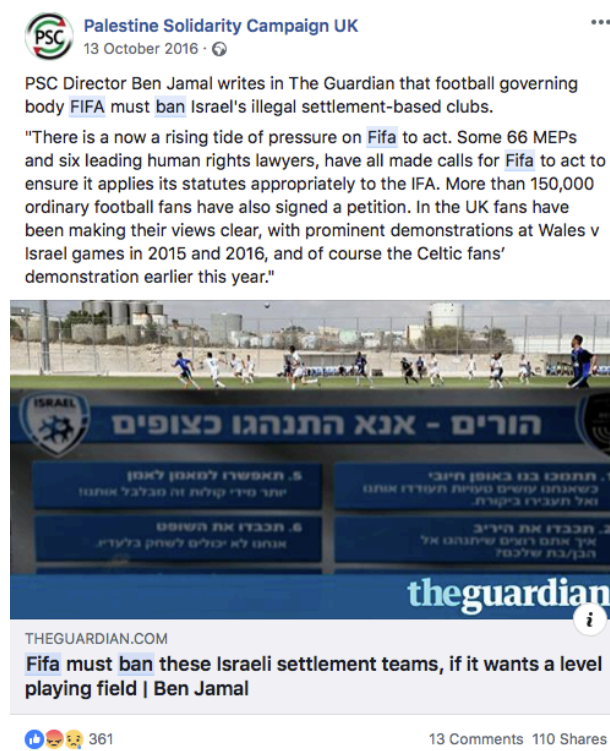


Figure 4.15

Fifa must ban these Israeli settlement teams if it wants a level paying field

4.2.3 Demolitions

After the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in the 1990's, the West Bank was divided into areas designed to contain and control Palestinians. Thus, Area A which comprises 18% of the West Bank is under complete control of the Palestinian Authority. Area B that comprises 23% of the West Bank is under Palestinian civil control and a joint Israeli and Palestinian security control; while Area C, which is the largest extension of the territory with over 60% of the West Bank is under the complete jurisdiction of the Israeli government. It is mainly in Area C, but not exclusively, that Israel exercises a restrictive planning and zoning regime that prohibits Palestinians from acquiring construction permits that would allow them to build domestic structures and public infrastructure.

According to the report *Restricting Space: The Planning Regime Applied By Israel In Area C of the West Bank* by the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in the oPt (2009) the planning regime imposed by Israel prohibits Palestinian construction in approximately 70% of Area C, which equates to 44% of the West Bank, by designating these areas for exclusive use of Israel and allocating them for illegal settlements, military zones, nature reserves or "buffer" zones. Additionally, in the remaining 30% of area C, or approximately 18% of the West Bank there are further restrictions that reduce the possibility of obtaining a building permit. The organization added in a subsequent report entitled *Under Threat: Demolition Orders in Area C of the West Bank* (2015) that Palestinians are forced to apply for construction permits for even the most basic residential and livelihood structures, a situation that blocks the development of adequate housing, infrastructure and livelihoods of Palestinians in Area C.

As a consequence of Israel denying building permits, Palestinians are forced to erect structures illegally, risking the threat of demolition by Israel. However, the reason behind the demolition of structures is deeper than just serving a punishment for violating the law, according to The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD, 2017) the motivation behind it is political and uses administrative procedures as a façade as shown in the Facebook post below (Figure 4.16), where it is explained how the policy of demolitions in the West Bank serves the purpose of displacing Palestinians and extends Israel's jurisdiction on occupied territory that will then be used to build new settlements or enlarge existing ones. Consequently, this policy permits Israel to break any territorial continuity between Palestinian villages and grow the territory under their control in an ongoing de-facto annexation of land.

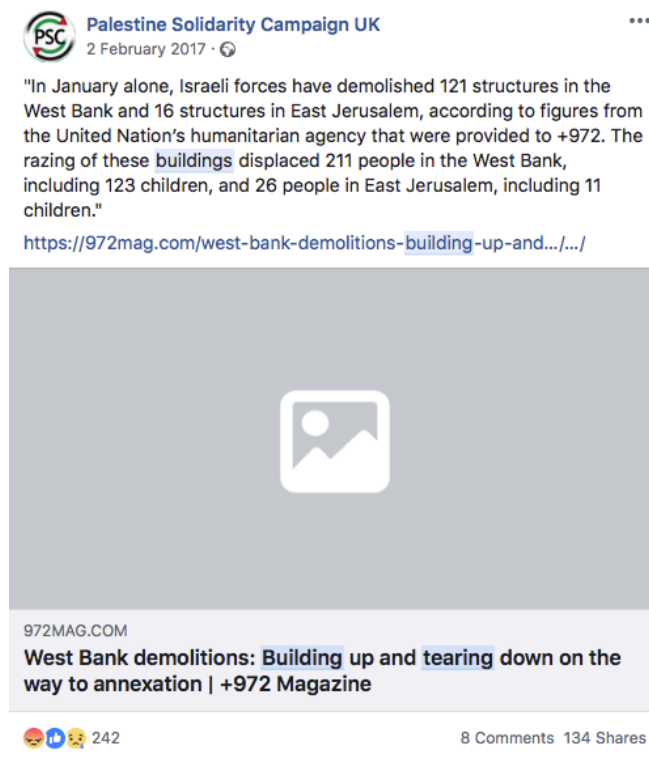


Figure 4.16

West Bank demolitions: Building up and tearing down on the way to annexation

The Committee adds that there are different categories for the demolitions, which are as follows:

- **Punitive demolitions:** Houses demolished as punishment for the actions of people associated with the houses. Although it was a practice largely used during the Second Intifada, it is still used today to a lesser degree, with only 1% of demolitions being punitive.
- **Administrative demolitions:** This corresponds to houses demolished for lacking a building permit. This happens in Area C of the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. Palestinians have absolutely no involvement in land management in East Jerusalem or Area C. Therefore, it is important to point out that in almost all cases, Palestinians have no choice but to build "illegally" as permits will not be granted. It is also the case that in Area B, if a house is near a military base or a road used by the military or settlers, it may also face administrative demolition. This type of demolition accounts for approximately 20% of defined demolitions.
- **Land-clearing operations / Military demolitions:** Houses demolished by the Israeli army during military operations for the purposes of clearing off a piece of land, achieve a military goal or to kill wanted persons as part of Israel's policy of extrajudicial executions. Military demolitions account for about 61% of defined demolitions. The 18,000 Palestinian homes that were demolished or severely damaged in Gaza in the summer of 2014 during Israel's Operation Protective Edge come into this category.

During the time the data for this research was collected the number of demolitions fluctuated with 2016 being the year with the highest number of recorded demolitions in the past decade (Chart 4.5). According to OCHA statistics published online, in the *Demolition and Displacement Trend Analysis*, there were a total of 1,094 demolitions (Chart 4.6) (876 in Area C, 190 in East Jerusalem, 20 in Area A and 8 in Area B). The total demolitions

for 2017 were 423 (Chart 4.7) (270 in Area C, 142 in East Jerusalem, 2 in Area A, and 9 in Area B).

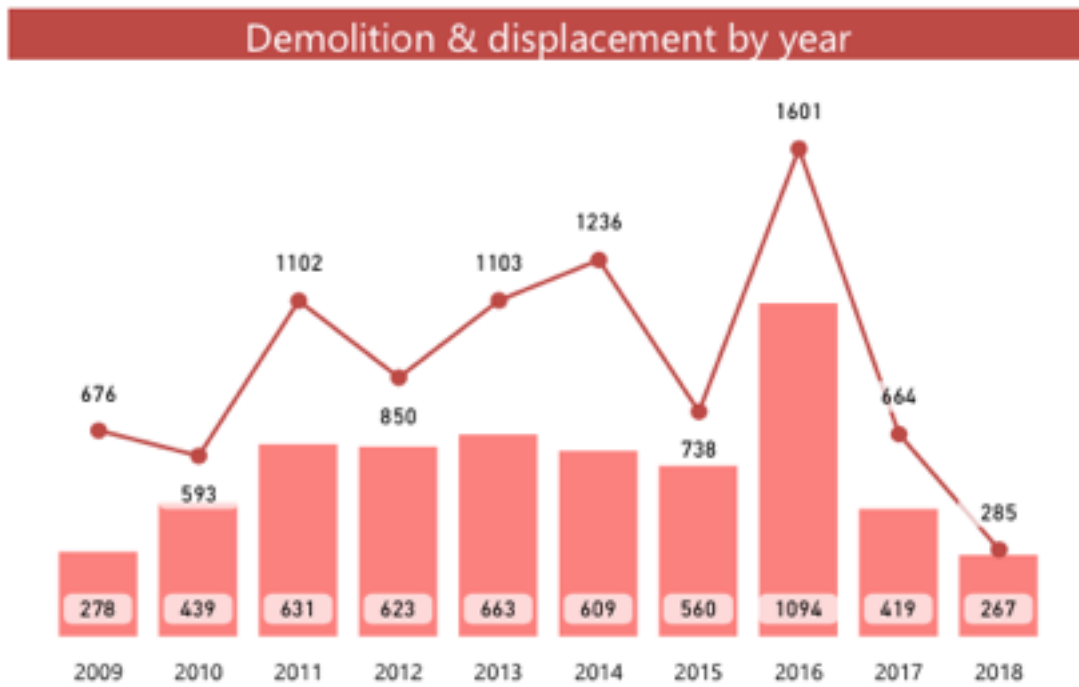


Chart 4.5

OCHA's demolition and displacement by year statistics

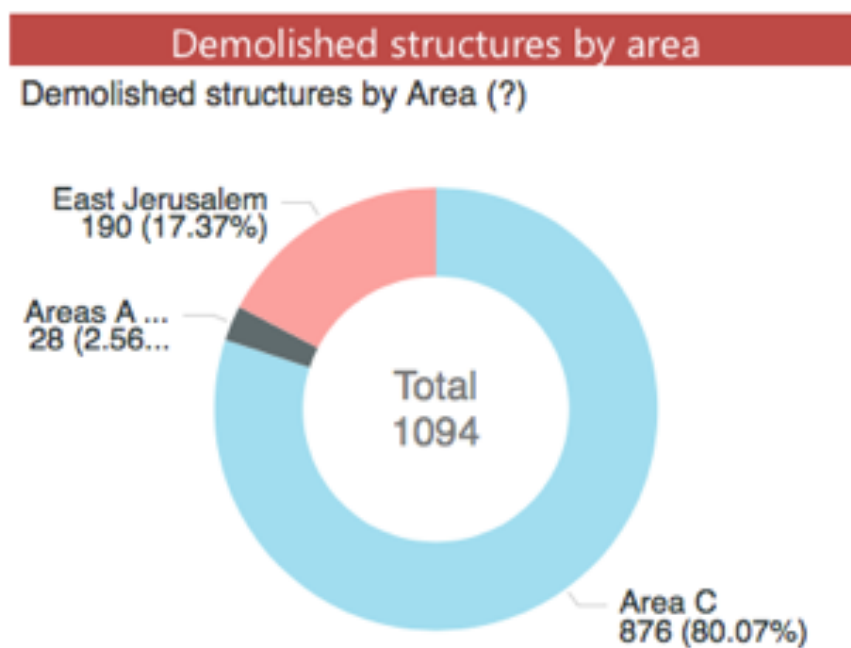
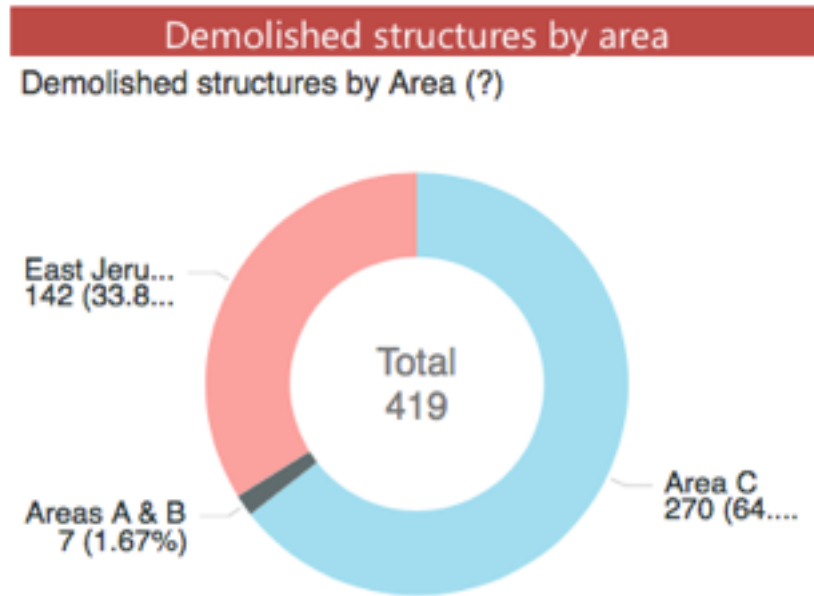


Chart 4.6

OCHA's statistics for demolished structures by area 2009-2018

**Chart 4.7**

OCHA's statistics for demolished structures by area in 2017

4.2.4 The Gaza Strip

Gaza has been separated from the rest of the occupied Palestinian territory and at the time of the research it was entering its tenth year of air, land and sea blockade by the Israeli military (2007 until today). Its isolation has been exacerbated by the Egyptian restriction of crossing through Rafah, the only place outside of Israel's control that could serve as Palestinians' door to the outside. The humanitarian situation in Gaza has rapidly deteriorated, mainly because of the Israeli blockade, which denies the entry and exit of people and goods (Figure 4.17). Another factor that has threatened the coastal enclave's development is the constant military attacks carried out by Israel and the three large scale military operations that have taken place in the last decade: Operation Cast Lead (2008-2009), Operation Pillar of Defense (2012) and Operation Protective Edge (2014).

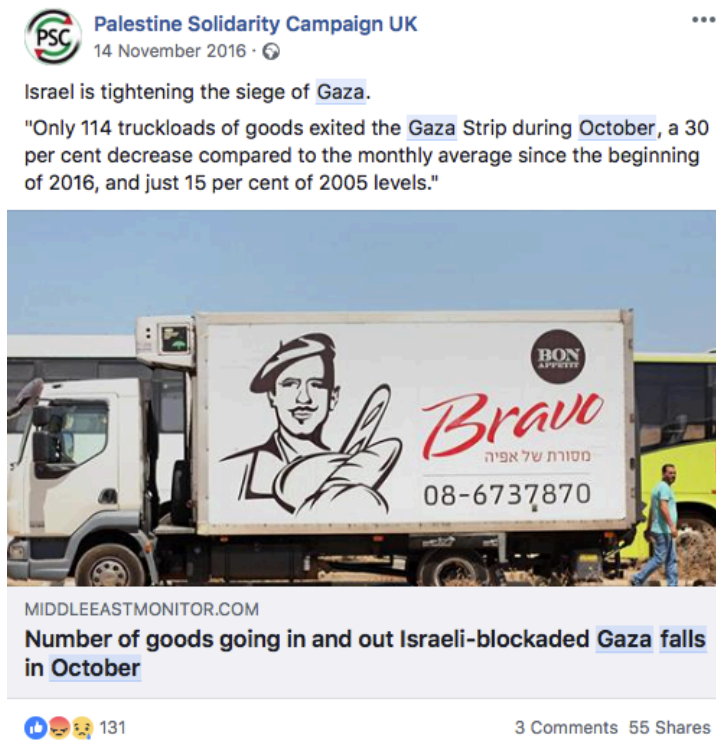


Figure 4.17

Number of goods going in and out Israeli-blockaded Gaza falls in October

In 2012 the UN published a report which deemed that by 2020 the Gaza Strip would be uninhabitable because its fundamental infrastructure in water, sanitation, electricity, municipal and social services would be insufficient for the estimated 2.1 million people that would live there by that date. However, after the Israeli military offensives, the time for Gaza has been cut short, with the OCHA in the oPt publishing a report in (2018b) that declared an unprecedented humanitarian crisis in the Gaza Strip. According to the document Palestinians have on average four to five hours of electricity daily and a shortage of fuel that has endangered the provision of basic services, addressed by the PSC on posts such as the one in Figure 4.18. There is also lack of access to clean water (Figure 4.19), while wastewater is poured into the ocean polluting one of Palestinians' main sources of employment —fishing— and food.



Figure 4.18

Sole Gaza power station turned off due to fuel crisis



Figure 4.19

Gaza suffers annual freshwater deficit

Moreover, there has been an escalation of violence since 30 March 2018 when Palestinians in Gaza organized what they called the Great March of Return, a peaceful way of protesting Israel's blockade and demand that Palestinian refugees, which compose a large sector of the inhabitants of Gaza to be allowed to return to their ancestral land in what is now Israel. Along Israel's perimeter fence thousands of Palestinians have gathered on a weekly basis only to be received by live ammunition from Israeli snipers. The OCHA reports (2018b, 2018c) that the number of casualties is currently at 172 Palestinians and one Israeli, while the number of injured is 17,504 Palestinians and 20 Israelis. This massive number of casualties and injuries has placed strain on an already burdened health care system that lacks the basic medical materials to treat the population along with the energy crisis.

It is important to note that when the PSC publishes information regarding the Gaza Strip, the organization does not engage in discussing the Palestinian leadership divide between Hamas and Al Fatah that is one of the main reasons for the blockade of the Gaza Strip since 2007. Thus, when addressing the situation in the Gaza Strip, the PSC gives saliency to sharing content that is concerned with human rights' violations and the violence Palestinians are subjected to. In this sense, there is frame alignment between how the PSC portrays the Gaza Strip and other prominent collective action frames it uses in its strategy, namely the human rights and violence frames, as is explained in paragraphs below.

To conclude, the settler colonial frame is an extremely useful way of informing a very geographically distant British audience about the situation on the ground in Palestine. It demonstrates how the presence of Palestinians in the territory, both in Israel and the oPt, has proved to be an obstacle for the Zionist project. Therefore, it has made Israel's settler colonial structure "unstable" (Jabary Salamanca et al., 2012) and in consequence made it manifest in an array of violent and unjust ways, such as aerial and maritime bombardment, massacre and invasion, demolitions, land theft, racist laws, the siege of Gaza and cultural appropriation. Most importantly, viewing Palestine/Israel as a consequence of settler colonial ambitions allows Palestinians to establish bi-directional solidarities with former colonial nations. In the words of Jabary Salamanca et al.:

"The settler colonial perspective offers the possibility of a new ingathering of movements, harnessing each other's strengths for an active, mutual, and principled Palestinian alignment with the Arab struggle for self-determination, and indigenous struggles in North America, Latin America, Oceania, and elsewhere. Such an alignment would expand the tools available to Palestinians and their solidarity movement and reconnect the struggle to its own history of

anti-colonial internationalism. At its core, this internationalist approach asserts that the Palestinian struggle against Zionist settler colonialism can only be won when it is embedded within, and empowered by, broader struggles — all anti-imperial, all anti-racist, and all struggling to make another world possible.” (Jabary Salamanca et al. 2012:5)

The fact that the PSC prominently and strategically uses the settler colonial frame to portray the Palestinian cause in Britain is not only a consequence of its 2016 campaigning strategy, which focused heavily on Israeli settlements and its denunciation but also because it is an effective way of articulating a counter narrative to the official Israeli discourse and address misconceptions or confusion that might exist within British civil society. Consequently, the settler colonial frame provides insight into the history of the Palestinian struggle as well as context as to why and how has the situation evolved throughout time.

Although the PSC is challenging the status quo and hegemonic positions by supporting the Palestinian cause, it is important to acknowledge that its framing of the Palestinian cause in settler colonial terms still centres around consensual issues, rooted in international law discourse, such as the illegality of the settlements and the Gaza Strip blockade. In this way, the organization stays away from pronouncing itself on more divisive matters, for example, the Hamas-Fatah conflict or advocating for a one or a two state solution. Notwithstanding, the use of the settler colonial frame can provide the PSC the opportunity to articulate the other frames its uses, more saliently the human rights, BDS, and apartheid frames, as their diagnostic and prognostic dimensions rely heavily on the starting point of viewing Palestine as a result of a settler colonial endeavour.

4.3 Human rights frame

The portrayal of the Palestinian struggle as one for human rights has gained momentum since the 1980s. Coinciding with the occurrence of the First Intifada (1987-1993), viewing Palestine as a human rights cause marked an important shift from the anti-colonial and national liberation frameworks that prevailed since the implementation of the Partition Plan (1947), the subsequent creation of the state of Israel (1948), and continued until the late 1960s. Moreover, it is a breakage from the media images of plane hijackings by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1970 and the assassinations carried out by the Black September Group during the Munich Olympics of 1972, that showcased Palestinians as terrorists to an international audience (Collins, 2011a).

In the case of the PSC's Facebook output, the human rights frame is one of the three most salient ones, along with the settler colonial frame and BDS. In the data collected, human rights related posts amounted to a total of 199 or 15.3% of the overall posts during the span of the research. The PSC shares human rights content in two different ways, on the one hand, there are posts that showcase the continuous human rights violations that Israel performs on Palestinians, and on the other hand, there is a special focus on Israel's systematic and arbitrary detentions and imprisonment of Palestinians.

With regards to Israel's human rights violations, the posts can be categorized into three. Firstly, there are posts related to the denying of Palestinians' basic rights, such as access to water (Figure 4.20) or medical treatment (Figure 4.21).



Figure 4.20

Gaza's water shortage worsening, no easy solutions seen



Figure 4.21

Gaza cancer patients complain about Israeli restrictions on their treatment

Secondly, there are posts that highlight reports and statements by international non-governmental organizations (Figures 4.22 and 4.23), where human rights violations are researched and factually demonstrated. By publishing news on international body reports the PSC is relying on external and reputable sources to sustain their own campaigns and arguments. In doing so, the PSC is also attempting to legitimize their own message through a more institutionalized and legitimized third party, such as the UN or the International Red Cross Committee. Consequently, the publication of these posts serves two purposes, the first is informing the PSC's Facebook followers and the British public of the circumstances in Palestine, and at the same time legitimising their own aims and objectives, not only through facts, but through facts researched and published by an authoritative international organization.



Figure 4.22

UN: Israel blocking aid to 'most vulnerable' Palestinians 'more and more'



Figure 4.23

WHO: Israel obstructs health access for Palestinian patients, medical workers

Thirdly, there are posts calling Western governments to pressure Israel into complying with international humanitarian law (Figure 4.24) and/or condemning governments for their complicity in Israel's human rights violations (Figure 4.25). These types of posts serve to remind Britain and other Western nations of their colonial past, which one of its results is the colonization of Palestine and its ongoing occupation. At the same time, they highlight the economic and diplomatic relations that Israel has with the most powerful countries and entities in the world, such as the EU and the US, and how these relationships have shielded Israel from criticism and condemnation for their continuous and systematic violation of Palestinians' human rights.



Figure 4.24

Over 250 European organisations issued a statement — Justice for Palestine now! End European complicity!



Figure 4.25

Theresa May must raise human rights issues during Netanyahu's UK visit

The posts concerning Israel's detention and imprisonment policies constitute the majority of the human rights posts with 72 posts that represent a 60.5% of the total human rights posts and 9.2% of the overall posts analyzed. This content focuses on the different types in which Palestinians, both adults, and children, are deprived of their freedom by the different categories Israel has established —detention and questioning (Figure 4.26), administrative detention (Figure 4.27), and imprisonment (Figure 4.28).

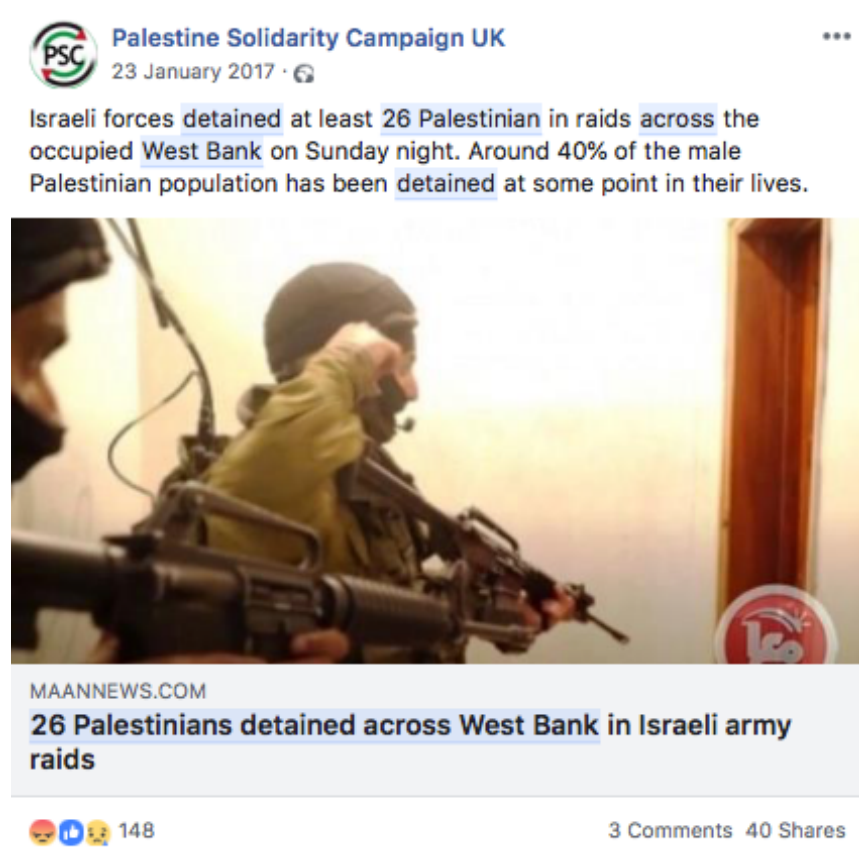


Figure 4.26

26 Palestinians detained across West Bank in Israeli army raids



Figure 4.27

Israel issues administrative detention orders to 15 Palestinian prisoners



Figure 4.28

Palestinian child sentenced to 12 years in Israeli prison

Additionally, the posts addressed the conditions faced by Palestinians during these particular moments, such as torture (Figure 4.29), denial of medical treatment (Figure 4.30), isolation and hunger strikes (Figure 4.31), to mention the most recurring ones.



Figure 4.29

2 Palestinian teens assaulted by Israeli forces during detention



Figure 4.30

Breaking the generations: Palestinian prisoners and medical rights



Figure 4.31

PLO: Israeli doctors cracking down on hunger strikers

In the following paragraphs, an overview of the human rights framework applied to Palestine will be provided. First, it will be explained what this particular frame is and the way in which it works. It will be followed by an analysis of the constraints and opportunities that using a human rights rhetoric provides for advancing the Palestinian cause. This section will then go on to address the Palestinian prisoners topic as an important issue within the human rights perspective, and also analyze the problems that arise from doing so.

4.3.1 Opportunities and constraints of the human rights frame

In her work about the impact human rights have had on the media representation of Palestinians, anthropologist and human rights expert, Lori Allen (2009), explains that human rights are a legal framework which is articulated through an array of international declarations and conventions,

such as the Universal Declaration for Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. It is important to note that this framework is not only built through the normative discourse contained in the international legal instruments that define it and guide it, but also materializes in the international institutions, its workers and, most importantly, the discourse that is produced by both foreigners and Palestinians alike to describe day-to-day life in Palestine.

The emergence of this framework comes from the notion that human beings are deserving of rights by the simple fact of existing and belonging to the human race, and that these rights are inalienable and universal (Allen, 2009). However, the granting of human rights is mainly the responsibility of States, which in the case of Palestine poses a problem, as the main question concerning the Palestinian cause is, in fact, the very lack of a State. Consequently, the responsibility of awarding those rights is left to Israel, in its role as the occupying force, which sidelines international human rights institutions and NGOs to the role of observers and condemners of Israel's flagrant rights violations without any real ability to enforce international humanitarian law.

Despite the lack of rights guarantees, Allen points out (2018) that particularly from "the 1980s onwards, human rights became a hegemonic idiom through which Palestinians and their international supporters called for Palestinian individual and collective rights" (2018:8). In her work (2009) she highlights that it was during the First Intifada that Palestinians discovered that human rights discourse was an ideal way of making themselves heard internationally and that this trend continued through the 1990s, the Second Intifada and until today, to establish what she terms a "human rights regime" (Allen, 2009:161). The prevalence of this regime is largely due to the fact that visual media combined with the violent reality of Palestine produces images that are a discourse in itself for the articulation of the legal language of human rights as well as a witnessing technique

that allows Palestinians the right to claim-making and legitimacy based on demonstrable victimhood and suffering.

In her doctoral thesis (2013) on transnational solidarity with Palestine in the West Bank, Monique Jo Beerli argues that the framing of the Palestinian struggle shifted from centering around nationalistic ideas during the First Intifada into focusing on human rights in the Second Intifada. She argues that this shift happened because of the constraints that the political context presented after the failure of the Oslo Peace Process during the 1990s, along with the ICJ ruling on the illegality of the Israeli-built wall in the West Bank in 2004. Beerli's analysis coincides with Allen's in addressing the fact that the human rights frame and its use of international law and the justice master frame provide the opportunity to link Palestine to other struggles around the world while also allowing for transnational activists to relate to Palestine and participate in collective action.

Although the main producers of this discourse have been human rights NGOs and international human rights bodies, Palestinians have also adopted it as a way to represent themselves not only to foreigners but among each other. In Allen's words:

“Human rights informs how Palestinians see themselves, how they create solidarities internationally and locally, and how they forge channels through which to mobilize forms of support, to empathize and to provide national pedagogy”. (Allen, 2009:165)

As such, Palestinians rely on the quality of humanity to relate to each other as a nation, “specifically a nation of sufferers” (Allen, 2009:165), and at the same time awaken the sympathy and empathy of international civil society to garner support on the basis of shared humanity.

In his study of British Jewish diaspora groups critical of Israel, David Landy (2013) argues for a view of the human rights discourse as a socially

constructed one, that goes beyond the legal discourse of international humanitarian law. To him, the importance of this rhetoric is that it provides advantages and disadvantages to social movement activists, by allowing them to challenge prevalent power relations as well as provide a language that facilitates activism in what is considered a geographically distant issue for Westerner audiences. Yet, the dangers of it are that it can shape activists' understanding of the Palestine-Israel conflict and restrict their discourse when addressing it. In consequence, activists may fall prey to reproducing hegemonic discourses when discussing Palestine or be subjected to retain the language and divisive conceptualizations created by Israel with regards to Palestinians' status. As Landy explains:

“The language of human rights addresses the status quo situation of these disparate groups, thereby retaining the fragmentation imposed on them by Israel”. (Landy, 2013:413)

However, I would argue that this discursive imposition is one that emerges not only from human rights rhetoric but from the settler-colonial framework where the Palestinian cause is rooted, as it is those geographical and legal divisions developed and imposed by Israel that permeate the language used to talk about Palestine and Palestinians. Therefore, it is not only activists but also academics and journalists that must take into account the different legal regimes that govern over Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem, Israel or the diaspora.

One of the main criticisms of the human rights framework is that it hollows the Palestinian cause by sidelining colonialism as the origin of the conflict and by extension de-politicizing it. In her research about the transformation of the Palestinian cause's representation in media, Helga Tawil-Souri (2015) explains that seeing Palestine as merely a human rights issue neglects the anti-colonial principles that originated the cause. She goes on to say:

“The rhetoric of rights presents a decontextualized history vis-à-vis colonialism and national liberation”. (Tawil-Souri, 2015:154)

Allen (2009, 2018) and Landy (2013) agree, arguing that the apolitical and impartial underlying of NGOs, the UN and international aid bodies necessarily translates into them operating in a de-contextualized reality, where the core political, systemic and economic structures that produce rights violations have been obfuscated (Allen, 2018). Moreover, this has contributed to a mis-understanding of the Palestinian cause. On his part, Landy (2013) explains that the lack of context contributes to the normalization of the occupation, the emergence of unrepresentative Palestinian political elites and the advancement of Neoliberal ambitions in the oPt. This has become more evident since the signing of the Oslo Accords (1993), where an NGOization of Palestinian civil society has taken place providing economic benefits by employing the local population, while at the same time lifting responsibility on both the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli occupation, thus contributing to the maintenance of the military regime in the occupied territories.

Furthermore, the establishment of the human rights regime in Palestine and the monetary flow from Western rights organizations has also meant an intervention of foreign interests in Palestine's politics. As Landy writes:

“A related critique of human rights is that by labelling people as individualized victims, it is a discourse which enables Northern organizations to intervene in the global South. Human rights, in this aspect, becomes a linguistic signifier akin to ‘development’, one which produces decontextualized, atomized and depoliticized victims who need outside assistance, an attractive discourse for outsiders seeking justification to intervene, but of limited use to the objects of human rights. Containing within itself both colonizing North and colonized South, Israel Palestine can be seen as a prime example of this application of human rights discourse. (Landy, 2013:413)

Despite the decontextualization that the neutral language of human rights creates, Palestinians, NGOs and international activists continue to use it because of the opportunities it provides, particularly for garnering international support for the Palestinian cause. In his research, Landy (2013) highlights that human rights discourse is a means to plausibly and effectively criticize Israel. Therefore, it has become an appealing recourse for activists attempting to gain international solidarity and mobilize distant audiences.

Nonetheless, the constraints it poses, human rights discourse is not entirely disconnected from the political context of Palestine, since the events taking place on the ground have a political origin and human rights violations are a consequence of it. Which is why Landy's (2013) argument about the convergence of both frames, the political and the humanitarian, would be a better-rounded lens through which to view Palestine.

4.3.2 Palestinian prisoners

The detention and imprisonment of Palestinians is an emblematic practice that showcases Israel's attempts to control and oppress the Palestinian population in the occupied territories. In their book about Palestinian child prisoners, Catherine Cook, Adam Hanieh and Adah Kay (2004) note that "prison is a central feature of Palestinian life" (Cook et al., 2004:7), and as such, it affects every Palestinian family and has permeated the Palestinian national narrative, as well as Palestinian development, with people seeing their life's ambitions put on hold or completely stop due to incarceration.

Continuing with the problematization of the human rights frame, Cook et al. (2004) argue that viewing the situation of Palestinian prisoners solely from a human rights perspective is problematic, as it focuses on the mere fact of Palestinian prisoners' rights being respected or not and failing to address the core issue of why it is that Palestinians are being continuously detained

and imprisoned in large numbers throughout an extensive period of time. In their view, attention needs to be paid to the causes for the mass incarceration taking place in the oPt, which has its root in Israel's complex and discriminatory system of control. In their words:

"[...] the approach to this issue [Palestinian political prisoners], particularly from international bodies, tends to concentrate on humanitarian aspects. Conditions inside prisons, the use of torture, and the practice of 'administrative detention' without trial or charge, figure prominently on the agenda of human rights organizations. They rarely place imprisonment in a political context. They seldom explore the underlying reasons for this high rate of imprisonment, the strategy driving the way detainees are treated, and the role that imprisonment plays in the occupation." (Cook et al., 2004:7-8)

Therefore, the policy of detention should be understood as one of the many ways in which the Israeli military occupation manifests. In this sense, Israel's intention is to undermine, and complicate Palestinian's daily lives through systematic oppression that is enacted politically, economically, legally and even psychologically, and of which prison serves many of these purposes. That is why Palestinian prisoners, both adults and children, have a political quality to them, because they are imprisoned by the political nature of the conflict, and because it is their political activism, in challenging the occupation, that has rendered them victims of Israel's system of control. The authors explain:

"It is a conscious policy aimed at demoralizing and defeating the population and is supported by a series of structures ranging from a discriminatory legal system to psychological strategies aimed at inculcating fear. It is designed not only to punish but also to intimidate. It is intended to convey the message that resistance is fruitless in the face of these overwhelming control structures. Above

all, it is designed to render the population passive.” (Cook et al., 2004:8)

This same political attribute of prisoners is why they are detained and jailed under accusations of “terrorism” or for being a “security threat”. Because as Palestinians that refuse to be subjected, they pose a security problem for Israel’s existence and domination of the oPt and by jailing them Israel sends a very clear and strong message that “resistance to the occupation comes at a heavy price” (Cook et al., 2004:12). Moreover, it is a way of controlling the population at all levels, which is why when the political situation on the ground deteriorates the rate of arrests increases (Cook et al., 2004).

In conclusion, when analyzing the issue of Palestinian prisoners two views should be considered: the political and the humanitarian one. As it has been mentioned in previous paragraphs, the frames combined can give a more complete understanding of the situation by pointing out that human rights violations are taking place, and calling for empathy and solidarity, while at the same time explaining why is it that it happens and that the solution to it, is not just granting jailed Palestinians their freedom or guaranteeing that their rights are protected while in prison; but lifting the occupation and Israel’s systematic policies of control over the daily lives of Palestinians inside Israel, in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem.

4.4 The boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) frame

Ever since Palestinian civil society called for the economic boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) of Israel on 9 July 2005, the way pro-Palestine activists around the world develop tactics to support Palestine and condemn Israel’s systematic violence and oppression have changed. This new paradigm has also altered the discourse used when discussing the conflict and its more recent history. In the case of the PSC, BDS is the main strategy used to develop local campaigns in the UK, and international

coordinated actions targeting some of the most prominent companies in the world for profiting from the occupation of Palestine. Its online strategy clearly shows BDS is one of the main frames used, as it occupies the third place with 114 total posts (14.6%) of which 49 (42.9%) concern the specific campaign to boycott technology company Hewlett-Packard (HP).

The emergence of the BDS framework in 2005 came at a time when the Palestinian population had been dispossessed for 58 years —United Nations Partition Plan (1947)— and occupied for 38 years —Six Day War (1967). Just one year before, in 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) had determined that the Wall built on occupied Palestinian land was illegal, while, in parallel, a group of Palestinian academics and intellectuals had issued a call for the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) giving the basis for the BDS document. Moreover, this tactical shift in Palestinian national resistance came after the failure of the Oslo Peace Process (1993), which changed the paradigm of diplomatic relations between both sides of the conflict, as well as the situation on the ground, with tighter occupation policies, illegal Israeli settlement expansion on occupied land, and a subservient and corrupt Palestinian Authority (PA). Additionally, the attacks of the Palestinian insurgency during the Second Intifada (2000-2005) were punished with disproportionate and brutal force from the Israeli military against the civilian population, making nonviolence seem like a more appropriate option. Meanwhile, in 2001, during the United Nations World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa the revival of the debate equating Zionism to racism and apartheid by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum re-affirmed that there was still strong baseline support for the Palestinian cause.

The importance of BDS as a framework relies on the fact that it is essentially a human rights-based tactic, rooted in international law and calling for the implementation of UNGA resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian issue (Allen, 2018). It is also inspired by the economic boycott imposed on South Africa to deter it from being an Apartheid state. Thus,

BDS is one of the main examples of the overlapping of ideologic frames in social movement discourse, because it is able to use human rights in a manner that is specific to address Palestinians' grievances, while still generalizable enough to appeal to an international audience. More importantly, it comes from Palestinian society, giving them an articulate and coherent voice, that sidelines the political discourse and the current lack of leadership due to the infighting between Al Fatah and Hamas.

In his work *Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights* (2011), academic and co-founder of the BDS movement, Omar Barghouti explains that BDS' goal is to delegitimize Israel's façade of a democratic state and portray it as the settler-colonial endeavor and apartheid regime that it really is. Thus, the call consists of three demands that if reached would allow Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination and end Israel's racist regime and continued violations of international law by:

1. "Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands [occupied in 1967] and dismantling the wall
2. recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality
3. respecting, protecting, and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties, as stipulated in UN Resolution 194". (Barghouti, 2011:6)

These three demands allow the movement to unify Palestinians in the oPt and internationally, by articulating the grievances of the population inside historic Palestine —Palestinian citizens of Israel and the ones in the occupied territories—, the Palestinian diaspora, and the big network of international activists and organizations that support their cause. Furthermore, it is a three-tiered strategy of calling for a boycott, divestment, and sanctions are rooted in economic logic that seeks to show Israel's violation of international law as a costly practice. Thus, academic and

activist, Noura Erakat (2010) explains that boycotts rely on individual consumers' decisions not to buy goods produced in Israel or in the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, as well as the ones from companies benefitting from the occupation; while divestment pressures companies profiting from Israel's regime to desist from these activities; and sanctions look for state governments and international bodies to impose restrictions on Israel until it complies with international law. Allen adds:

“Rather than rely on the ‘expose and embarrass’ methods of human rights advocacy, BDS seeks to produce conditions in which those who enjoy the status quo and who are motivated —economically, politically, ideologically— to maintain the occupation benefit less. BDS prods at this current state that is so comfortable for the occupiers, by de-normalizing the repression and inequality under which Palestinians live in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory.” (Allen, 2018:10)

Additionally, BDS has the quality, unlike other Palestinian attempts at self-determination, to be a non-violent movement. Yet, Wendy Pearlman (2011) argues that non-violent movements experience two main challenges. First, they have to choose the correct strategy or strategies to challenge the status quo, and second, they have to overcome internal division in order to mobilize collective action. In the case of BDS, it has been able to overcome both challenges by developing leadership that materialized in 2008 as the BDS National Committee (BNC) (Barghouti, 2011). This is important, as Pearlman (2011) explains because the central leadership works as an umbrella organization for the different organisms, both local and international, as it grants internal cohesion, which is a basic element for non-violent protest. Also, a movement with a collective purpose is more able to rally a broad base of the population and implement mass mobilization easier. In Pearlman's words:

“[w]hen a movement is cohesive, it enjoys the organizational power to mobilize mass participation, enforce strategic discipline, and contain disruptive dissent” (Pearlman, 2011:2).

Furthermore, Barghouti (2011:33) explains “that activists and solidarity groups set their own BDS targets and choose tactics that best suit their political and economic environment. Context sensitivity is the overriding principle for planning and implementing successful BDS campaigns”. Which is why during the time of the research the Boycott HP campaign gained prominence and occupied an important place in the PSC’s Facebook output (Figure 4.32). The technology company became a BDS target when the movement announced that HP was the purveyor and operator of an important part of the infrastructure used by Israel to surveil and control the oPt. The BDS movement website explains that HP Enterprise is the prime contractor of the Basel system, which is an automated biometric access control system employed in Israel’s checkpoints and the wall. Also, HP technology facilitates the naval blockade of the Gaza Strip.

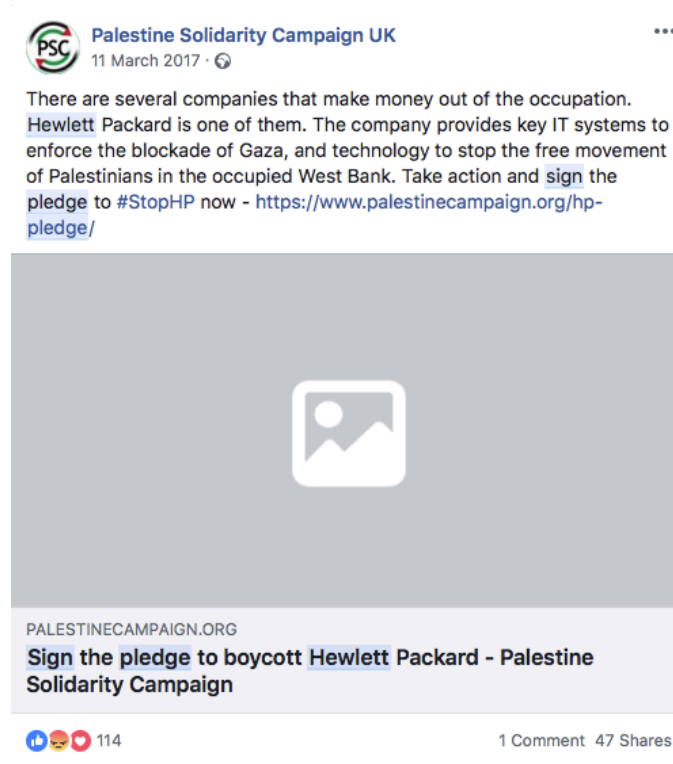


Figure 4.32

Sign the pledge to boycott Hewlett Packard

The campaign to boycott HP is global. However, it was in London that HP hosted a trade show from 29 November to 1st December 2017. PSC, along with other organizations that support Palestine, called on activists to approach event attendees as they arrived and speak to them about the way in which the company aids the oppression of Palestinians. Additionally, activists held banners denouncing HP as a company that harms Palestinians. (Figures 4.33 and 4.34).



Figure 4.33

International week of action on HP-UK actions



Figure 4.34

#StopHP Campaign: Attendees get the message at Hewlett Packard Enterprise's international trade fair

Allen (2018) notices that an important aspect of BDS is its drawing of links to the symbolic and material similarities between Israel and other settler-colonial regimes, for example, the United States, and most saliently apartheid South Africa. This connection is used by Palestinians not only to explain the root causes of their situation but also to borrow from the tactics and the broad international support the movement achieved to stop the racist policies of the Afrikaner government. As the official document states:

“We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace”. (BDS Call, 2005)

The association with apartheid South Africa has proven to be a useful BDS strategy, but it is not a requisite element of the movement since some solidarity activists seem reluctant to use the term while campaigning. Notwithstanding the differences, Erakat (2010:38) points out that in the BDS movement there is a general consensus that the apartheid framework is effective, especially in the symbolic realm.

Another problem that arises within the BDS framework is its vagueness concerning how a final solution would look like, since the movement does not endorse any particular solution to the conflict but insists that any just solution must address the three basic rights of the call (Erakat, 2010) — ending the occupation and dismantling of the wall, granting equal rights for Palestinians in Israel and allowing the right of return. However, not everyone considers these three rights neutral, since allowing for Palestinians to return would translate into Israeli Jews to become a minority

both inside Israel and in the oPt while allowing equal rights for Palestinians inside Israel is seen as a challenge to the two-state solution. Additionally, some activists refrain from implementing a boycott of all Israeli products and target solely those coming from illegal settlements. Therefore, “despite its best efforts to transcend political solutions [...] the BDS call has been read as an implicit endorsement of the one state solution” (Erakat, 2010:36)

That is why academics the likes of Noam Chomsky and Norman Finkelstein, who have been active critics of Israel and champions of the Palestinian cause, have also been harsh critics of BDS. Although both agree that the movement's tactics are correct and have been clear about their support of BDS, especially regarding the demand of ending the occupation of 1967 territories and dismantling the separation wall in the West Bank. Chomsky (2014) wrote in *The Nation* that BDS should be better called boycott and divestment (BD), “since sanctions, or state actions, are not on the horizon—one of the many significant differences from South Africa”. Additionally, he questioned the applicability of implementing the right of return of Palestinian refugees and demanding equal rights for Palestinians in Israel. While Finkelstein (2012) accused BDS of being a “cult” that wants to “selectively enforce the law” by rallying for Palestinian rights and not pronouncing its position on Israel, as he expressed in an interview with BDS activist Frank Barat:

“It's not an accident, an unwitting omission that BDS does not mention Israel [...] They won't mention it because they know it will split the movement, cause there's a large section of the movement [...] which wants to eliminate Israel.” (The Liberty Tribune, 2012)

Nonetheless, during the 13 years, it has been implemented, BDS has accomplished several victories by targeting major corporations' involvement with the occupation as well as Israel's own exports. Yet, Barghouti (2011:11) explains that the more consequential achievement of the movement has been the exposing of Israel as a regime “that combines

military occupation, colonization, ethnic cleansing and apartheid". This is the reason why Israel has launched several media strategies attempting to counteract the BDS campaign (Figure 4.35). Beginning in October 2005 with the Brand Israel Group (BIG), a communications and public relations strategy attempting to distance the country from the conflict with Palestinians and portray it in a favorable light by highlighting its technological and cultural activities (Pappe, 2015), and most recently in December 2017 (Figure 4.36) with the governmental approval of a plan to set aside \$72 million dollars and establish a not-for-profit organization partly funded by the government and partly from Jewish donors that would attempt to rapidly respond to the undermining of Israel's legitimacy (JTA, 2017). According to the news report, the organization would act during periods of high tension, such as military attacks and pressure by international activists. These attempts to undermine BDS consequently mean that it is a strategy that works (Figure 4.37). As Lori Allen explains:

"Because it is working to galvanize solidarity and organize action, it has gotten under the skin of the Israeli government, which is investing considerable resources in trying to stop it—an indication of real political efficacy." (Allen, 2018:13-14)



Figure 4.35

Israelis seek to uncover government's secret war against BDS

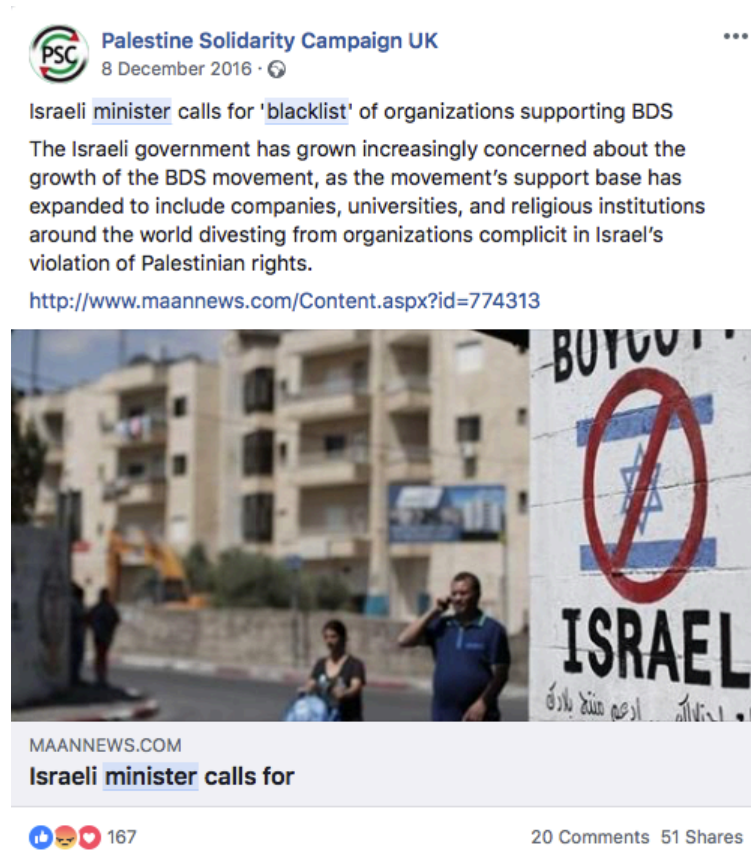


Figure 4.36

Israeli minister calls of 'blacklist' of organisations supporting BDS



Figure 4.37

BDS is not the only tactic against Israeli occupation, but it is working

In her doctoral thesis, Suzanne Morrison (2015) explains that the importance of the BDS framework for the Palestinian cause and its transnational supporters relies on the fact that it is a strategy that has been able to combine a multi-frame approach based on collective action frames, such as human rights, international law and justice, and apply the tactical repertoire of boycott as a call to action and mobilizing strategy. Consequently, BDS is able to “frame the Palestinian struggle through themes and ideas that can resonate with activists not specific to the Palestinian cause” (Morrison, 2015:63). Furthermore, this framework has expanded on the direct action type of activism that became prominent

during the Second Intifada and allowed those international activists to establish solidarity links with the Palestinian cause upon their return to their home countries, and thus, expanding the network of transnational solidarity and activism with Palestine. As such, BDS has proven to be one of the most successful frames for Palestinians and their international supporters to enact sustained collective action and demand accountability from companies, universities, entertainers, artists and governments alike.

4.5 Violence frame

One of the most prevalent characteristics of the Palestine-Israel conflict is violence. Violent activities have taken place since the origins of the conflict, and they became more common when the British authorities in the Mandate of Palestine aided the establishment of two societies in the same territory: one Jewish and one Arab, and privileged the former. Although the conflict has experienced violence from both parts: Palestinians and Israelis, it has been Israel the one that has used violent means and warfare in a more successful and encompassing way against the Palestinian population, both the one that remained inside Israel and the one that lives in the occupied territories and East Jerusalem. Moreover, Israel's military capabilities are superior and far more effective than Palestinian ones and include \$134,764,080 provided by the U.S. for military aid, according to an *Al Jazeera* report of 8 March 2018. This sum of money helps Israel to develop, improve and implement its armament and military technology against Palestinians (Figure 4.38). Consequently, Palestine and the Palestinians have become a real-life laboratory for military operations and arms, which are later sold in the international arms market as "battle tested" and provide another source of revenue for the Israeli war machinery.



Figure 4.38

US aid to Israel is for killing Palestinians

The PSC's Facebook content regarding violence seeks to demonstrate this by publishing information about Israel's continuous aggressions against Palestinians. In total, the violence framework appeared in 77 posts that represent 9.9% of the total publications. These posts concerned for the most part Israel's physical violence against Palestinians in the form of shooting (Figure 4.39), killing (Figure 4.40) and injuring Palestinians (Figure 4.41).



Figure 4.39

Israeli forces open fire on fishermen, raze lands in Gaza

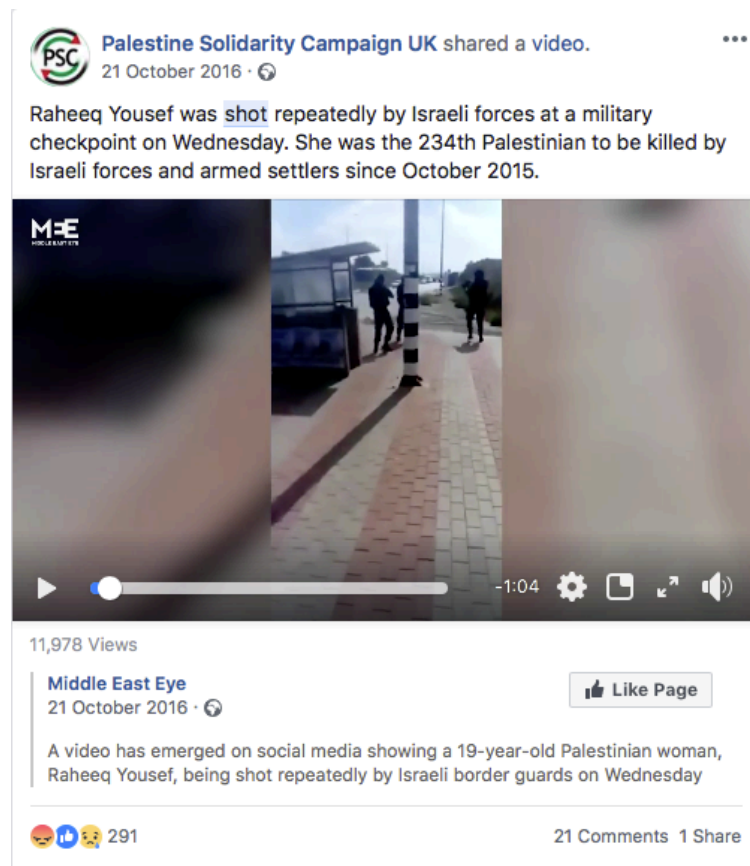


Figure 4.40

Palestinian woman repeatedly shot and killed by Israeli forces



Figure 4.41

Israeli forces seriously injure 17 year-old in Jenin clashes

In order to explain Israel's policy of violence against Palestinians, Johan Galtung's (1969) differentiation between physical and structural violence is important. In his work entitled *Violence, Peace and Peace Research*, Galtung distinguishes between physical violence and structural violence. To him, violence is present when "human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Galtung, 1969:168). In this sense, he differentiates between what he calls 'the potential' which is what could be, and 'the actual' which represents reality. If the potential is not reached, or if the potential is higher than the actual and the reason for it could have been prevented then he says violence is taking place.

Once this distinction has been made, Galtung (1969) proceeds to explain the distinction between physical and psychological violence through six categories. The first one differentiates between physical violence, where

humans get hurt to the point where they can get killed and psychological violence, which includes brainwashing, lies, indoctrination and/or threats that can undermine the potential of the individual or the collectivity and thus represent violence.

In second place is the distinction between the negative and positive approach to influence. This relates to the fact that influence can be achieved not only through punishment but also by rewarding desirable actions and attitudes. Thirdly, there is the distinction of whether a person gets hurt or not, this means that in some cases, no one is actively being wounded, but there is a threat of physical or psychological violence. This type of violence can also include the destruction of property or forced removal from a location.

In fourth place, Galtung makes an important distinction among violence that is being inflicted by an actor that commits direct and intentional violent acts, and violence where there is no actor, and as such is structural and indirect. He argues that, both types of violence can hurt individuals, but in the direct form the consequences can be traced to someone and therefore there can be an attribution of culpability, while in the second instance the violence is embedded in the structure and materializes in the maiming of the potentiality, as such, he explains that structural violence can also be referred to as social injustice. In Galtung's words:

“There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.” (Galtung, 1969:171)

The fifth distinction concerns whether violence is intended or unintended, and its importance relies on the fact that it can decide culpability and attribute guilt. Finally, the sixth distinction of violence is between it being manifest or latent. In this case, Galtung explains that manifest violence is

observable, while latent violence might not be present, but is something that could easily be triggered. This distinction is important because while personal direct violence is visible, attributable and measurable, structural violence is silent, and it even provides a sense of stability, as it becomes so embedded within the society in which it is being implemented it can easily go unnoticed, whereas physical violence is necessarily dynamic and can easily cause disruption within the system.

In the case of the PSC's social media output, physical violence is more frequently addressed, as it is a straightforward way of attributing culpability to Israel for killing and injuring Palestinians. Additionally, because physical violence is also a highly visible action, the PSC can use these violent events to mobilize collective action, solidarity and even relate it and overlap it to the human rights and emotional frames.

Moreover, structural violence against Palestinians in Israel and in the oPt is prevalent, but is harder to explain and address, as explaining why the actual is underneath the potential necessarily means that the audience needs to have some context of the situation, in order to fully comprehend what the potential could be and why the reality is far from it. Furthermore, Israel's structural violence is a complicated set of mechanisms of control, oppression and attempts to subordinate the population that have developed through time and have a process linked to international structures of oppression, thus explaining Israel's structural violence in Palestine is more difficult than signaling to the physical violence that is not only pervasive, but also impactful, and as such an important way of garnering support and mobilizing resources for the Palestinian cause.

As an example of posts that address structural violence is the post below (Figure 4.42) which refers to 'an atmosphere of fear' and demonstrates how structural violence can lead to physical and psychological violence, because through systematic army operations, raids, and detentions Israel attempts to scare the Palestinian population. It is a way of making them live

in a constant state of doubt about their wellbeing and their safety, and of effectively inflicting psychological violence on them, which translates into them not being able to reach their potential. This same notion can be applied to the post that reports on the levelling and shooting of agricultural lands in the Gaza Strip (Figure 4.43). In this case, the physical violence act of shooting and destroying Palestinian agricultural sites serves as a showcase of military power, as well as exercise psychological violence through structural means, because Israel razes lands or shoots at fishermen on a constant basis, thus affecting Palestinians livelihoods and conditioning them to always be weary of their day-to-day activities and consequently undermining their potential.

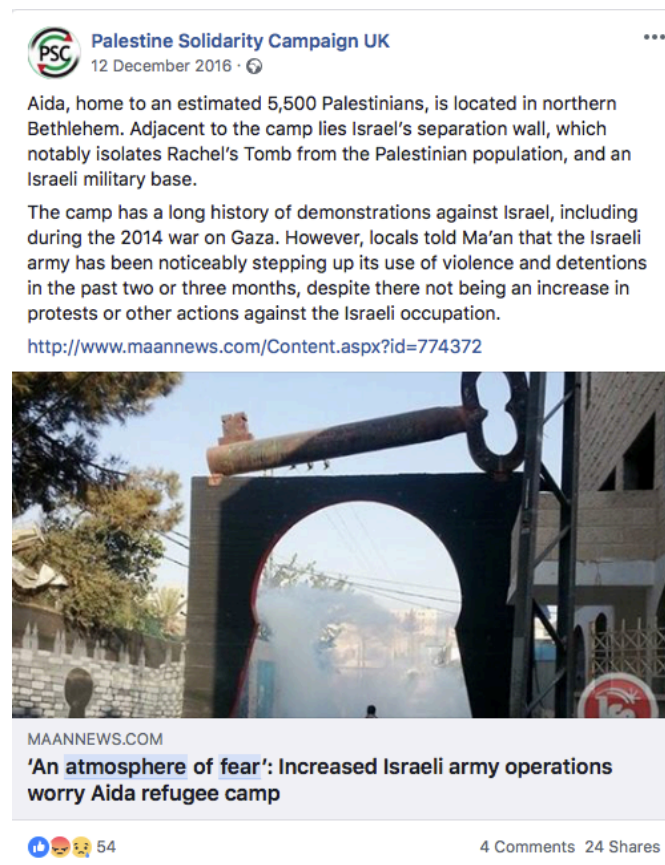


Figure 4.42

'An atmosphere of fear': Increased Israeli army operations worry Aida refugee camp



Figure 4.43

Israeli forces level lands, open fire on agricultural lands in Gaza Strip

4.6 Solidarity Frame

As discussed at the outset, solidarity, as Melucci (1985) argued is a specific form of collective action, based on the ability of recognizing and being recognized as a part of the same system of social relations, and as a transnational practice that seeks to mobilize collectivities based on commonly agreed acknowledgement of oppression or grievance (Featherstone, 2012; Passy, 2001).

As John Collins (2011a) has shown, solidarity in the case of Palestine relates to the global symbolism of the Palestinian cause and its ability to connect people of diverse experiences. As this research will show, the PSC

uses the solidarity framework to call on British activists and the wider British public into action and to mobilize not only human resources, but also economic ones into its day-to-day activities. Figure 4.44 illustrates this principle, when on 8 March 2017, International Women's Day, the PSC called on feminists to stand in solidarity with Palestinian women. Through this message, the organization was able to highlight the links that the Palestinian cause has with the feminist movement, while also pointing to the links with anti-racist movements when pointing out that the fight is also against Islamophobia and anti-apartheid.



Figure 4.44

On 8 March, stand with women of Palestine

The analysis of the data shows that the solidarity frame consisted of 75 posts (9.6%) of the total content of the PSC's Facebook output. Most of the content within this frame related to calls for activists to take part in national demonstrations, such as the one opposing the visit to the UK by Israeli

Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu (Figure 4.45), donate money to the PSC (Figure 4.46) or lobby their politicians to change Britain's international foreign policy and pressure Israel into complying with international law (Figure 4.47). Also, a minor amount of posts related to international acts of solidarity with Palestine (Figure 4.48) or to the specific treatment that Israel gives to advocates of the Palestinian cause (Figure 4.49).



Figure 4.45
Protest Netanyahu's visit



Figure 4.46
Donate to PSC



Figure 4.47

Urgent: Get your MP to support Palestine in Parliament



Figure 4.48

Dublin City Council to fly Palestinian flag above City Hall for a month as
“gesture of solidarity”



Figure 4.49

Deported: Israel's war against Palestine solidarity activists

To better understand the solidarity framework that is prevalent in the PSC's Facebook posts it is important to relate it to the working definition established in Chapter one of this thesis where in addition to solidarity being defined as a form of collective action based on mutual recognition (Melucci, 1985) it also responds to Passy's and Featherstone's definition of a political activity. In this sense, Sally Scholz' (2007) notion of 'political solidarity' is useful. Scholz distinguishes between three types of solidarity: social solidarity, civic solidarity, and political solidarity. Social solidarity refers to group cohesion, while civic solidarity relates to the relationship between the citizens and the state (Laitinen and Pessi, 2014). Leaving political solidarity to be the form of solidarity where members of a collectivity organize around a mutually recognized political need or aim, which includes activism and allows for dissent and disagreement within the movement, which means that activists can choose the form of action that

suits them better but excludes forms of physical violence and resistance. In her words:

“This form of solidarity [political solidarity] unites individuals based on their shared commitment to a political cause in the name of liberation or justice and in opposition to oppression or injustice.” (Scholz, 2007:38)

Scholz (2007) also explains that there are several factors that could be the trigger to enact political solidarity, such as feelings of indignation, a commitment to justice, experiences of oppression or injustice, or a desire to care for others who are suffering; however, it is the notion of mutual commitment, the idea of being accountable to others, what creates unity within solidarity, regardless of shared feelings, identities or social locations. Furthermore, this commitment translates into the group establishing specific moral relations and sometimes having to respond to demanding duties in order to accomplish its goals. As Scholz writes:

“Political solidarity involves the efforts and sacrifices of individuals who commit to a cause with those who suffer. A collective movement that simultaneously serves those in need while it challenges the social structure that created that need, political solidarity is a social movement that unites individuals because of their shared commitment to a cause or goal. (Scholz, 2007:39-40)

Additionally, political solidarity should be seen as an activity that is organized in a project-based way, always striving to change and challenge social structures of oppression and injustice. In this regard, the projects might change as goals are achieved or as the needs of the group change, however, the goal of liberation and justice always remains and guides the emerging goals of the group (Scholz, 2007). Moreover, it should be understood that the nature of the movement for which solidarity is being

garnered will necessarily define the relationships and obligations that need to happen for solidarity to take place; yet, since the mainstay goal of political solidarity is justice and liberation this will be the overarching structure that guides the movement.

Another characteristic of political solidarity is its adversarial role, as it opposes practices and policies espoused by other group or that are part of the system. Thus, Scholz (2007) explains that its project-based and adversarial distinctions determine a tripartite relation, where the solidary group is a result of individual commitments to the cause, as well as to the other individuals that are advocating for the same cause and in opposition to a sector of society that either is complacent to the oppression or is actually responsible for it.

The first part of the tripartite relation, where the individual has a commitment to the group and where members of the group are committed to each other and to the cause necessarily relies on mutuality, which Scholz (2007:42) distinguishes as “the operative word in solidarity”. Mutuality means that there is a mutual commitment to the group and to the cause, which in turn will lead to the members of the group to be cooperative in order to achieve their goals and advance the cause, as well as the prevalence of the group. The concept of mutuality can be associated to Melucci’s notion of recognizing and being recognized, as a starting point in this type of collective action. Consequently, cooperation will be both individual action as well as collective action.

The second aspect of the tripartite relation, the one concerned to the commitment to the goal relies on the fact that this commitment is a justification to act, to become a political activist, as well as a guiding factor throughout the solidarity process. As such, Scholz (2007) highlights that the main way through which the commitment to the goal is carried out is through engaging in social criticism.

Engaging in social criticism comes across in three ways. Firstly, individual members have to systematically review the movement's goal and the ways that are being implemented to achieve it. This serves the purpose of choosing the best and most responsible tactics for the movement. Secondly, social criticism needs to explore the values that are prevalent within the solidarity movement. Lastly, social criticism needs to sustain action as a way to continually challenge the system, regardless of the fact that substantive goals have been achieved, if the guiding goal of liberation and justice remains unattained, the movement must continue to criticize the system. Scholz' (2007) notion of official criticism, can be linked to Passy's and Featherstone's (2012) concepts of solidarity as a political practice and moreover, to it being a processual activity that needs to be sustained and adapted in order to continue challenging the obstacles posed by the system in order to achieve its goal.

Finally, Scholz' theory of political solidarity explores the relationship that the solidarity group has with those outside of it, both the bystander publics and the adversaries to the movement. She explains that it is activism, the public side of political solidarity, since it is the way through which the group challenges what it considers unjust or oppressive, and advances towards the goal. In this regard, activism will always be met with resistance by the perpetrators of the injustice and will, therefore, face hostility. In her words:

“Activism is the public proclamation of the oppositional relation of political solidarity; it puts into practice what social criticism revealed expressively. Activism takes many forms including selective consuming, community building, embracing overt political positions (and facing the probable taunts that may accompany such a stance), and, of course, effecting social change through protests, public forums, legislative and policy reforms, lobbying, and so on. Another side of activism is resistance, which is a more overt form of opposition to unjust practices.” (Scholz, 2007:45)

Referring to the case of Palestine, Collins (2011a) observes that it is possible to witness both narrow solidarities and dangerous solidarities, with the first term being the one employed to refer to solidarities that are narrow in their scope and have a clear link among them, while dangerous solidarities are the ones aiming to have a transformational global outcome, and whose links are not as easily perceived. Yet, he acknowledges that because of the nature of the Palestine-Israel conflict any solidarity with Palestine will be considered dangerous, but he calls for a one-State solution that is attempting to dismantle the nation-state framework and the Zionist ideology behind it, and which is not part of the hegemonic discourse for peace in the region is considered to be much more threatening and, as such, persecuted in a stronger manner.

Consequently, political solidarity is an extremely important notion for the PSC and the way it frames the Palestinian struggle both online and offline, as it highlights the Palestinian cause as a primordial example of a global fight against injustice and oppression, and in that way embeds it in the broader challenge against the social structures and institutions that are at the root of the problem, and which to this day continue to exercise their power over how the situation unfolds, while also forbidding Palestinians to achieve freedom and human rights. Furthermore, political solidarity also serves the PSC as a model for enacting activism and developing campaigns. Through the notions of being a project-based activity that needs to be adversarial and engage in social criticism, it provides the PSC with guiding principles on how to develop its short and long-term activities, by recognizing that even when gains and victories have been achieved, the campaigns and activism of the organization must continue until the final goal is attained and Palestinians are free.

4.7 Emotional frame

The analysis of the posts revealed a substantial number of them that could not be categorized in what are the most salient collective action frames

found throughout the research, such as BDS or settler colonialism. These posts, although still relevant to the situation in Palestine/Israel and the difficulties faced by Palestinians because of Israeli policies also appealed to the conscience and emotions of the audience. These posts were therefore categorized under the label of 'emotional frame' and represented 7.3% of the total of posts analyzed, which equals 57 posts. The posts provided a perspective into Palestine as a place where human beings strive to live and develop in spite of the hard circumstances with which they are faced. The attempt was to portray Palestine and Palestinians as a people with art, culture and history. Therefore, the posts covered various issues, such as artistic, culinary and archaeological activities taking place in Palestine or abroad and in support of the Palestinian cause. For example there was a publication that looked at what is like to play music in the blockaded Gaza Strip (Figure 4.50), another that reported the discovery of antique art vestiges in the Palestinian territories (Figure 4.51), as well as a post that provided insight into Palestinian gastronomy (Figure 4.52) and finally one that invited to a theatre play about Palestine in the UK (Figure 4.53).



Figure 4.50
Music under siege in Gaza

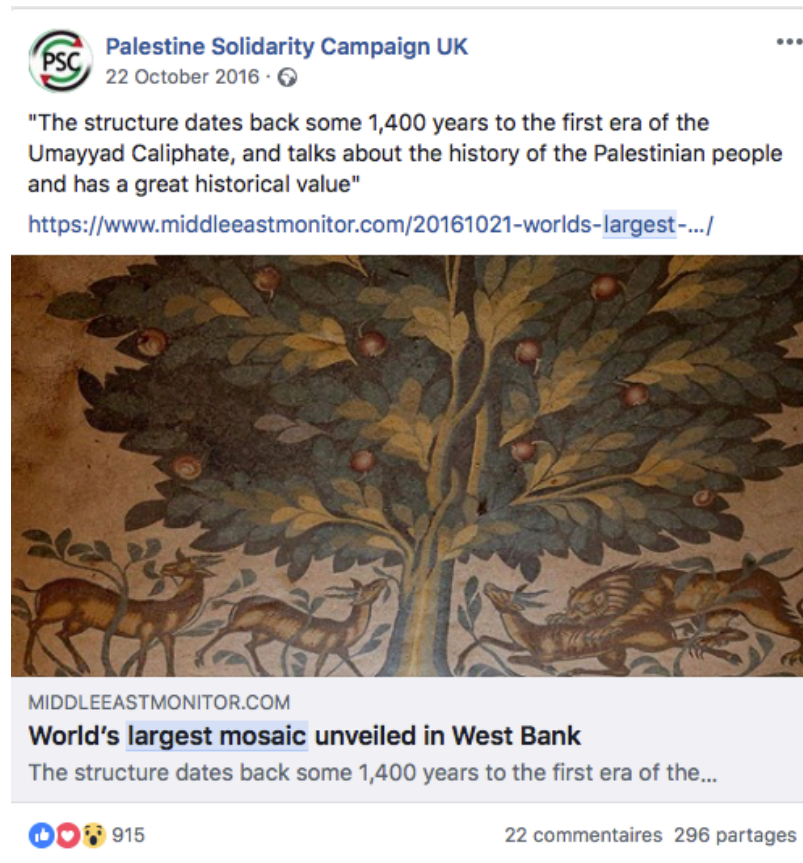


Figure 4.51

World's largest mosaic unveiled in West Bank



Figure 4.52

An ode to the cuisine of Palestine



Figure 4.53

This Flesh is Mine - Palestinian Ashtar Theatre in London

I suggest these are emotional frames that relate to the affective posture within SMT, which as explained by Goodwin, Jasper and Polleta (2004) can have an impact on the establishment of networks, recruitment and mobilization of collective action.

In her extensive research on social movements and narrativity, Francesca Polleta (2002) identifies two weaknesses in framing theory: its neglect of emotions in protest and its lack of recognition of the cultural constraints on framing. She explains that the use of emotive frames appeals to people's passions and can mobilize support. By appealing to emotions, Polleta

(2002) argues that movements can gain new recruits and establish tactics and targets. The main discursive tool to do so is through story-telling as these allow activists to narrate a coherent event, one where emotions could not be explicitly articulated, but that the severity and outrageousness of the event told is able to elicit those emotions within the audience, and in turn lead them to action. As she writes:

“Narratives’ endowment of events with coherence, directionality, and emotional resonance provides not only an explanation for events but rationale for participation”. (Polleta, 2002:47)

To illustrate Polleta’s argument is the post of 29 December 2016, which is a brief video reporting the news that Hanan Al Hroub, a Palestinian teacher, was named the best teacher in the world for her work with Palestinian children that have undergone traumatic events due to the Israeli occupation in the West Bank (Figure 4.54). Relying on a short video that has a clear structure and explains the facts with a clear beginning, middle, end structure, the PSC is able to convey a message that even under hardship and violence there is hope and optimism. The story of a teacher working with young children is also a narrative that can be understood by British audiences, helping both long-time activists and any by-stander public that comes across the video, and could lead to further engagement and support of the PSC and their activities, as well as with the broader aims of the Palestinian cause.

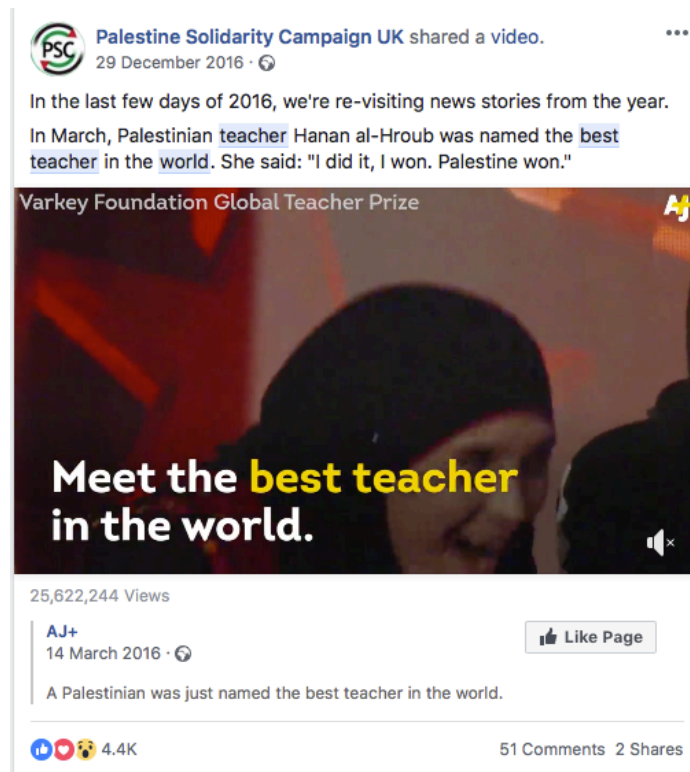


Figure 4.54

Meet the best teacher in the world

In her research on story-telling and the use of digital platforms, Zizi Papacharissi (2015) uses the term ‘affective publics’ to describe those publics mobilized through and mobilizing, affect. Papacharissi found out in her research of social movements’ use of hashtags on Twitter as framing devices that allow crowds to become publics and build a collaborative narrative, storytelling provides not only the ability for crowds to organize, but also to have a prolonged engagement as the movement develops. As she writes: “These publics are activated and sustained by feelings of belonging and solidarity, however evanescent those feelings may be.” (Papacharissi, 2015:4)

It is my contention that the PSC’s posts frame the Palestinians and their cause through a narrativity that constructs an affective public. This

discourse comes across in the portrayal of Palestinians as people that have hopes, dreams, and aspirations, but that face obstacles and are prevented from having a normal life due to the occupation of Palestine and the constant threat that Israeli violence looms on their safety and development of their daily activities. The PSC also uses many posts that show Palestinians in a familiar and relatable light, such as mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, students or children (Figure 4.55). By presenting Palestinians in this way, it is easier for British publics to find a distant and complicated conflict like the Palestinian-Israeli one in a more relatable way, as a circumstance that they understand and are familiar with. Thus, the worries of a Palestinian and a British parent are not that different, with the want for their children to grow safe and have as many opportunities as possible. In doing so, the PSC attempts to emanate that emphatic feeling and gain supporters for the Palestinian cause and the organization as well, which can lead to more sustained activism.

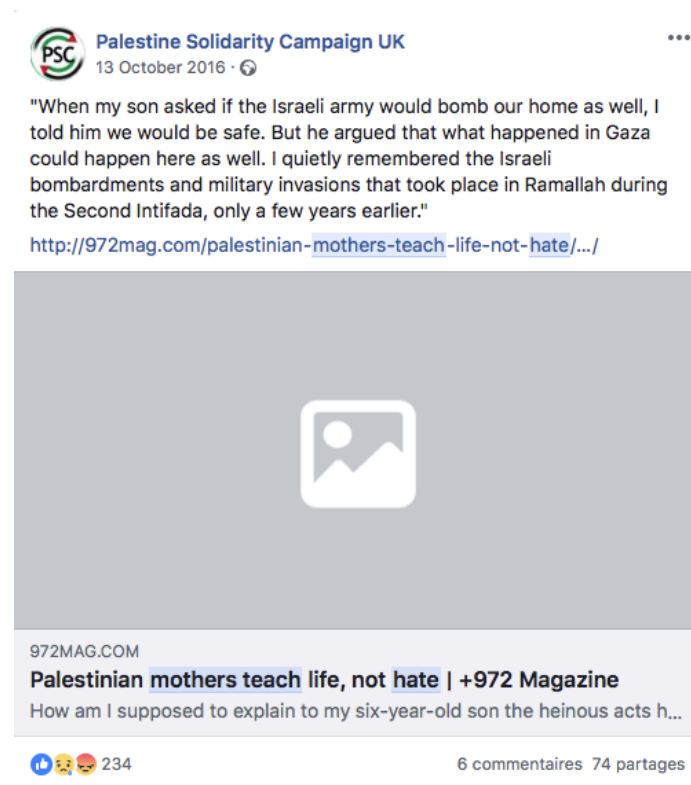


Figure 4.55
Palestinian mothers teach life, not hate

Notwithstanding, Polleta (2002) warns of the difficulties of using stories as emotive vehicles that could further collective action. The problem emerges by the fact that audiences do not reconcile emotion with rationality which in turn affect how collective action can take place, as people want rational, logical explanations as to why mobilize, and believe emotion and passion can undermine the way collective action is organized and enacted.

Yet, Polleta and Chen (2012:487) recognize that “stories are powerfully persuasive rhetorical devices” because they are able to change people’s opinion, particularly when the audience is not already invested in the issue that is being addressed, something that is extremely important for activists, as they try to increase movement support and gain public interest. Yet, in order to do so stories have to be relatable, as the research found that people understand new stories better if they are in terms of stories they have heard before (Polleta and Chen, 2012). For example, using the story of Christmas (Figure 4.56), the PSC is able to rely on the British knowledge of the story as well as on the feelings that Christmas elicits, such as being a time for giving and self-reflexion. At the same time, the post provides knowledge into the situation in Palestine, particularly Bethlehem, where tradition states Jesus was born. In this manner, in a single post, the PSC is able to provide knowledge into a specific topic, such as religious tourism and the hardships that Christian Palestinians and the historical place itself face due to the Israeli occupation, while attempting to create an emotional link between its supporters and the Palestinian cause.



Figure 4.56

Christmas cheer in Bethlehem

Another example is the post reporting the story of Omar Kamal (Figure 4.57), a Palestinian singer from the West Bank that has been compared to Frank Sinatra. Through this story, the PSC portrayal of Palestinian males differs from the widely used narrative of either victims or perpetrators of violence, and instead frames them as producers of culture. The view of Palestinians as people with aspirations and, in this particular case, with a story of success is also a different way of showcasing them. Moreover, the comparison of Kamal to Frank Sinatra is not only because they sing the same music genre but also because of Sinatra's popularity, which consequently makes Kamal's story easier to grasp and more relatable.

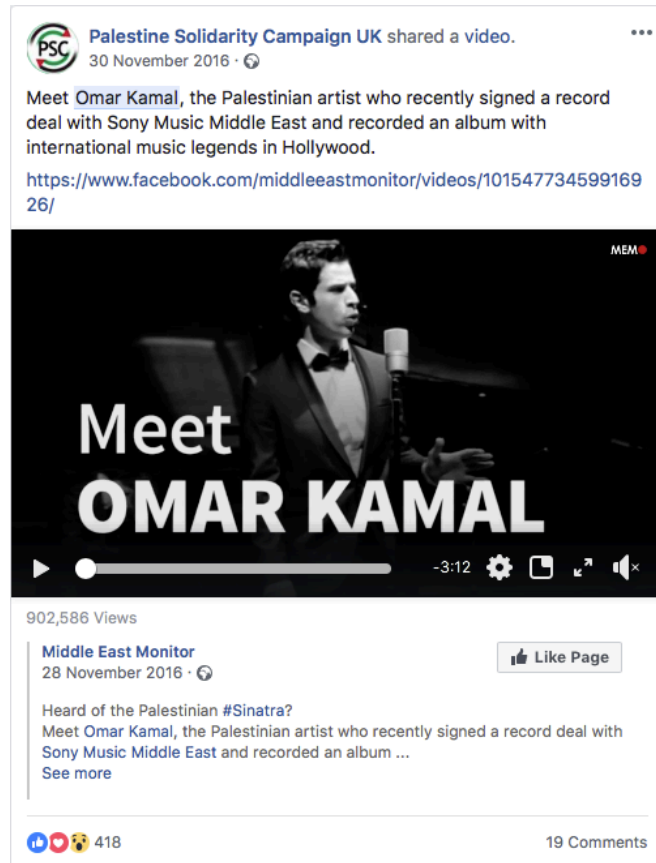


Figure 4.57

Meet Omar Kamal

The use of stories and emotion to activate collective action can be seen when relating Palestine-Israel to the story of David and Goliath. The classic story of the underdog emerging victorious against its more powerful and stronger adversary is used as a narrative where Palestinians are equated to the weak and small David, even to the detail of having slingshots and stones, while Israel is portrayed as the giant Goliath. This appears in Figure 4.58, with the image of a Palestinian protestor throwing rocks and surrounded by smoke. The image of Palestinians, including young children, facing heavily armed Israeli soldiers and tanks with rocks and slingshots in the streets of the West Bank and the buffer zone in Gaza has become popular since the Second Intifada, and has led to international awareness of the power imbalance that exists in the conflict. This negative image of trained and armed soldiers firing back at protesters has also proven to

undermine Israel's narrative of acting in self-defence and facing security threats, which in consequence has led to Palestinians facing harder punishments for stone-throwing. This notion is supported by Noakes and Wilkins' (2002) analysis of the shifting frames of the Palestinian movement in US news coverage during the Second Intifada. In their research they found that when the Palestinian struggle was framed as a grassroots protest against an oppressive government it was easier for the public to see the Palestinian movement in similar terms as the Civil Rights movement, which resonated not only with news producers, but also with the American public and led to Palestinians being seen in a more positive light than before.

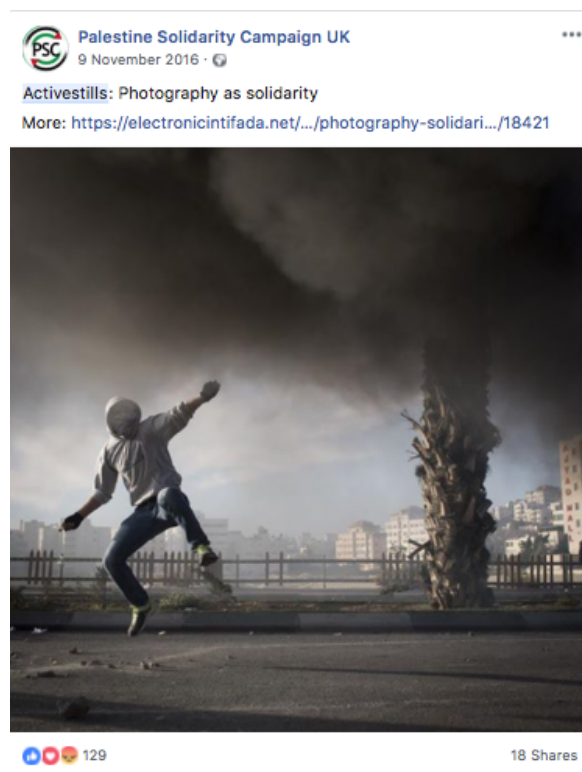


Figure 4.58
Palestinian rock-thrower

When interviewed, the PSC's Secretary, Ben Soffa (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017) explained that it is during the heightening of violence in Palestine when their supporter base and the amount of donations grow. This can be explained with Polleta's (2002)

argument that a canonical story, understood as one which is derived from a cultural stock of plots and which makes the narration recognizable, is able to elicit emotion and change opinions. In this regard, stories of tragedy and triumph, help engage supporters in collective action, as they are approached with a narrative that they are familiar with and through this narrative they are able to understand the problem that is being identified by the movement as the cause of grievance. Notwithstanding, the canonical narrative need to also include unexpectedness, otherwise the story would lose the initial engagement and become boring. In narrating Palestine, the PSC seeks to gain support by using the canonical story of tragedy, such as the Nakba, the constant attacks on the Gaza Strip, and the maiming and killing of civilians. While also recurring to the notion that there can be an unexpected result to the canon, when activism and solidarity are enacted. As Soffa remarked:

“From an organizational planning point of view, obviously the most tragic, most awful times in Palestine are the times when people have the most interest in Palestine and most interest on our work. So if you’re looking at it from the most awful organizational point of view of how do we grow our contacts, grow our influence, grow our supporters the most oppressive times in Palestine are the organization’s most beneficial times.” (Soffa, personal communication, London, 12 April 2017)

The use of emotive frames gives Palestinians visibility, because it makes their experiences visible and grants them the quality of humans that the Israeli regime has denied them for so long. In this sense, posts that report on Palestinians’ day-to-day activities and the obstacles they face because of the Israeli occupation, provide a view of Palestinians not as distant others, but as people like us that remain steadfast and dignified in the face of a long and extremely adverse situation (Figure 4.59). It is also a way to provide further context into the specifics the different status that

Palestinians are given and how these determine the different conditions of oppression that are applied to them. In the case of Figure 4.59, it focuses on the case of the Palestinian Bedouin population, which faces recurring village demolitions, forced transfer, and labor and movement restrictions.

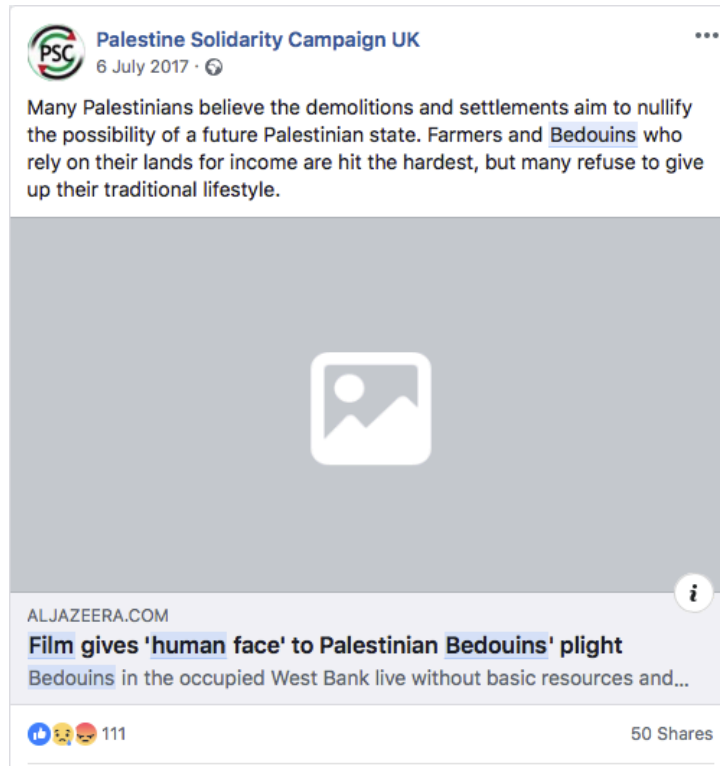


Figure 4.59

Film gives 'human face' to Palestinian Bedouins' plight

Allen (2009) further explains that although the portrayal of Palestinians' suffering is not new, it gained prominence during the Second Intifada, when Palestinians gained control of their own media, and human rights NGOs emerged in the oPt. Yet, Palestinians' imagery of victimhood and suffering is not only a media content but also a storytelling device to actual visitors and activists that travel to the oPt, where Allen describes it is common to have tours to witness the destruction and violence exercised by Israel on a systematic basis. As she argues:

“First, the orchestration of emotionally charged interchanges creates (or can create) an actual visceral-affective sharing— or compassion.

[...]

A second level of immediation simultaneously at work occurs in the visual surround of these interactions. Touring scenes of destruction, seeing the bloody detritus of a murder, and looking at the photographs of charred human remains are presented as an impetus to action.” (Allen, 2009:169)

Allen (2009) explains that these images create knowledge, to which I would add that it is also the stories coming from Palestine that generate cognitive frames. Thus, the images and the narrative allow Palestinians to articulate their plight, while providing activists in the UK and elsewhere an emotional narrative needed to garner support. In doing so, activists’ use of imagery and narrativity to generate emotion and channel it into collective action align with Polleta’s (2002:37) notion that “activists have to elicit passion but also modulate and channel it.”

4.8 Apartheid Frame

An analysis of the PSC’s posts shows that the apartheid frame, despite its salience in the current discourse regarding Palestine/Israel, is not as prevalent as initially thought, with only 28 posts out of the total 776, which represents 3.6%. During the first three months of the preliminary data collection, there were a total of 15 posts (5 in October 2016, 7 in November 2016 and 3 in December 2016). The posts in this category include those that relate to the treatment Israel exercises against Palestinians in the oPt

(Figure 4.60), the existing campaign to eradicate the Bedouin population in Israel (Figure 4.61), as well as posts that explain the specific type of apartheid that Israel carries out (Figure 4.62).



Figure 4.60

Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Hebron is 'apartheid', former Tory international development minister says



Figure 4.61

Does the term 'apartheid' fit Israel? Of course it does



Figure 4.62

Israeli forces demolish family homes in Bedouin village for second time in October

Apartheid emerged and is more commonly associated with the regime that was imposed in South Africa from 1948 and until 1994; however, using the apartheid label for Palestine/Israel is not an attempt to equate Israel's regime within its borders and in the oPt with South Africa, but rather define it as a system of institutionalized racism which awards rights according to ethnic and religious identities. As such, Omar Barghouti (2011:17) writes that "despite the many similarities, no two oppressive regimes are

identical". Thus, describing the situation in Palestine/Israel as apartheid is based on the legal definition of the crime of apartheid contained in the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and in the 2002 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. The definition states the following:

"the term 'the crime of apartheid', which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practiced in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them:

(a) Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

(i) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;

(ii) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm, by the infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

(iii) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

(b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;

(c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the

right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

d) Any measures including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group or groups or to members thereof;

(e) Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour;

(f) Persecution of organizations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose apartheid.” (International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 1973, Article II)

Based on this definition, framing Israel as an apartheid regime, both within its not defined borders and in the occupied territories, is important because it once again distances it from the democratic Western states to which it so desperately wants to be equated, while also de-normalizing it by pointing out the recurrent and systematic human rights violations and continued colonialism it imposes on the land. Moreover, it also frames the Palestinian struggle as an anti-apartheid one, inspired on the South African struggle for equal rights and self-determination, which also means that it enables Palestinians to establish solidarities among the world's countries based on empathy and support for human rights. As such, it allows for the connection to the settler colonial, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions, and the human rights frames. As Nadia Hijab and Ingrid Jaradat Gassner explain:

“We argue that the most strategic framework of analysis that should be applied to the Palestinian condition is the anti-apartheid framework. In the first place, it incorporates and builds on the analysis of settler colonialism. In the case of Palestine, apartheid began when the Zionist settler colonial society transformed into the

state of Israel and incorporated its ideology of Jewish superiority and policy of ethnic cleansing into the laws and institutions of the state. Contemporary Israeli apartheid is thus best defined as the institutionalized regime of racial discrimination whereby Israel, as state and occupying power, systematically privileges Jews and oppresses, and dominates the entire Palestinian people and colonizes the oPt, with the intent of maintaining and consolidating this regime in all of pre-1948 Palestine. Population transfer and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, including denial of return, is an inhumane act of oppression and a pillar of Israeli apartheid. (Hijab and Jaradat Gassner, 2017,8)

It is interesting to point out that during Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to London, the anniversary of the Nakba and the commemoration of the Balfour Declaration there were no apartheid posts in the PSC's Facebook. While from the 15 to the 22 of March 2017, there was a surge in apartheid-related content on the group's Facebook timeline, as it was on 15 March that the UN published a report stating that Israel imposes an apartheid regime on Palestinians (Figure 4.63), just two days later the report was withdrawn, after UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, said he was unaware of the report's publication and that it did not reflect his views. At the same time, Rima Khalaf, the Jordanian executive secretary of the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia announced her resignation from the organization arguing she was pressured to withdraw the report.



Figure 4.63

UN report: Israel has established an 'apartheid regime'

Aside from the UN's decision to withdraw the report, there have been questions about labeling Israel as an apartheid regime because of the different situations that exist inside Israel as demarcated by 1967's Green Line and the oPt. For example, Israeli journalist Amira Hass (2013) explained that apartheid exists not only in the West Bank but across the entire territory, since the Israeli government controls the fate of both populations —Jewish and Palestinian— however, it is elected only by Israeli citizens. While in an interview with *Democracy Now* on 8 August 2014, Noam Chomsky defined Israel's policies in the following way:

“In the occupied territories what Israel is doing is much worse than apartheid [...] There's a crucial difference, the South African nationalists needed the black population, that was their workforce [...] The Israeli relationship to the Palestinians in the occupied territories is totally different, they just don't want them, they want

them out or at least in prison [...] If you look inside Israel there's plenty of repression and discrimination [...], but it's not apartheid, it's bad, but it's not apartheid."

Nonetheless, Israeli Journalist Gideon Levi (2014) wrote:

"The naysayers can find countless differences between the apartheid of Pretoria and that of Jerusalem. Pretoria's was openly racist and anchored in law; Jerusalem's is denied and repressed, hidden beneath a heavy cloak of propaganda and messianic religious faith. But the result is the same. [...] When two nations share the same piece of land and one has full rights while the other has no rights, that is apartheid. If it looks like apartheid, walks like apartheid and quacks like apartheid, it's apartheid."

4.8.1 Israeli apartheid inside Israel

Israel institutionalised its racist policies to control the Palestinian population and their land through laws such as the citizenship law and the absentee's property law. However, there are currently more than 65 discriminatory laws against Palestinians in Israel. Adalah: the Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights lists as the most salient ones:

- Ban on Family Unification - Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order) (2003), which bans family unification where one spouse is an Israeli citizen and the other a resident of the oPt (excluding Jewish settlers living in the oPt).
- The Admissions Committees Law (2011), which allows rural villages with less than 400 families in the Negev and Galilee the possibility to reject candidates' applications to move to such communities if they lack financial means, if they do not plan to make the community their main dwelling place, or if they are deemed unsuited to community life by a

professional, or if they do not suit the community's "social and cultural character.

However, according to Human Rights Watch (2011), the law is intended to "allow majority-Jewish communities to maintain their current demographic makeup by excluding Palestinian Arab citizens". The law operates in 70% of Israel's communities, therefore, Palestinians in Israel, who primarily reside in the Negev and the Galilee, are mostly restricted to live in 124 towns and villages, and control 2.5 percent of the territory in the country (Cook, 2010). This law prompted the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) 2012 report on Israel to urge the country to "eradicate all forms of segregation between Jewish and non-Jewish communities" (CERD, 2012:3) and to give full effect to article 3 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), which condemns "racial segregation and *apartheid*" (My emphasis).

- The Praver-Begin Bill (2011), better known as the Praver Plan, is a law that calls for the expulsion of the Arab Bedouin community in the Negev desert. The law establishes that the 35 villages where approximately 70,000 Arab Bedouin citizens reside should be destroyed. The Praver Plan has been executed since the year of its approval with some towns being demolished more than 30 times in a systemic attempt to expel the Bedouin population and Judaize the territory (Figure 4.64).



Figure 4.64

Israeli forces demolish multiple homes belonging to the same family in
Bedouin village

- Jewish Nation-State Basic Law (2018) guarantees the ethnic-religious character of Israel as exclusively Jewish and enshrines Jewish citizens' privileges, while at the same time legitimizing Arab Israeli citizens' exclusion, racism, and inequality. The law solidifies Israeli policy that has been implemented since the creation of the state with legal backing and could be seen as the state legitimizing its apartheid practices.

4.8.2 *Israeli apartheid in the oPt*

The way in which Israel has colonized and settled East Jerusalem and the West Bank has necessarily translated into the separation of the Arab and Jewish populations. Because of this, there has been an installment and implementation of two different legal systems —civil for the Israeli Jewish settlers and military for the Palestinians. As Sharon Weill (2011) explains in her analysis of the legal system implemented in the oPt:

“If a Jewish Israeli citizen commits an offense in the West Bank, although it is beyond the territorial sovereignty of the State of Israel, it is the Israeli criminal legal system that is applicable: the accused will be tried in Israel, according to the Israeli criminal code and rule of procedure and will be entitled to the right of due process according to Israeli constitutional law.

[...]

[I]n the case of Palestinian perpetrators, if the offense was qualified by the army as a security crime or as any other crime that should be under its jurisdiction (including car theft, drugs and traffic offenses), the offender will be judged by the military legal system, in which military courts constitute the institutions of justice and military orders provide the criminal legislation and rules of due process.” (Weill in Baker and Matar, 2011:136-137)

Other signs of an apartheid regime in the oPt are having different infrastructures for each population group, such as separate roads and bus routes for Jews and Arabs. Palestinians are forbidden from building within 50 meters on either side of these roads, which led to Israelis demolishing hundreds of Palestinian houses and building over 400 km of bypass roads

on confiscated land. Additionally, through the construction of the 'barrier wall', Israel confiscates land and separates the Palestinian population. 85% of the projected 712 kilometer-long structure runs inside the West Bank. The OCHA oPt reports that the construction impedes access to services and resources, disrupts family and social life, undermines the livelihoods of Palestinians and fragments the occupied territory. The wall was determined as illegal by the International Court of Justice in 2004 as it creates a de facto border that violates the 1967 Green Line and annexes the illegal settlements behind this new border, while leaving Palestinians with control over less than 53% of the West Bank" (Farsakh, 2005:243).

Hijab and Jaradat Gassner (2017) suggest that by creating a link to the regime that existed in South Africa, the use of the apartheid frame to refer to Israeli actions can mobilize support for the Palestinians. Furthermore, they argue that through the apartheid framework Palestinians have the possibility of articulating their long-silenced narrative. As they write:

"The anti-apartheid framework will enable the Palestinians to craft messages that clearly communicate what has happened to the Palestinian people as well as the goals of the Palestinian struggle. It helps to clarify that this is a struggle for decolonization and reparations, and not merely a struggle for a state. The powerful message must be that the Palestinian struggle is for freedom, justice, and equality in the homeland, whether in a single secular democratic state or in two sovereign states side by side, in which all citizens enjoy human rights." (Hijab and Jaradat Gassner, 2017)

In this chapter I have shown the PSC's strategic use of frames corresponds to Benford and Snow's theorization of how collective action frames are able to highlight and give meaning to a social movement's narrative. As such,

the PSC's use of overlapping frames demonstrates the organization's awareness of the fluid socio-political context in which it operates and its agency, which is exercised through the election of certain frames over others at specific moments in time, in order to bring attention to a particular issue of the Palestinian cause. The analysis above also shows how the PSC relies on more consensual collective action frames, such as settler colonialism, BDS, and human rights to articulate its online strategy. This is not to say, that those frames are not challenging the hegemonic narrative that has historically prevailed in the conflict, as the establishment of the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs in 2006 and their ongoing public relations campaign to counteract and delegitimise BDS demonstrates. However, the opportunity to use the apartheid frame, as a galvanizing framework, while incorporating the settler colonialist, BDS, human rights, and solidarity frames can help articulate a coherent counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of the conflict, but does not suggest these frames lead to a decisive outcome.

Another important aspect within this chapter pertains to how the use of the different frames analyzed illustrates the diagnostic and prognostic attributions of each frame and how they work separately and in conjunction to build knowledge of the origins and causes of the Palestinian cause, as well as to increase solidarity and mobilize support in British civil society. This is exemplified through the link between the settler colonial, BDS and apartheid frame, which can be used individually, but when used, is frequently used together, as they build up on each other and provide a more encompassing message and meaning when used in this latter form. Another example of the overlapping diagnostic and prognostic attributions of framing can be seen with the link between the human rights and BDS frames, or between the violence and human rights frames, and emotion and human rights.

Finally, the notion of collective action frames as articulators of social movements is clearly presented, as the PSC's frames produce a narrative of the Palestinian plight and the different issues that have contributed to its creation and continuation, as well as the different angles through which it can be explored. Consequently, either individually or collectively the frames used by the PSC serve the purpose of highlighting specific aspects that afflict Palestinians and calling for solidarity with them, be it in the shape of consumer boycotts, political lobbying, protesting, or just empathizing with them.

Chapter 5: PSC's Framing of its Self-Produced Media.

Building up on the previous chapter's examination of the main frames present in the PSC's Facebook posts, this chapter centres around the PSC's self-produced discourse and the relation that exists between the crafting and publication of these media products with the existing socio-political context, the broader social and media structures, as well as the processes of institutionalisation and legitimation that are attempted through this discursive practice. In order to do so, Teun A. van Dijk's approach to the analysis of news is employed.

Van Dijk's extensive body of work on media's discursive practices and their connections to context, power, ideology, and the construction of knowledge are an all-encompassing and useful approach to the analysis of the PSC's self-produced media, because they provide the theoretical elements to link the socio-political context to the PSC's discursive practices, while at the same time laying the foundation for comprehending how this narrative fits in the wider social structure in which it is produced and articulated. In this way, the PSC's online narrative can be understood as one part of a broader social discourse, one that is on the margin and which constantly tries to accommodate and/or challenge not only the existing preconceptions that surround the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian cause; but also act within and challenge the power structures that govern the accepted way of performing in society.

Thus, this chapter will first examine van Dijk's notions of what a media discourse is and the way in which it relates to social context, followed by a brief overview of the most salient structures used to analyze media discourse from van Dijk's proposed macrostructural approach. Afterward, the discourse analysis of the PSC's self-produced media will

take place, relating it to van Dijk's structures and to the socio-political context and frames previously examined in chapters three and four.

5.1 Media discourse analysis

In his work focusing on the sociolinguistic analysis of news, Teun A. van Dijk (1983, 1988) begins by making an important assertion: news, whether on tv, in the press or the radio is a particular type of discourse. More saliently, these type of media discourses, just as any other discourse or communicative act is not executed in isolation, but in a social, historical and cultural environment which he defines as context. Additionally, the fact that there is a difference between media products and other types of discourse is largely attributed to the fact that news uses a distinctive language and has specific structures that define them as such.

The classification of news as discourse and, more importantly, as one that has its specific linguistic and structural qualities, provides the opportunity for it to be analyzed and assessed against the social backdrop in which it is produced and received. Consequently, the analysis allows for the possibility to deepen the understanding of the specific moment in history in which this discourse was articulated and the ways in which news reports can embody or challenge the hegemonic order and the institutions through which it is exercised and manifested, including the media institutions themselves. As he writes:

[...] discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogical structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes.

Although a sound structural analysis of media discourse would already provide important contributions to the study of mass communication, it is this wider, contextual perspective on discourse that makes it particularly relevant for the study of media discourse. In this way, discourse analysis can also yield new insights into the processes of production and uses that are justifiably found to be of paramount importance in mass communication research. (van Dijk, 1988:2)

Van Dijk's discourse theory and his view of news as a form of discourse are useful for analyzing the PSC's own media, both online and offline, since most of it is written and presented in a news format that targets not only PSC's members and supporters but also the wider British public. In this regard, it must be clarified that the PSC's self-produced media published on Facebook can be categorized into two types of content: one that is a brief call to action regarding one of the PSC's campaigns or events and another type that consists of essays, opinion pieces, and press releases. In the case of the first type of content, this is mostly designed for Facebook and restricted to being used on the social media platform; while the latter is not content produced solely for social media platforms and used exclusively there, but is actually a media product aimed at being either published on mainstream British media publications, such as newspapers or magazines; produced for the PSC's website or written in the form of press releases and, therefore, targeting media institutions and journalists. Thus, its publication on Facebook is done through posts which link to the websites only after it has been published on these other platforms. In consequence, even if it is published on Facebook and online it maintains the format and the aim of a traditional news product targeted for publication in the traditional sense of media products.

Considering the PSC's self-produced media as a form of news, then provides the opportunity for it to be discursively analyzed as such. In this regard, it is important to mention that within the broad field of discourse analysis there are different levels for performing a structural analysis of a discourse, which van Dijk explains (1983) can range from the very basic linguistic disciplines of phonology (sounds and intonation), morphology (word formation), syntax (the ordering of words into grammatical sentences) and semantics (the attribution of meaning to words, phrases, sentences and entire discourses).

Moreover, van Dijk (1988) argues that coherence and the attribution of meaning in a discourse are not autonomous and reliant on just the basic comprehension of the lexical meaning of words, this coherence is also related to the previous knowledge the writer and the receiver of such text have of the world. For van Dijk (1983, 1988) one of the more salient aspects of performing a discourse analysis relies on the shared system of knowledge in which the discourse is produced, this knowledge I would argue is the context in which the discourse emanates, because as Berger and Luckman (1966) explain knowledge is socially constructed and linguistically articulated; therefore, any discourse produced, including media products, will be defined within these set of rules.

Consequently, van Dijk (1988:13) attributes importance in the coding and decoding of a media message to the shared knowledge that exists in society and explains that it must be efficiently organized in clusters, or scripts, that contain everything known in a determined culture about a specific stereotypical type of episode. The salience of these scripts is valid for all types of discourse, but within media they provide the possibility of concentrating and evoking vast amounts of information, feelings, images and concepts into short lexical structures, such as a word or a brief sentence, thus appealing to journalistic practices of

brevity and specificity, as well as being a useful tool in the 24-hour news cycle and the competition for coverage time or space. Additionally, they play a role in the way the event reported is framed by news organizations and received by the audience. Therefore, the scripts used in a news report are representative in the most basic level of why this event and not another is being considered as news, and in a more complex level of why an event is being framed as a revolution and not a coup, or as a terrorist attack as opposed to resistance. Van Dijk writes about scripts:

“As with other discourse type, the media rely heavily on such socially shared knowledge and beliefs in the coherent and comprehensible account of special events that require knowledge or beliefs organized in scripts, for example about civil war, terrorist attack, political meeting, voting or ‘revolution’.

“Since many political scripts also involve group-based evaluative beliefs or opinions, they may also qualify as social attitudes. It follows that ***our subjective understanding of the coherence of a news report may depend on whether or not we share a particular knowledge script or socio-political attitude***”. (van Dijk 1988:13, my emphasis)

News values are the attributes an event needs to have in order to be determined and reported as news by media organizations. In their research on the coverage of foreign news, Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965:70) inferred that events become news to the extent that they satisfy a certain criteria. This means that events that are unexpected, but aligned with the already existing media agenda, and are easier and clearer to report as well as cultural or geographically close and related to elite people and countries are more likely to be considered as newsworthy and be covered accordingly.

Although these different values can grant news status in an independent manner, they are more likely to be considered as interdependent, and Galtung and Ruge (1965) recognize that the more values an event has, the more likely it is to be considered as news and to be present in the news cycle for a longer time. For the analysis of the PSC's media, considering scripts and news values is important because as it will be shown later in this chapter, they play a role in how the organization presents information and the challenges it faces with regards to its role within the mainstream news cycle as well as the mainstream narrative that exists around the Palestinian struggle.

In addition to these macrostructural levels, there is also one remaining aspect that needs to be considered when performing a discourse analysis of news and it is what van Dijk (1983) defines as the semantic unity. In this regard, he explains (1983, 1988) that this is obtained by assigning the text or parts of the text a theme or topic. Therefore, just as the script assigns meaning to a word or phrase within the discourse, a topic provides the notion of what the discourse is about. In this sense, the topic draws from the different propositions along the text, to construct the meaning of the discourse in its entirety. However, just as the script requires the recipient to know external information from that contained in the text, the topic or macroproposition needs to be extrapolated from general and shared knowledge.

The relevance of topics is that they organize the information to give the discourse semantic coherence, as well as organize this information in memory, making it easier to identify and recall what the discourse was about, as opposed to remembering information from the microstructure, such as specific scripts. This is important when receiving and analyzing news because by remembering previous macropropositions in past

news coverage, receivers can interpret and allocate further meaning to newly reported events. Additionally, because of the high level macropropositions have in memory they can also be subjectivated (van Dijk, 1983) which means that these topics will be identified not only from the macrostructural narrative schemes that the media impose on the reporting of news, and news values but from what receivers remember and define as relevant within those news.

5.2 The PSC's self-produced media

As explained in the methodology section of this work and the previous chapter, the data gathered for this research consists of 776 Facebook posts published in the PSC's Facebook page between October 2016 and November 2017. During the last three months of 2016 (October-December) all the posts published were collected and analyzed; however, starting in 2017 key events were selected and only the posts published one week before and one week after the event took place were gathered and analyzed. The events selected were chosen because of its significance in the history of Palestine or because they aligned with current events that impacted on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian cause. These dates are the following:

- 27 January 2017: the announcement of the Muslim travel ban by newly incumbent U.S. president Donald Trump
- 6 February 2017: the visit of Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu to the UK
- 6 March 2017: Passing of the law that forbids the entrance to Israel to activists and advocates of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement
- 15 March 2017: publication of the UN's report denouncing the imposition of an apartheid regime on Palestinians by the Israeli state

- 15 May 2017: yearly commemoration of the Nakba by Palestinians and their supporters
- 8 July 2017: the third anniversary of the 2014 Israeli attack against the Gaza Strip
- 2nd November 2017: the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration

During this time the PSC authored and published a total of 155 posts. The main difference within these posts, as previously mentioned, is the length and type of content. As such, these posts were divided by their extension, with most of them 145 (93.5%) (Charts 5.1 and 5.2) being concise messages that call to action in the shape of signing petitions, messaging government officials or institutions, lobbying government and attending protests, conferences and other events related to Palestine. These messages are also crafted and designed to be used only in social media platforms, as they are usually just a photograph with a link or just an image that contains brief information.

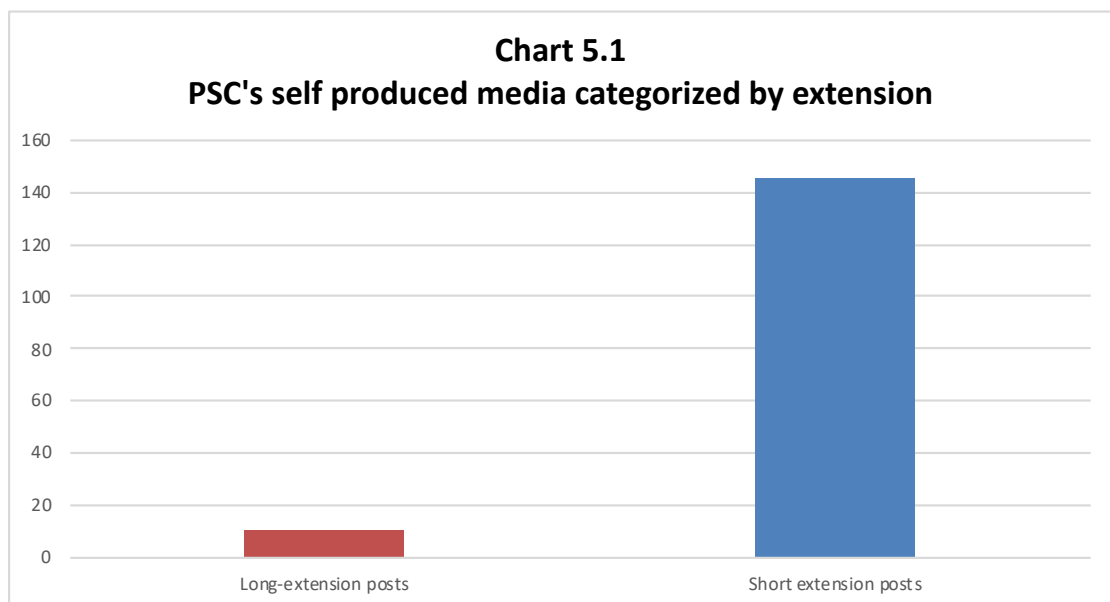
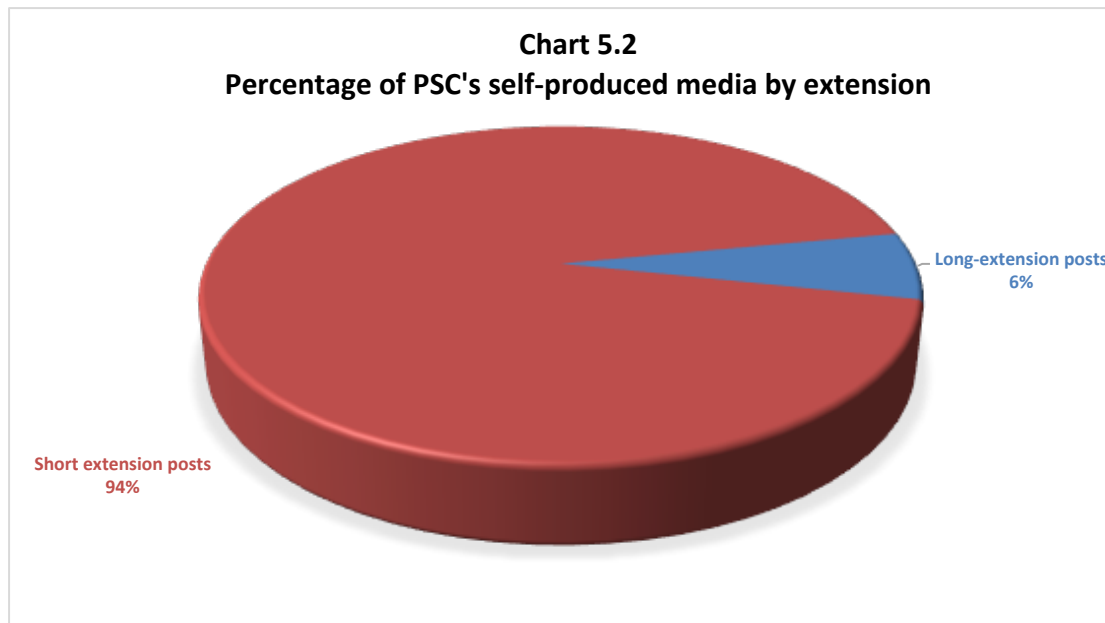


Chart 5.1

PSC's self-produced media categorised by extension

**Chart 5.2**

Percentage of PSC's self-produced media by extension

The second type of messages is less frequent, with only 10 (6.4%) (Chart 5.1 and 5.2) of the PSC's posts belonging to this category. They are characterized by being longer in extension and have the aim to be used mainly, but not only, on mainstream media, whether print or online. In this category there are opinion pieces, essays, and press releases, as well as blog posts published on the PSC's website. The analyzed discourses are the following:

- Jamal, B., (2016a) Fifa must ban these Israeli settlement teams, if it wants a level playing field. *The Guardian*. 13 October 2016
- PSC. (2016d). PSC responds to Home Affairs Select Committee report. [Press release] 15 October 2016
- Ajarma, S. (2016) The frontline of Israel's settlement regime. *PSC website*, 18 November 2016
- Jamal, B. (2016b) Defending the right to protest. *PSC website*, 28 November 2016

- PSC. (2016e). *New Statesman* caves into external pressure and censors a Palestinian voice. [Press release] 1 December 2016
- PSC. (2016g) PSC response to Government's adoption of antisemitism definition. [Press release] 13 December 2016
- PSC. (2016h) PSC takes government to court. [Press release] 16 December 2016
- PSC. (2016i) PSC welcomes Security Council resolution. [Press release] 24 December 2016
- Jamal, B. (2016c) Israel isolates itself from the world. *PSC website-Director's blog*, 29 December 2016
- PSC. (2017a) Haneen Zoabi: Justice for Palestinians in Israel. [Press release] 27 January 2017

The PSC's self-produced media was included, accounted for, and categorized in the previous chapter's frame analysis. In this regard, it is important to recognize that the categorization of posts within a certain frame was based on the macrostructural narrative organization and presentation of news, such that the headline, was considered as the determinant of the topic or theme of the post and consequently categorized within that frame. Although it is important to recognize that most of these posts contain one or more propositions, because of the vast quantity of data gathered, it would be impossible to discursively analyze each one of them. Additionally, because the topics play such an important role in memory and recalling, doing an analysis based just on this superstructural level gives insight into the main frames and topics being used by the organization. According to the previous chapter's frame analysis, the PSC's self-produced content was allocated within the following frames (Charts 5.3 and 5.4).

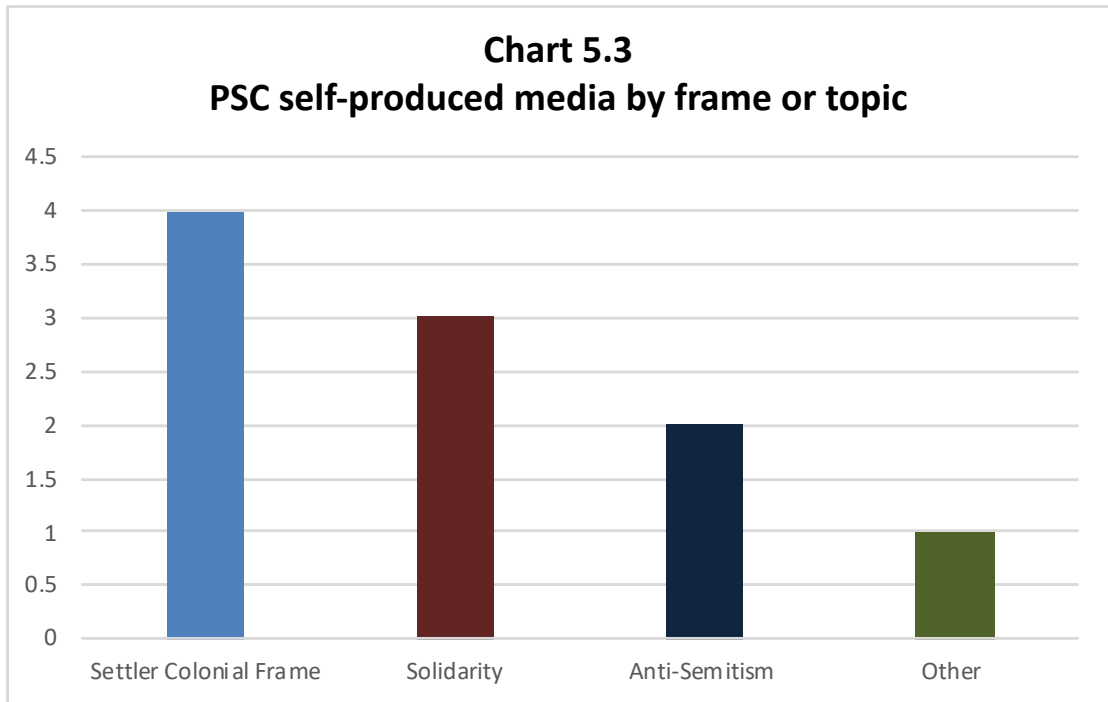


Chart 5.3

PSC's self-produced media by frame or topic

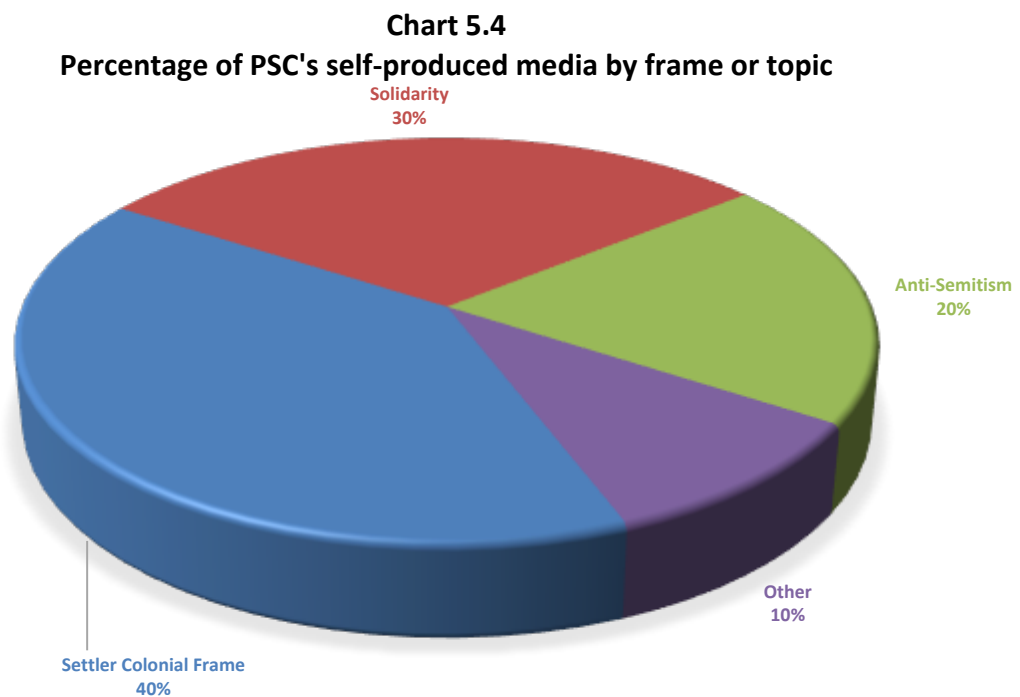


Chart 5.4

Percentage of PSC's self-produced media by frame or topic

As it would be extremely time consuming and difficult to do an in-depth critical discourse analysis of the 155 PSC posts, this chapter will focus on the ten long extension publications done by the PSC, since they provide more material for performing the analysis and the possibility to identify macrostructural propositions as well as microstructural scripts and relate them to the context in which they were published, as well as the broader media practices that dictate the everyday news cycle. In this regard, I agree with van Dijk (1983:29) that performing a full-scale analysis of even one news article is extremely complex, and just as he does, my analysis will be fragmentary, choosing to focus on relevant features and structures, and relating them to cognitive implications.

After an in-depth reading of each of the ten articles, the first aspect that stands out is that macrostructurally they can be allocated into three of the collective action frames that were explained in Chapter four: Settler colonial 4 articles (40%), solidarity 3 articles (30%) and anti-Semitism 2 articles (20%). This means that because of their headline and the topic of the discourse, or more clearly stated, the overall idea of what the discourse is about, they can be understood as belonging to one of these three categories. However, this does not mean that those are the only frames present in the discourses analyzed, as these frames are inter-dependent and overlapping, thus the other frames —BDS, apartheid, human rights, violence, and emotion— are also present, just in a lesser degree, or just not comprehensively throughout the discourse. In some cases, they are present in the form of examples or mentioned as scripts that support the main argument of the discourse and in such a way give the discourses a sequential and semantic coherence.

There was only one article that could not be entirely categorized into any of the eight frames previously explored, and that is the press

release entitled '*New Statesman* caves into external pressure and censors a Palestinian voice'. Published on the 1st December 2016, the main reason why this press release cannot be neatly allocated into a specific theme is because it uses the three collective action frames that figured prominently in the other articles in a unique way, first by being related to an essay that refers to illegal settlements in the West Bank, then by being deleted from the *New Statesman* website after lobbying from pro-Israeli groups that utilized the overriding context of confounding the criticism of Israeli policies with anti-Semitism, and finally, by calling supporters and members of the PSC and the Palestinian cause to denounce the editorial board of the magazine for surrendering journalistic independence to outside pressures.

Linked to the publication of the article 'The Frontline of Israel's Settlement Regime' written by activist Salah Ajarma and published on the *New Statesman* magazine's website in November 2016; the press release addresses the fact that the article was deleted from the site after the publication faced backlash and pressure from pro-Israeli groups Honest Reporting and the British chapter of the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA), called UK Media Watch. It is important to highlight that the publication of Ajarma's article in November 2016 and subsequently the PSC's press release on the 1st December 2016 took place during the heightening of the anti-Semitism accusations against the Labour Party that extended to other Left-wing organisations and activists of which the PSC is part of. Just a few days later, on 12 December, Prime Minister Theresa May would announce the governmental adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) anti-Semitism definition, whose problematic guidelines around the criticism of Israel have been discussed in Chapter three.

The narrative structure of this piece coincides with the traditional news schema of the inverted pyramid; however, because of its nature as a

press release, it clearly reflects the point of view of the PSC. The headline and lead give a clear summary of the content of the piece calling out on the *New Statesman* for compromising their editorial independence and condemning the publication for censoring a Palestinian voice, while also calling on the public to pressure the magazine to republish the article. The subsequent paragraphs offer quotes by the PSC's director, Ben Jamal, as well as Ajarma. In these comments, both activists rely on the use of scripts such as fair reporting, censorship, and occupation to convey the idea that the *New Statesman* is in breach of journalistic professionalism and to reiterate that the occupation of Palestine is one of the factors that to this day sidelines the Palestinian narrative on mainstream media.

The article goes on to explain what the now deleted article was about, as well as the timeline of events that took place after its publication and removal. It is explained that the PSC had agreed with the *New Statesman* to have a series of articles authored by people linked to the PSC and published on the magazine and that the focus for the publications on that particular year was around the illegal settlements in Israel. However, after Ajarma's article was deleted and the PSC requested an explanation, the *New Statesman* argued it was due to reader complaints, but later changed its version to say the article, which was referred to as an advertorial, breached its editorial guidelines. Notwithstanding, a report by the *Electronic Intifada* (Winstanley, 2016) mentions that PSC staff had agreed to remove parts of Ajarma's draft at the magazine's request and that the published version of the article "was seen and approved by *New Statesman* editorial team before it was published online".

Addressing the issue of the pro-Israeli lobby pressure on mainstream media reporting as well as any criticism brought up against Israel, the press release relies on a lengthy quote from Jamal, where the PSC's

Director alludes, without explicitly mentioning, the anti-Semitism accusations that were and, to this day are, privative of the climate in Britain's political and mainstream media circles, and that are used to silence any denouncement of Israel's actions in Palestine, specifically when they arise from Left-wing movements and supporters of Palestine. The quote reads:

“It is a sad reflection of the political climate we inhabit that voices raised in support of the Palestinian struggle for justice and equal rights routinely face a concerted lobby to silence them.” (PSC, 2016e)

Therefore, Jamal and, by extension, the PSC are relying on the recipients of this press release to draw from previous knowledge and infer that the erasing of Ajarma's article was a consequence of the broader political climate in Britain and the strong pressure that groups in support of Israel can exercise on media institutions and journalists in order to continue to silence the Palestinian narrative, and go even further by also attempting to delegitimize them and any critique they can do of the Israeli regime.

The final paragraphs of the press release are related to the topic of solidarity by calling on collective action to take place by counter-lobbying the *New Statesman* and publicly and privately requesting the magazine and its editorial board to republish the article, offer an apology to its author and make a public statement where they affirm their commitment to upholding freedom of expression. The outcome of this motion was labelled as successful by the PSC when on 7 December 2016 they published a brief press release (2016f) thanking their supporters for demonstrating and saying that their actions translated into the *New Statesman* offering an explanation for pulling the article

from their website, which the publication argued was not because of pressure from the pro-Israeli lobby, but a result of revised editorial practices concerned with paid-for editorials. Although they offered the PSC an apology for deleting the article without informing them first and not immediately replying to requests for explanation, the *New Statesman* would not republish Ajarma's article on their website and instead offered a link to it that redirected readers to the original article on the PSC's website.

5.3 *The settler colonial frame as a theme*

As previously mentioned, there were four long extension articles published by the PSC that used the settler colonial frame as the main topic and through which the authors explained the historical background of the Palestinian struggle as well as link it to current campaigns advanced by the PSC and the present context that continues to impact events on the ground in Palestine-Israel and the international arena.

The settler colonial theme's salience during this period is due mostly to the fact that the PSC had agreed on their Annual General Meeting in 2016 to have a campaign against Israeli settlements as part of their main strategy. The advantages that this topic provides for constructing an all-encompassing narrative is that it recognizes the history of colonialism, imperialism and ethnic cleansing that took place in Palestine, while at the same time linking it to the present campaigns that include the fight against the continuous land-grabbing by Israel through settlement construction, but also to the frames of BDS, human rights, international law, violence and emotion.

5.3.1 *Challenging the occupation through a sports analogy*

In an article entitled 'Fifa must ban these Israeli settlement teams, if it wants a level playing field' and authored by the PSC's Director, Ben Jamal, the article shows support for the Red Card Israeli Racism campaign, of which the PSC is a supporter and whose objectives are the suspension of the Israeli Football Association (IFA) from the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) as well the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) until Israel observes international law and respects the human rights of Palestinians. The campaign also seeks to highlight Israeli apartheid and racism by denouncing Israeli football clubs based in illegal settlements, as well as sports brand Puma, which is the main sponsor of the IFA teams.

The article was published on 13 October 2016. Two days before, a report by the United Nation's Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace, Wilfried Lemke, had been published and sent to FIFA. In it, Lemke reiterated to the football organization that the UN considers Israeli settlements illegal under international law, and, by extension, the teams playing in them, fall under the same jurisdiction. According to the report, there are six IFA teams based in illegal settlements playing in the lower leagues, with infrastructure built on land unlawfully taken from Palestinians.

The main theme of the article is illegal Israeli settlements and is first mentioned on the headline. Because Jamal's article is an opinion piece, the narrative news schema does not follow that of the inverted pyramid. Thus, after using the news schema of headline and summary, the most important paragraph in a news story, the lead or main paragraph, does not recuperate the main topic of settlements, but rather argues for the importance of fairness and equality of conditions applied to sports,

which Jamal will then use as guiding thread for the argument of the piece, that will go on to say that by not sanctioning football teams in Israeli settlements the fair play rules are being overlooked, not only in the realm of sports but also in their application for human rights, justice and equality concerning Palestine and Palestinians. By using this narrative structure, Jamal is able to seize a news event, as is the publication of the UN's letter to the FIFA, and embed the PSC's voice within that specific context, by not only explaining how settlements affect Palestinians' everyday lives, but also using it as an opportunity to advance the Red Card Israeli Racism campaign, and calling on British civil society to pressure their own government to take action against Israeli settlements. This is an example of Cammaerts' (2012) media opportunity structure where a social movement becomes the media and capitalizes on the political context and uses the media's agenda setting in order to introduce its own narrative. Furthermore, this can also be seen as a strategic communicative practice to counteract traditional mainstream media narratives about Palestine and counteract them, thus advancing the PSC's aims and goals in the British mainstream media landscape and, consequently, into the British public sphere.

Moreover, within this news scheme, the most salient effort to link fair play in sports to wider activism is present in the second paragraph of the article, when Jamal explicitly articulates the argument that sports has served as a way of "addressing wider societal inequalities", such as the sporting boycott in South Africa to denounce apartheid, and explains that the same should be done in the case of Palestine. The importance of this second paragraph is not only that it is tacitly denouncing the Israeli settlements in Palestine by linking them to the football teams that play there, but that he is actively using the scripts of 'boycott' and 'apartheid' in relation to South Africa and applying them to Palestine. By using these scripts, he is relying on historical and previous knowledge on his part and that of the readers, to equate the situation of apartheid South Africa to present-day Palestine. Therefore, although in the

previous chapter it is explained that the framing of the Israeli regime in Palestine is not exactly the same as it was in South Africa and that the labeling of Israel as an apartheid state is linked to the legal definition of the crime of the same name, the evocation of this script is extremely useful to denounce a broad set of laws and administrative rules that govern Palestinians both inside Israel and in the occupied territories, which by extension makes it easier to then call for a boycott of Israel, just as it was done with South Africa. In this case, evoking the boycott script is useful because it refers to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, and in such a way Jamal is able to successfully link Israeli settlements and sports with apartheid policies, the BDS movement and, more broadly, address the overall denial of human rights to Palestinians by Israel.

The following five paragraphs are used to build and sustain the argument by using quotes from Lemke's letter to FIFA, highlighting previous condemnation by other rights' international bodies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Human Rights Watch, as well as the FIFA's own guiding principles. In this regard, Jamal is using these actors as widely recognized institutions that aid him in legitimating the PSC's position he is advancing, while giving further context to the long background of the denunciation of Israeli settlements. Meanwhile, the second half of the article focuses on the call to action to British society and government. Through examples of how members of the European Parliament have called on FIFA to apply its statutes to IFA teams, and that ordinary football fans of British teams have publicly demonstrated against Israel during matches, Jamal highlights the problematic position of the British government, which defines Israeli settlements as illegal while continuing to have diplomatic and economic ties to them, even if that means it violates the Geneva Conventions of which they are signatory.

Thus, as he denounces the British government and FIFA's inaction in condemning the occupation of Palestine by Israel, Jamal's closing paragraphs give the article full sequential and semantic coherence, by arguing that Israel's complains of being singled out are only true in that it has not been sidelined and marginalized from the international arena for its recurrent human rights and international law violations, and in consequence the level playing field, both figuratively and literally is not being respected.

5.3.2 Palestinian voices, censorship and the threat of the pro-Israel lobby

'The frontline of Israel's settlement regime' originally posted on the 18th November 2016 on the *New Statesman* website is the opinion piece that is discussed in the press release previously examined in this section, which denounces the censorship of the article by the magazine's editorial team. Written by Palestinian activist Salah Ajarma, who is a co-founder and director of the Lajee Cultural Centre in Aida refugee camp, this essay is salient because it is the only piece published by the PSC during the research's timeline which is written by a Palestinian. Its narrative schema is not that of the inverted pyramid, but it is written in line with the stylistic rules of opinion journalism, of which it is an example.

The headline is clear and straightforward, using the topic of Israel's settlements to indicate what the essay will talk about, while also using the word frontline and in doing so putting settlements through the lens of the settler occupation frame as well as through the frame of war and violence. This is an aspect that should be highlighted, as this thematic clustering of the settler occupation frame linked to the violence frame gives further dimension to the topic of occupation that is often used by

the PSC in their Facebook posts, but which at times ignores or does not mention saliently what is the reality of a protracted state of warfare, where even when there is “calm”, or the situation does not have the threshold required by the media to make it part of their agenda, a war is still taking place in the occupied Palestinian territories.

The essay then proceeds to give a historical background of where Aida refugee camp is and why it was created, using scripts such as ‘forcible expulsion’ and ‘right of return’, the first paragraph sets the tone for the rest of the article and gives a very clear notion of Ajarma’s position with regards to the Zionist militias who were and to this day are, in the shape of the Israeli army, the enforcer of the expulsion of Palestinians. Following this, he then explains when and why was the Lajee Cultural Centre created, by using what has been previously defined as an emotional frame, Ajarma will use the idea of culture and art to denounce the Israeli occupation of Palestine. First, he uses the script of a ‘violent military occupation’ to provide a setting, and then defines the people in Aida camp with the script of ‘occupied refugee people’ that are being educated to be aware of their history in order to continue their ‘struggle for freedom’ which is another script used to contextualize and define the Palestinian struggle.

The next two paragraphs are used to provide examples in support of Ajarma’s argument of Aida camp as the frontline of the settlement regime. Firstly, he uses the script of the ‘illegal wall’ to explain the consequences that this construction has had on Palestinians living in the vicinity and how life has changed since 2002 when the wall started to be built. Thus, he relies again on an emotional frame, where he describes how nature and family outings on green spaces have been replaced by constant surveillance and ‘ethnic cleansing’ another important script that not only points to historical events in Palestine-Israel but is also used as an accusation of Israeli crimes against

humanity in the shape of genocide. Moreover, he is contrasting the situation in Aida, and its encirclement with the wall and its asphyxiating conditions, with the continued expansion of the Israeli settlement of Gilo that is built on stolen Palestinian land. Secondly, he makes the script of the frontline even more palpable, with the narration in the following paragraph of violent events that have taken place in Aida, such as the killing of a teenager and the maiming of another resident, as well as the constant harassing of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers with diverse warfare techniques, such as threats and the firing of rubber-coated bullets and tear gas.

In the subsequent paragraph he again uses an emotional frame to describe and articulate his opinion that despite the violence and oppression that the Aida residents suffer in a routine manner, they remain hopeful and happy. In this way, he highlights that in spite of the harshness of the occupation, Palestinians will remain steadfast and resilient in their quest for peace, while at the same time he justifies his work in the Lajee Cultural Centre as a work for the future, and the center functioning as a vehicle to continue the fight, by providing an artistic and educational outlet through which Palestinians residing in Aida can work towards achieving their goals of freedom and peace.

The second half of the essay, then turns to the use of 'solidarity' as a script, where the role of British civil society, represented by trade unions, students, teachers, and football fans, is highlighted for their empathy and support actions towards the Palestinian cause, and, more specifically, the Lajee Cultural Centre in the shape of visits, artistic exchanges and monetary donations. This idea is used as an example of the solidary actions and sentiment that exists in some sectors of the British public, and at the same time to denounce the lack of solidarity the British government has towards the Palestinian cause. While Ajarma writes about the legacy of the British in the Middle East without

mentioning any specific events, a reader with previous knowledge of the colonial past of the UK could draw references to the Balfour Declaration as well as the British Mandate of Palestine that facilitated the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Ajarma proceeds his condemnation of the British policy in the region by pointing out the hypocritical position of the UK vis-a-vis Israel's colonial enterprise in Palestine, which on the one hand condemns and labels Israeli settlements in the West Bank as illegal, but continues to have economic relations with them, while also supporting the lengthy peace process that has repeatedly failed for almost three decades.

Ajarma then writes that settlement construction in the occupied Palestinian territories constitutes an obstacle to the peace process, even when this process has been discredited, as it showcases the lack of will from the international community to implement its own law and condemn the Israeli government. By showing the failure of the international community, he then advances a further argument: BDS. Saying that even with the international community's inaction, there is already agreement that the settlements are illegal, so severing economic ties with them is a good place to start and doing so could lead to further changes that would allow for Palestinian self-determination as well as the right of return. He then concludes with a brief paragraph that provides semantic and syntactic coherence to the essay by writing that boycotting settlements would have immediate effects in Aida refugee camp and its population since they are in the frontline of the colonial endeavor.

5.3.3 The international community's condemnation of settlements

The last two articles pertaining to the settler occupation topic are both related to the passing of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)

resolution 2334 that denounced the continuous construction and expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. The importance of this resolution was that breaking with a long tradition of vetoing any resolution that condemns or denounces Israeli policies in Palestine, the United States did not use its veto power as a permanent member of the Security Council (SC) and instead opted to abstain from the vote, which led to the resolution being passed unanimously.

The timing of the vote is relevant, the resolution was passed on the 23 December 2016, less than a month before Donald Trump would become president of the U.S., which could lead to the notion that as Barack Obama's government came to an end, there was a concern of how his legacy would be viewed in the future. As reported by *The Guardian* (Beaumont, 2016) there had been another SC vote concerning Israeli settlements in 2011, at a time when Obama was also president, however, the U.S. exercised its veto power then, which was also the only time the U.S. vetoed a SC resolution during Obama's presidency. Additionally, if the resolution had not passed it would have been the first time since 1967 that a U.S. president did not have any SC resolutions critical of Israel (Friedman, 2016) a position that could undermine Obama's legacy and the way his decisions will be judged in the future.

Israel's reaction to the resolution appeared to be exaggerated, with the announcement of the withdrawal of their ambassador to New Zealand, the country which sponsored the resolution, as well as their proclamation of ignoring the document. This appears to be an extreme answer to a document that is in line with the long-standing position by the international community of labeling settlements as illegal, and, even more so, if it is considered that this specific SC resolution did not impose any sanctions or coercive measures against Israel. Thus, its non-binding character means it falls into the category of the many previously passed UN resolutions, both in the Security Council and the

General Assembly, that only use strong language to accuse and criticize Israeli policies but fail to make it comply with International law or emit any punishment as a consequence for the violations. Yet, it signaled a small change in diplomacy by creating the precedent that in spite of the U.S.' continuous support for its ally in the Middle East, it could still choose not to use its veto power to shield it from criticism and in consequence create a diplomatic and public relations chaos for the Israeli government.

Considering this setting, the PSC's press release, published one day after the UN vote occurred and entitled 'PSC welcomes Security Council resolution' uses a traditional news schema throughout the text. Although the headline lacks precision, as it does not mention what was addressed in the resolution, the summary is used to clarify this issue. This press release is brief and has a summarizing lead followed by a second paragraph which is also used to recap the international community's position and highlight Israel's reaction.

The primordial purpose of the press release is to insert the PSC's narrative within the media's agenda and add their voice to the discussion around the resolution, while at the same time advance the PSC's own campaign against Israel's settlement enterprise, which was a key guiding principle for the PSC during their 2016 strategy. This is another example of how the media opportunity structure (Cammaerts, 2012) is being used by the PSC by seizing the political openness that took place in the UN Security Council vote, which has historically been an obstacle for the Palestinian cause.

The third paragraph uses the script of solidarity by calling the public to action and stating that the moment has arrived to not only use words but to actively pressure Israel into respecting international law. It is followed

with a critique of the British government's policy, where it is once again pointed out that on the one hand the government supported the resolution and has recognized the Israeli settlements as being in contravention of international law but continues having economic ties to them. In this regard, the PSC, through a press release, is not only becoming the media, but also exercising the cognitive tools that ICT's afford social movements (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005) by being able to not only inform but also educate about their campaign, and mobilize their members and empathetic bystander publics into direct action.

The press release concludes by laying out the three main requests of the PSC's settlements campaign, which bridge the campaign to the BDS frame by requesting that there is a review of the UK-Israeli settlements financial relationship, exclusion of settlements from bilateral and multilateral arrangements between the two countries and lastly banning all imports on settlement goods.

The last article addressing settlements as a theme is a blog post from the PSC's director, Ben Jamal. Published within the same context of the UNSC resolution and published a few days later, on the 29 December 2016, the main purpose of this opinion piece centers around Israel's actions after the resolution was voted. With the title of 'Israel isolates itself from the world' the narrative structure of this article uses Israel's behavior as a guiding thread that illustrates the marginal position Israel has reached in the international arena, even when it still has strong influences and alliances with the most powerful nations in the world.

The beginning summarises the contents of the resolution and acknowledges that the language is the same discourse that has been used by the international community during previous decades. Moreover, this rhetoric is inconsequential in terms of sanctions or

punishment, as well as in the events unfolding on the ground in Palestine-Israel, which leads Jamal to explain why it is surprising to have Israel react in such a way. Notwithstanding, he recognises that the U.S. abstaining from blocking the resolution and Israel summoning its ambassador from New Zealand, as well as lashing out at the countries voting in favor of the resolution and threatening to withdraw funds from the UN harmed Israel's standing on the international arena by "declaring a diplomatic war on the world" (Jamal, 2016c).

Additionally, through the use of quotes from some of Israel's most prominent politicians, Jamal is able to support and develop his argument that Israel has placed itself in a very marginal position, where their previous declarations of supporting peace talks and wanting to achieve peace with the Palestinians are no longer credible, as it has systematically dismissed the condemnation from the international community. As Israeli Education Minister, Neftali Bennet and former Israeli ambassador to the U.S., Michael Oren, use the script of 'anti-Semitism' to label and undermine the UN decision, it becomes apparent that the strategy to catalog criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic cannot and should not be accepted, since there are no grounds to justify how the denunciation of any country's violations of human rights and international law fall under that description. In this case, it is important to notice that this blog post was written and published at a time when anti-Semitism accusations against the Left were privative in the British media and political arenas; thus, the PSC is not only capitalizing on the political opportunity that the UNSC resolution afforded it to discuss Israel's occupation and illegal settlement of Palestine, but to also address and counteract the anti-Semitism discourse that was used in mainstream British media and politics to undermine the support of the Palestinian cause as well as to tarnish political reputations of Left-wing activists and politicians

Another poignant issue is the declaration of Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu that Donald Trump's ascension to power would mark a new world order. This would become true since during the first months of Trump's presidency there was a clear escalation in settlement building and extension of pre-existing settlements, as well as a marked change in U.S. foreign policy with the administration's decision of moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Jamal then follows his article with a recapitulation of what he believes are the three points that demonstrate how Israel has insulated itself: firstly is the notion that Israel is no longer a credible actor in a peace process, not that they ever were, but if there is any doubt as to their position they are actively ignoring the will of the international community and dismissing the opinion of an institution like the U.N. Secondly, pro-Israeli actors' use anti-Semitism as a label of any and all criticism of Israel can be deemed as lacking in credibility, even though it should be stated that it is still wielded and exploited as a powerful arm against anyone who dares to articulate an unfavorable opinion about the policies of the Israeli government. Thirdly, the reliance and compliance between the Israeli government and important members of Trump's cabinet, such as his son-in-law, Jared Kushner or David Friedman, the current U.S. ambassador to Israel, who both support the settlement enterprise, and that have actively advanced it since before they had a political role.

Jamal then proceeds to conclude his article by bringing it closer to the British context and commending the British government for supporting the passing of the resolution and then calling on them to enact actions and policies that go beyond just labeling the settlements as illegal and follow through by sanctioning and treating them as such.

The settler colonial theme's salience during this period is due mostly to the fact that the PSC had agreed on their Annual General Meeting in 2016 to have a campaign against Israeli settlements as part of their main strategy. The advantages that this topic provides for constructing an all-encompassing narrative is that it recognizes the history of colonialism, imperialism and ethnic cleansing that took place in Palestine, while at the same time linking it to the present campaigns that include the fight against the continuous land-grabbing by Israel through settlement construction, but also to the frames of BDS, human rights, international law, violence and emotion. In the case of linking the frames of settlements and violence it is important to recognize that this was not done by the PSC, but through a Palestinian collaborator, featuring a not often heard Palestinian voice that reminds the audience of the actual effects that violence and war have on the Palestinian population. Thus, it gives an alternative to the most commonly used framework of legality and human rights and provides another way of evoking solidarity through empathy and the emotional frame.

5.4 The solidarity frame as a theme

In this category there were three articles, two of them were press releases and one was an opinion piece written by Ben Jamal. An important aspect of using the solidarity frame is that it is mainly associated to the BDS frame, this is a characteristic that remains constant not only when the solidarity frame is the main topic of the article, but also with the settler occupation frame, as it was explored in the previous section of this chapter. Therefore, although the BDS frame was not present as the topic of the articles it is demonstrated that it can bridge different topics and tackle different angles of the Palestinian struggle. Furthermore, because of the demands of the BDS campaign, it is a strategy that serves as an all-encompassing approach to discuss

the situation on the ground in Palestine and call for collective action internationally.

5.4.1 Outlawing support for Palestine

The first article under the solidarity theme is the one authored by Ben Jamel and entitled 'Defending the right to protest'. Published on the 28 November 2016 it is a reaction to the different attempts made by supporters of Israel and the Israeli government itself to legally suppress any activities backing Palestinian rights and specifically to counteract the international Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign.

The narrative structure of the article uses examples of events unfolding in the U.S., the UK, and Israel to contextualize the international state-of-affairs where support for the Palestinian cause and the actions of the BDS campaign are trying to be criminalized by politicians supporting Israel. Hence, in the first three paragraphs of the article, it is reported how pro-Israel advocates are pushing legislation that would determine as illegal any boycott of Israel. Firstly, in the UN, with the Israeli ambassador to the organization, Dany Dannon, and secondly in the American government, with the consideration of approving a bill that would penalize entities financially if they partake in BDS activities. The results of these attempts have been fruitful to a certain degree, as the news site Vox reports (Beauchamp, 2019) there are 26 states that have laws criminalizing BDS; however, no law has been passed in the federal level largely due to the fact that members of the Democratic party are worried that punishing individuals and companies or organizations supporting BDS could be considered a violation of the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of expression and therefore, would be an anti-constitutional move.

Meanwhile in the UK a Conservative MP, Eric Pickles, who is also the Chair of the group Conservative Friends of Israel spoke to students that support Israel about combating BDS with actions on university campuses and proceeded to compare the call to economically boycott Israel to the Nazi boycott of Jewish shops, a comparison which he had previously used when he described a student protest against an Israeli speaker in Kings College as Kristallnacht, when windows were accidentally broken. Pickles' equation of activism in support of Palestine to the actions of a racist ideology and regime are dangerous, as they rely on scripts which have a very strong negative hold in the collective memory and can result in a mischaracterization of the activities held in support of Palestine and those who carry them out, as well as a general undermining of solidarity for the Palestinian cause in Britain. Moreover, there is once again the example of using anti-Semitism as a script that delegitimizes BDS and pro-Palestinian activities.

Jamal then addresses the situation in Israel where the government had passed a bill that would deny entry to the country to individuals and NGO representatives that had performed activities in support of BDS. The bill would become law on the 6 March 2017 with its first casualty being Hugh Lanning, Chair of the PSC, who was deported on 13 March 2017. At the time of writing, Omar Shakir, a U.S. citizen that is the Israel and Palestine director of Human Rights Watch, is facing deportation under the same law, in the first case the law is applied to someone already residing in the country (Sadek, 2019).

All these examples work in a multi-layered and overlapping way, first by letting readers know what is happening around the world regarding the BDS campaign, which is central in the global movement in support of the Palestinian cause. Second, as a way for Jamal to develop his argument that there are events and actions taking place that have the purpose of frustrating any type of pro-Palestinian activism. Third, to

provide the readers, mostly PSC members and supporters, the notion that there are specific tactics being employed to combat BDS and in consequence provide them with a few guidelines into how to navigate the accusations that can emerge, by reminding them that the values of the PSC are based in an anti-racist ideology that is anti-Zionist, but that because of the current context risks being accused as anti-Semitic. Fourth, by reminding the readers that although BDS is being combatted, the reason this is happening is because the call to boycott Israel has garnered global support and thus BDS has the power to challenge Israel's international standing and delegitimize it, which is why the Israeli government and its supporters are doing everything they can to counteract it. In conclusion, this article illustrates Della Porta and Mosca's (2005) as well as Cammerts' (2005) notions of how ICTs serve social movements to develop cognition, as the main aim of Jamal's article is to inform PSC's members and any bystander public about the current context in which the PSC operates, the challenges that exist, the opportunities that it can take advantage of, and, more saliently, the tactical ways in which the organization and the activists can navigate this complex context.

5.4.2 The British government's attempts to counteract BDS

The second article written by the PSC is a press release published on 16 December 2016. Entitled 'PSC takes government to court'. It has been categorized under the solidarity topic because it has the aim to inform the British public and media about their decision to challenge the government's decision to prevent workers of divesting their pension funds from being invested in Israeli companies or international companies that benefit from the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

With a concise but vague headline, the press release does not specify the exact reason for the legal challenge against the government until the lead paragraph. Although the summary sentence mentions the notion of the government attempting to counteract the BDS campaign, it fails to mention in which way it will do it. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that fully comprehending this press release would require the reader to have previous knowledge of the way in which local politics work in the UK and the regulations that govern pension schemes. As such, this press release was not only written as a way for the PSC to articulate their position with regards to the new rules, but also in a call to its core base of supporters, which have a long-time engagement with the Palestinian cause and are also invested in the local politics of where they live and are actively participating and engaging with their representatives. Moreover, in some cases, these activists could also be pensioners themselves or part of unions that can make the active decision of divesting pension funds from Israeli and international companies benefitting from the occupation.

Consequently, the second paragraph of the press release provides an impassionate call to action and support from the PSC's members and supporters, by stating that their help is needed and requesting economic support for the legal costs that will arise from legally challenging the government's regulations. This request for funds is also the closing paragraph of the press release, reminding PSC's supporters that the money is not only for the legal battle but also for the other campaigns that the PSC implements. Additionally, the second half of the article is used to either inform or evoke the scripts of 'BDS', 'anti-apartheid' and 'non-violence' as references that these are the means through which average citizens can hold their own government and anyone else violating or profiting from the violation of human rights accountable.

This was the beginning of a long and ongoing legal battle, where it became clear that the British government is implementing a wide array of tactics to curtail pro-Palestinian activism in the UK. First, through its pension scheme rules, but also, as will be explored in the following section, with the adoption of the anti-Semitism definition. As such, the timeline of events that followed the initial legal challenge advanced by the PSC is that on 22 June 2017 a judge in the High Court ruled in favor of the PSC's judicial review, where it was determined that the British government had acted improperly by attempting to use its pension law to advance its foreign and defense policy. In consequence, the guidance rules regarding the Local Government Pension Schemes were deemed unlawful and resulted in the freedom of the pensioners to decide where they want to invest their funds. However, almost a year later, on the 6 of June 2018, the UK Court of Appeal sided with the UK government and the initial regulations it implemented in 2016. The case is ongoing, as a Supreme Court panel granted the PSC the right to appeal the Court of Appeal's decision on 9 January 2019 with a hearing that is scheduled to take place in the second half of 2019.

5.4.3 The mediatization of solidarity with Palestine

The third and last article related to the solidarity frame is the press release published on 27 January 2017 entitled 'Haneen Zoabi: Justice for Palestinians in Israel'. The headline, written in a journalistic style, summarises the message of Israeli Palestinian politician Haneen Zoabi, who belongs to the Arab Party list and is a representative in the Israeli Knesset. Zoabi has a history of advocating for equal rights for Palestinian citizens in Israel as well as of publicly demonstrating against the policies of the Israeli government against Palestinians in all the territory of historic Palestine (the West Bank, Gaza and Israel).

Zoabi was invited to the UK to be a speaker in the PSC's Annual General Meeting (AGM) as well as in an event organized by a PSC local branch. Most importantly, Zoabi's visit was used by the PSC to implement their new media and communications strategy to align the PSC's operations with Ben Jamal's goal of mainstreaming the campaign within British public opinion as he stated in his first address to the PSC membership when he became the Director. This is clearly articulated in the fourth paragraph of the press release where it is written:

"These early successes are part of our **new media and communications push** across the UK, and are **critical to reaching a wider audience**. We know that Palestinian voices are not often heard by the British public, and consequently their experiences are marginalised. This week, **millions of British people heard Haneen speak** passionately and truthfully on Palestine – the Today programme has 2 million listeners alone."

Most of the article focuses on the media opportunities the PSC was able to organize for Zoabi in what the organization termed 'primetime media opportunities.' As such, it was arranged for her to be interviewed in the Today radio program on the *BBC*, *Sky News* and *LBC*. Additionally, the PSC liaised British politicians with Zoabi as an attempt to lobby MPs in favor of the Palestinian cause.

Another important aspect of this press release is that it manages to showcase the global-local nature of the Palestinian struggle. First, with Zoabi's media discourses focusing on the conditions of Palestinians on the ground and highlighting the discriminatory laws against Palestinian citizens of Israel, the ongoing ethnic cleansing policy of demolishing Bedouin villages mainly in the Negev region of Israel, as well as the blockade of the Gaza Strip. Secondly, by acknowledging the grassroots

support of pro-Palestinian activists in the UK by creating collective action through protests and the lobby of government officials, while at the same time articulating messages of solidarity that showcase the ongoing plight of the Palestinian population around the world. Lastly, the PSC closes the press release with a reminder that whether in Britain or in Palestine-Israel international collective action works as it has already prevented the Israeli government from destroying the village of Umm al-Hiran, and requesting their members and supporters to continue their work by writing to their representatives and calling for the intervention of the British government in this matter.

This article is an example of how the PSC used Zoabi's visit in different ways. Internally, Zoabi was used as a Palestinian voice to mobilize supporters and members of the PSC. Externally, she was used to create media and political opportunity structures. In the case of the media opportunity structure, the PSC, in recognition of how the media's agenda works, was able to provide a politician's voice to articulate not only the grievances of Palestinian citizens of Israel, but also the Palestinian cause in general, and mainstream the PSC's message in British media. Politically, Zoabi, through the PSC, was able to lobby with British parliamentarians and advance not only her cause of bringing attention to the inequality situation of Palestinian citizens of Israel, but also to the plight of the Palestinian people, as well as denounce Israel's expansionist and racist policies.

5.5 The anti-Semitism frame as a theme

This theme was present in two articles published by the PSC, both of which are press releases. As expressed in Chapter three, the emergence of this theme occurred with the anti-Semitism accusations against the Labour party that began with the election of Jeremy Corbyn

as the leader of the opposition in 2015 and that continue to the present day. The accusations spilled over to other Left-wing movements and their activists, and the PSC is one of the instances in which this happened.

Anti-Semitism is a dangerous and harmful prejudice; however, the recent accusations of anti-Semitism have been done to discredit any opposition or critique of Israeli policy towards Palestinians, or to undermine activism in favor and solidarity with Palestine. These accusations are reliant on the confluence and purposefully confounding of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, with the first one been a damaging and dangerous prejudice against Jews, and the latter been a political stance against the Zionist ideology on which Israel is based and which guides its policy.

The confusion of these two terms is extremely problematic, because in the current global context, with the emergence of Right-wing governments in Europe and the U.S. and the empowerment of white supremacism and white nationalism, minorities, of which Jews, Arabs, and Muslims are a part of, are under attack. Therefore, labeling as anti-Semitic any opposition to the existence of Israel, its policies and its legitimacy would appear to show that is Israel and not the Jews the entity that is in danger. Moreover, this tactic of arguing that Israel is the representative of all Jews is of use to the Right-wing movement that capitalizes on this misunderstanding. Thus, arguing that Jews both inside Israel and in the diaspora approve of its actions serves the Right-wing narrative peddled by these politicians. Furthermore, there is a hollowing in the meaning of anti-Semitism, whereby equating it to anti-Zionist activities it no longer serves the purpose of describing prejudice against Jews and in consequence leaves them in danger of experiencing it again. Finally, arguing that Israel acts and represents

Jews all over the world is an anti-Semitic act in itself, where Jews are grouped into a mass and there is no distinction between them.

It is in this context that both press releases were published. Both publications will be analyzed together, as they both focus on the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism. The first press release is entitled 'PSC responds to Home Affairs Select Committee Report' and was published on the 15 of October 2016, two days after the publication of the government's report, the second one is titled 'PSC response to Government's adoption of antisemitism definition' and it was published on 13 December 2016 a day after the government officially adopted the definition.

The problems of the IHRA definition have already been discussed in Chapter three, where it is explained that the definition in itself is not an issue, but as both press releases explain it is the guidelines that accompany the definition which are problematic as they express that criticizing Israel is an act of anti-Semitism. In consequence, what the PSC is attempting to do through both articles is redirect the public conversation, that has been caught in a loop of activists and politicians in the Left defending themselves against anti-Semitism accusations, towards a narrative where anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism's meanings are not blurred or use towards a political gain.

Therefore, in both cases, the guidelines of the IHRA definition are questioned and the implications and consequences of applying the definition in the British context are explained. In this regard, the organization makes it clear that despite the definition arguing that the criticism of Israel is not anti-Semitic, its guideline contradicts this. Additionally, there is the concern of how the application of the definition could silence any future criticism of Israel and in consequence activism

and solidarity with Palestine. Not only this, but it could also stifle public debate on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and it could affect public knowledge of the origins and history of the conflict, an issue that has been prevalent ever since the conflict initiated.

Finally, in the British context the governmental adoption of this definition could have consequences in how public bodies will manage its pension schemes and its procurement of future contracts, a measure that could hinder any implementation and adoption of the BDS movement through any governmental institution in Britain, and which has also already been addressed in previous paragraphs.

This chapter has explored the ways in which the PSC's self-produced media is used by the organization to construct and articulate a narrative of the Palestinian struggle and solidarity with it through a news-like discourse that can be used on social media platforms and mainstream media alike. The importance of advancing this narrative in a news format relies on the fact that it can be distributed through activist and alternative media channels, as well as mainstream media, and, thus, aids the PSC's strategy of mainstreaming Palestinian solidarity in Britain.

Notwithstanding, the PSC's message crafting is still dependent upon traditional news cycles and journalistic practices, which means the organization has to rely on socially constructed meanings and knowledge, and use them advantageously to present information about Palestine in its attempt to propose a new gaze and framing of the Palestinian cause. In this sense, the analysis shows how the PSC has used scripts and news values to insert its message on Palestine within mainstream media's agenda, in cases such as the UN's vote on settlements or the adoption of the IHRA definition. However, it also

demonstrates how the PSC has challenged hegemonic media frames in articles such as Salah Ajarma's "The frontline of Israel's settlement regime", or semantically contested media scripts and discourse, such as the ones relating to anti-Semitism. In this attempt to mainstream the Palestinian narrative, the use of the internet, and the reckoning of media and political opportunity structures is palpable, as they facilitate how the PSC is able to articulate its message on Facebook and, in some cases, mainstream media. Notwithstanding, there are also the challenges that these same structures pose for the movement, such as the closeness of the political arena during the time of the research, particularly with relation to the anti-Semitism accusations, but also with regards to the fact Britain is under a Conservative government that maintains strong links to Israel and is susceptible to its lobbying within the UK's highest political circles. Furthermore, there are also the challenges of bridging the PSC's messages online to mainstream media and how they actually translate to offline collective action, or the backlash that can emerge when this effectively happens, as the *New Statesman* case demonstrated.

Lastly, the macrostructural analysis of the PSC's media has also shown that the use of themes or frames is not isolated, but interdependent and overlapping. Consequently, the topics of settler colonialism, solidarity and anti-Semitism, are always linked to other frames, such as apartheid, BDS, human rights and violence. The use of the BDS frame as an underlying script within the media discourses is of particular importance, as it serves as an all-encompassing frame that can be used as a way to explain and generate knowledge of the Palestinian cause by targeting an array of issues that contribute to the plight of Palestinians, while additionally proposing channels —prognostic attribution of framing—, such as consumer boycotts, write to politicians, protest or donate money, and thus mobilize the audience reading the messages.

Conclusions

Driven by The Reut Institute's (2010b) classification of how London functions as a central node within the network of pro-Palestine activism and solidarity, this research set out to investigate how UK-based organizations that support the Palestinian cause work in coordination with each other and how were their internet communication practices strategized, developed and implemented in a networked manner. As such, the initial aim of this research was to understand and analyze the online/offline media activities of three salient organisations within what the Israeli think-tank termed 'the delegitimization network': the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), War On Want, and Stop the War Coalition. Notwithstanding, as the previous chapters have narrated and explained, the volatile political structure in which the research took place translated into a highly-suspect activist community and the implementation of gatekeeping practices by grassroots activists and NGOs alike, which caused the original case study to change.

As a result, I chose to focus on the PSC, as it is the largest pro-Palestine solidarity organization in the UK, and examine how it frames its social media messages to garner solidarity for the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people. In doing so, the research examined the PSC as a solidarity movement that is part of a broader social movement that supports the Palestinian cause and that uses social media platforms, specifically Facebook, to generate online and offline collective action both locally and transnationally.

In order to examine the communicative practices of the PSC and its organization during a rapidly-changing socio-political context and how it navigated the openness and closeness of said context the research was guided by the questions: Can the PSC be understood as a solidarity movement? How does the PSC use Facebook to mobilize solidarity? Why does the PSC use Facebook to mobilize solidarity? What frames does the PSC use to mobilize support in particular socio-political contexts?, and Can the PSC be understood as an alternative news organization?

To answer these questions I considered the background of the PSC and its relationship to the global processes that have been cause and consequence of the Palestinian issue. In doing so, I paid special attention to the relationship with mainstream media that the Palestinian cause has had throughout the years, the ways in which it has been portrayed, the most salient frames in which it has been articulated and the recuperation of the Palestinian narrative and its counteracting of the historical dominance that the Israeli narrative has had.

After historically setting the case study, I positioned it through the social movement theory (SMT) lens in order to analyze and respond to the question of understanding the PSC as a solidarity movement. Using the different SMT approaches to examine the PSC helped to locate the organization within broader socio-political contexts that informed its activities and the array of opportunities and constraints present at the time, and which arguably, as shown, had influenced the ways in which the PSC was able to articulate and frame its narrative. Moreover, it also helped to understand the internal organization of the PSC and how its current efforts to mainstream its campaign and messages competed with the aims of its grassroots membership in advocating and advancing a more critical discourse of Israel and its Zionist policies.

This was followed with a frame analysis in order to answer the research question centered around which are the frames used by the PSC to mobilize support in particular socio-political contexts. In that section of the thesis there is a strong focus on the framing perspective of SMT. However, the analysis also relies on the POS perspective, in order to relate the strategic framing activities of the PSC to the opportunities and constraints that happened during the research and which frames were more prominent at specific times. Additionally, the analysis also looks at the emotional or affective perspective of social movements and how this was used in the framing strategy of the PSC.

Lastly, I focused on the PSC's self-produced Facebook messages in order to analyze not only the most prominent frames used by the organization, but also to discursively analyze them as news products, using Teun A. Van Dijk's (1988) discursive analysis of news, since they provide information (cognition) and are also produced as cause and consequence of mainstream media's agenda setting and have a reliance on news values and media scripts. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that the research began with the premise that studying the production of media messages by a collective action organization, such as the PSC, is important because it demonstrates that such collective action and social movements are still dependent on mainstream and traditional media to spread their messages, while at the same time use alternative media, such as the internet and social media platforms, to bypass mainstream media's attempts to influence message production through different practices. In this research, this reliance was particularly relevant given the rapidly-changing socio-political context during the period of the research and the importance of the contested media landscape where opportunities for mediation opportunity structures, to borrow from Cammaerts (2012) are many, particularly with the advances in mobile technology and the rise of propaganda and fake news.

Notwithstanding, the importance of reaching mainstream media, the internet provided the PSC with instrumental opportunities for the organization of transnational protests, exemplified in the way the #StopHP campaign was able to organize and coordinate actions all around the world, both online and offline, and also in the ability of the PSC to develop campaigns in solidarity with Palestine in the UK, while also adapting its message to local and regional campaigns in Britain.

Furthermore, it was important to place the PSC's content production within the broader socio-political contexts in order to understand the PSC's actions as contesting hegemonic and institutionalized practices which through time have produced narratives that have silenced Palestinian voices and thwarted modes of action and interaction. In this regard, the PSC's media activism, as

discussed in the previous chapters, can be seen as challenging social systems through its media products, and the PSC as an actor that chooses when to exercise its agency based on the obstacles or possibilities available to it at the time.

Findings

In order to answer if the PSC can be understood as a solidarity movement, I first needed to understand how the PSC worked. Thus I examined the organization through participant observation, and applied the political opportunity structure and resource mobilization approaches, as explained in chapter three. In doing so, I found out that at the time of the research, the PSC was undergoing an internal transformation, one which has the potential to shift it from the decentralized model into a more centralized, bureaucratic model, and one which could mean the organization might lose its ability to rapidly mobilize and coordinate its members and followers. The move towards increasing centralization and professionalization, as shown, would put at risk the future of the PSC, by further dividing the grassroots membership from the leadership.

The research revealed the importance and role of the sociopolitical environment for the PSC's actions and for determining how the organization develops. Indeed, it became clear that the PSC is at a crossroads, attempting to gain recognition and become institutionalized and mainstreamed in British civil society, as well as in the political arena, while at the same time raising support and advocacy for the Palestinian cause in a local, regional and international context.

Consequently, the PSC can be seen as a social movement organization that is part of a broader and transnational social movement in support of Palestinian freedom and human rights. In this regard, the PSC satisfies Featherstone's (2012) and Passy's (2001) notions of solidarity as a political activity that emanates from the Left, the bottom-up and the outside-in.

Moreover, the PSC's exercise of political solidarity is rooted in Melucci's (1996) argument of, first and foremost, it being an act of reciprocal recognition that translates in collective action, which is one of the reasons why face-to-face networking as well as online networks help sustain and re-invigorate the PSC's campaigns both locally and internationally. Furthermore, these networks —human and computer mediated— aid the PSC and the broader movement in solidarity with Palestine to maintain and increase mobilization in a multi-level and multi-sited manner.

Chapter four centres around the frames the PSC uses in particular socio-political contexts. The thesis has shown that irrespective of other actions, the PSC's strategic use of frames provides insight into how it exercises its agency vis-a-vis the social milieu within which it operates and how it continuously engages in contentious collective action through its production of discourse. This was most apparent in its choice of which frames to use and when to use them. In addition, the analysis of the PSC social media content production means it can be discussed as a movement that produces collective action frames, attributes meaning to actions and situations in the fight for justice in Palestine, while at the same time holding those responsible for the Palestinians' continuous suffering to account.

In this regard, the results of the analysis show how the diagnostic and prognostic attributions of each of the frames used by the PSC —settler colonialism, human rights, BDS, violence, apartheid, emotion and anti-Semitism— can work individually or jointly to highlight specific aspects of the Palestinian struggle at certain moments. Thus, the settler colonial frame is useful to build knowledge on the origins and causes of the Palestinian struggle, as well as being of extreme importance to establish bi-directional solidarities with other countries with colonial pasts, as well as oppressed groups around the world. It is through this frame, that the PSC is able to signal the history of Palestine and provide a rationale to it, while reminding British audiences that territory and political recognition remain at the heart of the Palestinian struggle.

The human rights frame provides a hegemonic language through which to articulate Palestinians' grievances, and allows for the establishment of solidarity links with distant geographical supporters. As the research has shown, the human rights frame has helped Palestinians articulate their narrative in the world stage and changed some of the representations of Palestinians from victimisers and terrorists to victims of a protracted and violent Israeli regime. Yet, it needs to be noted that Palestinians are more than victims and numbers of casualties in the news, and they need to be represented and understood in a more comprehensive way. Additionally, the language of human rights and international law is meaningless until governments push further and actively enact the law, which is the drawback of the human rights frame, that can hollow the Palestinian cause when used by itself.

The BDS frame allowed the PSC to discuss Palestine from several angles and it serves as the main example of how frames can overlap and help the discourse of social movements. In this sense, the BDS frame was able to link different aspects of the Palestinian struggle, from settlements to human rights violations and international solidarity. It was also the main vehicle through which the PSC articulated its campaigns, helping the organization target British civil society from different perspectives and channeling them into goal-oriented solidarity in line with the BDS call.

Meanwhile, the violence frame was the most sought-after frame to illustrate the brutality of the Israeli regime in Palestine, with images and story-telling of the violent acts committed by the Israeli military and the State it proved a useful tool to mobilise collective action and solidarity. In this last regard, the solidarity frame not only helped place Palestine at the center of the global fight against injustice and oppression, but also worked as a model for activism implemented through project-based activities that aid in short-term goal accomplishment, as well as in sustaining the movement in the long term.

Through the emotional frame, the PSC is able to narratively tell the hi-story of Palestinians and in that way appeal to their passions and mobilize support. By generating emotion through relatable stories, the PSC is able to generate empathy in the British public, and consequently call for collective action. The use of stories is also an effective tool to discuss the topic of Palestine with a lower rejection threshold, as the narrations might appear less politically motivated and focus on commonalities that would make them more appealing and less susceptible to questioning from a reluctant audience.

Lastly, the apartheid frame allows the PSC the possibility to bridge the Palestinian cause with the racial struggle in South Africa, and in that way exemplify how racism and colonialism can be combatted. It is through this frame, that the PSC is also able to link different frames, such as the settler colonial, human rights and BDS, in another example of overlapping frame articulation. Moreover, the apartheid frame allows for the establishment of solidarities with other oppressed groups and nations and gives the PSC the possibility to advocate for a way forward in the shape of collective action such as BDS campaigns.

In chapter five one of the main findings of this research is that the PSC operates as an alternative news organization because the collective action frames that it produces are news discourses in and by themselves. By producing its own content in a news format, such as opinion pieces, essays and press releases, the PSC constructs and articulates a narrative of the Palestinian struggle and of solidarity with Palestine and the Palestinians that is disseminated in social media platforms as well as traditional mainstream media channels. The production of this news discourse is, however, dependent on the socio-political contexts, thus underlining the PSC's ability to construct a narrative where meaning attribution and agency are linked to the broader sociopolitical context and the existing social knowledge.

Viewing the PSC as a producer of news brings attention to how social movements are also reliant on institutionalized news cycles and journalistic

practices, which means that the PSC has the option of co-opting the narrative and inserting its discourses within the established news agenda, or of bypassing traditional journalistic practices in order to change the conversation for a topic that it deems more relevant to advance its cause. The research showed that the PSC used both strategies, depending on the openness or closeness of the system and the message it is attempting to advance. For example, the opportunity structure to use the news cycle and insert its voice into the conversation to highlight the problems that arise from labelling criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic and its detrimental effect on Palestinian solidarity.

The PSC's news production reflects the need for news discourses that can increase mobilization and solidarity. In this sense, the PSC has the challenge of overcoming geographical distance and an institutionalized negative bias to reframe the information in a way that aids the advancement of the Palestinian cause in Britain. One of the main ways in which the PSC does this is by using the settler colonial frame to provide an alternative to the long-accepted Israeli narrative, and retell the origins of the Palestinian problem by recuperating the Palestinian narrative while at the same time linking it to other settler colonial struggles around the world, in this way it is able to establish solidarity links to other former colonies, while also taking away the exceptionalism that has accompanied the Israeli national discourse.

Finally, the macrostructural discourse analysis of the PSC's self-produced media underlines that the use of frames is not passive, but an active exercise of narrativity and story-telling that relies on the overlapping of frames and its interdependence to provide a comprehensive panorama of the situation in Palestine and the importance of showing solidarity with its population and their cause. As such, the topics of settler colonialism, solidarity and anti-Semitism are always linked to other frames such as apartheid, BDS, human rights and violence.

With regards to why and how the PSC use Facebook the research findings show that the social media platform provides the organization with a cost-effective medium to inform and mobilize the British and international public, as well as to bypass and influence mainstream media. In this sense, Facebook gives the PSC the opportunity to develop and organize campaigns in a fast and cheap way. Consequently, mobilization can also be coordinated locally and internationally, as well as online and offline. The use of Facebook by the PSC needs to also be understood within the political structure in which it operates, as the PSC's Secretary, Ben Soffa, explained that the organization's turn to Facebook intensified in the context of the Israeli attacks against the Gaza Strip in 2008-2009, 2012 and 2014, when the Palestinian issue would have been more salient in both mainstream media and activist circles, and where narrative battles were taking place. As such, the way in which the PSC uses Facebook is related to these narrative battles, not only in its attempt to mainstream the Palestinian cause in British society, but also in articulating frames that serve a cognitive function (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005), as mobilizing structures and as political discourses that aim to lobby and influence policy makers. Finally, Facebook, as explained in chapter five, allows the PSC to be in itself an alternative news organization that publishes self-produced content intended to take advantage of the media opportunity structures (Cammaerts, 2012) that arise from the context in which it exists, but also challenge an adverse media landscape and advance a counter narrative to the hegemonic Israeli discourse.

Significance of the research in the academic context

This study is the first one to analyze the PSC's online production of content and use of Facebook, as such it contributes to scholarly literature and the broader movement in solidarity with Palestine alike. With regards to the specific case study of the PSC, through participant observation and ethnographic analysis, this research provides insight into the inner workings of the biggest pro-Palestine organization in the UK and to its online content production. This is important, as this study not only presents new information

on how solidarity with Palestine is articulated online during a particular socio-political context, but also on how the PSC functioned as a solidarity movement during that time, thus contributing to data and information that can be utilized in future studies.

This thesis also contributes to the field of Palestinian studies more broadly by showcasing how an organization that actively works in support of Palestine operates in the current political landscape and how this work is connected to the broader history and background of international solidarity with the Palestinian cause. As such, it is shown how the discursive repertoire of the PSC has links to the often-silenced Palestinian narrative, to the broader settler colonial paradigm that can establish bridges with other oppressed peoples, and to more recent repertoires of challenging Israel in the shape of the BDS campaign and the application of the apartheid framework to Palestine. In this regard it also offers an examination of which of this discursive repertoires were more salient at specific moments in time, or why they became more salient, as the case of the anti-Semitism framework demonstrates.

This thesis also contributes to the literature of social movement studies, as the theories and concepts from this discipline created a tool-kit for analyzing the PSC both theoretically and methodologically. The concepts used were mobilizing structures, political opportunities and constraints, collective action frames and emotional and affective dimensions. These concepts were the most useful starting point for the research, as they offered a framework for answering the research questions and to logically organize the research outcomes. In this sense, as I argued in chapter one of the thesis, the research on the PSC represents an encompassing way of the SMT approaches and provides an analysis of a current example.

One key concept of SMT that was used throughout the thesis was the notion of solidarity as a form of collective action and political activism. With relation to solidarity, this research also provides an example of how solidarity is

articulated and framed online, and the challenges and advantages that arise from doing so. When discussing the challenges of researching solidarity it should be noted that the enactment of this form of collective action is inextricably dependent on the openness and closeness of the political spectrum, and consequently its research will also be marked by this political opportunities and constraints. As such, this is also a cautionary notion to researchers of solidarity movements and social movements as a whole, whose research development and results could be undermined by fear, censorship and, in some cases, policing of protest and gatekeeping practices that could emerge from the side of activists and movement leadership.

The research also contributes to media and communication studies, and, more specifically, to the often overlooked link between media and social movements. In doing so, it used collective action frames and the use of ICT's in the production and distribution of these frames and the insights these actions give into the communicative strategies and discursive practices of the PSC at a highly contested moment in time, but that could also serve to analyze other organizations' framing of the Palestinian cause in the future. Furthermore, the analysis of a solidarity movement's use of social media platforms such as Facebook is relevant to the literature on social movements and media, as this approach builds on the scholarship of how social movements work and evolve (Downing, 2001, 2008), but also, because of the ephemeral nature of media it also creates a historic analysis of how media and mediation worked during a particular context that could serve as the basis for future research.

Lastly, this thesis seeks to be a work of reference for other academics as well as activists that are interested in advancing the Palestinian cause until Palestinians can have freedom, justice and, self-determination.

Limitations

As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis the main limitation for the original research proposal was the adverse socio-political landscape that existed at the time of the research and which translated into fear and gatekeeping practices from the different pro-Palestinian organizations —the PSC, War On Want, and Stop the War Coalition— activists and leadership alike. Even after the project changed to focus solely on the PSC, there were still problems with gatekeeping and securing access, both at the Head Office and in the grassroots. The PSC's leadership had reservations about its inner workings and its communication strategy being observed and analyzed. An important factor that motivated this stance was that at the time of the research the organization was undergoing administrative changes, as mentioned in chapter three, that had the aim of increasing the PSC's media presence, both in traditional mainstream and alternative media channels. In the same manner, the grassroots activists in the local branch that I joined were also worried of having their monthly meetings observed and analyzed, and were reluctant to give interviews, even with the knowledge that they would be anonymized. This was caused by the pervading political climate in which the research took place. However, I was granted access to business meetings and local actions after the activists became more familiar with me and my intentions.

In the methodology section of the thesis the main limitation of the research is concerned with focusing solely on the PSC's Facebook posts; although it is acknowledged that it also has a social media presence on Twitter as well as a website where content is also published. This decision was made in a first instance because of the role Facebook plays as the central social media platform through which the PSC articulates its discourse as well as having bigger following numbers there than on Twitter. The second instance that motivated this decision was that Facebook provided a sizeable amount of data that had to be manually and individually analyzed, thus making it

extremely difficult to extend the data gathering and analysis to other social media platforms.

It is hoped that the findings of this research can be used to address social movements that are involved in activist work and that are concerned with enhancing solidarity networks with under-represented groups. Consequently, a comparative analysis of how other transnational pro-Palestine solidarity movements articulate and frame their communication strategies would be useful and desirable, specifically with the emerging solidarity movements in Latin America, and the more established movements against racial discrimination and police brutality in the US, such as Black Lives Matter.

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

Palestine Solidarity Campaign (October 2016)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
1-Oct-16	FIFA Israeli Football Settlements	Middle East Eye	314	22	7	0	0	0	12	51
1-Oct-16	Palestinian labourers in WB - Courts System	972	42	0	24	9	2	1	2	28
2-Oct-16	Commemoratio n Palestinians killed in 2000	Ma'an News Agency	167	0	41	79	1	0	4	55
2-Oct-16	Israelis uncover government against BDS	Electronic Intifada	418	8	92	20	1	0	12	192
3-Oct-16	Land grab West Bank	Middle East Monitor	232	1	87	43	2	0	4	136
3-Oct-16	Petition HP Checkpoints	PSC	88	0	36	6	2	0	3	0
3-Oct-16	Settlements	Middle East Monitor	126	0	154	27	4	0	15	146
4-Oct-16	Closing Ibrahimi Mosque to Muslims	Middle East Monitor	263	2	376	81	10	0	51	372
4-Oct-16	Winners Short Film Competition Gaza	Middle East Monitor	84	9	2	0	0	0	2	0

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5-Oct-16	Short Film Palestinian Student in UK	PSC	315	24	1	29	0	2	4	182
5-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	Twitter Account	286	11	50	31	2	0	18	121
5-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	133	2	0	0	0	1	1	36
5-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	Middle East Monitor	305	5	236	71	3	1	23	385
5-Oct-16	UK Councils banned from divesting from Israel	Middle East Eye	293	1	84	27	3	0	18	145
5-Oct-16	Palestinian prisoners video	Friends of Al Aqsa	186	1	164	86	1	0	19	0
5-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	The Guardian	704	3	314	105	5	0	37	822
6-Oct-16	Book Review	Electronic Intifada	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	Electronic Intifada	615	8	290	151	3	1	39	544
6-Oct-16	Israeli forces arrest man (Photo)	Electronic Intifada	79	1	105	35	1	0	11	0
6-Oct-16	Israeli forces detain 40	Ma'an News Agency	124	0	109	26	1	0	11	125
6-Oct-16	Israeli forces kill child	DCI Palestine	319	1	314	167	4	0	44	520

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6-Oct-16	Remi Kanazi reads poem from prisoner (Video)	Adalah NY	93	7	0	4	0	0	2	0
6-Oct-16	450 Palestinians arrested in September	Middle East Monitor	190	0	201	51	2	1	21	195
6-Oct-16	Palestine Music Expo	Billboard	113	4	0	0	0	0	0	22
6-Oct-16	White House accuses Israel of betrayal - Settlement expansion	Middle East Eye	540	6	200	18	10	63	145	324
6-Oct-16	Israel airstrikes Gaza (Video)	AJ+	1000	0	720	400	12	1	74	1
7-Oct-16	Letter from Gaza to black America	Mondoweiss	665	33	5	69	2	0	12	191
7-Oct-16	Prof. Kamel Hawwash East Jerusalem education	Middle East Eye	193	3	13	29	0	0	9	64
7-Oct-16	Pink Floyd reunites to support Women's Boat to Gaza	The Guardian	4200	461	24	4	40	3	158	1783
7-Oct-16	U.S. angry at Israel's settlement construction	AJ+	658	3	186	48	4	7	158	0

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7-Oct-16	Ireland PSC bank account closed by The Coop	Electronic Intifada	390	2	228	19	29	0	38	225
7-Oct-16	Thurston Moore of Sonic Youth support for Palestinian detainee	PSC	555	35	18	10	2	0	16	233
7-Oct-16	Petition HP Checkpoints	PSC	97	0	51	8	0	0	2	0
7-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	AJ+	971	26	171	127	4	0	22	0
7-Oct-16	Bedouin village Al Araqib destroyed 104 time	Ma'an News Agency	200	0	140	51	0	2	14	209
7-Oct-16	Naftali Bennet calls for annexation of West Bank	Middle East Eye	192	0	340	47	8	0	139	332
8-Oct-16	Hunger strike - Administrative detention	Electronic Intifada	128	0	23	51	0	0	1	29
8-Oct-16	Women's boat to Gaza	Middle East Monitor	273	3	125	55	4	0	29	224
8-Oct-16	Activists in solidarity with Palestine deported	Middle East Eye	283	4	92	44	6	0	8	100
8-Oct-16	Israeli forces kill child (Same from 6 Oct)	DCI Palestine	77	0	50	16	1	0	4	61

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8-Oct-16	Reem Kelani Concert	Reem Kelani	16	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
8-Oct-16	EU condemns Israel's settlement construction	Ma'an News Agency	552	5	214	39	4	3	83	411
9-Oct-16	Israeli forces shoot at fishermen in Gaza	Ma'an News Agency	229	0	278	51	2	0	34	248
9-Oct-16	Israel enables East Jerusalem settlement	Middle East Monitor	174	1	245	39	6	0	23	201
9-Oct-16	Palestinian teenage artist US	Middle East Eye	638	67	1	3	12	0	12	106
9-Oct-16	The month in pictures (September)	Electronic Intifada	63	0	8	10	0	0	3	5
9-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	180	5	0	0	0	0	5	57
9-Oct-16	Palestinians in Israel (Video)	Jonathan Cook	209	0	62	20	2	0	5	185
10-Oct-16	Israel destroys infrastructure in Jordan Valley	Ma'an News Agency	270	0	275	128	1	0	24	449
10-Oct-16	Imad Barghouti, astrophysicist, imprisoned	Ma'an News Agency	124	0	93	43	2	0	17	93
10-Oct-16	Petition HP Checkpoints	PSC	100	0	42	18	0	1	7	0

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10-Oct-16	Israel demolishes homes in Bedouin village in Jerusalem	Ma'an News Agency	196	1	200	57	0	0	32	284
10-Oct-16	Charities cut Gaza aid	Electronic Intifada	129	3	84	43	2	0	5	139
10-Oct-16	Israel demolishes houses in Bedounin village in the Naqab	Ma'an News Agency	132	0	93	36	2	0	17	112
10-Oct-16	US - Israel military deal	Al Jazeera	480	2	237	99	2	0	27	446
11-Oct-16	Netfali Bennet calls for pardon of Israeli soldier who killed Palestinian	Middle East Eye	350	0	654	62	26	3	152	840
11-Oct-16	Undercover Israeli police detain 8 children in Aida refugee camp	Ma'an News Agency	96	0	81	29	0	3	15	111
11-Oct-16	UN High Commissioner for Human Rights urges UN to end links with Israeli settlements	Middle East Monitor	312	18	18	4	0	1	9	107

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11-Oct-16	Isarael silences Palestinian journalists with "incitement" offences	The Independent	151	0	107	28	1	0	12	137
11-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	154	7	2	0	0	0	0	44
11-Oct-16	Israeli forces detain 56 Palestinians	Ma'an News Agency	105	0	78	22	1	0	6	94
11-Oct-16	Israeli forces arrest 13 year old Palestinian after shooting him in both legs	Mondoweiss	257	1	239	92	2	0	33	308
11-Oct-16	Israeli forces shoot AP photographer	Ma'an News Agency	173	0	106	32	2	0	3	117
12-Oct-16	Jerusalem's Palestinians punished after shooting attack	Electronic Intifada	62	1	36	11	0	0	5	30
12-Oct-16	Reem Kelani Concert	Reem Kelani	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12-Oct-16	IDF shoots two Palestinians in Bethlehem	Ma'an News Agency	115	1	78	31	0	0	11	65
12-Oct-16	UN letter to FIFA about settlement clubs	The Guardian	238	1	69	16	1	1	13	137

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12-Oct-16	BDS and students involvement	Crossfire Pictures - PSC	219	4	0	4	0	0	3	126
12-Oct-16	Palestinian child signs with Italian football club	Middle East Monitor	2500	246	0	1	31	3	56	354
12-Oct-16	Israeli embassy embraces extremists	Middle East Monitor	115	2	114	15	2	6	21	85
12-Oct-16	Settlements campaign	PSC	112	2	55	16	0	0	7	79
13-Oct-16	Palestinian mothers teach life, not hate	972	1783	3	10	45	0	0	5	74
13-Oct-16	FIFA must ban settlement teams	Ben Jamal - PSC The Guardian	349	4	16	4	0	1	15	116
13-Oct-16	Petition HP Checkpoints	PSC	128	1	57	17	0	0	6	0
13-Oct-16	HP Campaign (video-YouTube)	US Campaign	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
13-Oct-16	Palestinian family fragmented by occupation	Middle East Eye	335	3	125	176	2	1	11	149
13-Oct-16	Israeli forces injure dozens on fourth day of violence in al-Ram	Ma'an News Agency	129	1	87	29	0	0	5	102

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13-Oct-16	Palestinians killed during Jerusalem crackdown	Electronic Intifada	245	0	182	171	0	0	13	153
13-Oct-16	Israel injures more than 300 Palestinians with live ammunition since January	Middle East Monitor	204	1	169	68	1	0	17	179
14-Oct-16	HP Protest (event)	BDS Italia	71	3	0	0	0	0	2	0
14-Oct-16	Israeli diplomat smears activist	Electronic Intifada	178	2	49	10	1	1	11	85
14-Oct-16	Gaza conflict psychological and physical wounds	Middle East Monitor	143	1	61	101	1	0	18	110
14-Oct-16	BDS and students involvement	Crossfire Pictures - PSC	129	5	0	3	1	0	5	37
14-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	110	6	0	0	0	0	3	27
14-Oct-16	FIFA settlements teams (video)	AJ+	401	8	118	47	6	0	22	0
14-Oct-16	Israel uses Facebook posts to convict astrophysicist	Electronic Intifada	178	0	188	36	11	2	36	241
14-Oct-16	HP Campaign (Webinar)	PSC	105	1	12	4	0	0	3	20

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14-Oct-16	Leaked emails Hillary Clinton pro-Israel	Electronic Intifada	486	1	363	31	33	5	53	448
15-Oct-16	Palestine fringe meeting at the Scottish National Party Conference	PSC	250	9	7	3	1	0	4	46
15-Oct-16	HP (Event)	BDS Movement	113	3	0	0	0	0	2	39
15-Oct-16	Reem Kelani in Cambridge	PSC	59	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
15-Oct-16	Facebook resumes attacks on Palestinian groups	Middle East Monitor	203	0	244	31	7	2	20	202
15-Oct-16	Palestinians in Syria	Middle East Monitor	72	1	9	24	0	0	0	23
15-Oct-16	Palestinians in administrative detention - hunger strike	Ma'an News Agency	215	1	110	99	4	0	5	147
16-Oct-16	A West Bank Story - Life in occupied Palestine	Middle East Monitor	161	0	52	31	0	0	13	126
16-Oct-16	PSC press release on Home Affairs Select Committee Report - Anti-Semitism	PSC	118	0	5	3	0	0	11	56

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16-Oct-16	Omar Barghouti film - BDS	PSC	149	7	1	1	1	1	0	25
16-Oct-16	Israel Defence Minister - Gaza Blockade	Middle East Monitor	139	2	240	31	6	0	50	216
16-Oct-16	Israeli navy fires at Palestinian fishermen in Gaza Strip	Ma'an News Agency	185	0	181	38	0	1	14	178
16-Oct-16	Palestinian memory and history	Middle East Monitor	388	1	254	91	2	3	35	272
16-Oct-16	7 year low Israeli approval for medical permits in Gaza Strip	Middle East Monitor	58	0	57	22	1	0	5	50
17-Oct-16	BDS Workshop	PSC	258	21	0	0	0	0	3	64
17-Oct-16	HP Campaign (video-YouTube)	BDS Italia	301	6	28	9	1	0	13	348
17-Oct-16	UK lawmakers to outlaw criticism of Zionism	Electronic Intifada	308	3	200	14	44	4	81	351
17-Oct-16	Gaza 2 million residents	Al Jazeera	214	26	2	55	0	0	1	68
17-Oct-16	How Israelis see Palestinians as a problem	Middle East Eye	67	0	36	9	1	1	3	35

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17-Oct-16	B'Tselem urges UN to stop occupation	The Independent	932	49	30	12	5	6	20	481
17-Oct-16	Isarel crosses border crossing for Jewish holiday	Middle East Monitor	50	0	61	12	0	0	2	22
17-Oct-16	"Bad Palestinians" underr Israel's collective punishment	Al Jazeera	97	1	32	11	1	0	3	44
18-Oct-16	IDF detains 7 Palestinians	Ma'an News Agency	82	0	78	21	2	1	5	45
18-Oct-16	HP Campaign	PSC	77	0	18	1	0	0	3	50
18-Oct-16	HP Campaign	Electronic Intifada	117	0	24	9	0	0	2	49
18-Oct-16	Report: Isarel detains Palestinian children over Facebook posts	Ma'an News Agency	350	2	363	100	13	0	49	448
18-Oct-16	Richard Falk: History on the side of Palestinians	Middle East Eye	563	18	30	12	0	0	9	347
18-Oct-16	Gaza cancer patients and the Israeli restrictions on their treatment	Middle East Monitor	411	0	187	146	1	1	13	328

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18-Oct-16	Israeli demographer - no Jewish majority between the Jordan river and the Mediterranean	Middle East Monitor	121	0	11	2	6	0	4	43
18-Oct-16	Israeli culture minister urges to cancel Palestinian rap show	Middle East Monitor	161	0	116	19	4	3	34	95
19-Oct-16	Gaza flotilla legal case	The Guardian	142	0	100	27	1	0	5	95
19-Oct-16	Portrait of Palestine art exhibition (Event)	Tower Hamlets PSC	95	4	0	1	0	0	3	32
19-Oct-16	Palestinian minors detained are tortured	Ma'an News Agency	318	0	352	148	1	0	43	523
19-Oct-16	IDF detains 10 Palestinians in West Bank	Ma'an News Agency	58	0	41	7	1	0	5	38
19-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	100	5	0	0	0	0	5	38
19-Oct-16	Israeli bulldozers enter Gaza Strip	Ma'an News Agency	62	0	66	12	0	0	6	73

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19-Oct-16	IDF kills woman in Nablus	Middle East Monitor	130	0	141	55	1	0	22	140
20-Oct-16	Gaza women besieged on all sides	972	166	1	62	83	0	0	8	96
20-Oct-16	Protect local democracy (online petition)	E-activist	69	0	5	0	0	0	0	23
20-Oct-16	Anguish and anger on Gaza's walls	Electronic Intifada	219	21	3	19	0	0	0	59
20-Oct-16	Redefining anti-Semitism will not silence Palestinians	Middle East Eye	758	42	59	12	1	0	15	220
20-Oct-16	PSC donation appeal	PSC	207	12	0	0	0	1	1	48
20-Oct-16	Isarel denies entry to 115 British nationals since January	Middle East Monitor	128	0	59	5	9	0	9	107
20-Oct-16	London university condemns Israeli government after entry ban of lecturer	The Independent	232	2	46	7	2	0	7	98
21-Oct-16	Students and anti-Semitism	Electronic Intifada	283	5	18	4	0	1	15	55
21-Oct-16	Palestinian shot death for throwing stones	Electronic Intifada	308	2	286	187	0	0	41	287

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21-Oct-16	Graffiti (photo)	Electronic Intifada	54	6	0	0	1	0	0	0
21-Oct-16	Palestinian woman shot and killed by the IDF (video)	Middle east Eye	100	2	123	68	2	0	18	1
21-Oct-16	Funeral for Palestinian wounded 10 years ago	Ma'an News Agency	177	1	78	121	1	0	12	83
21-Oct-16	Palestinians seek UN resolution to stop settlements	Middle East Monitor	263	15	11	2	0	1	13	73
21-Oct-16	PSC Ireland bank account closed	Electronic Intifada	793	5	298	76	13	0	51	378
22-Oct-16	Breast cancer care in Gaza (infography)	Medical Aid for Palestinians UK	54	0	17	18	0	0	2	32
22-Oct-16	UN official: Israel tightened Gaza blockade and demolition in the West Bank	Middle East Monitor	304	1	139	53	2	0	25	247
22-Oct-16	Free speech and Israel bullies in US universities	Electronic Intifada	532	29	0	1	1	3	5	183
22-Oct-16	Israel bulldozes Nablus for new settlements	Ma'an News Agency	107	0	115	29	3	1	14	106

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22-Oct-16	World's largest mosaic unveiled in the West Bank	Middle East Monitor	793	86	0	1	51	2	18	303
22-Oct-16	Portrait of Palestine art exhibition (Event)	Tower Hamlets PSC	56	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
23-Oct-16	Has Ireland enabled Israel's war crimes	Electronic Intifada	592	6	57	41	6	0	18	201
23-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	198	3	14	6	0	1	8	86
23-Oct-16	IDF storms orphanage for 5th time	Middle East Monitor	144	0	143	37	4	0	24	149
23-Oct-16	Two Palestinians in administrative detention and hunger strike	Ma'an News Agency	182	3	83	123	0	0	16	105
23-Oct-16	Why is Israel tightening the Gaza blockade	Middle East Monitor	77	1	51	15	0	0	6	46
23-Oct-16	Jerusalem hit hard by violent Israeli raids and arrests	Middle East Monitor	143	2	104	38	1	0	15	130
24-Oct-16	Gaza blockade enters tenth year	UNRWA	217	0	126	115	2	0	22	330
24-Oct-16	BDS donation appeal	PSC	234	11	0	0	0	1	1	52

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24-Oct-16	Palestinian villages get 2 hours of water a week	Al Jazeera	400	2	330	195	5	0	18	606
24-Oct-16	3 things MPs should be talking about if they support Palestine	Middle East Eye	189	3	19	10	1	1	8	81
24-Oct-16	IDF detained 20 Palestinians in Jerusalem	Ma'an News Agency	59	0	37	13	0	0	7	48
24-Oct-16	Avigdor Lieberman: Next Gaza war will be the last	Middle East Monitor	220	2	367	68	12	4	149	453
24-Oct-16	Director of B'Tselem talks about Israeli government threats	Times of Israel	368	6	33	24	3	0	18	217
25-Oct-16	Qualandiya Art Festival	Middle East Eye	86	0	2	2	0	0	0	19
25-Oct-16	BDS gains in France	Electronic Intifada	635	56	1	1	5	1	7	139
25-Oct-16	HP Campaign (video)	BDS Movement	224	8	8	2	0	0	1	0
25-Oct-16	Attacks against B'Tselem increase donations	972	203	16	3	4	1	0	5	52
25-Oct-16	Cultural boycott	BDS Movement	976	84	2	0	3	2	16	297

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25-Oct-16	Habima theatre company criticised for show in settlement	The Guardian	112	0	91	10	1	0	11	39
25-Oct-16	Israeli settlers new outpost in Jordan Valley	Middle East Monitor	142	0	199	28	2	1	42	177
26-Oct-16	Bill Williamson's book "Place is the Passion: Reframing the Israeli/Palestinian conflict" (event)	PSC	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
26-Oct-16	Israel demolishes Silwan building	Ma'an News Agency	117	1	137	36	1	0	10	153
26-Oct-16	Palestinian villages get 2 hours of water a week	Al Jazeera	65	1	41	28	0	1	1	95
26-Oct-16	Announcement Lobby of Parliament for Palestine	PSC	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
26-Oct-16	How thousands of Israeli and Palestinian women are waging peace	972	1000	107	0	3	16	1	16	337

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26-Oct-16	Israel arrests prominent Palestinian activist	Middle East Monitor	109	0	90	16	3	0	17	71
26-Oct-16	Picturing the misery of Israel's 2014 attack on Gaza	Middle East Monitor	75	1	24	22	0	0	4	32
27-Oct-16	Latest attacks on our movement - donation appeal	PSC	66	1	23	6	0	0	4	46
27-Oct-16	PayPal not available for Palestinians (video)	Institute for Middle East Understanding (IMEU)	388	2	140	44	2	0	19	0
27-Oct-16	Torture of Palestinians in Israeli jails (infography)	Middle East Monitor	83	0	86	27	0	0	7	0
27-Oct-16	BDS donation appeal	PSC	142	9	1	0	0	0	2	25
27-Oct-16	Settlers take over of security posts	Al Jazeera	143	0	117	20	6	1	13	130
27-Oct-16	Israeli army levels ground in Gaza	Ma'an News Agency	84	0	69	13	1	0	9	68
27-Oct-16	It's Zionism, not the occupation that is the real problem	Middle East Eye	317	0	34	15	0	1	5	83

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27-Oct-16	Will ICC see through Israel's sham justice?	Electronic Intifada	156	0	32	21	0	0	12	143
27-Oct-16	Israeli lawmakers urge end to Amnesty International tax exemption	Middle East Monitor	54	0	37	4	2	1	17	31
28-Oct-16	Israeli settlements not illegal-Trump adviser	Middle East Eye	115	0	203	20	4	5	62	102
28-Oct-16	Israel postpones demolition of Bedouin school	Ma'an News Agency	51	0	35	5	1	0	1	31
28-Oct-16	What makes Israeli apartheid special	Electronic Intifada	270	2	32	16	0	0	2	171
28-Oct-16	100 anniversary of Balfour Declaratuon	Al Shabaka	212	3	101	47	0	0	16	251
28-Oct-16	HP Campaign	BDS Italia	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28-Oct-16	This Flesh is Mine (Theatre play)	Plays of Love and War	66	0	0	7	0	0	1	17
29-Oct-16	Repairing Palestine's historic mosaics	Al Jazeera	224	10	1	6	1	0	2	39

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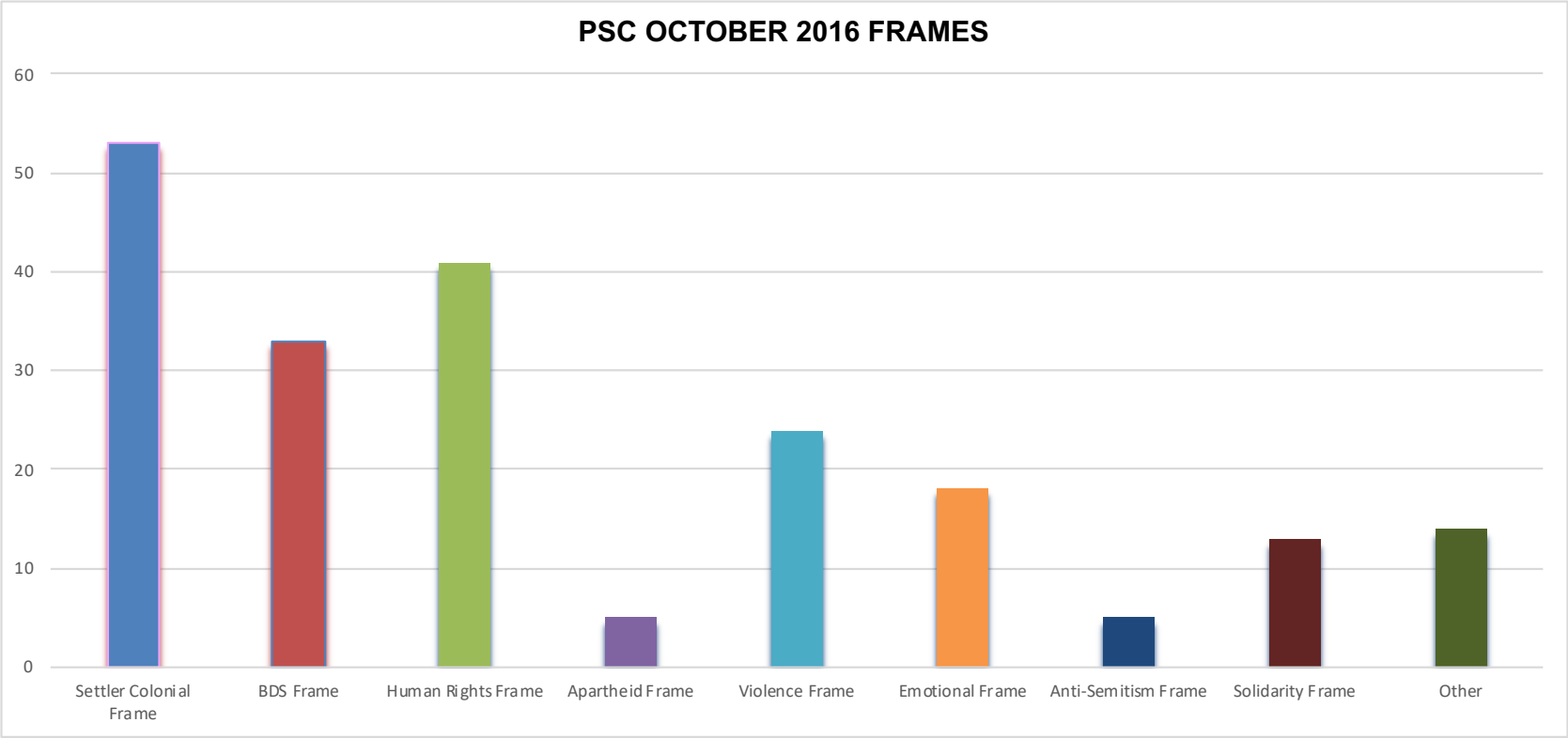
29-Oct-16	UCL protest against Hen Mazzig	Electronic Intifada	446	3	165	46	4	2	22	263
29-Oct-16	IDF detains 17 Palestinians including 2 children	Ma'an News Agency	73	0	97	16	0	0	15	67
29-Oct-16	Israel doubles demolition of Palestinian structures	Middle East Monitor	121	0	90	22	1	0	3	92
29-Oct-16	EU, Federica Mogherini, affirms right to BDS	European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine (ECC Pal)	308	23	3	7	0	1	3	123
29-Oct-16	Israel expels farmers from Nablus, detains 1	Ma'an News Agency	172	1	143	42	0	1	6	109
29-Oct-16	Israeli education system sows division among Palestinians in Israel	Middle East Eye	193	1	55	35	1	0	1	97

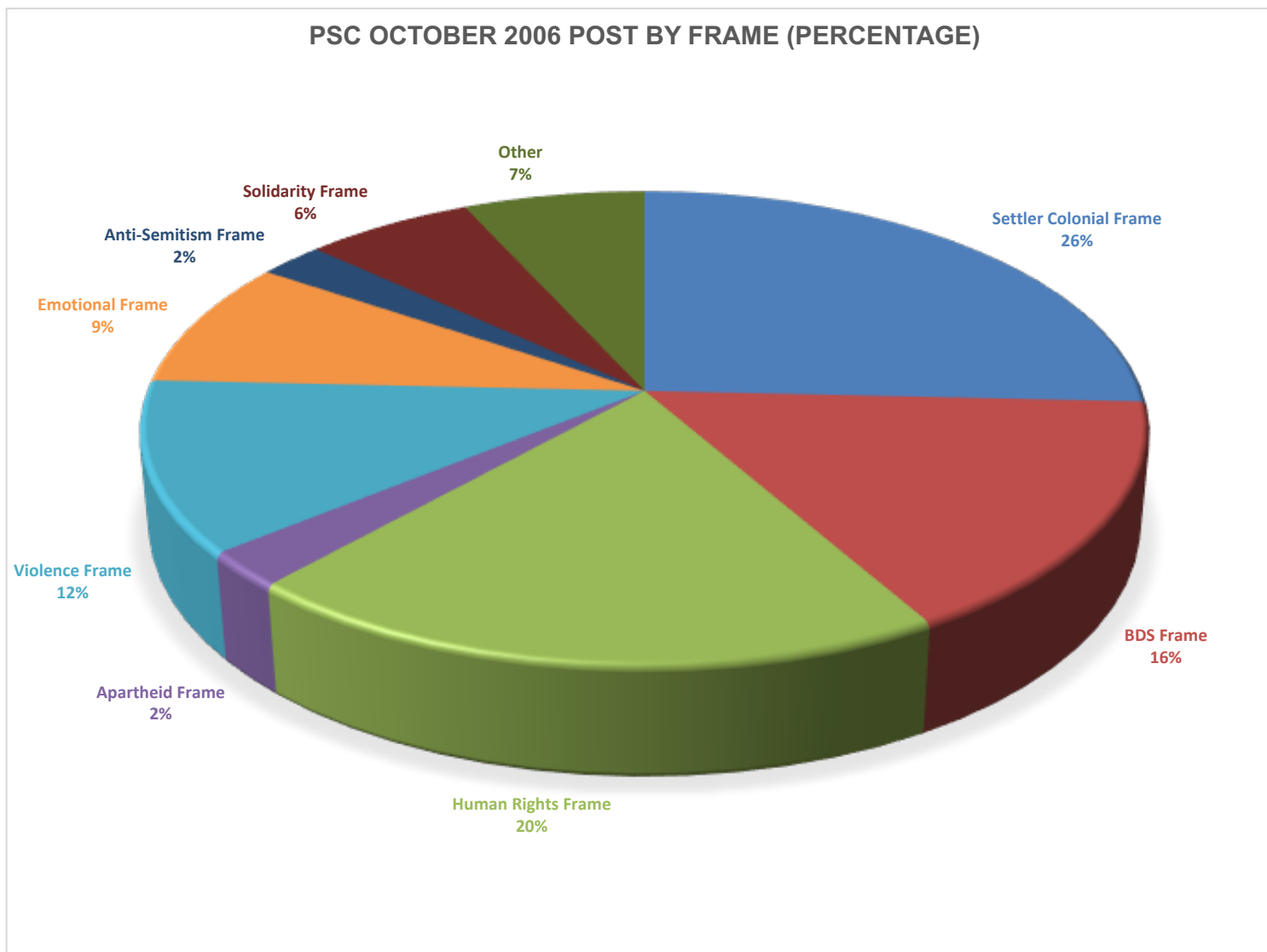
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30-Oct-16	Musician Dave Randall supports the "Free Abu Sakha" Campaign	Free Abu Sakha	612	38	1	1	1	0	4	0
30-Oct-16	UCL protest against Hen Mazzig	Electronic Intifada	61	0	19	4	2	0	1	64
30-Oct-16	Israeli lobby lawsuits to stop BDS in Spain	Electronic Intifada	1000	59	45	4	1	2	18	272
30-Oct-16	Israel demolishes Bedouin village for second time in October	Ma'an News Agency	100	0	98	26	0	1	3	83
30-Oct-16	Israeli hikers sow fear in Palestinian farming village	Haaretz	121	0	90	26	1	0	11	112
31-Oct-16	My grandmother was murdered in Kafr Qasim...	972	83	0	31	22	0	0	4	30
31-Oct-16	Israel denying Palestinian right to develop UN human rights expert	UN News Centre	72	0	14	15	0	0	3	23
31-Oct-16	UCL protest against Hen Mazzig	Middle East Monitor	144	1	100	21	5	1	22	83

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31-Oct-16	EU recognizes right to boycott Israel	Electronic Intifada	1500	122	6	1	7	14	31	470
31-Oct-16	Hillary Clinton proposed rigging Palestinian elections in 2006	Middle East Monitor	144	0	109	5	18	3	32	126
31-Oct-16	Israel bans 5 year old boy from visiting father in prison	Ma'an News Agency	164	1	159	54	3	0	24	140
31-Oct-16	Israeli soldiers throw stones at Palestinian children	Electronic Intifada	246	2	297	66	2	0	48	251
31-Oct-16	US army colonel: US aid to Israel is for killing Palestinians	Middle East Monitor	609	3	171	77	4	1	28	410





Palestine Solidarity Campaign (November 2016)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
1-Nov-16	Palestinians demand apology from UK for Balfour Declaration	Al Jazeera	746	28	7	13	0	0	19	234
1-Nov-16	Israeli minister to build more settlements after criticism	The Independent	116	0	195	14	2	0	39	187
2-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	82	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
2-Nov-16	Palestinians affected by Jordan Valley demolitions	MEMO	146	2	90	60	1	0	14	150
3-Nov-16	Israeli military court orders release of UK man over coerced confession	The Guardian	119	1	24	3	2	1	4	44
3-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	64	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
3-Nov-16	Woman forced to divorce in order to receive cancer treatment	MEMO	472	4	444	426	9	0	49	657
4-Nov-16	Roger Waters urges Chemical Brothers to cancel Israel concert	EI	737	35	4	14	1	1	17	148
4-Nov-16	Arab towns are the poorest in Israel	MEMO	95	0	47	29	0	0	4	49
4-Nov-16	Gaza journalist call for Israel to be punished for its crimes against Palestinian journalists	MEMO	393	2	36	21	1	0	2	72

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5-Nov-16	Israeli law legalises settlements in the West Bank	MEMO	104	0	161	26	3	0	18	93
5-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	103	0	0	0	0	0	3	15
6-Nov-16	Donate to PSC	PSC	126	1	22	15	1	0	6	81
6-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	111	3	0	0	0	1	6	20
6-Nov-16	HP Campaign	PSC	77	4	31	4	1	1	6	57
7-Nov-16	Israel imprisons BDS activist without trial	MEMO	181	1	121	24	1	0	13	123
7-Nov-16	A century after Balfour the UK should face uncomfortable truths	MEMO	325	1	59	29	2	0	6	242
7-Nov-16	Two Palestinian prisoners end hunger strike	Ma'an	165	8	4	13	0	0	2	27
8-Nov-16	Karate ceremony in Gaza (Photo)	EI	217	21	0	0	4	0	7	18
8-Nov-16	Israeli forces attempt to drown fishermen boat	Maan	157	0	158	37	3	0	6	147
8-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
8-Nov-16	Empty Dessert film screening (Event)	P21 Gallery	18	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
8-Nov-16	Child detention (Video)	DCI-Palestine	112	0	86	43	1	0	5	0
8-Nov-16	Palestinian child sentenced to 12 years in prison	EI	243	1	358	157	4	0	37	315
9-Nov-16	Stone thrower (Photo)	EI	126	5	3	0	0	0	0	17
9-Nov-16	Top chef withdraws support for Tel Aviv event BDS	EI	413	22	0	5	0	0	0	57

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9-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	89	7	0	0	0	0	1	16
9-Nov-16	Gaza clowns (Video)	AJ+	392	74	3	23	1	1	9	0
10-Nov-16	More than 90 Palestinians killed by Israel this year	EI	669	38	0	1	21	1	18	155
10-Nov-16	Empty condemnation of settlements doesn't work	Middle East Eye	173	0	25	6	1	0	4	43
10-Nov-16	US backs right to boycott Israel	EI	669	38	0	1	21	1	18	155
10-Nov-16	Netanyahu: Trump is a true friend	IMEU	96	0	261	57	3	9	66	0
10-Nov-16	Israeli minister: Trump's win means Palestinians will never have a state	The Telegraph	398	5	586	227	7	8	125	657
10-Nov-16	Israeli forces detain 23 Palestinians in the West Bank	Ma'an	30	0	33	9	0	0	3	27
11-Nov-16	EU diplomats call on Israel to end Gaza siege	MEMO	1700	113	42	11	6	3	55	843
11-Nov-16	Gaza's missing haunt those left behind	EI	60	0	23	36	0	0	3	27
11-Nov-16	HP Campaign	Code Pink	831	13	40	1	0	2	13	307
11-Nov-16	Music under siege in Gaza	MEMO	76	1	30	22	0	0	3	30
11-Nov-16	Lobby of Parliament	PSC	114	4	0	1	0	1	3	15
11-Nov-16	#FreeSalah Campaign (Petition)	Stop the Wall	172	0	63	14	2	0	6	133

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11-Nov-16	Quizzed about Israeli crimes, US tries to change the subject	EI	196	0	155	17	4	6	28	175
11-Nov-16	Israeli forces open fire on Palestinian fishing boats in Gaza	Ma'an	172	0	242	51	4	0	27	211
11-Nov-16	Palestinian athletes face Israeli hurdles	EI	114	0	71	32	1	0	4	47
12-Nov-16	Israel arm-twists artists to perform in settlements	Al Jazeera	75	0	73	15	2	1	7	63
12-Nov-16	The 2014 Gaza war. 21 Questions and answers by Ben White (Event)	PSC-West London	28	0	0	1	0	0	2	0
12-Nov-16	Gun toting British anti-Muslim activist poses on Israeli tank	Middle East Eye	266	2	386	47	9	6	146	334
12-Nov-16	3 Palestinian prisoners launch hunger strike	Ma'an	137	1	20	62	0	0	2	47
12-Nov-16	HP Campaign	London Palestine Action	99	0	23	7	0	0	2	0
12-Nov-16	UN: Israel blocking aid to most vulnerable Palestinians	MEMO	167	0	145	49	1	0	15	240
13-Nov-16	The Great Book Robbery film (event)	PSC	86	1	15	3	5	0	8	42
13-Nov-16	EU and Israel reciprocity works to a formula	MEMO	86	0	63	10	2	0	8	40
13-Nov-16	Millions of Brits back boycott, finds poll	MEMO	1600	112	1	0	1	23	33	456
13-Nov-16	Empty condemnation of settlements doesn't work (from 10-Nov-16)	Middle East Eye	84	1	3	1	0	0	1	26

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13-Nov-16	Struggle of Palestinian farmers under occupation (Video)	AJ+	115	1	90	41	2	1	4	0
13-Nov-16	Israeli forces order evacuation of 9 families in Jordan Valley	Ma'an	91	0	108	28	0	0	6	89
14-Nov-16	EU to reenergise Gaza industrial sector	MEMO	108	5	3	5	0	1	4	31
14-Nov-16	Campaign against illegal Israeli settlements	PSC-Manchester	59	2	11	0	0	0	1	0
14-Nov-16	Metal shop mom from the West Bank (Video)	AJ+	1100	133	0	8	32	0	29	0
14-Nov-16	Number of goods going in and out of Gaza falls in October	MEMO	68	0	43	23	1	0	1	35
14-Nov-16	20 year old Palestinian prisoner in hunger strike at risk of dying	Ma'an	112	1	23	44	1	0	1	35
14-Nov-16	Netanyahu plans to meet with Donald Trump soon	MEMO	52	0	114	24	0	3	60	31
14-Nov-16	Israeli ministers vote in favour of legalising outposts	The Guardian	41	1	75	10	0	0	5	55
14-Nov-16	Israel issues administrative detention orders to 15 Palestinian prisoners	Ma'an	19	0	38	14	1	0	0	16
14-Nov-16	10 Palestinians detained in raids as Israelis visit West Bank holiday sites	Ma'an	42	0	48	12	1	0	4	33

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14-Nov-16	12 Palestinians left homeless as family forced to demolish home in East Jerusalem	Ma'an	126	1	181	69	2	0	20	223
15-Nov-16	Israel attacks Gaza	Ma'an	45	0	37	12	0	0	7	32
15-Nov-16	Israeli court rules on evacuation of Amona outpost	Ma'an	98	2	25	12	1	0	4	35
15-Nov-16	U2 manager supports Israeli war crimes	EI	227	1	370	52	13	0	67	258
15-Nov-16	Balfour Declaration	PSC	143	0	23	24	1	0	19	139
16-Nov-16	Thank you to activists for attending Lobby of Parliament (Picture)	PSC	502	22	0	1	0	0	4	41
18-Nov-16	Israeli forces detain 2 Palestinian women, 18 others in night raids	Ma'an	72	0	72	16	0	0	8	56
18-Nov-16	Israeli forces attack peaceful protesters in Jericho (Picture)	MEMO	150	0	139	44	1	1	15	84
19-Nov-16	An ode to the cuisine of Palestine	Al Jazeera	514	53	0	6	0	0	7	106
19-Nov-16	HP Campaign	PSC	200	3	8	3	2	0	2	92
20-Nov-16	Israeli ambassador looks forward to working with alt-right Stephen Bannon	Ma'an	42	0	50	1	4	2	15	23
21-Nov-16	Make it right for Palestine campaign launch (Event)	Palestine Mission	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
21-Nov-16	Gaza's "terror tunnels" (Book extract)	MEMO	131	0	21	26	3	0	6	45

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22-Nov-16	HP Campaign	PSC	96	0	9	0	0	0	4	26
22-Nov-16	63 Palestinian children killed since 2015	MEMO	157	0	172	91	2	0	14	225
22-Nov-16	Desmond Swayne, Conservative MP Apartheid comment	PSC	987	22	73	13	6	1	37	364
22-Nov-16	Israel forces shoot, injure Palestinian in Bethlehem	Ma'an	83	1	107	34	0	0	9	63
22-Nov-16	Hebron residents face multiple demolitions within a week	Ma'an	53	0	66	15	0	0	4	72
22-Nov-16	HP Campaign-Week of action	MondoWeiss	98	3	0	0	0	0	0	45
23-Nov-16	Hebron municipality calls on Israel to remove settler structures in school yard	Ma'an	155	1	119	15	0	0	9	148
23-Nov-16	Urgent: save Umm al-Hiran from demolition (Petition)	PSC	55	0	12	6	0	0	3	50
23-Nov-16	Israeli soldier kills Palestinian at Qalandiya checkpoint	MEMO	77	0	117	35	2	0	13	128
23-Nov-16	Israel/oPt drop baseless charges against Palestinian human rights defender	Amnesty International	72	0	12	0	0	0	0	31

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23-Nov-16	Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Hebron is "Apartheid", former Tory international development minister says	The Independent	309	1	62	35	3	0	7	226
23-Nov-16	Ashton Kutcher confronted by protester at AirBnB event over listings in West Bank settlements	Haaretz	706	18	21	3	2	4	13	172
23-Nov-16	Protests against HP's complicity in Israeli occupation	MEMO	164	8	1	1	2	0	2	47
24-Nov-16	Make it right for Palestine campaign launch (Event)	Palestine Mission	13	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
24-Nov-16	From Umm el-Hiran the future of Zionism looks bleak	972	69	1	17	14	0	1	2	40
24-Nov-16	HP Campaign	PSC	74	1	1	0	0	0	7	24
24-Nov-16	Global BDS Week of Action against HP	BDS Movement	139	3	0	2	1	1	2	38
24-Nov-16	International week of action on HP - UK actions	PSC	30	0	2	0	0	1	2	15
24-Nov-16	Urgent: save Umm al-Hiran from demolition (Petition)	PSC	29	1	0	2	0	1	1	3
24-Nov-16	US "concerned" over Israeli slaying of Palestinian American teen	EI	216	0	155	73	4	2	33	159

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25-Nov-16	California law students take pledge against Israeli junket	EI	1300	105	1	3	15	3	36	329
25-Nov-16	Protests keep Israel's bulldozers away from Bedouin village	EI	257	7	17	26	0	1	0	94
25-Nov-16	HP Campaign (Event)	Stop HP	41	3	2	1	2	0	0	0
25-Nov-16	Israel angry as France publishes settlement goods labelling rules	MEMO	1100	83	0	0	3	72	46	270
25-Nov-16	Boycott HP (Petition)	Code Pink	540	12	38	1	1	0	4	176
25-Nov-16	OSC Hackney freedom of information petition finds council contract with HP	Hackney Gazette	131	6	1	1	3	1	5	22
25-Nov-16	Boycott HP	BDS Movement	311	5	81	17	1	1	9	232
26-Nov-16	Show of support for activist facing Israeli military trial	EI	235	3	17	14	1	0	2	58
26-Nov-16	PSC Donate Today	PSC	78	1	0	0	0	0	3	25
26-Nov-16	International week of action on HP - UK actions	PSC	42	6	6	0	1	0	1	18
26-Nov-16	Hackney PSC - HO Campaign (Photo)	PSC-Hackney	85	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
26-Nov-16	Bristol, Birmingham, Bristol and Walthamstow - HP Campaign (Video/ Photomontage)	PSC	666	33	0	0	5	0	6	86

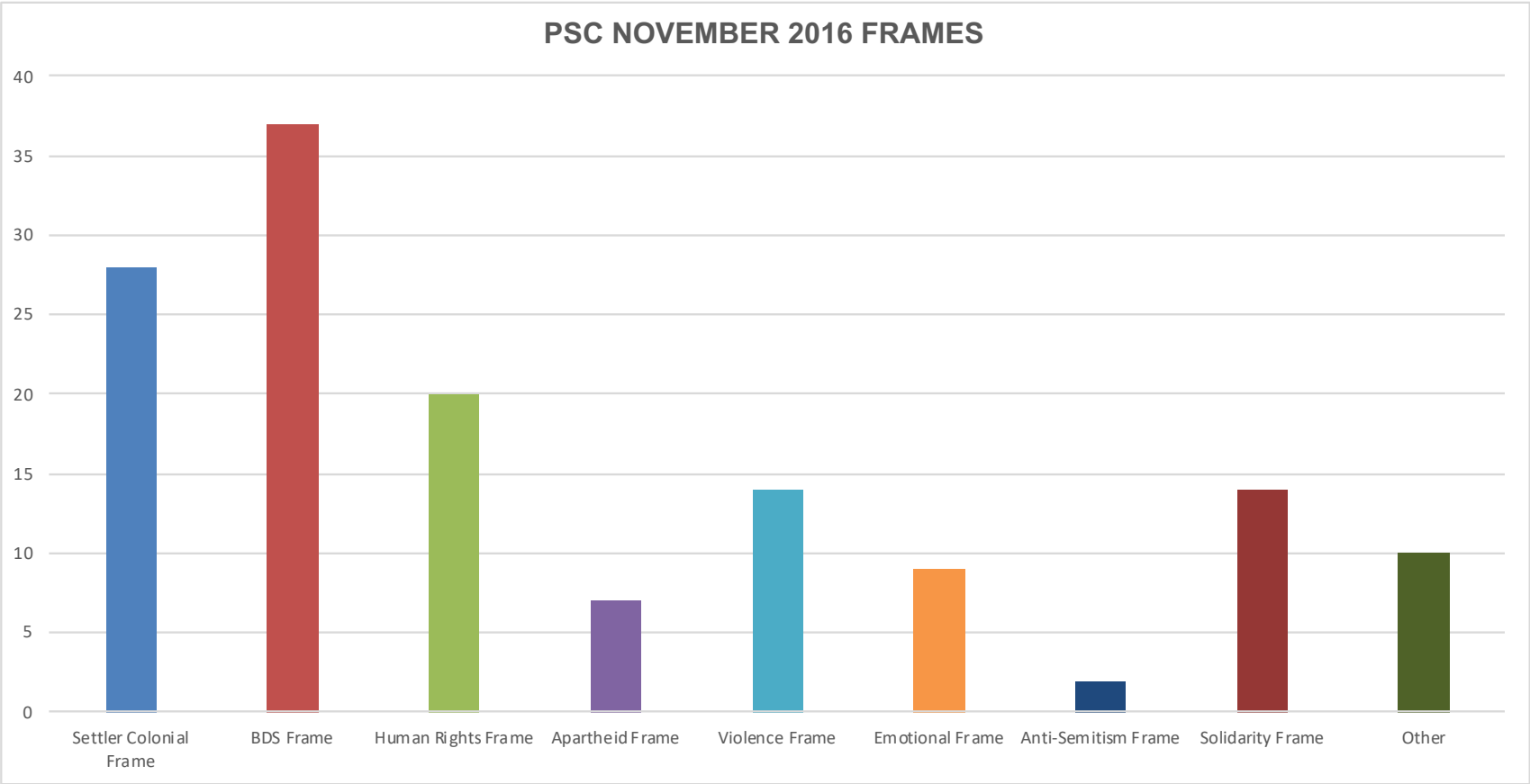
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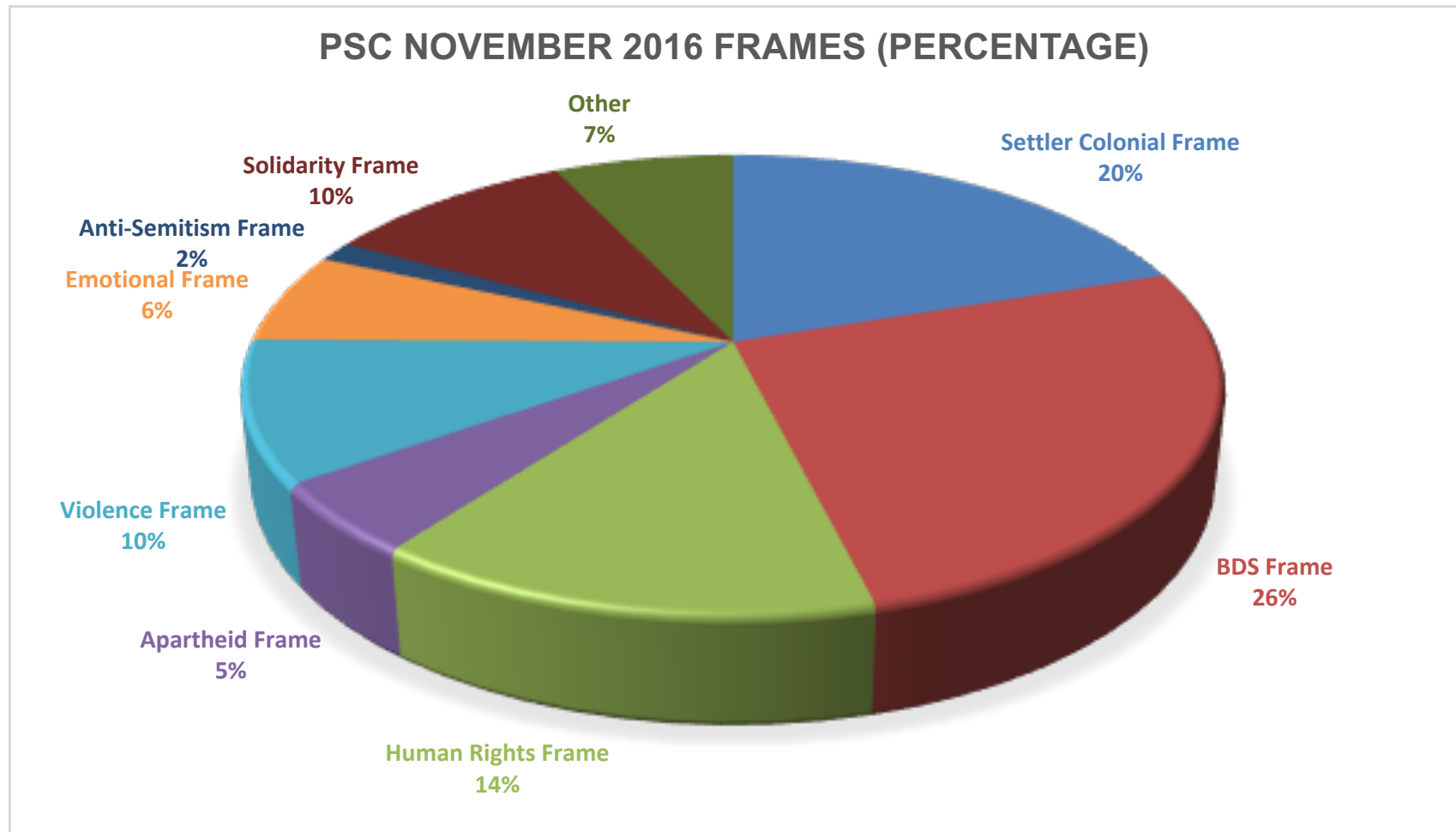
26-Nov-16	PSC outside John Lewis Oxford St. (Photo)	PSC	472	26	1	0	5	1	6	75
26-Nov-16	Chester, Bristol, Central London and Brighton (Photomontage)	PSC	514	36	0	0	3	0	16	163
27-Nov-16	HP removed from programme of ethics conference in Italy as global HP Week of action kicks off	BDS Italia	496	28	31	2	2	3	12	186
27-Nov-16	Palestinian hunger strikers slip into coma after Israeli authorities threaten force-feeding	Ma'an	83	1	38	51	0	0	8	51
27-Nov-16	UN reports worsening humanitarian situation in Gaza	Medical Aid for Palestinians	161	0	78	97	2	0	14	175
27-Nov-16	Stop HP Campaign	PSC	221	7	1	1	0	0	8	59
27-Nov-16	Israel/Palestine: Bedouins face imminent displacement	Human Rights Watch	85	0	58	23	0	0	5	57
27-Nov-16	Israeli navy opens fire at fishermen off northern Gaza coast	Ma'an	59	0	110	24	1	0	12	59
28-Nov-16	Palestinian mother: if Israel tears me away from my children again I'll kill myself	Haaretz - Gideon Levy	184	2	89	171	1	0	6	127
28-Nov-16	London action against HP (Event)	PSC	68	2	0	0	0	0	1	0

28-Nov-16	Palestinian Committee of Prisoner's Affairs: 2 Palestinian teens assaulted by Israeli forces during detention	Ma'an	132	0	186	68	1	0	13	205
28-Nov-16	Reported from Palestine: Why Israel fears journalists	Al Jazeera	429	31	35	1	2	1	11	154
28-Nov-16	PROPA BDS movement: HP Campaign (Video)	Propales tina del Campo de Gibraltar	137	5	0	0	1	0	1	33
28-Nov-16	HP Campaign Northampton, Cardiff, Jersey and Birmingham (Photomontage)	PSC	340	21	0	0	1	0	4	68
28-Nov-16	Desmond Swayne MP quote of Israel being an apartheid state (Photo)	PSC	648	12	20	30	0	1	5	134
29-Nov-16	Global BDS Week of Action to target HP	Mondow eiss	46	4	0	0	0	0	0	16
29-Nov-16	HP Campaign	Stop HP	90	0	12	8	2	0	1	36
29-Nov-16	HP Campaign (Event)	PSC	56	1	0	2	0	0	1	4
29-Nov-16	HP Campaign Day of Action (Photo)	PSC	338	5	21	5	2	0	2	84
29-Nov-16	Defending the right to protest	PSC - Ben Jamal	103	2	1	0	0	0	2	27
29-Nov-16	HP Campaign day of action (Photos)	PSC	277	13	0	2	3	0	2	41
29-Nov-16	Israeli soldiers torture Palestinian children	MEMO	323	0	387	164	2	1	53	478

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29-Nov-16	How The Guardian continues to exclude Palestinians from its comment pages	MEMO	204	2	117	13	19	1	29	138
29-Nov-16	Top Israeli justice face war crimes suit in Chile for authorising West Bank Wall	Haaretz	835	50	3	2	11	1	17	295
29-Nov-16	Omar Kamal, Palestine's Frank Sinatra (Video)	MEMO	367	49	0	0	9	0	16	0
30-Nov-16	With Bannon's appointment, Israel is comfortable with anti-Semitism	Middle East Eye	76	0	9	1	3	0	1	19
30-Nov-16	Peace Now: Proposed bill would legalise 55 outposts, seize 8000 dunams of Palestinian land	Ma'an	49	0	18	4	0	0	3	15
30-Nov-16	Adameer child prisoners (Video)	Adameer	172	1	118	85	0	0	19	0
30-Nov-16	Why a settlement boycott is so scary for Israel	972	219	5	34	3	1	0	4	90
30-Nov-16	New Stateman censorship	PSC	102	0	44	10	1	0	7	137
30-Nov-16	In Jerusalem insurance becomes extortion	EI	95	1	36	11	0	0	5	42
30-Nov-16	Blaming Palestinians for fires part of Netanyahu's strategy of incitement	EI	190	0	95	24	1	0	13	109





Palestine Solidarity Campaign (December 2016)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
1-Dec-16	The frontline of Israel's settlement regime. (Censored by The New Statesman)	PSC - Salah Ajarma	136	3	49	18	0	0	9	107
1-Dec-16	New Statesman censors Palestinian articles	Electronic Intifada	54	0	74	9	0	0	4	40
1-Dec-16	Action against The New Statesman. 10000 emails already	PSC	237	2	39	9	0	0	18	139
1-Dec-16	Stop HP Campaign. Attendees get the message at HP Enterprise's International Trade Fair	PSC	55	3	0	1	0	0	1	21
1-Dec-16	PSC press release - New Statesman caves into external pressure and censors a Palestinian voice	PSC	59	1	27	5	0	0	5	27
1-Dec-16	New Statesman accused of censorship over deleted Palestinian articles	MEMO	129	0	42	12	2	0	13	54
1-Dec-16	Israeli border polices shoot, injure Palestinian worker near Bethlehem	Maan	37	0	15	9	1	1	1	11
2-Dec-16	Israeli soldiers not in danger when they killed woman, boy	Electronic Intifada	156	1	146	41	3	1	30	332

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2-Dec-16	Breaking the generations: Palestinian prisoners and medical rights (video)	William Parry (Vimeo)	79	0	18	31	0	1	1	49
3-Dec-16	Take action New Statesman censors Palestinian voices	PSC	49	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
4-Dec-16	Stop HP Sign the pledge	Stop HP	393	2	71	19	3	0	26	182
5-Dec-16	7 million piece mosaic uncovered in Jericho	CNN	537	46	0	1	30	0	13	162
6-Dec-16	Christmas preparations in Ramallah (photos)	MEMO	173	7	0	0	0	0	0	56
7-Dec-16	Israeli authorities demolish three Palestinian structures in Jerusalem-area neighbourhood	Maan	77	0	97	18	1	0	3	78
8-Dec-17	World Council of Churches (WCC) Israeli action towards WCC leadership unjust, discriminatory and misinformed	WCC Website	52	0	41	6	0	0	5	51
8-Dec-17	Israeli minister calls for blacklist of organisations supporting BDS	Maan	122	4	36	2	2	3	17	52
8-Dec-17	UK report international week of action on HP	PSC	40	0	2	0	0	0	0	13
8-Dec-17	WHO: Israel obstructs health access for Palestinian patients, medical workers	MEMO	104	0	67	25	1	0	6	104

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8-Dec-17	Groundbreaking statement by 200 European Legal scholars upholds the right to BDS for Palestinian rights	BDS Movement	155	10	0	2	4	0	3	70
9-Dec-16	The frontline of Israel's settlement regime. (Censored by The New Statesman)	PSC - Salah Ajarma	61	5	4	2	0	0	0	12
9-Dec-16	Zaytoun products ad for Christmas	PSC	118	6	0	0	0	0	4	34
9-Dec-16	Palestinian circus trainer marks year in Israeli jail without charge	Electronic Intifada	115	0	65	45	2	0	6	115
9-Dec-16	Israeli bulldozers level land in Umm al-Kheir to install sewer pipe for settlement	Maan	61	0	72	19	1	0	13	71
9-Dec-16	Expel and exploit: a new B'Tselem report surveys the Israeli practice of taking over rural Palestinian land	B'Tselem	50	0	36	3	2	0	6	62
9-Dec-16	Amid crackdown on Palestinian activism, Israel renews detention of Palestinian journalist	Maan	31	0	29	9	1	1	7	21
10-Dec-16	Precarious childhood: Arrests of Jerusalemite children (video)	Adameer	130	1	94	60	2	0	13	0
10-Dec-16	Israeli forces target Jerusalem's Silwan for demolitions	Alternative Information Center (AIC)	81	1	87	29	0	0	12	109

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10-Dec-16	We are the orphans here' Life and death in an East Jerusalem refugee camp	NYT	147	0	97	76	2	0	16	190
10-Dec-16	Israel approves construction of 770 housing units in the illegal Gilo settlement	Maan	63	0	72	15	1	0	12	57
10-Dec-16	Santa Cruz church becomes first US congregation to boycott HP for role in Israeli occupation	Mndoweiss	206	8	1	0	1	0	1	44
10-Dec-16	BDS is not the only tactic against Israeli occupation, but it is working	Middle East Eye	60	1	0	0	0	0	1	16
11-Dec-16	Stop HP Campaign	PSC Stop HP	72	1	19	2	1	0	1	0
11-Dec-16	Israel steps closer to legalising unauthorised settlements in Palestine	The Independent	58	0	70	19	0	0	13	58
11-Dec-16	Israel conference banned in UK moves to Ireland	Electronic Intifada	290	6	76	11	4	3	25	157
11-Dec-16	Video: Report on Illegal settlements and home demolitions	Teledur English	479	3	158	110	5	0	30	0
12-Dec-16	Palestinians of Acre face growing Israeli push to evict them	Middle East Eye	64	0	27	14	1	0	4	56
12-Dec-16	Boycotting Israel is 'lawful exercise of freedom of expression'	The Independent	580	23	10	0	1	0	13	189

12-Dec-16	An atmosphere of fear' : Increased Israeli army operations worry Aida refugee camp	Maan	26	0	22	7	0	0	3	25
12-Dec-16	Will Israeli soldier get away with videotaped killing of teen	Electronic Intifada	219	0	265	87	4	0	22	282
12-Dec-16	Settler violence and IDF collusion deny Palestinians the fruits of their harvest	972	49	0	36	13	1	0	2	75
12-Dec-16	Israeli forces detain 17 Palestinians, including 2 minors in West Bank raids	Maan	46	0	40	12	0	0	12	68
12-Dec-16	Netanyahu ally Bitan says he would prefer Arab Israelis not to vote	Middle East Eye	49	0	45	2	2	7	21	39
13-Dec-16	Right-wing Israelis camp at illegal Amona outpost over weekend ahead of demolition	MEMO	39	1	17	2	0	0	6	22
13-Dec-16	After a year in prison, Israeli court denies release of Palestinian circus performer	MEMO	87	1	77	38	3	0	9	69
13-Dec-16	Israeli forces shoot Palestinian activist with rubber-coated steel bullet for taking photos	Maan	102	0	113	30	0	0	18	132
13-Dec-16	Norway cooperation with Israeli fuel extraction under fire	Electronic Intifada	126	2	5	7	3	0	2	37

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13-Dec-16	Trump camp eyes Jerusalem hotel as possible embassy location: Report	Middle East Eye	44	0	85	5	3	6	29	29
13-Dec-16	PSC response to government's adoption of anti-Semitism definition	PSC	67	0	0	0	0	0	7	27
13-Dec-16	Hunger strikers lose their eyesight as Israel refuses to free them	Electronic Intifada	120	1	48	55	1	0	9	71
14-Dec-16	Israeli forces level lands, open fire on agricultural lands in Gaza Strip	Maan	74	0	66	18	0	0	18	78
14-Dec-16	Bilal Kayed released after 15 years in Israeli jail	Al Jazeera	170	3	18	21	3	0	4	42
14-Dec-16	Manchester students vote to cut links with israel	Electronic Intifada	676	50	0	0	4	1	19	98
14-Dec-16	EU 'deplores' Israeli demolitions of humanitarian structures in West Bank	Maan	54	0	33	12	0	0	12	60
14-Dec-16	Living on borrowed time: Palestinian village fights for its existence	972	50	0	18	9	0	0	4	29
14-Dec-16	41% of disabled Palestinian children suffer more than one disability, reveals UNICEF	MEMO	84	1	41	63	0	0	6	96
14-Dec-16	Chilean football team to break siege of Gaza	MEMO	298	25	0	0	2	0	3	50
15-Dec-16	Tens of Palestinian children in Gaza protest in solidarity with Aleppo	Maan	347	25	1	44	0	1	5	97

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15-Dec-16	The UK's new anti-Semitism definition is more about protecting Israel than British Jews	Middle East Eye	286	0	71	17	4	1	17	169
15-Dec-16	Amnesty International condemns 'arbitrary detention' of Palestinian circus performer	Maan	100	0	48	26	0	0	3	72
15-Dec-16	Israel dismisses 1000 complaints of torture	Electronic Intifada	120	0	69	46	1	0	7	106
15-Dec-16	These are all the countries that recognise Palestine	Indy 100	3500	234	17	65	14	1	147	1682
16-Dec-16	The hopes and fears of all the years ... Bethlehem 2016	Brightstartbethlehem.org	84	0	25	45	0	0	4	80
16-Dec-16	Palestine: The end of the Bedouins	The New York Review of Books	78	0	47	29	0	1	3	59
16-Dec-16	Britain's largest student union endorses BDS	MEMO	724	63	2	3	0	0	5	128
16-Dec-16	PSC takes government to court	PSC	218	7	1	0	1	0	4	72
16-Dec-16	Israeli forces deliver demolition orders to Palestinians in East Jerusalem	Maan	88	0	87	24	1	1	6	99
16-Dec-16	Hyundai profiting from Israel's colonization of Golan Heights	Electronic Intifada	59	0	79	15	2	1	8	79
17-Dec-16	Israeli settlements are about much more than a few houses	MEMO	91	0	54	8	0	0	5	48

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17-Dec-16	Israel renews administrative detention of Palestinian journalist Omar Nazzal	Maan	74	0	61	16	0	1	7	41
17-Dec-16	BDS has made major advances in 2016	MEMO	420	30	0	1	5	2	5	131
17-Dec-16	Israel among world's worst jailers of journalists	Electronic Intifada	195	0	81	47	4	1	5	123
17-Dec-16	Palestinian parliamentarian ordered to 17 months Israeli imprisonment	Palestine prisoner solidarity network	91	1	65	24	0	0	8	86
17-Dec-16	UN warns of increase in 'arbitrary' detention of Palestinian activists by Israel	Maan	93	0	38	20	1	0	4	48
18-Dec-16	99 years since the fall of Jerusalem	MEMO	175	0	40	52	3	0	14	178
18-Dec-16	PA calls for international probe into Israeli 'extrajudicial' killing of Palestinians	MEMO	171	0	42	13	0	0	5	85
18-Dec-16	Just Walk to Jerusalem 2017	Amos Trust	103	1	8	3	1	0	2	45
18-Dec-16	Video: Liam Byrne MP speaking to Alexei Sayle at the Lobby of Parliament by PSC	PSC	593	44	0	1	2	0	14	1
18-Dec-16	Photos: Jews, Arabs march on settler highway to protest occupation	972	525	40	2	11	1	0	4	186
19-Dec-16	How a blind Palestinian journalist is sharing the stories of Jerusalem	Huffington Post	196	16	1	28	1	0	0	42

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19-Dec-16	Amona settlers accept government deal to relocate onto private Palestinian land	Maan	44	1	40	7	1	0	0	34
19-Dec-16	Gaza water crisis has caused irreversible damage, World Bank warns	Amira Haas - Haaretz	183	0	71	88	1	0	11	181
19-Dec-16	Outgoing UN chief supports ending Gaza siege	MEMO	499	20	40	6	4	3	79	247
19-Dec-16	Take action: Israeli settlement football teams	PSC	128	0	21	4	0	0	11	60
19-Dec-16	Voices for Palestine: Carols at Trafalgar	Palestinian Mission UK	309	33	0	0	1	0	6	70
19-Dec-16	Israeli forces kill Palestinian in clash with protestors	MEMO	115	1	114	41	0	0	4	91
20-Dec-16	UN makes \$547 million appeal for humanitarian aid for Palestine	Maan	128	5	2	16	1	0	19	51
20-Dec-16	FIFA must ban these Israeli settlement teams if it wants a level playing field	Ben Jamal - PSC /The Guardian	496	2	90	11	2	0	14	179
20-Dec-16	IDF soldiers who killed unarmed Palestinian set for community service	972	37	0	21	9	0	0	12	25
20-Dec-16	Donate to PSC	PSC	307	34	0	0	2	0	15	63
20-Dec-16	Stop HP	PSC	72	1	33	5	3	0	4	60
20-Dec-16	Stop Nora's eviction in East Jerusalem	IMEU	132	3	48	46	0	0	23	1

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20-Dec-16	Soldiers kill teen during dawn protest	Electronic Intifada	162	0	104	82	1	0	13	146
20-Dec-16	Hunger striker moved to intensive care ahead of court decision over force feeding	Maan	55	1	27	31	1	0	2	38
21-Dec-16	Chilean football club tours West Bank to reconnect with its Palestinian roots	The Telegraph	558	32	0	0	2	0	3	55
21-Dec-16	Photo: Donate to PSC	PSC	84	0	0	3	0	0	0	22
21-Dec-16	Critics warn US could adopt 'pro-settler' agenda	Al Jazeera	34	0	37	5	2	0	16	24
21-Dec-16	Video: AirBnB makes profit from illegally occupied Palestinian land	Jewish Voice for Peace	237	3	48	26	2	0	14	1
21-Dec-16	Settlers block road several times a day with police backing, disrupting lives of local Palestinians	Btselem	34	0	27	12	0	0	4	21
22-Dec-16	Christmas preparations in Gaza	MEMO	181	9	3	1	0	0	2	32
22-Dec-16	Christmas cheer in Bethlehem	MEMO	111	4	0	2	1	0	3	26
22-Dec-16	BDS impact roundup for 2016	BDS Movement	191	20	0	0	0	1	6	65
22-Dec-16	Donate to PSC	PSC	167	5	0	1	1	0	1	31
22-Dec-16	Israeli settlers and Palestinians: even the "moderates" want segregation	Middle East Eye	48	0	18	7	0	0	0	17

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23-Dec-16	UN report: Palestinian development impossible without ending Israeli occupation	MEMO	196	0	41	41	1	0	4	139
23-Dec-16	Virtual tour of Bethlehem	360.PS Focus Team	167	14	0	0	2	0	7	55
23-Dec-16	Donate to PSC	PSC	992	79	3	27	1	0	14	255
23-Dec-16	Israel confiscates health clinic from Palestinian village	MEMO	267	1	369	65	4	0	43	435
23-Dec-16	Israeli judges order grandchildren out of Jerusalem's family home	Electronic Intifada	95	0	113	61	4	0	16	115
23-Dec-16	Video: A message of hope from Palestine	Reverend Mitri Raheb Christmas Church of Bethlehem	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
23-Dec-16	US abstention allows UN to demand end to Israeli settlements	The Guardian	2200	218	3	5	32	9	97	751
24-Dec-16	Donate to PSC	PSC	279	24	0	0	0	0	4	66
24-Dec-16	Israeli settlements: UN Security Council calls for an end	BBC News	588	34	34	2	0	4	42	161
24-Dec-16	PSC welcomes Security Council resolution	PSC	210	12	0	0	1	1	5	41
24-Dec-16	Settlements map	PSC	832	8	171	132	2	1	29	512
24-Dec-16	Israel's Jordan Valley regulation 'discriminatory'	Al Jazeera	69	0	22	5	0	0	0	29

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24-Dec-16	Photos: Palestinian Santas protest the occupation in Bethlehem	972	201	5	8	9	1	0	3	60
25-Dec-16	Photo of the Wall: Season's greetings from PSC	PSC	946	55	2	117	0	1	13	264
25-Dec-16	Video: Israeli soldiers tear gas Santa	Electronic Intifada	116	0	62	25	1	1	2	93
25-Dec-16	Arctic freeze on Israeli settlement products	Electronic Intifada	1300	121	11	1	5	1	17	273
25-Dec-16	Palestinian campaigners take British government to court	MEMO	453	25	0	0	3	2	9	99
26-Dec-16	Palestinians protest Israeli demolition campaign in the Negev	Maan	123	1	40	20	0	0	3	55
26-Dec-16	Video: Mary and Joseph vs. The occupation	AJ+	454	28	9	47	1	1	5	0
26-Dec-16	Expecting more of the same for Palestinians	Kamel Hawwash PSC Vicechair Personal blog	104	2	4	2	0	0	3	24
26-Dec-16	Israeli forces detain 10 Palestinians, 2 minors, during overnight raids	Maan	75	0	74	14	2	0	5	62
27-Dec-16	UN vote exposes the true face of Israel's settlement policy	972	667	14	47	5	2	2	23	283
27-Dec-16	A symbolic resolution against Israeli settlements	Al Jazeera	206	1	16	1	3	0	15	54
27-Dec-16	Testimonies from Gaza. Rania's story	PSC	192	7	23	51	2	0	4	119

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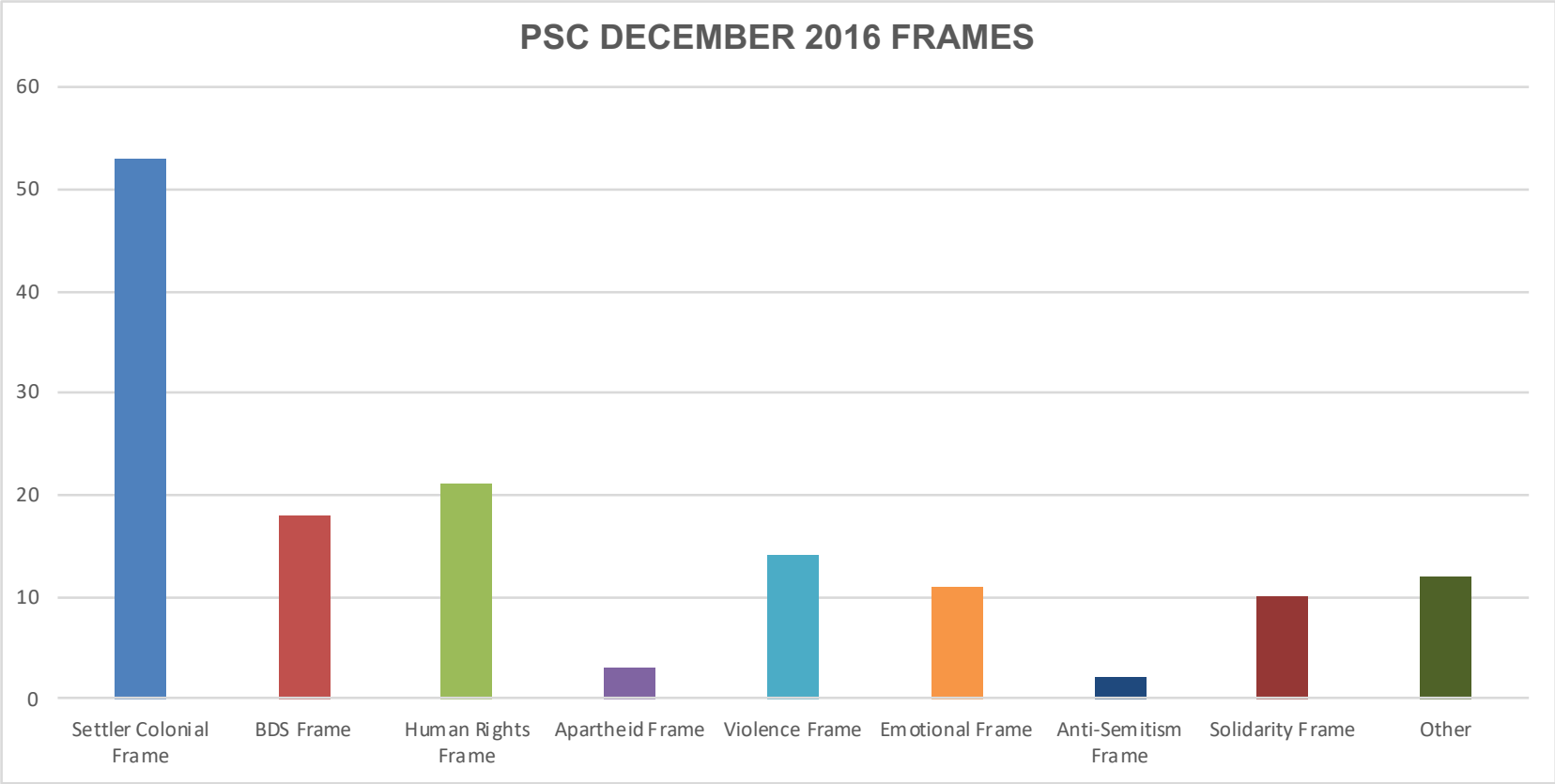
27-Dec-16	You can't report truthfully on Israel without facing its wrath	Electronic Intifada	567	2	94	41	3	1	18	325
27-Dec-16	Time for interantional community to get tough on Israel	Middle East Eye	925	35	33	2	0	0	18	325
28-Dec-16	Anti-terror police question schoolboy for wearing pro-Palestine badge	The Independent	221	1	199	44	19	3	35	202
28-Dec-16	We the students (3 short films about student solidarity)	PSC - Roua Nabulsi	97	4	0	1	0	0	4	32
28-Dec-16	Israel hits back after UN settlement resolution by 'suspending ties' with 12 countries	The Independent	937	15	128	7	11	232	192	565
28-Dec-16	Israeli committee cancels vote on approval of East Jerusalem settlements	Maan	72	0	29	0	0	0	7	22
29-Dec-16	Israeli authorities demolish Palestinian structures in East Jerusalem	Maan	120	1	137	25	0	1	15	104
29-Dec-16	UK's role in brokering UN resolution on Israeli settlements confirmed	The Guardian	876	69	2	0	20	3	58	243
29-Dec-16	Video: Palestinian teacher is named best teacher in the world (From March 2016)	AJ+	3800	644	0	2	38	4	51	1
29-Dec-16	Palestine map. 'PSC's Directors blog' on settlements	Ben Jamal - PSC	1200	12	389	329	6	5	44	1042
29-Dec-16	Video: Palestinian citizens of Israel	Ben White-MEMO	159	3	46	21	3	0	7	135

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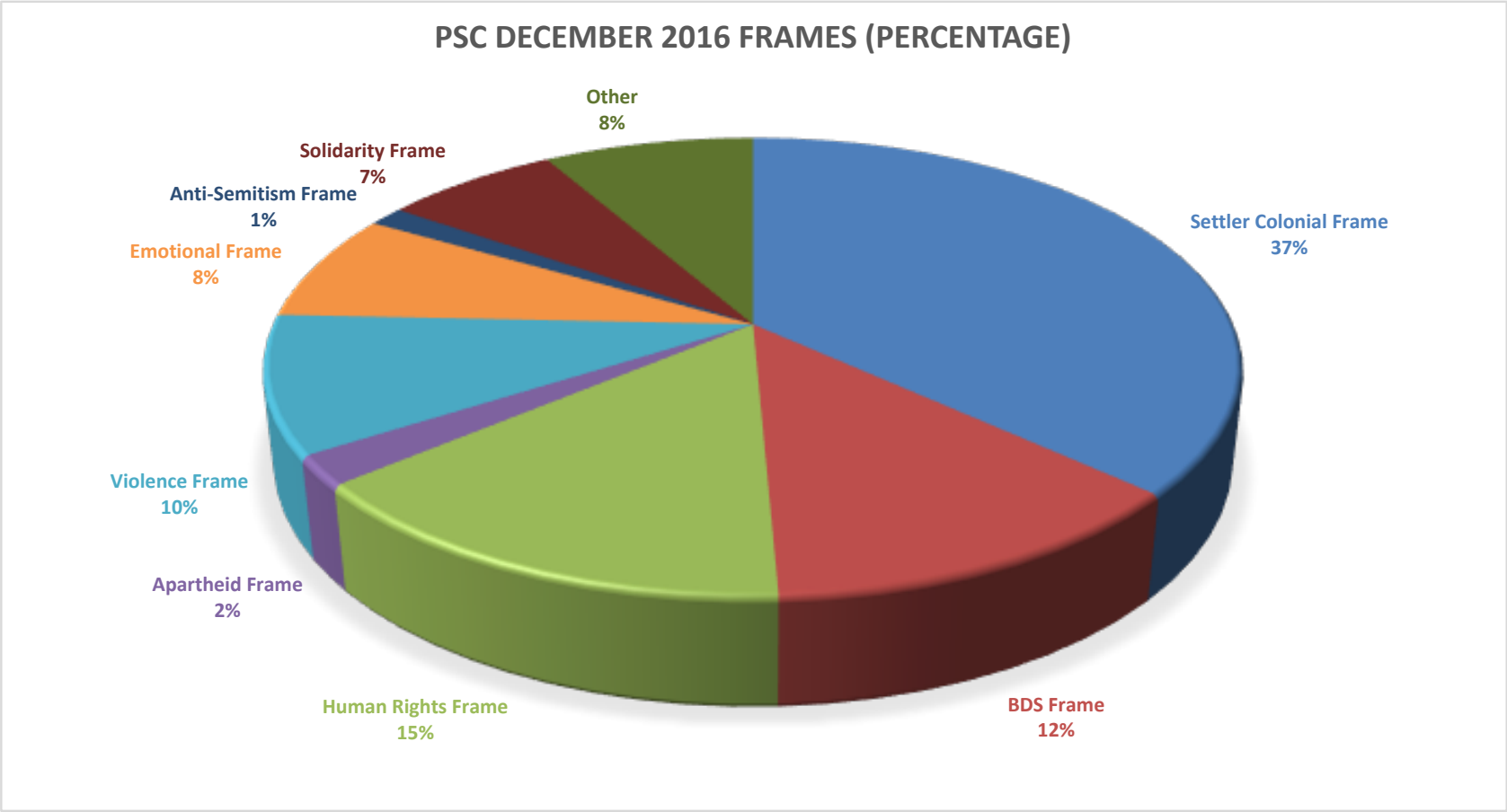
29-Dec-16	German horseman rides for Palestine in Olympics 'push for peace' (From August 2016)	Middle East Eye	1700	203	1	0	11	0	31	234
29-Dec-16	Israeli forces killed 31 Palestinian youths in the occupied West Bank in 2016	Mondoweis s	242	2	232	155	1	1	24	237
30-Dec-16	Pink Floyd unite to support the Women's Boat to Gaza (From October 2016)	The Guardian	1800	183	1	7	1	0	14	437
30-Dec-16	Record number of demolitions in 2016, casualty toll declines	UN OCHA OPT	84	0	70	34	1	0	11	128
30-Dec-16	Actor John Altman from TV show 'East Enders' wore a Palestinian flag on his lapel during TV interview (From August 2016)	PSC	4400	305	1	2	8	0	51	0
30-Dec-16	Report: Increase of violations against press freedoms oPt	Maan	118	0	83	23	1	0	88	8
30-Dec-16	Ireland latest EU state to defend BDS	Electronic Intifada	993	74	5	1	0	0	15	227
31-Dec-16	Gaza testimonies	PSC	614	63	3	80	1	0	22	103
31-Dec-16	UN resolution on Israeli settlements puts Airbnb in a tight bind	San Francisco Chronicle	142	3	5	1	0	0	4	55
31-Dec-16	Palestinian flag on London university rugby football kit sparks anger (From November 2016)	Middle East Eye	3000	277	4	1	5	15	66	414

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31-Dec-16	Stop HP Campaign	PSC Stop HP	253	0	17	1	0	0	5	74
31-Dec-16	Israeli settlers take over Palestinian building in East Jerusalem neighbourhood	Maan	96	0	128	33	2	0	11	96



Palestine Solidarity Campaign (Muslim Ban January 2017)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
20-Jan-17	Photos: Palestinians protest Trump plans to move US embassy to Jerusalem	Ma'an	360	11	45	6	1	1	9	113
21-Jan-17	Palestinians protest over demolitions amid calls for general strike	Middle East Eye	316	1	57	61	0	0	9	180
21-Jan-17	Save Umm al-Hiran	PSC	329	11	63	95	0	1	18	157
21-Jan-17	Video: Israel destroys Umm al-Hiran	AJ+	395	3	529	275	5	1	42	0
21-Jan-17	"Fire up the bulldozers", says Trump's biggest fan in Jerusalem	Electronic Intifada	124	0	152	49	5	0	25	154
21-Jan-17	Did war crimes summons force Tzipi Livni to cancel Brussels trip?	Electronic Intifada	193	8	30	3	3	1	11	96
21-Jan-17	Dozens of Palestinians confront armed Israeli settlers in Nablus-area village	Ma'an	192	3	46	17	1	0	17	89
21-Jan-17	Photo: Haneen Zoabi speaks at PSC's AGM	PSC	65	0	0	0	0	0	3	13



21- Jan-17	Standing ovation for Haneen Zoabi MK at the PSC AGM	PSC	79	0	0	0	0	0	4	3
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21-Jan-17	PSC sends a message to Trump and the Israeli government - "Hands of Umm al-Hiran"	PSC	257	13	0	0	0	0	3	42
21-Jan-17	Thousands rally in northern Israel in the wake of the demolitions in Umm al-Hiran	Ma'an	203	4	25	17	3	0	4	104
22-Jan-17	Israeli forces shoot, injure 12 year old boy in Kafr Qaddum clashes	Ma'an	85	1	70	26	0	0	6	57
22-Jan-17	A message to president Donald Trump from the PSC AGM - "Hands of Jerusalem"	PSC	1200	70	7	1	2	0	9	273
22-Jan-17	Photos: Palestinians build village to protest West Bank annexation bill	972	292	8	80	26	1	0	16	123
22-Jan-17	Protests erupt in Gaza as electricity crisis deepens	Al Jazeera	200	2	84	52	0	0	13	137
22-Jan-17	Photos: Israel demolishes homes in Umm al-Hiran amid violence	972	156	0	127	72	0	0	8	194
23-Jan-17	Chinese president calls for East Jerusalem as capital of Palestinian State	Haaretz	4500	395	5	0	72	5	94	1215

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23-Jan-17	Israel approves hundreds of settlement homes in East Jerusalem	Reuters	72	0	128	19	1	0	9	72
23-Jan-17	Former Tory Minister: Israeli settlers treat Palestine like 'biblical theme park'	MEMO	538	5	82	43	7	1	21	208
23-Jan-17	Israel reveals plans for nearly 600 settlement homes in East Jerusalem	The Guardian	112	0	235	40	3	1	21	176
23-Jan-17	Netanyahu vows unrestricted settlement expansion in Jerusalem	Ma'an	66	0	141	16	1	0	17	85
23-Jan-17	Report: Palestinian teen dies in Gaza after Israel denies him access to hospital	Ma'an	156	3	212	99	3	0	14	192
23-Jan-17	26 Palestinians detained across West Bank in Israeli army raids	Ma'an	59	0	77	16	1	0	3	42
24-Jan-17	Photo: MK Haneen Zoabi appeared on BBC radio Four's Today programme (Link to radio show)	PSC	38	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
24-Jan-17	Why trade with Israeli settlements should not exist	Middle East Eye	182	10	6	1	0	0	3	46

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24-Jan-17	MK Haneen Zoabi will be interviewed by LBX's James O'Brian this morning	PSC	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
24-Jan-17	Israeli naval forces open fire at Palestinian fishermen leaving one injured	Ma'an	61	0	124	19	1	0	3	61
24-Jan-17	Unfortunateli MK Haneen Zoabi will not be interviewed by LBC due to breaking news re. The Supreme Court	PSC	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24-Jan-17	Israel demolishes 9 Palestinian structures in Jordan Valley	Ma'an	90	0	155	28	0	0	4	93
24-Jan-17	Israeli foces fire towards Gaza fishermen, farmers, bird hunters	Ma'an	87	1	113	23	0	0	18	84
24-Jan-17	Belgium wants to arrest Israel's former foreign minister for 'war crimes'	The Independent	2000	146	18	4	12	55	88	682
24-Jan-17	Irish university cancels conference on Israel	MEMO	735	51	118	15	9	3	46	168
24-Jan-17	Israel approves construction of 2500 houses in illegal West Bank settlements	Ma'an	112	1	203	21	3	0	31	139
25-Jan-17	Palestinian woman begins hunger strike in Israeli jail	MEMO	102	2	22	48	1	0	11	62

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25-Jan-17	Video: Soldiers shot and killed teen as he ran away	Electronic Intifada	213	1	265	113	5	1	19	259
25-Jan-17	Settler leaders find warm welcome in Trump's Washington	Electronic Intifada	70	0	119	19	1	1	28	93
25-Jan-17	G4S turned to UK government after Israeli threats	Electronic Intifada	150	1	24	0	3	10	7	68
25-Jan-17	Israel spraying toxins over Palestinian crops in Gaza	Al Jazeera	273	1	372	74	4	0	55	591
26-Jan-17	In the Jordan Valley, Bedouin women filmmakers tell their own stories	Palestine UN Women	149	6	1	11	0	0	0	57
26-Jan-17	Photo: The Israeli government is planning to forcibly remove dozens of Palestinian Bedouin communities from their land in the Naqab in the next few weeks	PSC	51	0	63	13	0	0	16	57
26-Jan-17	Haneen Zoabi interview in LBC	PSC	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
26-Jan-17	Photo: Haneen is live on air with James O'Brien on LBC	PSC	49	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
26-Jan-17	UK student leaders slammed for Israeli trip	Electronic Intifada	216	1	74	16	4	0	14	65
26-Jan-17	These are the Palestinian children killed by Israel in 2016	Electronic Intifada	504	5	312	609	3	0	33	666

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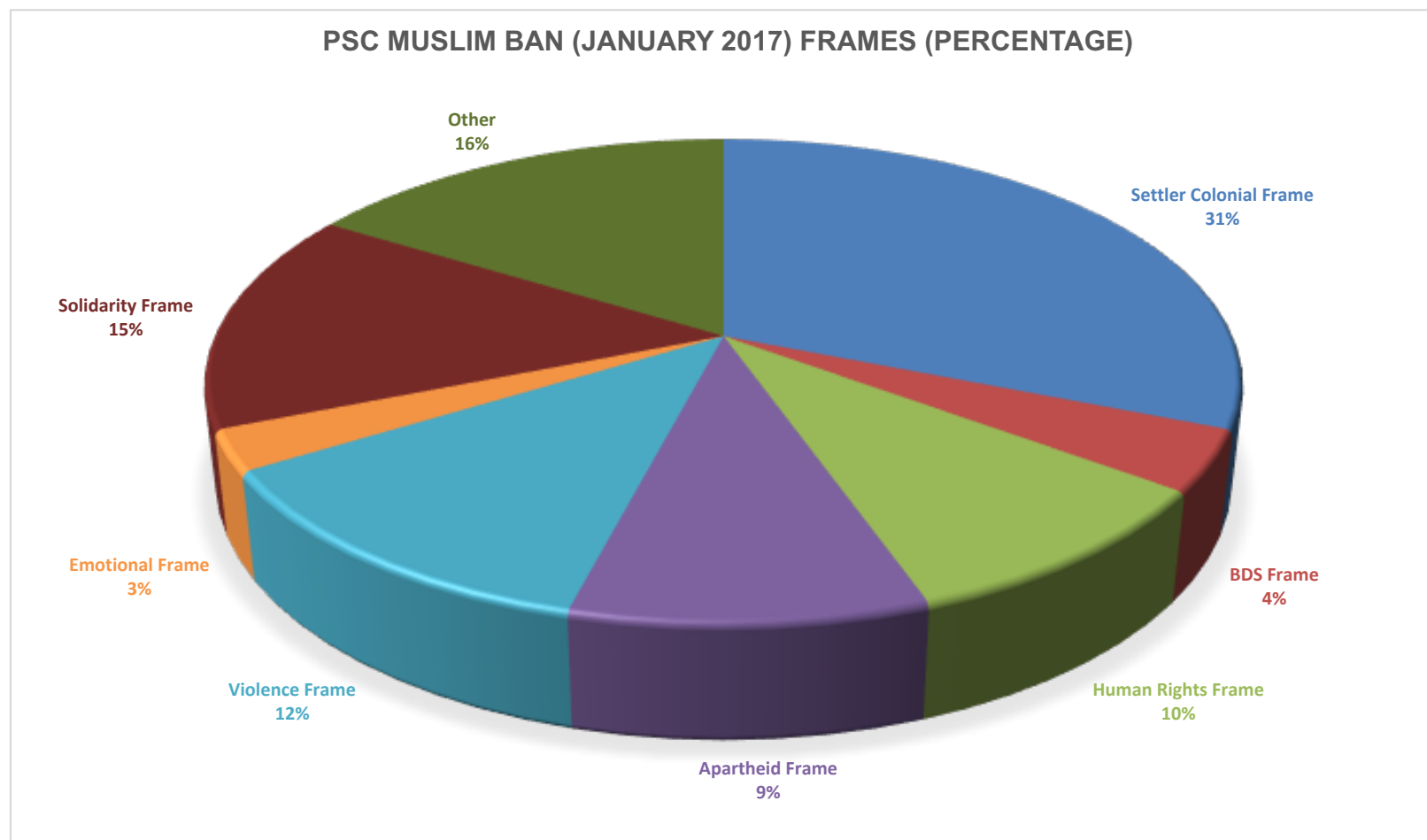
27-Jan-17	EU denounces touted US embassy move to Jerusalem	MEMO	268	2	23	6	1	0	11	73
27-Jan-17	Celtic fans urge Rod Stewart not to break cultural boycott of Israel	Middle East Eye	1700	70	14	24	1	0	81	378
27-Jan-17	Open letter to Theresa May: Stand up to Trump for Palestine	PSC	176	10	0	0	2	0	15	48
27-Jan-17	Braving Israeli bullets in Gaza's sea	Electronic Intifada	90	0	57	17	3	0	5	56
27-Jan-17	Israel to return body of slain 18 year old Palestinian girl after 7 months	Ma'an	269	0	180	197	3	0	32	301
27-Jan-17	Photos: Palestinians plant trees to defy Israeli land confiscation	972	211	19	35	11	1	0	3	82
27-Jan-17	Haneen Zoabi: Justice for Palestinians in israel	PSC	70	6	0	0	0	0	1	21
28-Jan-17	Infography: Occupation of Jerusalem-Visualize Palestine	Al Shabaka	102	0	53	13	0	0	4	76
28-Jan-17	Gaza's water shortening, no easy solutions seen	Reuters	117	1	73	83	0	0	3	100
28-Jan-17	Council of Europe calls for lifting Gaza blockade	MEMO	356	5	16	32	2	0	3	108

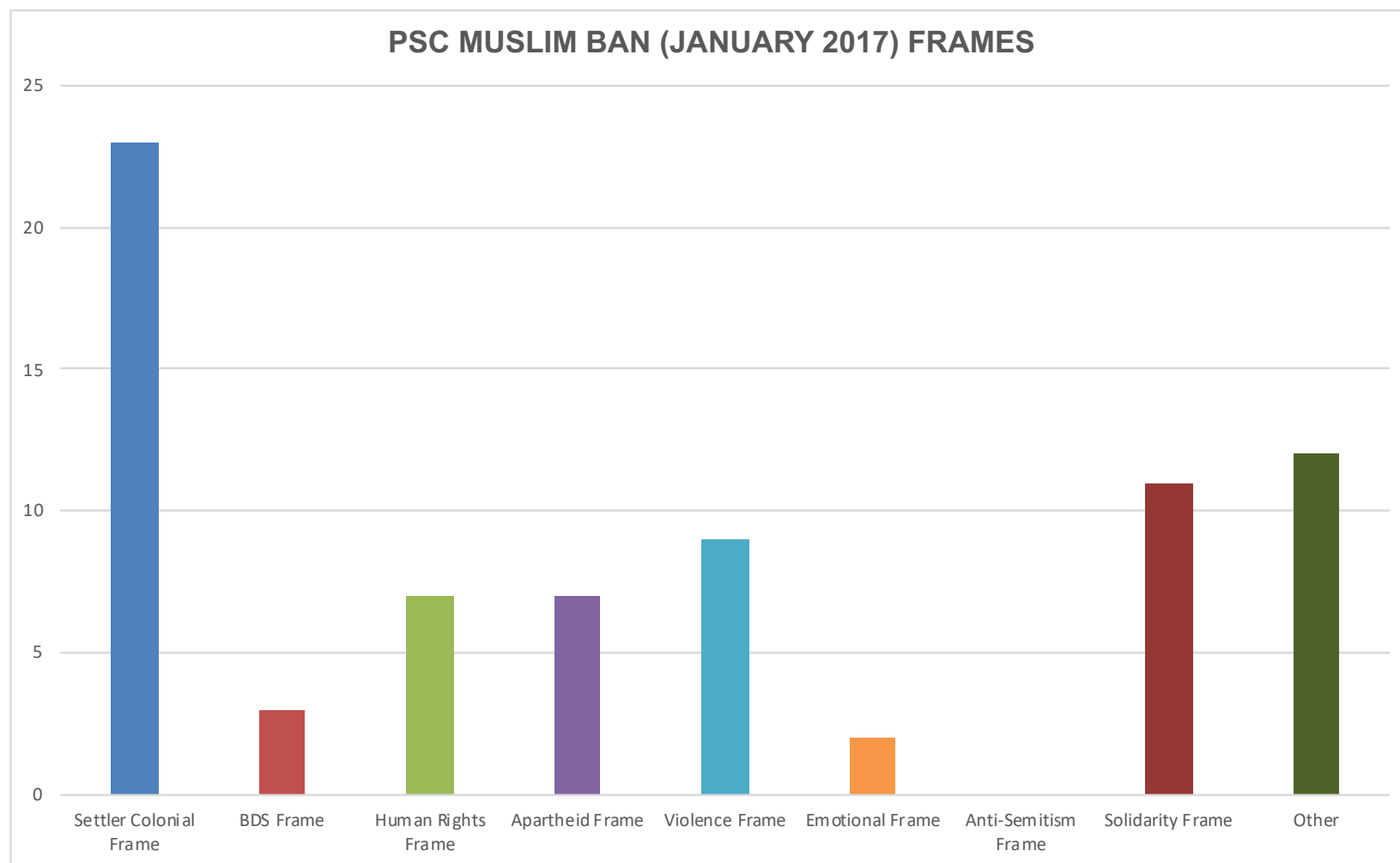
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28-Jan-17	West Bank settlement to be test case for Trump's Israel policy	Financial Times	78	0	53	13	0	0	5	43
28-Jan-17	Israeli forces uproot 500 olive trees northwest of Hebron	Ma'an	190	2	266	104	3	0	27	271
29-Jan-17	A struggle with history	The Guardian - Karma Nabulsi	568	2	45	114	0	0	12	377
29-Jan-17	Marketing blitz fails to sop slide in tourism to Israel	Electronic Intifada	173	6	3	0	0	35	20	47
29-Jan-17	Russia: Israel's new Jerusalem housing units illegal	MEMO	302	3	122	31	0	1	19	148
29-Jan-17	Israel issuing Palestinian building permits to further West Bank land grab	972	83	0	94	25	0	0	2	99
30-Jan-17	Weaving the history of Palestine	MEMO	306	30	0	0	2	0	2	67
30-Jan-17	Gaza's water shortage worsening, no easy solutions seen	MEMO	114	0	84	120	1	0	12	116
30-Jan-17	Palestinian youth shot, injured near Tulkarem-area checkpoint	Ma'an	89	0	71	42	0	0	7	56
30-Jan-17	Residents of Bedouin village protest government's forced relocation plan	972	71	0	45	21	1	0	3	45
30-Jan-17	Netanyahu hails Trump's cruel racist crackdown	Electronic Intifada	131	0	51	3	6	4	13	69

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31-Jan-17	Knesset to vote on bill that greenlights settler homes	Al Jazeera	60	0	96	12	2	0	7	78
31-Jan-17	Haneen Zoabi: 'Israel is the only country not shocked by or afraid of Trump	The Guardian	645	15	38	13	6	3	20	290
31-Jan-17	Israel is building Palestine out of existence. Ask your MP to speak up	PSC	213	0	47	13	0	0	16	204
31-Jan-17	Israeli planes spray herbicides near Gaza farmland	MEMO	105	1	166	41	2	0	6	151
31-Jan-17	Israel police backtrack over injury to Palestinian MK	972	29	0	25	11	0	0	1	34
31-Jan-17	Shocked by Donald Trump's travel ban? Israel has had a similar policy for decades	The Independent	375	1	143	21	2	3	32	316





Palestine Solidarity Campaign (Benjamin Netanyahu in London 2 February 2017)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
1-Feb-17	Settlements debate (urge MPs to take part in the debate)	PSC	60	0	2	2	2	0	3	37
1-Feb-17	Conversation with Palestinian-American poet Remi Kanazi	MEMO	187	6	0	0	0	0	1	43
1-Feb-17	Just walk to Jerusalem 2017	Amos Trust	81	0	16	8	1	0	0	43
1-Feb-17	Israel demolished 143 Palestinian homes in January	MEMO	213	0	290	100	1	1	18	455
1-Feb-17	Palestinian shot dead by Israeli soldier in Jenin	Al Jazeera	117	0	124	65	0	0	17	120
2-Feb-17	West Bank demolitions: Building up and tearing down on the way to annexation	972	97	0	102	47	0	0	7	137
2-Feb-17	Netanyahu to meet with British PM Theresa May in London on Monday	Haaretz	1000	9	568	40	11	5	196	939
2-Feb-17	Photo: Settlements debate (urge MPs to take part in the debate)	PSC	85	0	38	9	0	0	2	75

2-Feb-17	Event: Protest Netanyahu's visit. Called by FOA, Muslim Association of Britain, PSC, Pal Forum in Britain, Stop the War and War On Want	PSC	830	26	85	1	2	1	33	0
2-Feb-17	Gaza: 100,000 hours of isolation	Al Jazeera	160	2	68	66	2	0	3	165
2-Feb-17	Video: Palestinian teenage rappers	AJ+	437	54	0	3	2	0	10	0
3-Feb-17	Israel approves thousands of new settler homes ahead of West Bank outposts evacuation	Haaretz	78	2	150	18	1	0	14	86
3-Feb-17	Event: Protest Netanyahu's visit. Called by FOA, Muslim Association of Britain, PSC, Pal Forum in Britain, Stop the War and War On Want	PSC	271	2	31	1	1	0	4	0
3-Feb-17	Israeli forces shoot Palestinian teen as clashes erupt on Gaza-Israel border	Ma'an	100	1	97	37	1	0	5	67
4-Feb-17	Palestinians sue Trump adviser, Netanyahu for terrorism	Electronic Intifada	1000	79	11	1	4	19	22	264
4-Feb-17	Photos: Palestinian homes come down as settlements expand	972	107	0	118	36	1	0	7	124

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4-Feb-17	Event: Protest Netanyahu's visit. Called by FOA, Muslim Association of Britain, PSC, Pal Forum in Britain, Stop the War and War On Want	PSC	854	25	17	6	3	0	24	283
4-Feb-17	How Israel polices Palestinian voices online	Al Jazeera	59	1	36	16	2	0	2	65
4-Feb-17	Event: Protest Netanyahu's visit. Called by FOA, Muslim Association of Britain, PSC, Pal Forum in Britain, Stop the War and War On Want	OSC	241	5	44	3	3	1	12	0
5-Feb-17	Britain should apologize for Balfour Declaration, says Christian group	Electronic Intifada	711	45	1	0	2	0	24	167
5-Feb-17	Israel/OPT: flurry of settlement activity shows flagrant disregard for international law	Amnesty International	96	0	63	24	0	0	4	66
5-Feb-17	Photo: Join us tomorrow to protest at Netanyahu's meeting with Theresa May. Meet us opposite No. 10 Downing Street from 11:30	PSC	427	22	3	0	4	1	18	85

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5-Feb-17	A Palestinian recipee for pomegranate, lentil and aubergine	The Guardian	1000	96	0	0	6	0	50	315
5-Feb-17	Israel continues construction on separation wall in Hebron	Ma'an	116	1	246	51	6	0	24	181
5-Feb-17	Protest Netanyahu's visit on the 6th of February	PSC	175	9	2	4	0	0	3	84
5-Feb-17	Thousands rally in Tel Aviv against 'racist' Israeli state and home demolitions	Ma'an	537	26	19	4	4	0	2	153
5-Feb-17	Settlements debate (urge MPs to take part in the debate)	PSC	58	0	0	2	0	0	3	27
5-Feb-17	Currently outside Downing St. Protesting Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's visit to the UK (4 photos)	PSC	1300	101	4	3	9	0	39	375
6-Feb-17	The month in pictures (January 2017)	Electronic Intifada	25	0	19	0	2	0	2	17
6-Feb-17	Theresa May is showing contempt for Palestinian rights as she rolls out the red carpet for Netanyahu	The Independent	341	2	416	63	4	2	61	396
6-Feb-17	Secret aid worker: development in Palestine is hostage to politics	The Guardian	136	0	22	23	0	0	2	68

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7-Feb-17	My sister is refusing to join the IDF -- and I couldn't be prouder	972	1000	90	0	1	1	2	34	261
7-Feb-17	Settlements debate "Settlements are not a victimless crime" (Photo)	PSC	81	0	11	2	0	0	4	58
7-Feb-17	B'Tselem: Palestinian 'did not pose any danger when killed by sniper during clases	Ma'an	103	0	87	77	0	0	2	64
7-Feb-17	Israel approves controversial settlement expansion bill	Al Jazeera	108	1	216	29	2	0	14	166
7-Feb-17	Tell the FIFA president to show Israel the red card	BDS Movement	453	15	11	0	0	1	5	136
7-Feb-17	Settler takeover makes life hell for East Jerusalem Palestinians	972	87	0	104	21	1	0	5	98
7-Feb-17	Settlements debate	PSC	33	1	27	4	0	0	3	37
8-Feb-17	Israeli forces demolish Palestinian building in East Jerusalem	Ma'an	81	0	123	25	0	0	4	80
8-Feb-17	Israeli bulldozers return to Beit Hanina to demolish Palestinian building	Ma'an	127	1	191	51	1	0	6	113
8-Feb-17	Israel's land theft is just the tip of the settlement iceberg	972	90	0	82	15	0	1	4	86

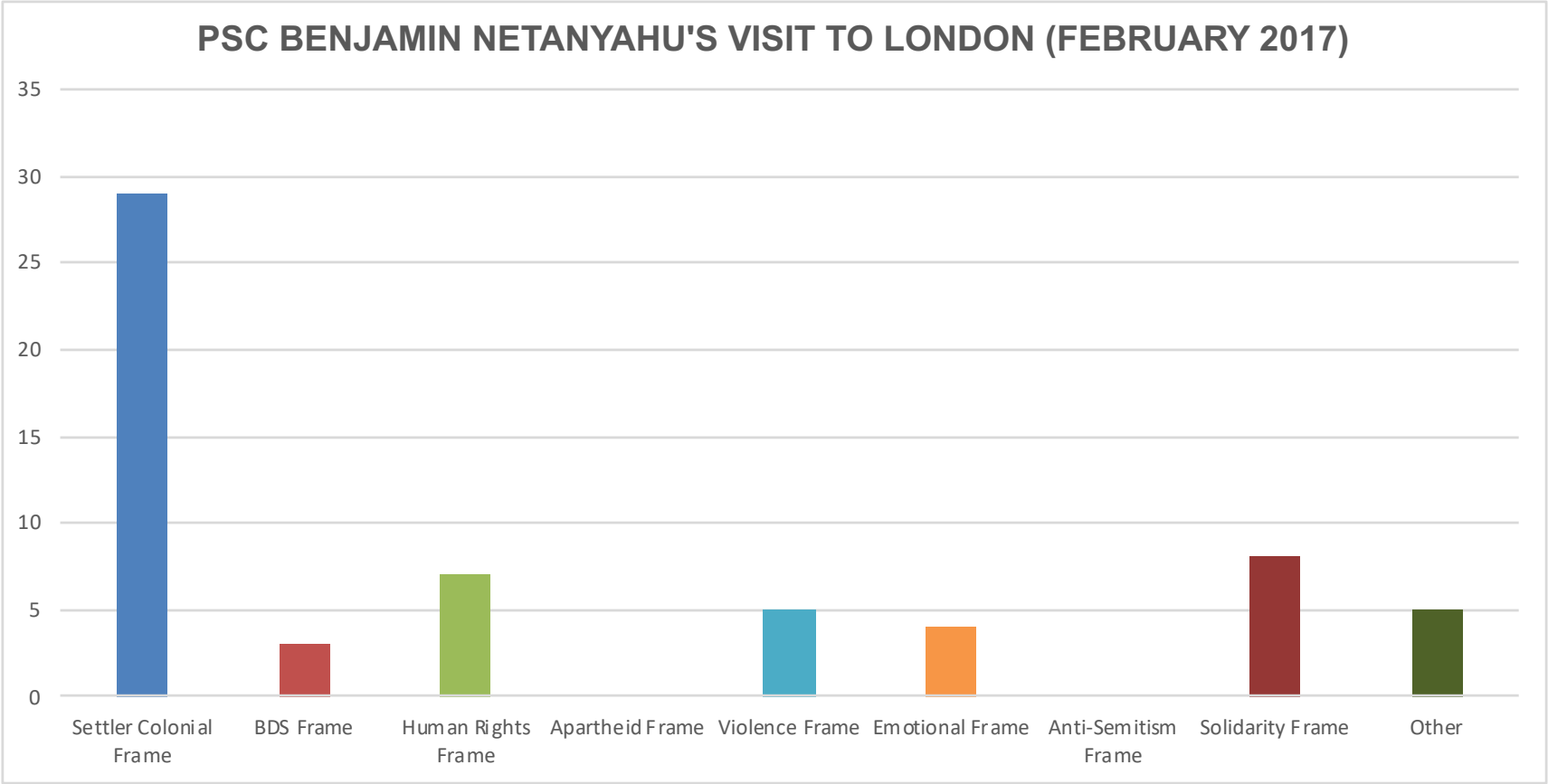
8-Feb-17	Trump's status quo for Palestine-Israel isn't so bad, unless you're a Palestinian	MEMO	95	0	23	12	0	0	0	36
8-Feb-17	Israel's settlements are illegal: the UK must act	inews	573	8	55	11	0	1	30	207
8-Feb-17	How a London theatre became a BDS battleground	Electronic Intifada	60	0	8	1	2	0	3	22
9-Feb-17	Israel's settlement law (Video)	Al Jazeera	387	0	359	110	7	0	39	1
9-Feb-17	Netanyahu wants to repress my group, Breaking the Silence. May don't help him	The Guardian	273	0	155	23	2	1	18	168
9-Feb-17	Teaching history of Palestinian conflict benefits from new tool	Times Higher Education	129	4	0	0	2	0	0	56
9-Feb-17	Israel bans delivery of anaesthetic gas to Gaza hospitals	MEMO	335	1	651	224	17	0	68	1142
9-Feb-17	Parliamentary debate on settlements	Parliament TV	117	5	1	3	0	0	0	45
9-Feb-17	UK Parliament to debate Israeli settlements	MEMO	263	2	19	0	8	0	24	110
9-Feb-17	Over 250 European organisations issued a statement --Justice for Palestine now! End European complicity!-- marking 100 years of continued injustice towards the Palestinian people	ECC Palestine	242	4	37	24	3	0	12	201

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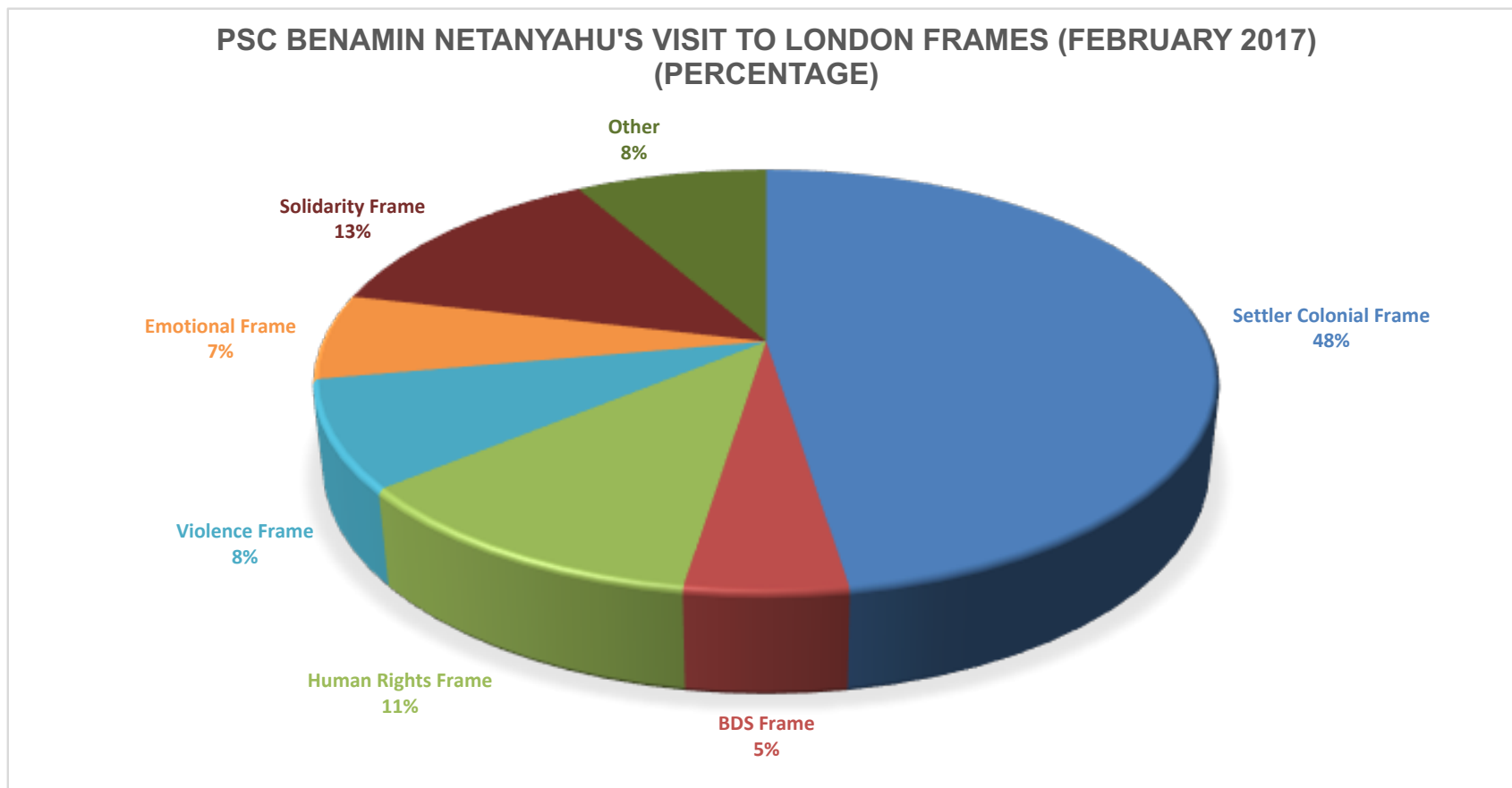
9-Feb-17	Israel demolishes Palestinian property in Jerusalem	MEMO	91	0	132	29	1	1	2	123
9-Feb-17	Palestinians call for boycott of Hyundai	Electronic Intifada	398	4	65	25	0	0	14	226
10-Feb-17	Journalist Muhammad al-Qiq begins new hunger strike	Electronic Intifada	102	1	24	41	0	0	4	63
10-Feb-17	Land grab law 'allows theft, stalls peace process'	Al Jazeera	84	0	66	15	1	0	5	72
11-Feb-17	Israeli forces seriously injure 17 year old in Jenin clashes	DCI Palestine	69	0	83	35	1	0	2	46
11-Feb-17	Adalah to file Supreme Court petition against 'sweeping and dangerous' Validation Law	Adalah	46	0	90	8	0	1	6	0
11-Feb-17	SOAS Centenary event - Celebrating Palestinian Culture & Community in London	SOAS	63	4	0	0	0	0	0	15
12-Feb-17	NFL players pull out of Israel propaganda tour	Electronic Intifada	960	88	1	0	6	1	17	240
12-Feb-17	Palestinian dies after being shot by Israeli soldier 3 months ago	MEMO	96	0	155	76	3	0	13	94
13-Feb-17	What on earth is going on in the West Bank - and how are we letting it happen?	The Huffington Post	379	0	193	83	3	0	23	580

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Palestine Solidarity Campaign BDS Law (February-March 2017)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
27-Feb-17	Reunited after six months: A mother and baby from Gaza kept apart by the blockade (Video)	Medical Aid for Palestinians	72	4	24	11	0	1	10	26
28-Feb-17	Universities spark free speech row after halting pro-Palestinian events	The Guardian	243	3	129	29	6	0	22	163
28-Feb-17	Gerald Kaufman, Jewish UK lawmaker and fierce Israeli critic, dies at 86	Electronic Intifada	469	9	21	214	3	0	18	172
1-Mar-17	The invisible walls of occupation	B'Tselem	40	1	8	0	1	0	7	34
2-Mar-17	If we resist: more sanctions. If the settlers kill us: more sanctions'	Alternative News	196	1	59	27	2	0	6	119
2-Mar-17	Israeli forces open fire on Palestinian lands and homes in Gaza Strip	Ma'an News	95	0	140	24	2	1	12	77
3-Mar-17	Israel MP benefited from controversial law on illegal Jewish outposts	The Guardian	71	0	47	8	1	1	2	53
3-Mar-17	Banksy opens Bethlehem barrier wall hotel	The Guardian	1100	115	3	2	15	1	43	482



4-Mar-17	80 percent of Canadians back Israel boycott -- poll	Electronic Intifada	733	51	3	0	0	0	12	144
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5-Mar-17	Israel demolishes infrastructure, leaving Palestinian farmers without water for domestic and agricultural needs	B'Tselem	90	0	167	36	1	0	18	221
6-Mar-17	Israeli forces open fire at Palestinian fishermen in Gaza	Ma'an News	79	1	118	25	0	0	6	61
7-Mar-17	Gaza's Ronaldo holds onto dream of international football carrer	Middle East Eye	52	1	13	10	1	0	3	19
8-Mar-17	On 8 March, stand with women of Palestine	Electronic Intifada	345	25	2	0	2	0	3	99
8-Mar-17	Israel arrested 15,000 Palestinian women since 1967	MEMO	255	1	281	124	3	0	8	351
8-Mar-17	This morning the PSC Twitter account was hacked by an unknown person hostile to our cause	PSC	63	0	9	8	1	0	1	4
8-Mar-17	Glass ceiling? Women in Gaza are facing concrete	Haaretz	144	9	17	8	0	0	0	44
8-Mar-17	Knesset passes 'BDS ban' preventing foreign boycott supporters from entering Israel	Ma'an News	59	0	32	7	1	4	16	41

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8-Mar-17	Racism and racial discrimination are the antithesis of freedom, justice and equality -- Statement from the BDS National Committee	BDS Movement	66	1	1	3	0	0	3	23
8-Mar-17	Stand with the women of Palestine	PSC	138	3	0	0	1	0	0	23
9-Mar-17	Royal family set to make its first state visit to israel this year -- Ben Jamal was interviewed	The Independent	444	3	696	117	12	4	177	769
9-Mar-17	Gaza's women of steel	Al Jazeera	367	31	2	6	1	0	0	86
10-Mar-17	Israeli forces detain 31 Palestinians overnight including MP	Ma'an News	60	0	85	25	0	0	1	72
10-Mar-17	Who pays when Palestinians are harmed by Israeli forces?	972	59	0	44	18	1	0	2	61
10-Mar-17	Vote for higher education's most inspiring leader 2017 (Karma Nabulsi nominated)	The Guardian	62	4	0	0	0	0	0	61
10-Mar-17	Will FIFA ever stand up to Israeli teams in illegal settlements?	The Nation	161	0	54	13	1	1	12	64
11-Mar-17	This week PSC has been subjected to 2 cyberattacks	PSC	54	0	14	5	2	0	6	19

11-Mar-17	Sign the pledge to boycott Hewlett Packard	PSC	98	1	15	1	0	0	1	48
11-Mar-17	Palestinian ends hunger strike as Israel agrees his release	Yahoo News	436	39	0	0	6	0	5	76
11-Mar-17	The sands of time: Highlighting Palestine's history	MEMO	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
12-Mar-17	Donald Trump invites Mahmoud Abbas to White House	MEMO	198	5	4	0	16	20	24	30
12-Mar-17	I am a proud Palestinian woman and a humanitarian. I am also the mother of the youngest Palestinian prisoner in an Israeli jail	Mondoweiss	431	13	45	145	2	0	11	197
13-Mar-17	Israel blocks head of pro-BDS organisation from entering Israel	Haaretz	202	0	135	12	14	2	14	243
13-Mar-17	UN invokes human rights on Israeli anti-adhan bill	MEMO	186	1	33	7	2	0	2	75
13-Mar-17	PSC Chair, Hugh Lanning, deported from Israel	PSC	61	1	53	15	6	1	3	66
13-Mar-17	There are no safe spaces for Palestinians in Israel	972	89	0	73	33	1	1	0	87
14-Mar-17	Leading BDS activist banned from Israel	MEMO	134	1	54	16	5	1	6	89

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14-Mar-17	Palestinians protest over PA-Israel security ties	Al Jazeera	76	1	31	10	0	0	14	37
14-Mar-17	Protection of civilians weekly report (21-Feb - 6 March 2017)	UN OCHA - OPT	26	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
15-Mar-17	Write to your MP about Israel's BDS ban	PSC	49	0	26	4	0	0	2	32
15-Mar-17	Palestinian youth launch new initiative to encourage tourism	MEMO	26	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
15-Mar-17	Banning BDS supporters is incompatible with a Western-style democracy	Middle East Eye	200	2	17	8	0	0	3	69
15-Mar-17	UN report: Israel has established an 'apartheid regime'	Al Jazeera	767	3	289	133	5	1	36	830
15-Mar-17	Violent Israeli raid in Duneisha refugee camp leaves 5 Palestinians injured	PSC	28	0	62	15	0	0	3	13
16-Mar-17	Gaza power shortage (Video)	AJ+	162	0	130	131	0	0	1	0
16-Mar-17	Israel closes Palestinian land mapping office in Jerusalem	MEMO	219	2	415	83	13	1	29	459
16-Mar-17	Israel lashes out at Palestinian activists	Electronic Intifada	68	0	39	8	1	0	1	42

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

17-Mar-17	#DearThom. Message for Radiohead not to play in Israel (Video)	Peace House	96	3	1	0	0	0	3	24
17-Mar-17	Donate to PSC (We are taking the government to court)	PSC	84	2	0	0	0	0	0	37
17-Mar-17	Palestinian doctor sues Israel for killing his 3 daughters	The Independent	649	6	127	268	2	0	17	330
18-Mar-17	UK facing court battle over right to BDS	Electronic Intifada	162	1	12	3	1	0	15	54
18-Mar-17	Richard Gere: settlements are an 'absurd provocation'	MEMO	2200	118	4	30	2	0	36	613
18-Mar-17	BNC responds to UN Head's resignation over Israeli apartheid report	BDS Movement	357	3	43	21	3	0	4	246
18-Mar-17	PSC takes government to court - donate today	PSC	95	6	0	0	0	0	0	28
18-Mar-17	UN report: Israel has established an 'apartheid regime'	Ben White	274	3	74	18	1	0	8	227
19-Mar-17	Does the term 'apartheid' fit Israel? Of course it does	LA times	863	2	85	54	2	2	8	395
19-Mar-17	British government on trial for blocking BDS	MEMO	265	16	7	0	0	0	2	94

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

19-Mar-17	How Israeli photography creates a world without Palestinians	972	120	1	45	13	0	0	1	83
20-Mar-17	Israel bans activists in order to hide its crimes from public view, it's nothing new	MEMO	196	0	80	16	1	0	2	117
20-Mar-17	US State Department reports grave violations against Palestinian kids	DCI-Palestine	224	0	129	51	3	0	13	248
20-Mar-17	Palestinian village protests 17 years of military closure (Photos)	972	62	0	24	8	1	0	2	46
21-Mar-17	Gaza suffers annual freshwater deficit	MEMO	131	1	82	116	2	0	8	83
21-Mar-17	Free Issa Amor	FreeIssa.org	76	2	10	3	0	0	0	25
21-Mar-17	PSC takes government to court - donate today	PSC	28	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
22-Mar-17	Palestinian honour Rima Khalaf for apartheid report	Al Jazeera	467	34	3	3	7	0	4	148
22-Mar-17	Bethlehem residents feel 'buried alive in a big tomb'	Al Jazeera	55	0	27	25	0	0	0	34
22-Mar-17	BNC statement on Israel's ongoing campaign to silence Omar Barghouti and repress the BDS Movement	BDS Movement	82	0	55	17	1	0	2	65

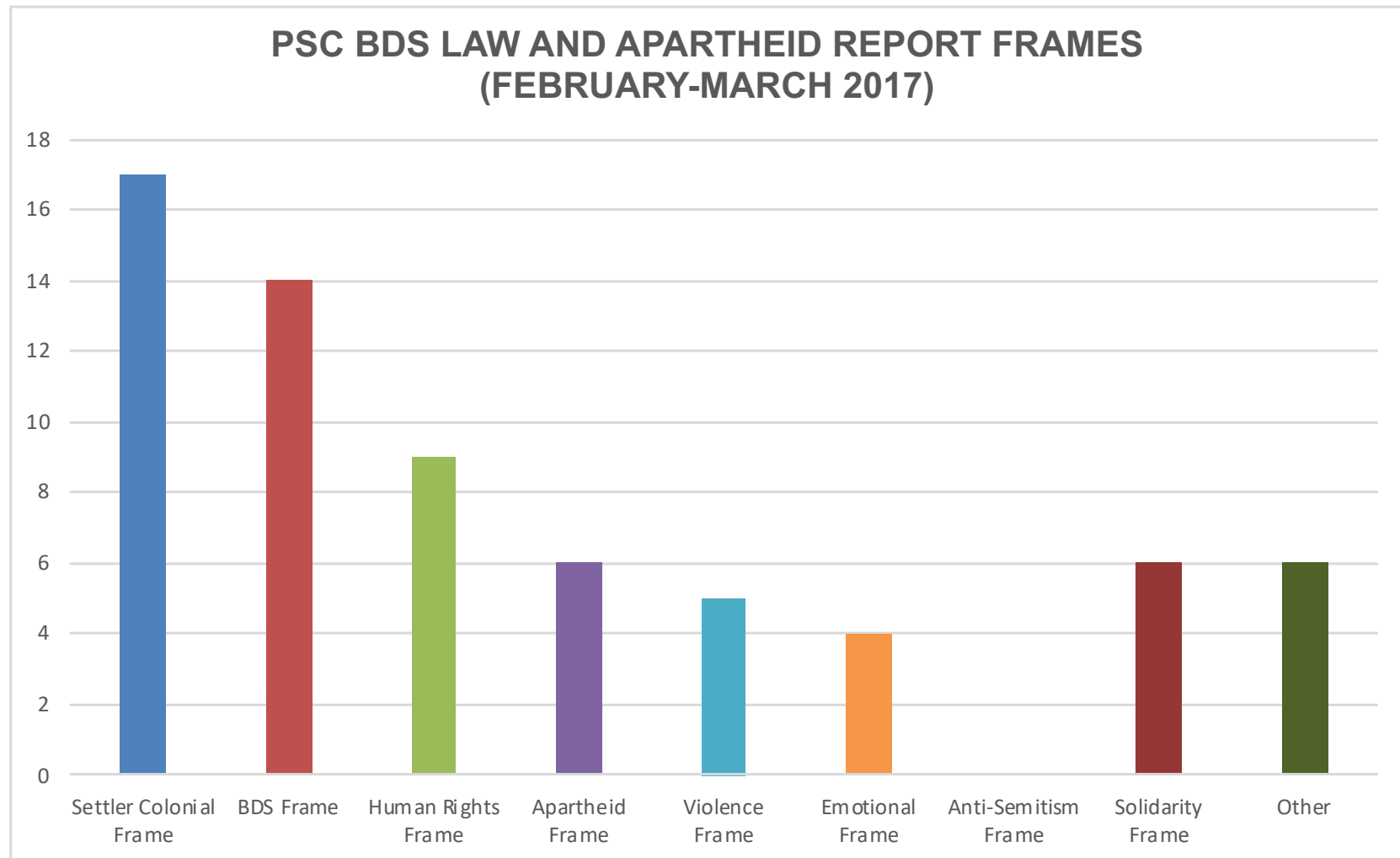
Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

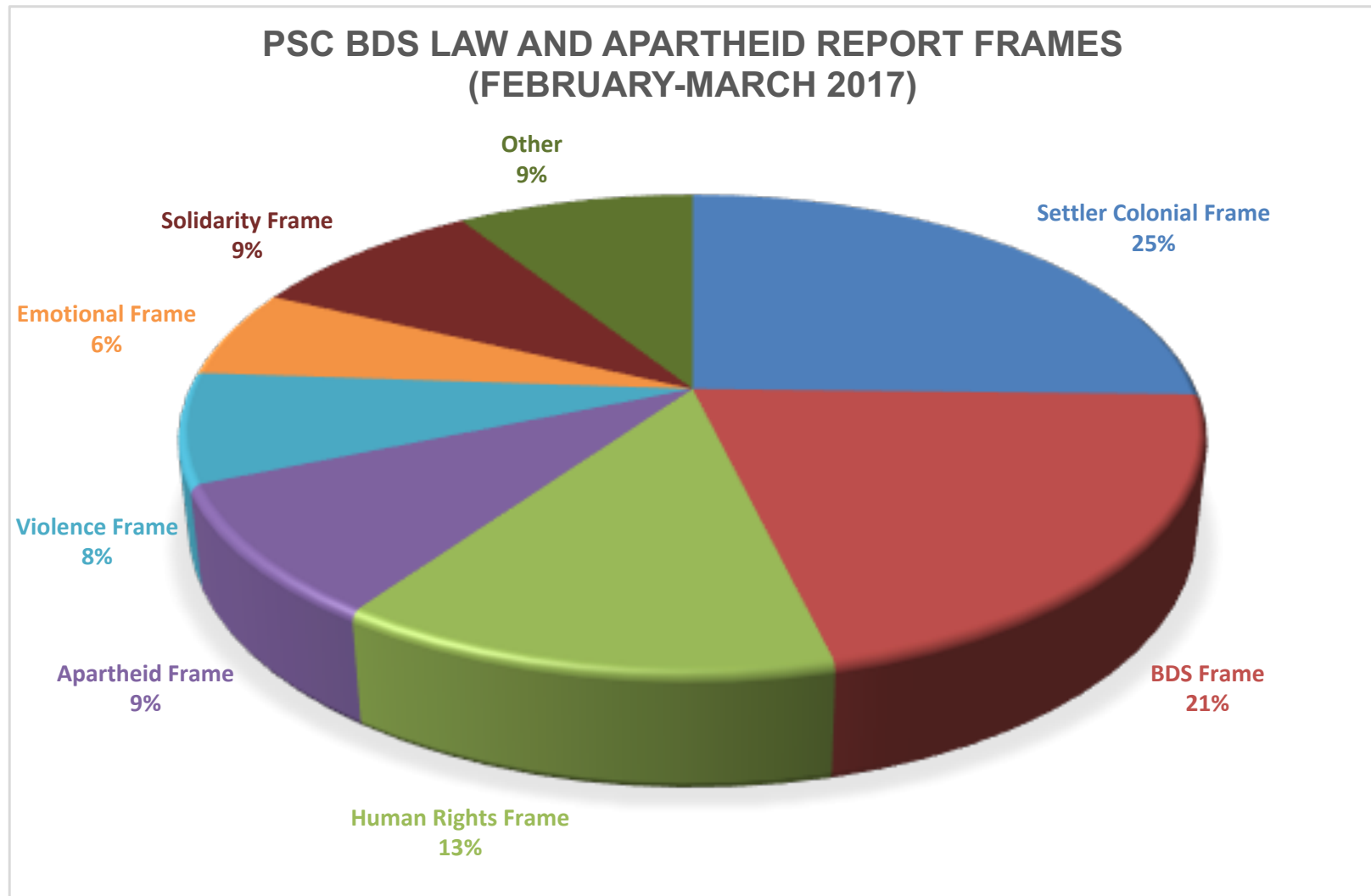
22-Mar-17	Issa Amor speaks at the UN about Israel's apartheid policies (Video)	IMEU	294	3	60	41	0	0	11	0
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Palestine Solidarity Campaign (Nakba Commemoration 15 May 2017)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

9-May-17	Event: In the shadow of Balfour - Talk by Ben Jamal	PSC	21	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-May-17	Dublin City Council to fly Palestinian flag above City hall for a month as "gesture of solidarity"	The Journal Ireland	1700	272	1	1	2	0	22	468
10-May-17	Event: Camouflage (theatre play)	Amnesty International	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-May-17	Executive Director Rebecca Vilkomerson in conversation with Aarab Marwan Barghouthi (son of Palestinian hunger strike leader)	Jewish Voice for Peace	102	6	0	0	0	0	1	0
11-May-17	FIFA withdraws talks on teams in Israeli settlements	MEMO	77	0	92	19	0	0	19	48
11-May-17	Rights groups demand criminal investigation into release of Barghouthi video	Ma'an News	26	0	2	3	0	0	0	11
11-May-17	Series of events from Balfour to the Nakba	PSC	506	4	211	205	4	2	9	619
12-May-17	Vote Palestine	PSC	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
14-May-17	PLO: Israeli doctors cracking down on hunger strikers	MEMO	79	0	62	14	2	0	8	34





Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

15-May-17	Lawyer visits Barghouthi for the first time since beginning of prisoner hunger strike	Ma'an News	107	1	65	55	2	1	9	88
15-May-17	From Balfour to the Nakba: All events around the country	PSC	123	5	2	24	0	1	2	46
15-May-17	Vote Palestine	PSC	498	26	0	0	1	1	7	90
15-May-17	The Nakba - Ben White	PSC	341	2	136	154	2	1	15	691
16-May-17	Israeli forces suppress Nakba day rallies in Bethlehem, Ramallah	Ma'an News	67	0	35	22	0	1	2	39
16-May-17	Timeline: Israel's anti-Palestinian laws since 1948	MEMO	360	14	8	5	2	0	4	65
16-May-17	UK elections - BDS (Ban settlement goods)	PSC	55	1	28	7	1	0	1	30
17-May-17	UK elections - Gaza blockade	PSC	133	3	21	26	0	1	4	55
17-May-17	Event: Camouflage (theatre play)	Amnesty International	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17-May-17	On 30th day of hunger strike: Adameer calls for continued solidarity	Adameer	67	2	1	22	0	0	0	41
18-May-17	Video: 10 years of PalFest: The Movie	PalFest	32	3	0	0	0	0	0	13
18-May-17	UK elections- Trade agreement / Respect human rights and international law	PSC	57	0	0	0	0	0	3	15

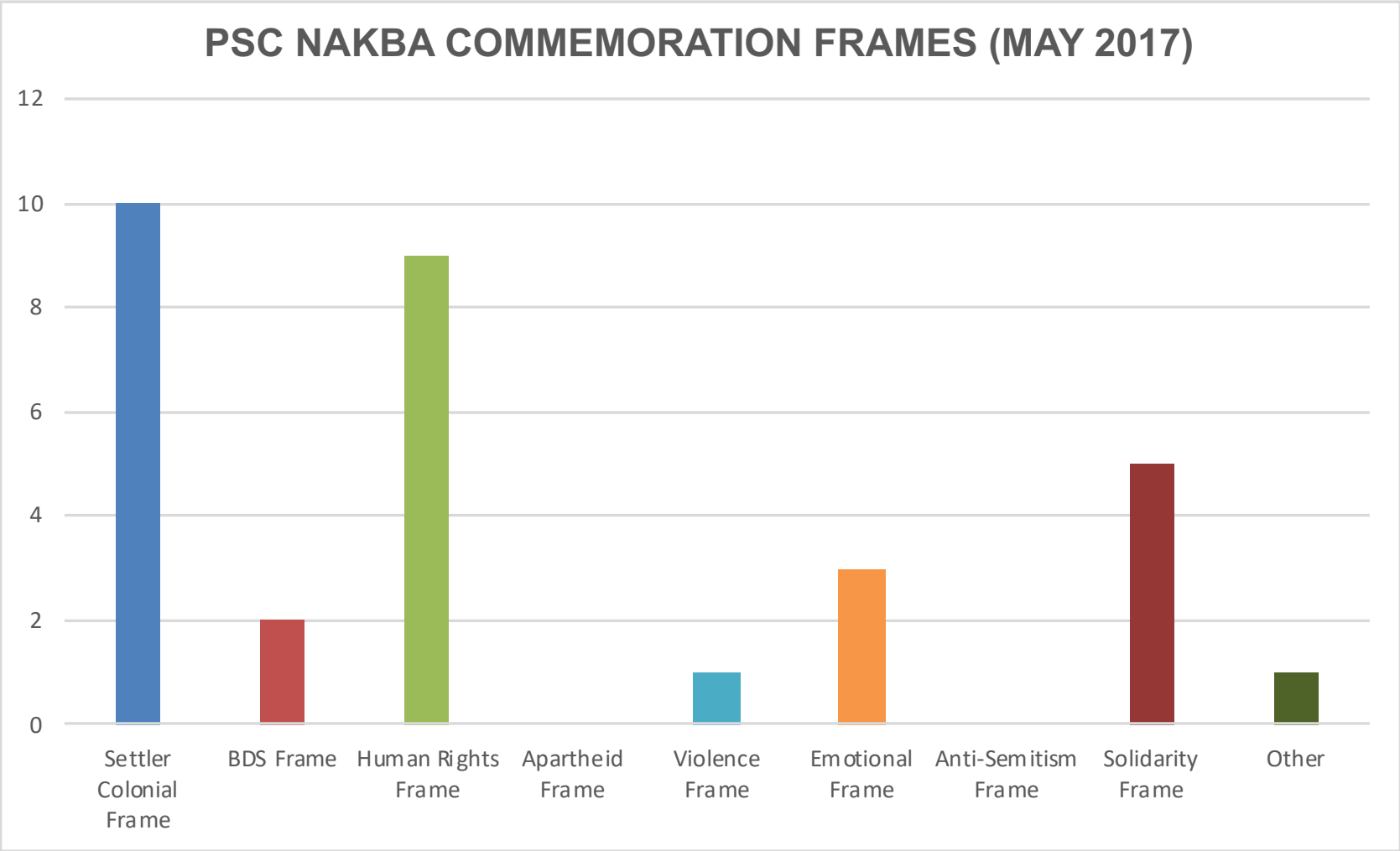
Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

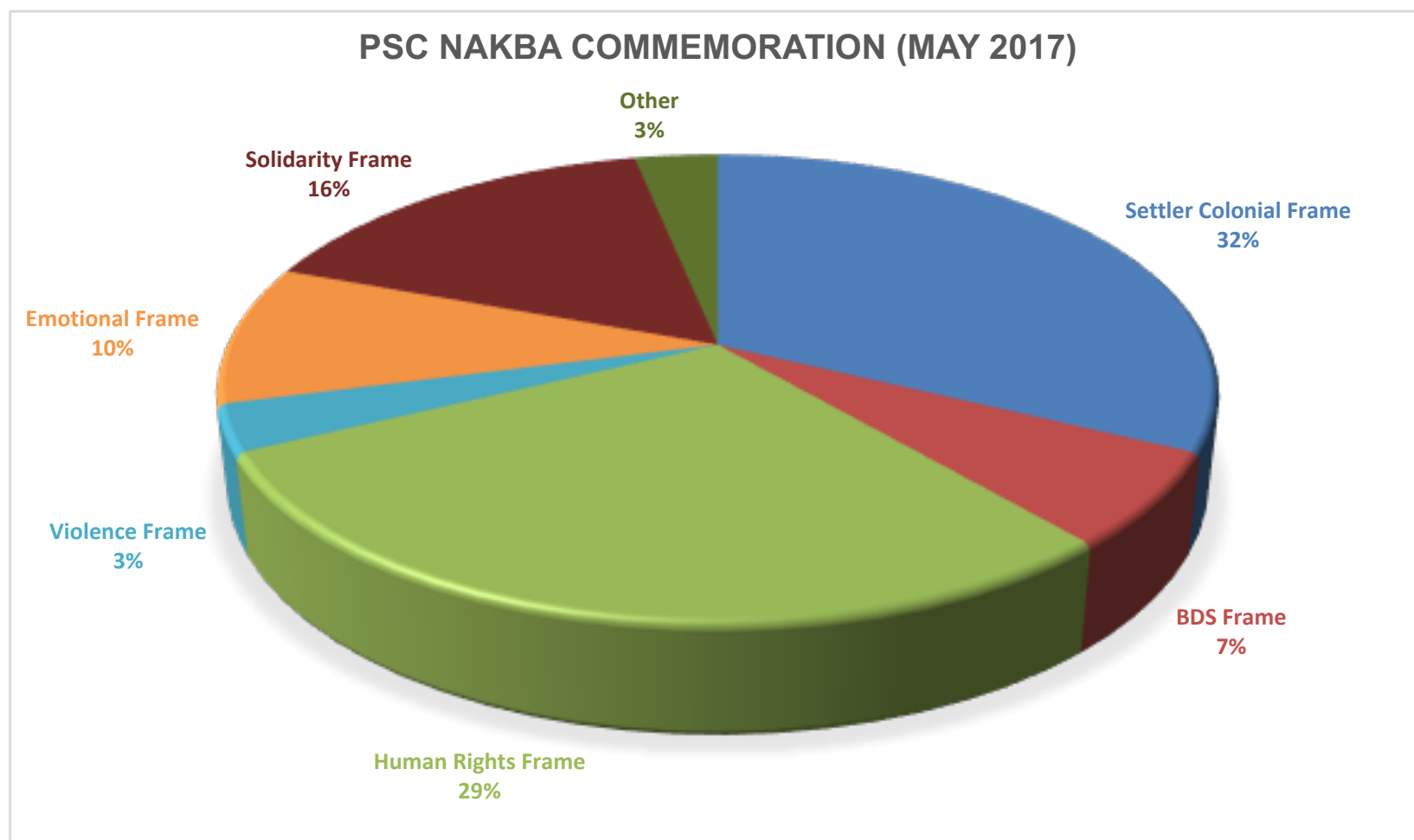
18-May-17	Israeli settlers kills Palestinian after opening fire on solidarity march in Nablus	Ma'an News	71	2	102	48	0	0	17	87
19-May-17	Event: Remember the Nakba	PSC	80	1	21	27	1	0	2	0
19-May-17	UK elections - UK stop arming Israel	PSC	89	0	58	52	0	0	5	96
20-May-17	UK elections - child prisoners	PSC	52	0	45	20	0	0	5	52
20-May-17	Defying leaders, Norway trade unionists endorse Israel boycott	Electronic Intifada	445	40	0	0	0	0	3	136
20-May-17	Palestinians face biggest expulsion in years by settlers in Jerusalem	Electronic Intifada	92	2	69	29	2	0	0	97
21-May-17	UK elections - contact candidates	PSC	342	21	0	1	1	0	3	50
22-May-17	UK elections - contact candidates	PSC	187	16	2	0	0	0	4	38
22-May-17	Palestinian basic rights 'not on the agenda' for Trump	Al Jazeera	86	0	147	32	1	0	15	59
22-May-17	Infography: Day 35 Palestinian prisoners hunger strike	Visualizing Palestine	153	0	23	120	1	0	2	123

Palestine Solidarity Campaign (Anniversary of 2014 Gaza Attack)

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
2-Jul-17	Why are countless Palestinian photos and films buried in Israeli archives?	Haaretz	134	1	41	15	1	0	0	91
3-Jul-17	Palestinian minor held by Israel without charge denied family visits	Ma'an News	43	0	65	26	3	0	4	62
3-Jul-17	Get your MP to support Palestine in Parliament	PSC	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
3-Jul-17	Event: Palestine from Balfour to Apartheid; PSC at PalExpo	PSC	113	2	25	19	1	0	1	0
5-Jul-17	Get your MP to support Palestine in Parliament	PSC	248	23	0	0	0	0	6	36
5-Jul-17	Dutch protest Israeli seizure of Palestinian solar panels they funded in West Bank	Haaretz	269	1	113	25	7	1	13	185
6-Jul-17	Film gives 'human face' to Palestinian Bedouins' plight	Al Jazeera	85	1	9	16	0	0	0	50
6-Jul-17	Event: Palestine from Balfour to Apartheid; PSC at PalExpo	PSC	80	0	25	16	1	0	2	0
6-Jul-17	Gaza's only mobile theatre: Drawing a smile on children's lips	Middle East Eye	114	16	0	4	0	0	0	26
7-Jul-17	310 cases of Israeli violations against journalists	MEMO	60	0	55	17	0	0	4	63





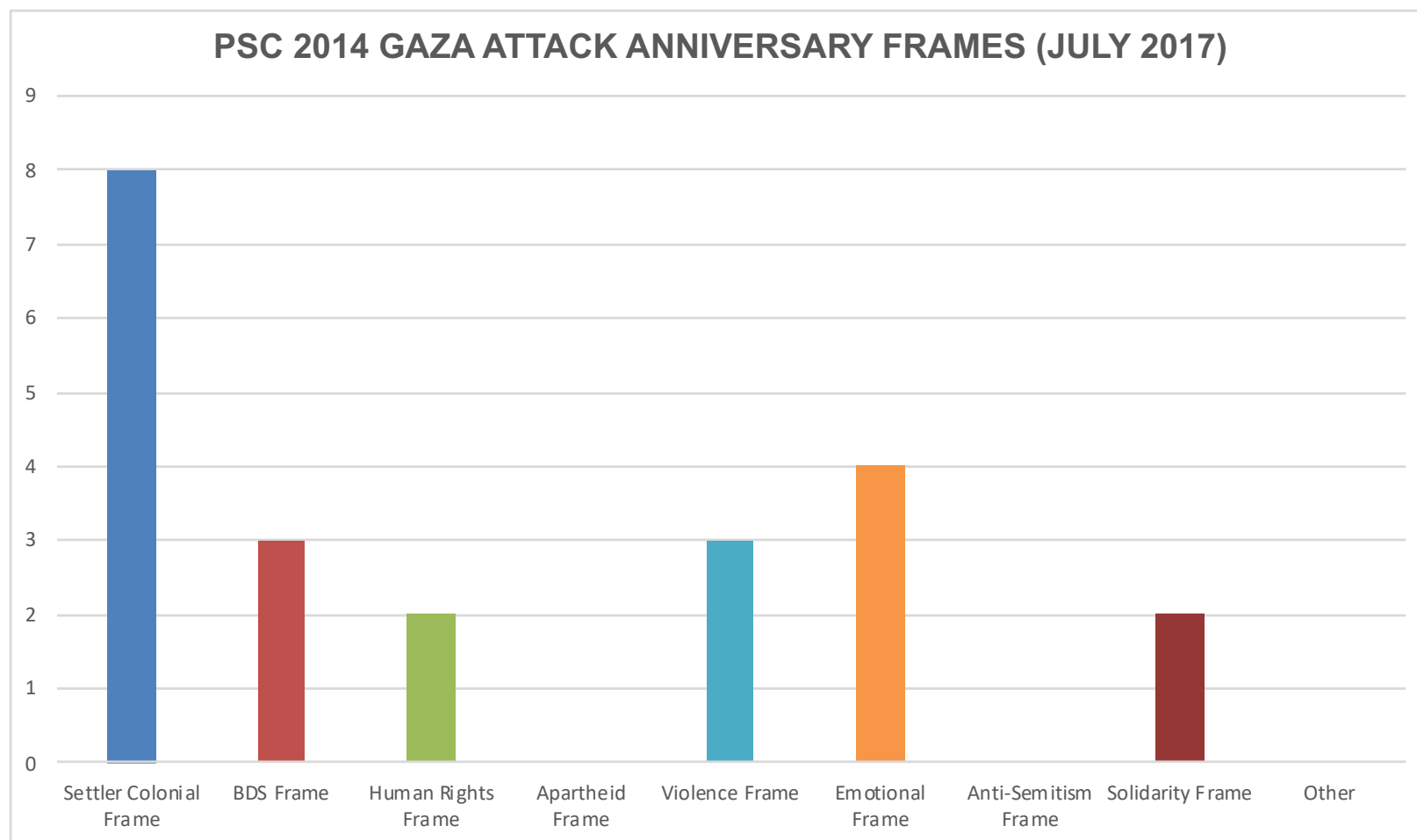
Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

8-Jul-17	Event: Palestine from Balfour to Apartheid; PSC at PalExpo	PSC	219	13	0	0	0	0	2	36
8-Jul-17	Infography: Gaza standards of living during a period of 'calm'	IMEU	93	0	77	58	2	0	1	0
8-Jul-17	PalExpo	PSC	172	15	0	0	0	0	8	38
9-Jul-17	The myth of a 'Palestinian economy'	Al Jazeera	64	0	22	12	0	0	1	45
9-Jul-17	Video: Israeli assault on Gaza 3 years ago	Jewish Voice for Peace	141	3	42	66	0	0	3	0
9-Jul-17	10-month-old Palestinian dies after being injured with Israeli tear gas 2 months ago	Ma'an News	45	0	72	57	0	0	4	62
10-Jul-17	Radiohead may never live down Tel Aviv show, says Ken Loach	Electronic Intifada	768	25	38	8	1	0	19	204
10-Jul-17	Palestinians brace for new West Bank settlement	Al Jazeera	52	0	52	11	1	0	0	47
12-Jul-17	A conversation with Roger Waters - Live on Facebook	BDS Movement	232	16	0	0	0	0	2	0
13-Jul-17	BDS gains support from US Mennonite churches	MEMO	279	17	0	0	0	0	1	58
13-Jul-17	Sole Gaza power station turned off due to fuel crisis	Al Jazeera	50	1	74	49	1	0	8	77

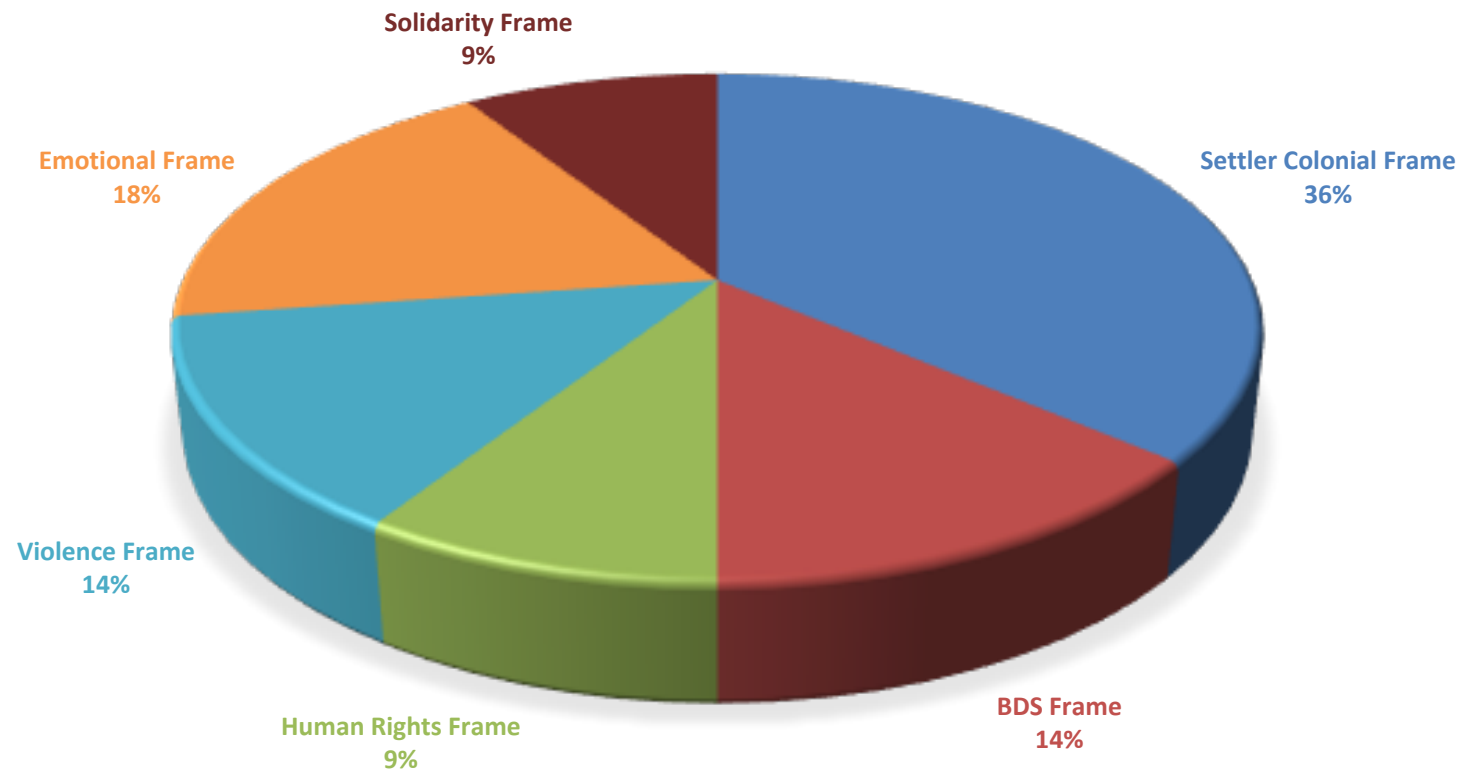
Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

14-Jul-17	3 Palestinians killed, 2 Israelis seriously injured in East Jerusalem shooting	Ma'an News	54	2	41	36	1	0	12	28
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Palestine Solidarity Campaign (Balfour Declaration 2 November 2017)										
Date	Topic	Source	Like	Love	Angry	Sad	Surprised	Laugh	Comments	Shared
26-Oct-17	Israel demolishes Palestinian Bedouin village for 120th time	Ma'an news	51	0	97	36	1	0	12	107
27-Oct-17	Video: Centenary of Balfour Declaration	Balfour: A colonial Project Campaign	173	6	2	8	0	0	3	193
29-Oct-17	FIFA will not take action on Israeli settlement teams	Al Jazeera	96	0	253	36	3	0	48	146
29-Oct-17	Israeli settlers continue widespread theft of Palestinian olive harvest in West Bank	Ma'an news	73	0	147	27	1	1	16	186
30-Oct-17	The love story of Fadwa and Marwan Barghouti	Al Jazeera	123	16	0	13	1	0	0	45
30-Oct-17	Stand with Issa Amor. March for Palestine.	PSC	125	8	0	5	0	0	3	39



PSC 2014 GAZA ATTACK ANNIVERSARY FRAMES (JULY 2017)



Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

30-Oct-17	UK should mark Balfour centenary by recognising Palestine, Labour says	Middle East Eye	441	38	0	3	1	0	8	159
31-Oct-17	Video: Balfour Declaration. March for Palestine	PSC	125	1	0	1	1	0	6	56
31-Oct-17	Palestinians to send 100,000 letters to UK PM denouncing Balfour Declaration	MEMO	323	30	6	5	0	0	13	107
1-Nov-17	Video: March for Palestine	PSC	84	5	0	0	0	0	4	17
1-Nov-17	Theresa May must raise human rights issues during Netanyahu's UK visit	Amnesty International	132	3	1	0	0	2	12	62
2-Nov-17	This week a world leader much worse than Donald Trump is visiting the UK --but I don't see any protests from MPs	The Independent	244	1	184	27	2	0	47	255
2-Nov-17	March for Palestine	PSC	95	2	9	14	0	0	2	59
3-Nov-17	March for Palestine	PSC	116	7	0	0	0	0	7	40

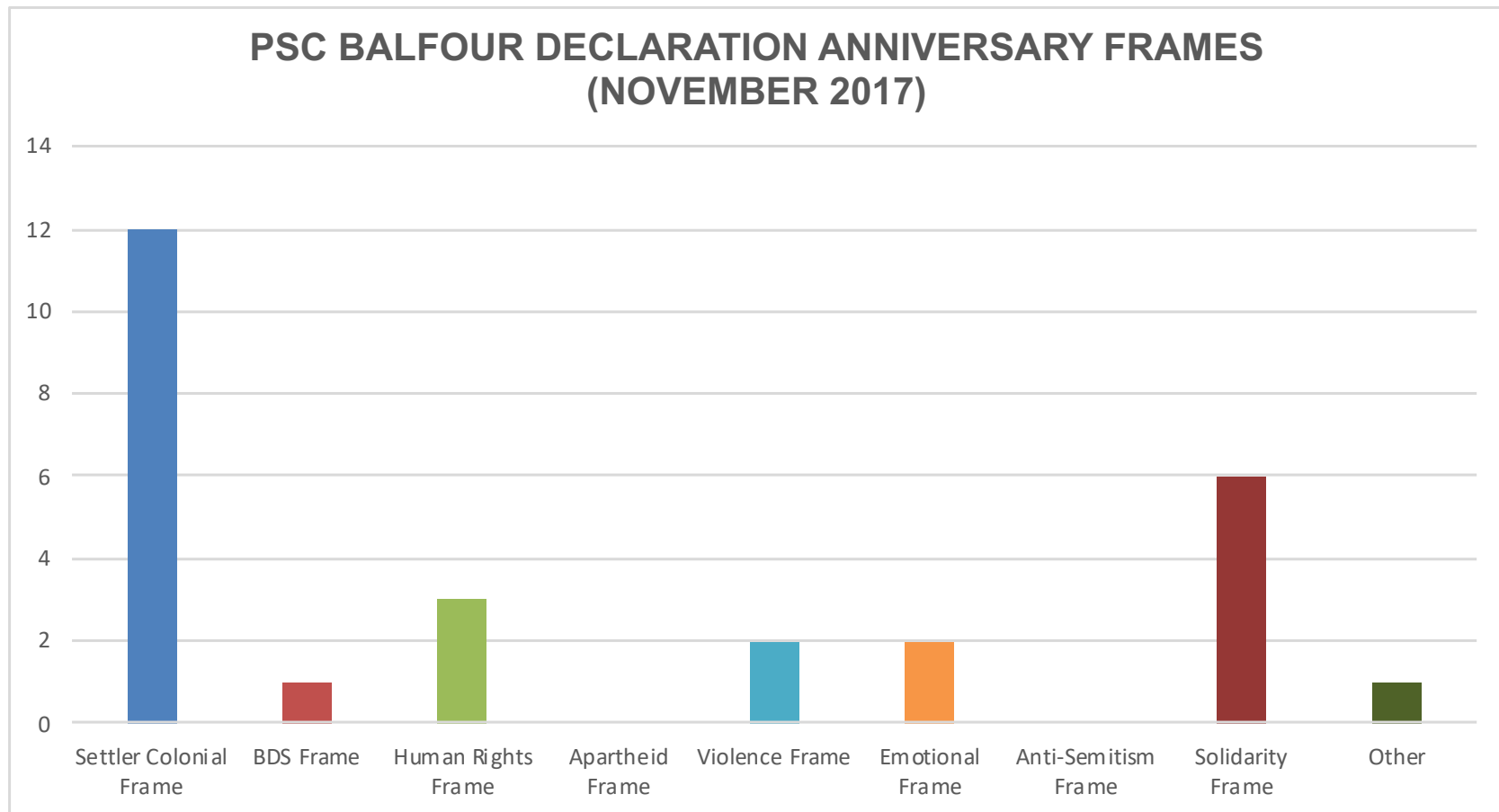
Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

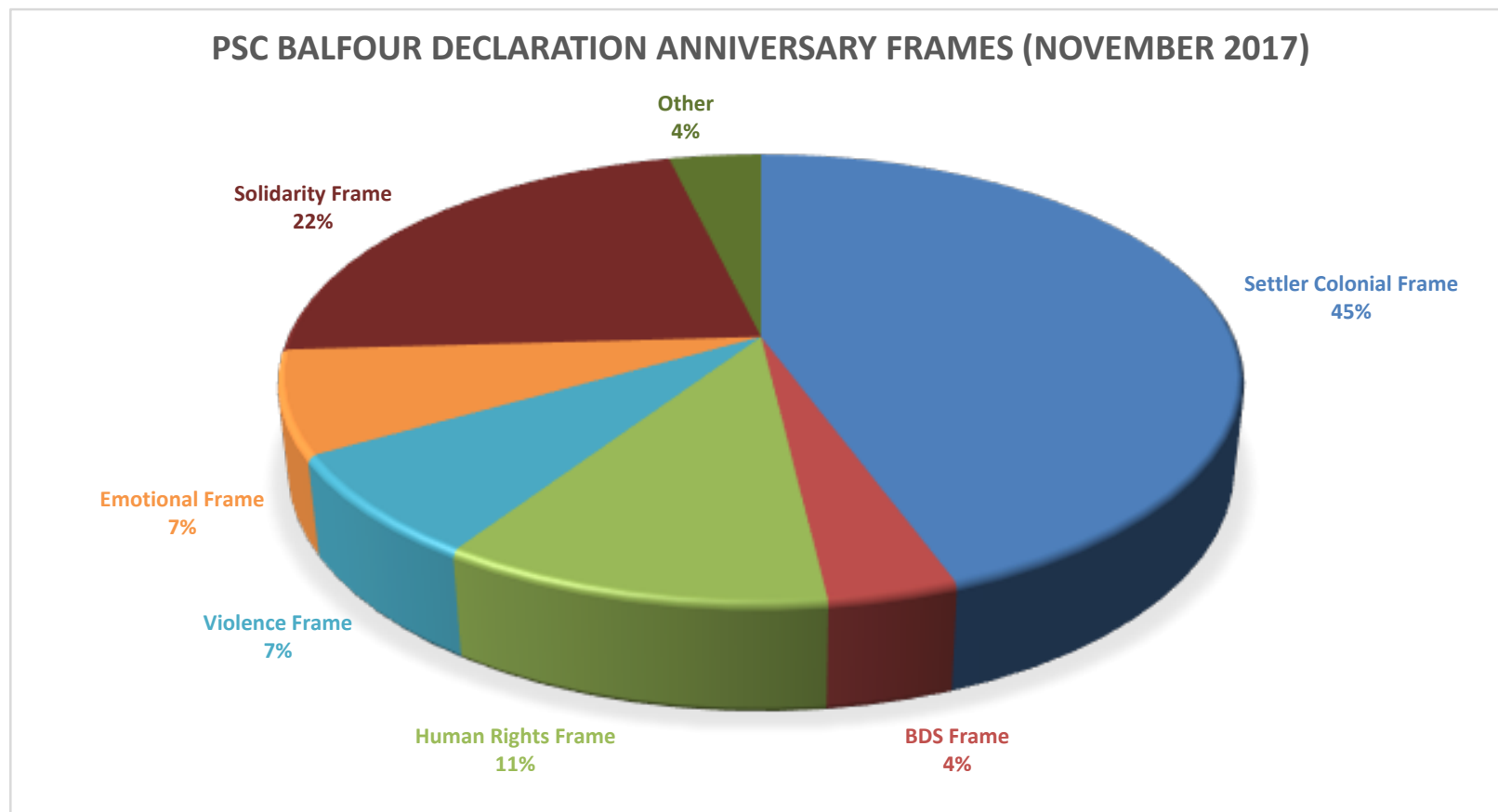
3-Nov-17	Um Abed: a Palestinian woman who embodies the Balfour legacy	Mondoweiss	97	7	3	53	1	0	3	81
3-Nov-17	Balfour Declaration at 100: From Ramallah to Pretoria	Al Jazeera	170	4	10	14	0	0	9	94
4-Nov-17	100 'Decolonise Palestine' posters appear in London for Balfour centenary	MEMO	495	49	0	1	2	3	10	157
4-Nov-17	Photo: March for Palestine	PSC	525	43	1	0	3	0	18	89
5-Nov-17	Palestinian prisoner gets '10 minutes' to see dying son	Al Jazeera	62	0	56	86	1	0	5	67
5-Nov-17	Nick Cave urged to cancel Tel Aviv shows by Roger Waters, Angela Davis, Thurston Moore	Mondoweiss	321	4	25	14	3	0	37	132
6-Nov-17	Join the Lobby of Parliament for Palestine (22 November)	PSC	136	0	58	31	2	0	12	95
6-Nov-17	Portrait of Palestine 2018 Calendar	PSC	77	10	0	0	0	0	1	21
7-Nov-17	Israeli forces open fire on fishermen, raze lands in Gaza	Ma'an news	27	0	45	14	0	0	9	31

Appendix I: PSC's Facebook Logs

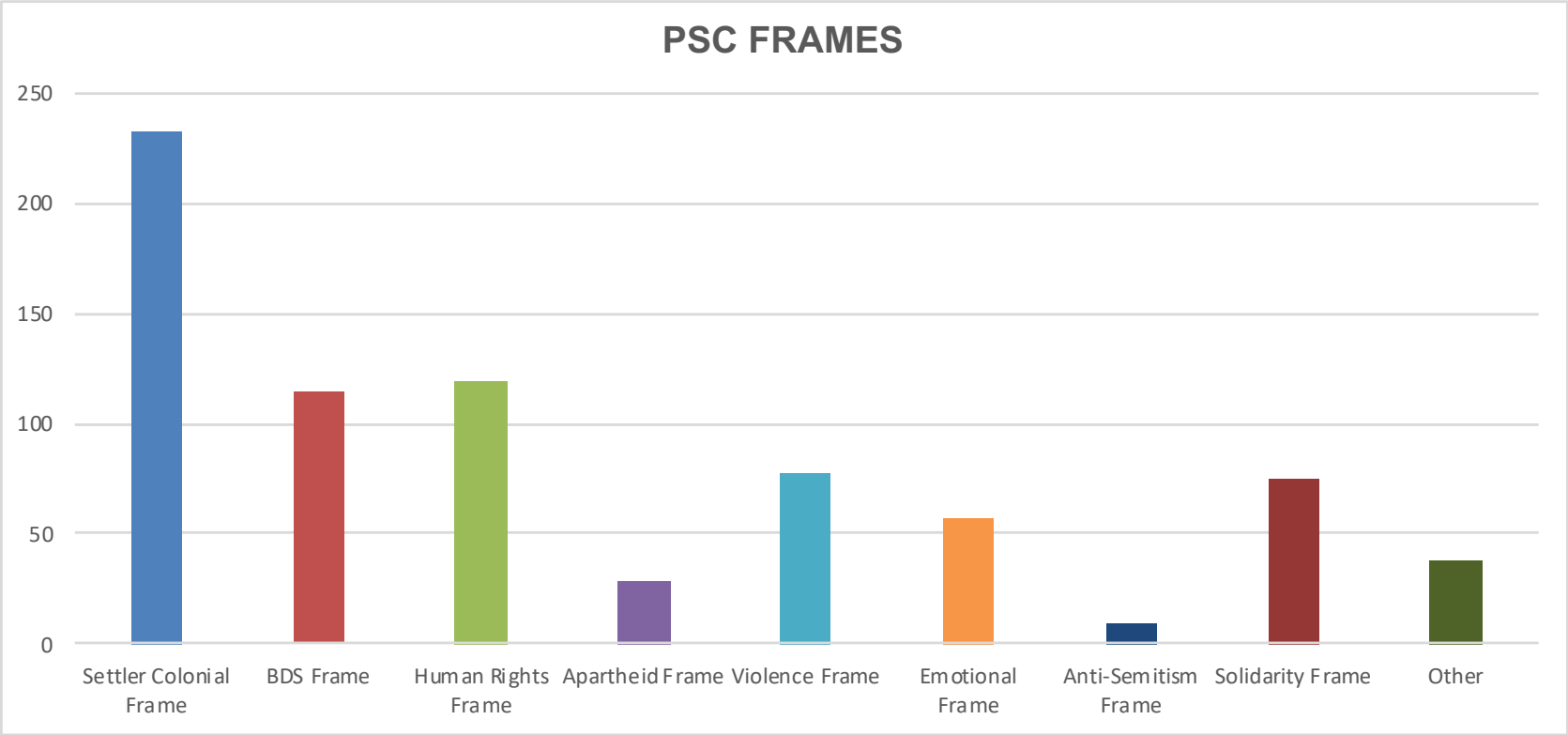
7-Nov-17	Video: National march for Palestine. Balfour Declaration	MEMO	633	70	3	8	1	0	16	0
8-Nov-17	Power crisis threatens livelihoods of Gaza farmers	Electronic Intifada	19	0	18	9	0	0	2	19
9-Nov-17	Israeli kindergarten raid terrifies Palestinian children	Al Jazeera	34	0	55	15	2	0	8	55
9-Nov-17	Lobby of Parliament (22 Novemeber)	PSC	62	5	0	0	0	0	0	22

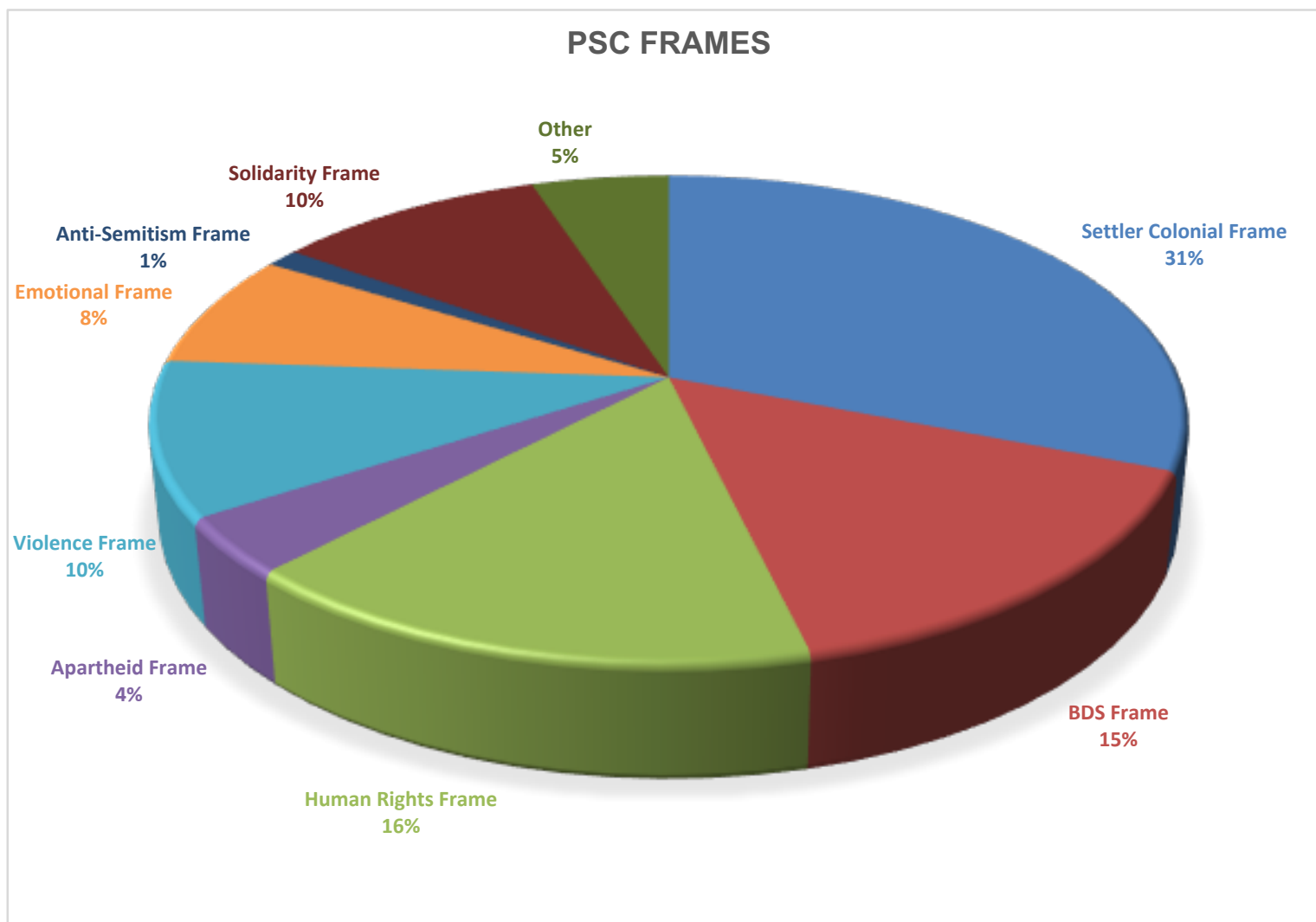
Overall Frame Statistics	
Categories	Number of Posts
Settler Colonial Frame	233
BDS Frame	114





Human Rights Frame	119
Apartheid Frame	28
Violence Frame	77
Emotional Frame	57
Anti-Semitism Frame	9
Solidarity Frame	75
Other	38





Appendix II: PSC's Self-Produced Media

PSC Press Release: New Statesman caves into external pressure and censors a Palestinian voice

POSTED ON DECEMBER 1, 2016

IN LATEST NEWS

Thursday 1 December 2016

On Wednesday Palestine Solidary Campaign (PSC) launched a public action calling for the *New Statesman* to republish an [article](#) by Salah Ajarma, co-founder and Director of the Lajee Cultural Centre in Aida Refugee Camp in Bethlehem.

The *New Statesman* originally published the piece as part of a two year partnership with the PSC, but deleted it without warning or explanation, following a campaign by the pro-Israel blogs [UK Media Watch](#) and [Honest Reporting](#). Within 24 hours of PSC launching the public action over 3,000 people have emailed Jason Cowley, the editor of the *New Statesman*, calling on him to republish the article, apologise to Salah, and affirm the *New Statesman's* commitment to freedom of expression.

"All of those, including journalists, who have a concern about justice and fair reporting, will be deeply alarmed at the New Statesman caving in to external pressure and agreeing to censor a Palestinian voice." Ben Jamal, PSC

"Living under occupation we are used to our voices being silenced by Israel – but we expect better from the UK which is supposed to be a democracy" Salah Ajarma
Salah's [article](#) describes the experiences of young Palestinian refugees in Aida camp and how Israel's illegal settlements impact on his life and the lives of people in his community. Salah's article was seen and approved by *New Statesman* editorial team before it was published online and read and shared by many thousands.

A few days later – without notice or explanation – the article was suddenly removed. The *New Statesman* has since refused to give an explanation to Salah and PSC as to why this action was taken. In an email to the PSC, the *New Statesman* initially stated that the article had been removed as a result of 'reader complaints', they would not give detail on the nature of the complaints or from whom they had been received.

Despite numerous requests, *New Statesman* Editor Jason Cowley, refused to have a conversation about the issue or to take any calls from PSC. PSC received a final email from the *New Statesman*, seven days after the article had been removed, indicating that the article had been removed because it conflicted with the magazine's editorial independence and stating that they would not be offering any further comment or having any further conversations with PSC.

PSC has been working with the *New Statesman* for two years to co-host events at Party Conferences and commission and publish online pieces. Three articles were published as part of this arrangement in 2015. This year the focus has been on Israel's illegal settlement programme, Salah's was the second in a series of five agreed articles. The articles published complimented the events hosted at the Labour Party and SNP conferences earlier this year.

PSC Director Ben Jamal said:

"PSC has had five articles published by the *New Statesman* within the terms of the partnership agreement in 2015 and 2016. Following the publication of Salah Arjama's article a number of pro-Israel blogs started a campaign for the *New Statesman* to end its partnership with PSC and cease publishing the articles.

"It is a sad reflection of the political climate we inhabit that voices raised in support of the Palestinian struggle for justice and equal rights routinely face a concerted lobby to silence them. We expect journals like the *New Statesman* to withstand such pressure and demonstrate a commitment to freedom of expression. All of those, including journalists, who have a concern about justice and fair reporting, will be deeply alarmed at the *New Statesman* caving in to external pressure and agreeing to censor a Palestinian voice.

"If it is to restore its reputation as a journal of merit the *New Statesman* needs to republish Salah's article and offer him an apology for the astonishing disrespect it has shown to him and to his work."

Salah Ajarma said:

"Living under occupation we are used to our voices being silenced by Israel – but we expect better from the UK which is supposed to be a democracy"

PSC supporters have been emailing the *New Statesman* to complain that their decision undermines freedom of expression and gives encouragement to those who seek to bully and intimidate media outlets in order to suppress the publication of Palestinian voices. PSC and its supporters are calling on the *New Statesman* to:

- Republish the article
- Offer an apology to Salah Ajarma for removing it without good cause
- Make a clear public statement affirming their commitment to upholding the principle of freedom of expression

ENDS

Opinion
Israel

Fifa must ban these Israeli settlement teams, if it wants a level playing field

Ben Jamal

Thu 13 Oct 2016 09:00 BST



296 299

There is a rising tide of pressure, including UN intervention, calling for exclusion. Any other decision would go against football's core principle of impartiality



▲ 'Six Israeli clubs are playing in illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank.' Photograph: Thomas Coex/AFP/Getty Images

As a follower of football, I am passionate and partisan when supporting my team. But, like all fans, I am infuriated when I sense that a referee is not applying the rules impartially. At the heart of the beautiful game is that simple principle of fairness: that we are all playing on a level playing field.

Holding true to that fundamental has enabled sport to play a leading role in addressing wider societal inequalities - as, for example, when [the sporting boycott of South Africa](#) played such a key role in addressing apartheid. There's no reason it shouldn't do likewise in Palestine.

Tuesday's [welcome intervention by Wilfried Lemke](#), the UN special adviser on sport for development and peace, was in the spirit of these principles. Lemke reiterates the simple message that "all teams playing in recognised Fifa competitions should abide by the laws of the game".

Today the monitoring committee established a year ago by Fifa to address the question of whether the Israeli football association (IFA) is in violation of Fifa rules will make its recommendations. The evidence before the committee is straightforward and overwhelming. The rules prohibit a member association holding competitions on the territory of another without permission. [Six Israeli clubs are playing](#) in illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank.

Lemke's letter confirms the UN's clear position as to the illegality of Israel's settlements. This position has been confirmed by numerous UN resolutions, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a 2004 international court of justice ruling. And Lemke's intervention follows a [comprehensive report by Human Rights Watch](#) stating that the settlement teams are playing on land unlawfully taken from Palestinians.

The report goes further, saying that by allowing the Israeli Football Association (IFA) to hold matches on this land Fifa is enabling business activity that supports the settlements more broadly. In doing so, [Fifa](#) is in violation of the human rights commitments it has recently affirmed.

An [April 2016 report](#) commissioned by Fifa recommended that it implement the UN guiding principles on business and human rights (UNGP) throughout its activities. Newly elected Fifa president [Gianni Infantino pledged](#) on taking office to take seriously their social and ethical responsibilities. This is his chance to show he means it.

There is now a rising tide of pressure on Fifa to act. [Some 66 MEPs](#) and [six leading human rights lawyers](#), have all made calls for Fifa to act to ensure it applies its statutes appropriately to the IFA. More than [150,000 ordinary football fans have also signed a petition](#). In the UK fans have been making their views clear, with [prominent demonstrations](#) at Wales v Israel games in 2015 and 2016, and of course the [Celtic fans' demonstration](#) earlier this year.

The test, for now, is whether Fifa's stated intentions to take its responsibilities seriously has meaning. But this test also applies more broadly. The UK government agrees that Israeli settlements are illegal but continues to provide substantial support to them.

Much of the Israeli agricultural produce sold in the UK is [grown in illegal settlements](#) and benefits from preferential trade agreements with the UK via the EU. The ICRC ruling in 2004 commits governments to take "positive action". Common Article 1 in the Geneva Conventions states: "The high contracting parties [of which the UK is one] undertake to respect and ensure respect for the present conventions."

The UK government, like Fifa, should live up to its responsibilities and implement a ban on settlement produce as well as taking other measures to end the UK's complicity with settlements. At the [Palestine Solidarity Campaign](#) we will [continue to push for action](#).

Put simply, it is time for all bodies to stop talking about Israel's settlements as illegal and to start treating them as such. Israel has long claimed that the global campaign calling for it to be held to account for its violations of human rights and international law occupation is seeking to hold [Israel](#) to a different standard than that expected of other nations - and in doing so questions the motivations of advocates of the campaign. The opposite is true.

The call is for Israel to be treated like other nations, and for it to abide by the same rules. The rules that Fifa applied to clubs in Northern Cyprus and South Ossetia, among others, who are excluded from competition, should now be applied to the IFA. Any other decision would represent a fundamental violation of the principle that makes football so popular: that we are all equal under the law and all play under the same set of rules.

The Frontline of Israel's Settlement Regime by Salah Ajarma

POSTED ON NOVEMBER 18, 2016

IN POLITICAL UPDATES, PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS

Aida

Bethlehem

new statesman

Palestine

Refugees

settlements

By Salah Ajarma, the cofounder and director of Lajee Cultural Centre in Aida Refugee camp.

Aida refugee camp, in which I live and work, is on the edge of the famous town of Bethlehem. Our families established the camp in 1950 after being forcibly expelled from their homes by Zionist militias in 1948. Palestinians from our camp originate from villages in the Jerusalem and Hebron districts, just a few miles down the road. Those born since, still live in the refugee camp, and continue to struggle for the right to return to our homes.

In April 2000, me and a number of friends established the Lajee Centre, a community-based cultural centre for young refugees living in the camp. Through it we have sought to provide opportunities for the cultural, educational and social development of our young people, despite the violent military occupation under which we live. As an occupied refugee people, we are aware of the duty to educate our youth about their history and their rights. Only in this way will our struggle for freedom be carried to the next generation.

In 2002, Israel's government began the construction of its illegal wall.[1] Its consequences are now perhaps well known – land confiscation, ghettoization, and an accelerated ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. In Aida the wall has been particularly obtrusive with its towering concrete blocks built directly opposite the Centre. The young people I work with have only ever known a life surrounded by this wall and under the constant surveillance of its ominous watchtowers. Before its construction, families and children would spend time in nature, in the olive groves that neighbored the camp. As one of the few green spaces available to us, I would often go there for picnics with my family when the weather was warm. This has now been shut off from us, creating a menacing, stifling atmosphere that we cannot escape. On the hill opposite, Israel's illegal settlement of Gilo continues expanding onto land confiscated by the wall.



In October 2015, Aida Camp buried one of its sons, Abd al-Rahman Ubeidallah, who was shot in the chest by an Israeli sniper. He was 13 years old and killed on his way home from school. His peers, almost without exception, have all been arrested, beaten or fired upon. The head of Lajee's film unit, Mohammad, was shot in the eye with a rubber-coated steel bullet whilst filming Israeli violations in the camp in 2013. We are routinely broken into by Israeli soldiers and border police who invade the camp, firing teargas indiscriminately and threatening our families over loudspeakers.

These intolerable conditions are particularly difficult for our young people who, in the midst of such cruelty, maintain an extraordinary optimism. It is difficult to understand how children raised in such an awful situation can remain so full of gentleness and hope. Lajee is always alive with laughter, dancing and singing and our youth have transformed this dreadful situation into a boundless love for our people and an insistent demand for freedom. Their resilience never ceases to inspire me, and it is for their future, and the future of my two young daughters, that I continue my work. These young people deserve to live with dignity and peace.

Our work in Lajee has found support from around the world. From the UK there has been a steady stream of delegations – teachers, trade unionists, students, doctors, politicians and academics – who have visited our Centre. Early this year I came to the UK with our dabke troupe, performing traditional Palestinian dance to packed out venues up and down the country. When Celtic supporters raised funds for Palestine in anticipation of a UEFA fine, it was to our football club that they donated over £79,000. Our experience of the generosity of the British people has left us in little doubt as to their values and their willingness to stand in solidarity with our just case.

The same cannot be said of the UK Government. As Palestinians, we know all too well the dishonourable history of Britain in our region, a legacy that has yet to be resolved. The UK Government, like many others, continues to support the discredited 'peace process' whilst taking very little meaningful action. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of Israel's continued construction of colonial settlements. The UK regards settlements as illegal and a barrier to peace, whilst nevertheless continuing to trade with them.[2] The contraction between their stated aims, on the one hand, and the ongoing financial relationship between UK-based companies and charities, on the other, has led to the longstanding perception amongst Palestinians that the UK Government is not serious about its desire for peace. What other explanation could there be for this inconsistency?

For us, talk of peace is contradicted by our daily experience of an oppression that receives significant material and financial support from the 'international community'. That the collective efforts of the EU, the US and the UN have failed to even freeze the construction of settlements, never mind begin to dismantle them, feels indicative to Palestinians of the regard with which our rights are held. Settlement construction has become a touchstone issue because it reflects the reluctance of the international community to take even the most minimal action to check the relentless march of Israeli colonisation.

We need a different strategy, one in which the international community takes measures to pressure Israel into meeting its obligations under international law. Ending settlement trade is the place to start as there is already broad international agreement on their illegality. This international consensus needs to be actualised by halting the building of settlements and dismantling those already constructed. This would lay the foundation for a just peace in which the rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and to return to their homes can be realised.

For us in Aida, on the frontline of Israel's settlement regime, the situation is urgent. Ending trade with settlements would deny Israel the means of maintaining their occupation and give us some relief from its immediate, choking effects. This would provide our children and us with the first glimmer of hope for a future of justice, dignity and peace.

[1] International Court of Justice: Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

[2] Trading Away Peace: How Europe Helps sustain illegal Israeli Settlements.

PSC welcomes Security Council resolution

POSTED ON DECEMBER 24, 2016

IN PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS

UN Security Council passes resolution condemning Israeli settlements

The resolution passed by the UN Security Council on Friday is to be welcomed. The resolution demands that "Israel immediately and completely cease all settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem". It reaffirms the illegality of the settlements and their existence as a barrier to peace.

The passing of the resolution reaffirms the clear international consensus on settlements. Israel's response to the resolution being passed despite intense diplomatic efforts on its part to prevent it, demonstrates how isolated it has become in the international community. Its statement that it will ignore the resolution and withdraw its ambassador from New Zealand, the resolution's sponsor, is evidence of a continuing contempt for international law and the views of the international community.

What is required now is action. This resolution simply reaffirms the long held position regarding the illegality of Israel's settlements, destruction of Palestinian homes and forced displacement of Palestinians from their land. Indeed the resolution references ten resolutions previously passed by the Security Council along similar lines. **It is time for the world to stop talking about Israel's settlements as illegal and to start treating them as such.**

UK Government support for the resolution was welcome and reaffirms the longstanding UK Government position regarding settlements. However, whilst the UK Government recognises Israeli settlements to be "illegal and a barrier to peace", the UK continues to provide substantial support to settlements. Much of the Israeli agricultural produce sold in the UK is grown in illegal Israeli settlements and benefits from preferential trade agreements with the UK. Meanwhile, companies and charities registered in the UK do business in settlements, sending money in support of projects that expand and entrench Israeli domination.

The passing of the UNSCR should be a motor to the UK Government to fulfill its own responsibilities under international law and take action against settlements. PSC's settlements campaign launched in 2016 calls for the following

1. Commit to a thorough review of all UK financial relationships with Israeli settlements. Publish and promote a stronger set of guidelines to businesses and banks to ensure they have no trading, financial or investment links with settlements
2. Ensure that settlements are excluded from all bilateral and multilateral arrangements between the UK and Israel.
3. Ban the importation of settlement products to the UK.

Israel says it will ignore this resolution just as it has ignored the previous ones. If the UK government is truly committed to the search for peace and the upholding of international law then it must demonstrate this through action.

PSC Director's Blog: Israel isolates itself from the world

POSTED ON DECEMBER 29, 2016

IN LATEST NEWS, OPINION, POLITICAL UPDATES, PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS

Israel Palestine PSC settlements UK West Bank

By Ben Jamal, Director Palestine Solidarity Campaign

The significance of the UN Security Council resolution passed on December 23rd rests more in Israel's reaction to it than the substance of the resolution itself. The resolution does not set any new policy position or commit the UN to any action to which it is not already committed. It reaffirms the view held by the UN and all national governments bar Israel that Israel is illegally occupying Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem and that its policy of settlement building in East Jerusalem and the West Bank violates international law and is a barrier to peace. Samantha Power, US ambassador to the UN, described the resolution as in line with US Policy going back 5 decades.

What is new is the US decision to reverse a policy of blocking Security Council resolutions critical of Israel and it is this which has provoked a reaction from the Israeli government that can only be described as hysterical and extreme. To recap, Israel has recalled its ambassador from New Zealand, sponsor of the resolution, withdrawn economic support from Senegal, a co sponsor, called in the ambassador of every nation supporting the motion, including the UK and the US for a Christmas Day dressing down threatening to review its diplomatic relations with all of them save the US, and threatened to withdraw all of its funding to the UN and review the right of UN bodies to work within Israel. In effect it has declared diplomatic war on the world.

Netanyahu has promised that the election of Donald Trump will herald a new world order where there will be harsh consequences for any nation that dares to criticise Israel. To add to the framing of the entire world ganging up on Israel, Naftali Bennet, Education Minister, described support for the resolution as akin to support for terrorism and Michael Oren, ex Israeli ambassador to the U S and Likud member of the Knesset called the vote simply antisemitic.

Israel's reaction makes three things clear. Firstly, it is no longer possible for Israel's supporters and defenders to sustain the myth that Israel is committed in any sense to allowing the development of a Palestinian state. Its reaction to the resolution is rooted in a belief that it has a supreme claim to all of the territory which could form such a state and a denial of the world's view that it is an illegal occupier.

Secondly that there are no limits to which Israel is prepared to push the narrative that criticism of its actions is inherently antisemitic or complicit with support for terrorism. Sadly and shamefully, some of Israel's most prominent supporters in the UK including the Board of Deputies of British Jews have followed this line **describing** the vote as a hostile act, and questioning the motivations of those, including the UK Government, who supported it.

Israel's strategy, if one can be discerned, is to rely on the support of what can only be described as extreme elements within the incoming Trump administration who share the view that Israel's claim to supremacy over all of the territory of historic Palestine supercedes international law, world opinion and democratic principles. Netanyahu's hope must be that Israel's power backed up by US support will cause the world to stand back and watch as Israel establishes an effective apartheid state.

The UK Government's welcome support for the resolution is in line with its stated position on settlements and the illegality of Israel's occupation. Given the clear evidence that Israel cannot be persuaded to accept this view and intends to continue to thumb its nose at world opinion it is time to follow up words with action. **PSC has called** for the UK to fulfill its obligations under International law by ensuring that settlements are excluded from all bilateral and multilateral arrangements between the UK and Israel and by banning the importation of settlement products to the UK. In short we need to stop talking about settlements as illegal and start treating them as such.

Defending the right to protest.

By Ben Jamal

POSTED ON NOVEMBER 28, 2016

IN [BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT & SANCTIONS](#), [OPINION](#)

[BDS](#)

[Ben Jamal](#)

[boycott](#)

[Israel](#)

[Palestine](#)

Ben Jamal is the Director of Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

In a month where human rights activists across the world absorbed the shock of the election of Donald Trump, Israel's relentless campaign to silence protest against its abuses of Palestinians continued apace. Last week on, Wednesday 16th November in New York, the Israeli ambassador to the UN Danny Danon, hosted hundreds of academics and lawyers who met to discuss how to use the law to render boycott campaigns illegal. Danon added that the struggle against BDS (boycott, divestment and sanctions campaigns) was taking place in many countries but that mechanisms were being put in place to frustrate the movement's initiatives.

"We are advancing legislation in many countries against the BDS, including in the US so that it will simply be illegal to boycott Israel," he stated. "In my opinion the combination of the courts, legislative houses and students on campus is a winning combination. I sincerely believe that it is possible to beat the BDS movement. We need to raise our heads and fight against them."

Earlier in the week on Monday 15th in Washington, a bipartisan bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, a companion bill to one introduced in the Senate in September. The bills seek to impose financial penalties on entities boycotting Israel including those boycotting Israeli settlements.

On Tuesday 15th November in the House of Commons Eric Pickles MP, Chair of Conservative Friends of Israel, spoke at a meeting organised by a student group looking to promote pro-Israel activism on campus and suppress BDS activity. In his speech he compared activism on behalf of Palestinian rights to Nazi like behaviour, specifically equating BDS with the boycotts imposed by Nazis on Jewish shops in 1930's Germany. This is a line Pickles has used before. In 2011 student activist at Kings College London protested against a visit by an ex-IDF general. The protest was loud and rowdy and a window was cracked when 3 or 4 activists banged on it as they chanted for a free Palestine. Speaking about the protest on Sky News, Pickles described it as like Kristallnacht, referring to the night in November 1938 when Nazis set fire to Synagogues, vandalised Jewish homes, and killed close to 100 Jews.

Meanwhile in Israel, on Monday 14th, a bill that would deny entry to Israel to individuals calling for a boycott of Israel or representing an NGO that does, passed its first reading in the Knesset.

And so over just a couple of days we see all the ingredients which have characterised the campaign Israel has escalated in the past few years designed to undermine BDS and to suppress wider activism on behalf of Palestinians. The tactics are simple: where possible introduce laws to render boycotts illegal; target campuses to stifle the growth of Palestinian activism; re-frame Palestinian activism as hostile, extremist, and antisemitic. Central to the latter tactic is the attempt to enforce the usage of a definition of antisemitism which explicitly incorporates criticism of Israel into its terms and thereby conflates anti-Zionism with antisemitism. PSC issued a press release about [this process](#). Ben White has outlined the context of Israel's policy to suppress BDS [here](#).

So how do we as activists for Palestinian rights respond?

There seem to me to be some straightforward precepts which should guide our response:

1. Be clear about the values of our campaign and ensure that our method of campaigning always reflects them. The campaign for justice for Palestinians is rooted in anti-racism and in a belief in the basic human rights of every individual regardless of ethnicity, culture or religious belief. We are anti-Zionist on the basis of understanding Zionism in the 21st century to mean the claim of the right of Israel to exist as a state which privileges the rights of a Jewish majority above those of non Jewish citizens. These principles should inform how we campaign, so that we avoid dehumanising those whose policies and behaviour we oppose – when they go low, we go high.
2. Challenge directly the attempt to re-frame our movement and to equate anti-Zionism with antisemitism. PSC wrote about this last May in a [Q and A](#) which directly addressed the attacks on our campaigning and reaffirmed the principles which inform it.
3. Recognise the strategy being employed to suppress BDS and counter it. PSC has [directly addressed](#) attempts to redefine antisemitism to suppress criticism of Israel. We also gave a submission to the [Chakrabati report](#) which covered these issues in more depth and a response to the Home Affairs Select Committee report on [antisemitism](#). We are working with others to assess legal options for challenging the introduction of laws to prevent BDS actions. We are working with key partners to support students and provide them with the resources they need including planning a student conference in the New Year.
4. Work with a broader range of allies who campaign for freedom of expression and civil liberties. I wrote [earlier this month](#) about how the attempt to suppress BDS represents a serious assault on freedom of expression. Earlier this summer PSC convened a summit of organisations campaigning for Palestine as the first stage in building a broader coalition to protect the right to Protest.

Fundamentally however we need to recognise that the escalation in Israel's attempts to suppress activism for Palestine is a reaction to its concerns about the growing momentum globally for BDS. Israel has identified BDS as a strategic threat of the [first order](#).

Therefore **key to our response is not to be diverted or distracted from our campaigning**. Last week, as Eric Pickles spoke in parliament, hundreds of PSC members and supporters were participating in the annual lobby of parliament calling upon their MPs to put pressure on the government to take action against Israel's illegal settlement project. The ask was simple – stop talking about settlements as illegal and start treating them as such: banning the import of settlement goods and reviewing all UK financial relationships with settlements.

The 26th November saw the launch of an international week of action to protest technology giant Hewlett Packard's complicity with the occupation. This follows a successful week of action in the UK in [June](#) which saw protests at more than 20 locations in the UK. At the time of writing the International week of action promises to be the largest ever coordinated BDS activity with nearly 100 events planned in 85 cities across 18 countries.

We are facing an enormously challenging climate with deep concern about the direction of global politics. Donald Trump's election was **welcomed** by members of the Israeli government as providing a green light for Israel to drive forward the occupation and end any prospect of Palestinian self determination. From my early days as a political activist I have always held true Edmund Burke's observation that "all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good people do nothing" Israel's illegitimate control over Palestinian lives is a modern evil and the forces sustaining it are powerful. Now, more than ever, we need to remind Palestinians that they are not alone and that across the world are allies committed to stand in solidarity and defend justice.

PSC takes government to court

POSTED ON DECEMBER 16, 2016

IN LATEST NEWS

BDS

We're taking the government to court over its crack down on our right to run boycott, divestment and sanction (BDS) campaigns.

In November new government regulations aimed at preventing Local Government Pension Schemes from divesting from companies involved in human rights abuses in Israel came into force. **Today we are announcing that PSC will be challenging them in court.**

We know that limiting our right to run effective BDS campaigns is one of a number of ways the campaign for Palestine is being undermined

But we refuse to let this happen. We will not go silent. Which is why we're taking the government to court and why **we need your help**. Campaigns like this cost money, and we can't afford to do this without your support. **Donate today to support our campaign.**

This week we submitted evidence to ask for a judicial review of these regulations. **Which means we are attempting to get these government regulations overturned in court.**

The boycott, divestment and sanctions movement is modeled on the successful anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa. It is a traditional and effective form of non-violent protest. A way for us, as citizens, to hold those who perpetrate and profit from human rights abuses to account.

While our government tries to take our right to this form of peaceful protest away, we are standing strong – we are going to make them answer their case in court.

We know this is going to be a long and hard battle. We know that it is going to take time and resources. But we also know that we have to be prepared to stand up for our right to campaign so that we can keep raising the call for Palestinian rights, freedom and justice for as long as we need to.

Please donate today. A donation now will put us in good stead to take this forward and mean that we can keep campaigning on for justice for Palestine in all other arenas too.

Haneen Zoabi: Justice for Palestinians in Israel

POSTED ON JANUARY 27, 2017

IN ACTIONS, LATEST NEWS

Many of you have heard of **Haneen Zoabi MK- the first female Palestinian member of the Israeli Knesset on an Arab List** and member of the Balad party. Most of you will have heard her bravely advocating for equal citizenship rights for the Palestinian citizens of Israel, as well as of her presence on board the Mavi Mamara flotilla to Gaza in 2010.



This week, **Haneen travelled to the UK to visit the Palestine Solidarity Campaign**. She **addressed hundreds of members at our AGM** to a standing ovation, as well as the Richmond branch, speaking about the daily oppression Palestinians face in Israel. PSC also organised several **primetime media opportunities** for Haneen to get the message out to the British public on the real situation in Palestine. On the **BBC Radio 4 Today** programme, **Sky News** and **LBC**, she spoke of the reality Palestinians face. Home demolitions in the Bedouin village of Umm al-Hiran, expulsion from their land, the unending siege of Gaza, the threat posed by Trump, and the **86 discriminatory laws** Palestinians are subject to within Israel. Haneen also met privately with several MPs to create new relationships and build their knowledge of Palestine.



From next week, we'll be **posting each one of these interviews on our social media channels** so that every supporter can listen to Haneen's message. Look out also for a **feature interview** with Haneen in **the Guardian** from 30 January.

These early successes are part of our **new media and communications push** across the UK, and are **critical to reaching a wider audience**. We know that Palestinian voices are not often heard by the British public, and consequently their experiences are marginalised. This week, **millions of British people heard Haneen speak** passionately and truthfully on Palestine – the Today programme has 12 million listeners alone.

We are **tremendously proud to have hosted Haneen Zoabi** here in the UK, and she is heartened by the groundswell of solidarity from supporters like you. **Without you, there is no grassroots support for Palestine**. Without you, there are no British voices highlighting injustice and human rights violations, day in and day out with your MPs.

Just before she traveled to London, Haneen **attended a protest against the demolition of Umm al-Hiran**, a Palestinian Bedouin village in the south of the Negev desert. **Eight houses were demolished and two people killed** – Yaakub Abu al-Qiyan, a schoolteacher, and Erez Levy, a policeman. The village is still under threat of demolition. Haneen needs your help to raise the international outcry and stop the villagers from being evicted from their homes. **We need you to take action and write to your MP asking them to bring this matter to the Foreign Secretary as a matter of urgency**.

The British government can make a difference here – international protest stopped the bulldozers last time, and can do so again.



Press release: PSC responds to Home Affairs Select Committee report

POSTED ON OCTOBER 15, 2016

IN PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS

The Home Affairs Committee report: Opposition to antisemitism must not prevent scrutiny of Israeli human rights abuses

The Palestine Solidarity Campaign has responded to the Home Affairs Select Committee report on antisemitism.

Chair of Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Hugh Lanning, criticises its recommendations: "It is muddled and fails to differentiate between the actions rightfully needed to combat antisemitism and those which would clamp down on legitimate calls to end the abuses carried out by Israel".

"The report correctly asserts that antisemitism must be challenged wherever it is found – a commitment Palestine Solidarity Campaign fully endorses. We share the Committee's assertion that antisemitism must be opposed in a way that maintains freedom of speech on Israel and Palestine. Therefore we find it very worrying that the report recommends adoption of a discredited definition of antisemitism that dangerously conflates anti-Zionism with antisemitism."

The modified form of the discredited 'EUMC definition' of antisemitism would, if adopted, render illegitimate, and potentially criminal, calls for action to address Israel's persistent denial of Palestinian rights.

Despite noting that the Director of the University of London's Pears Institute for the Study of Antisemitism regards the definition as having "largely fallen out of favour, in part due to continued controversy regarding its application to the State of Israel and its policies" (see note 4), the Committee call on government to adopt it in a modified form.

The definition explicitly incorporates criticisms of Israel as a category of antisemitism. The report suggests additional clarifications to the definition, which it asserts will protect legitimate criticism of Israel but these will, in our view, have a chilling effect on what can be said in opposition to Israel's policies of discrimination and oppression towards the Palestinian people. (see note 5)

"We are concerned that the report lacks political objectivity in its characterisation of what constitutes legitimate debate about Israel and Palestine."

It describes Israel as a liberal democracy in which the actions of the government are openly critiqued and debated by its citizens. This ignores the reality of the implementation of a range of laws and policies by the Israeli government in recent years which have stifled dissent and been described by a range of respected international observers as profoundly undemocratic. In April, for example, Amnesty International urged the Israeli government to cease its intimidation of human rights defenders in Israel and the West Bank. (see note 6)

The democratic nature of the Israeli state should be the subject of legitimate debate and scrutiny in the UK particularly within academic environments. Yet in its section on how debate should be conducted on campus the report cautions against what it defines as simplistic formulations. This would render illegitimate formulations which categorise the situation as one in which one party, Israel, exercises overarching power over Palestinian lives.

Most concerning, asking law enforcement officers to adopt a definition of antisemitism which incorporates criticism of Israel within its categories risks the policing of political debate. (see note 7)

We believe this runs counter to everyone's freedom of expression – a right guaranteed in European law.

In 2014 the UK government in its response to the APPG report on antisemitism indicated it opposed the adoption of the EUMC definition. We believe that a recognition of the highly politicised and contested nature of the definition informed this decision [see note 8]. Nothing in our view has altered the context of that judgment and we urge the Government to ignore the report's recommendation to adopt the IHRA definition which is substantially the same. To do otherwise would deny people their basic right to challenge both the policies of the Israeli government as well as the doctrine which informs those policies. It would as in our view undermine the struggle against racism. In the words of Dr Brian Klug "When every anti-Zionist is an anti-Semite, we no longer know how to recognize the real thing – the concept of anti-Semitism loses its significance" [note 9].

Notes for Editors:

1. Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) is the UK's largest organisation working for Palestinian human rights. Founded in 1982, it campaigns for peace, equality, and justice and against racism, occupation, and colonisation.
2. Opposing racism, including anti-Jewish prejudice, is one of PSC's constitutional aims. PSC does not tolerate antisemitism at its events or amongst its supporters.
3. For more information, contact Ben Jamal on ben.jamal@palestinecampaign.org
4. Paragraph 20 of the report references the sub-report commissioned for the 2015 All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism from Professor David Feldman. That sub-report notes: *The definition itself rapidly became a topic of controversy rather than consensus. The points at issue included what the status of a 'working definition' actually was, whether the working definition was an effective and coherent definition at all, and, finally, controversy dogged the application of the working definition to debate on the State of Israel and its policies. The criticisms have been damaging and the EUMC working definition largely has fallen out of favour. The EUMC's successor organisation, the Fundamental Rights Agency [FRA], no longer carries the working definition on its website.* <http://www.antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/themes/PCAA/images/DAVID-FELDMAN-SUBREPORT.pdf>

5. Critically, the report fails to clearly distinguish between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Antisemitism is hatred or discrimination against Jewish people on the basis of their religion or ethnic identity. Anti-Zionism means to oppose the political doctrine of Zionism. The report does acknowledge that definitions of Zionism are contested and indeed that 41% of British Jews do not self identify as Zionists. However, it later raises concerns about the expression of opposition to Zionism as opposed to opposition to particular policies of the Israeli government. This raises the prospect that any individual or organisation who defines themselves as anti-Zionist from a perspective of resisting the claim of Israel's right to sustain a Jewish majority and to privilege the right of Jewish citizens above those of Palestinian origin, risk being defined as anti-Semitic.
6. <http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/press-releases/israeli-government-must-cease-intimidation-of-human-rights-defenders-protect-them-from-attacks>
7. Last year a concerted lobby was employed to pressure the University of Southampton to disallow a conference debating the democratic nature of the Israeli state on the grounds that the conference as one sided and antisemitic. Adopting the report's recommendations would potentially involve the police invoking criminal action against future such proposed conferences
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/mar/31/southampton-university-cancels-event-questioning-israel-existence>
8. Government Action on Antisemitism, page 36
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/39090
9. Dr Brian Klug is senior research fellow the University of Oxford and an honorary fellow in the Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations
<https://www.thenation.com/article/myth-new-anti-semitism/>

PSC response to Government's adoption of antisemitism definition

POSTED ON DECEMBER 13, 2016

IN [BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT & SANCTIONS](#), [LATEST NEWS](#), [OPINION](#), [POLITICAL UPDATES](#), [PRESS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS](#)

[antisemitism](#) [BDS](#) [Government](#) [Israel](#) [Palestine](#)

PSC welcomes the reaffirmation of the commitment of the Government to combat antisemitism. Antisemitism is a racism that is utterly repellent, and as an anti-racist organisation we welcome actions to ensure that no one is subject to discrimination because of their background or heritage. We also share the Government's concern that efforts to combat antisemitism can be undermined if there is not a commonly agreed definition.

The substance of the definition the Government seeks to adopt is useful. It states "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

However, the [guidance](#) which accompanies the definition is problematic in so far as it incorporates criticism of Israel as a form of antisemitism. In doing so it risks rendering illegitimate, and potentially criminal, calls for action to address Israel's persistent denial of Palestinian rights. We believe this runs counter to everyone's freedom of expression – a right guaranteed in European law.

The government states that freedom of speech on Israel/Palestine is protected within the definition via the statement that "criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic".

However, there are already [many examples](#) of the definition being used to stifle legitimate criticism of Israel. Indeed, a previous version of this definition was abandoned because of concerns about its employment to limit freedom of expression. The APPG report on antisemitism in 2015 noted that the definition had "largely fallen out of favour, in part due to continued controversy regarding its application to the State of Israel and its [policies](#)".

Addressing the fact that Israel as a state privileges the rights of Jewish citizens above those of Palestinians risks being framed as antisemitic under the terms of the guidance accompanying the new definition. It is important to note that [Adalah](#), the Israeli human rights organisation, has identified over [50 laws](#) within the state of Israel which specifically discriminate against Palestinian citizens.

In order to meet its aim of finding a definition which can be employed by all bodies and institutions in the fight against antisemitism, whilst at the same time preserving the right of free expression to criticise Israel, the Government should adopt the 40-word definition cited above, and not the guidance which incorporates legitimate criticism of Israel. Freedom of expression to criticise any and all governments is a fundamental right cherished by our society. Raising our voices to highlight continued Palestinian human rights abuses is both necessary and right.

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