



Hate Network

Hate Speech on Social Media
Platforms in the Palestinian Context
and its Impact on their Digital Rights

7amleh –The Arab Center for Social Media Advancement

Hate Network: Hate Speech on Social Media Platforms in the Palestinian Context and its Impact on their Digital Rights

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	4
Introduction: Hate speech on social media platforms.	8
Research topic: Hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context	12
Need and significance of this research	12
Methodology and mechanisms	13
Details of research mechanisms/data collection methods	14
Results and data analysis	14
First axis: Hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context and its characteristics	15
Second axis: Identifying types and severity of hate speech in the Palestinian context	21
Third axis: The impact of social media hate speech in the Palestinian context on digital rights	26
Forth axis: Punishment and deterrence mechanisms: Who bears the responsibility for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context?	32
Fifth axis: Recommendations for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context	36
Annexes	42

Executive Summary

The Palestinian arena is witnessing a noticeable increase in the use of hate speech on social media platforms, influenced by the events and tensions in regional politics in general, such as normalization agreements with Arab countries and worldwide events such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Add to this the internal turmoil that Palestinians are going through on the social and political level, such as the recent intense debate regarding the events of Al-Nabi Musa shrine in Jericho, issues of personal freedoms, the LGBTQ+ community, and the wave of arrests of activists after demands to investigate the case of the assassination of activist Nizar Banat.

On the political level, the Palestinian division between Fatah and Hamas continues to cast its shadow on the Palestinian scene, specifically when addressing the issue of whether or not legislative elections will take place. In the case of Palestinian citizens of Israel, for example, the division of the Joint Arab List after the Israeli elections has created a fertile ground for heated political discussions that took place on social media platforms. This is especially true given the expansion of the virtual space and the increased use of social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, by for Palestinian youth, activists, media professionals, politicians and citizens to express their opinions. Additionally, on the social level, women's rights are at the top of the list of social issues that preoccupy Palestinian public opinion.

The dynamics of the use of social media platforms and their role in shaping Palestinian public discourse, endangers Palestinian digital rights, not only from the Israeli authorities and companies, but also the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and the de facto authority in the Gaza Strip; furthermore, threats to digital rights are further perpetuated by the societal authority represented by customs and traditions, as well as the dominant discourse in the Palestinian context.

The phenomenon of hate speech is not recent; however, it changes its content, targets and mechanisms, which calls for the necessity of continuous research. In the absence of a comprehensive, clear and specific definition of hate speech related to the Palestinian context, this research aims to trace the impact of hate speech and its forms on social media platforms, as well as to investigate the determinants of hate speech in order to shed light on the impact of internal contexts such as political, geographic and social fragmentation on fueling hate speech and compromising the digital rights of Palestinians.

This research also aims to monitor terminology used that would incite the spread of hate speech in Palestine, which are shared on social media platforms to reveal the types of hate speech that emerge and their severity, in an attempt to add qualitative information on hate speech in the Palestinian network.

The findings are based on references and literature that influence the spread of hate speech, such as laws, research, articles, and reports issued by governmental and international entities to combat cyber hate speech. To track the impact of hate speech in the Palestinian context, a field study was conducted in the Palestinian community using an opinion poll and focus groups. In addition, the research analyzes and presents indicators of hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context.

"85.7% have been the subject of hate speech on Facebook"

Central findings of the research show that:

- More than 71% of Palestinians are aware of the spread of hate speech on social media platforms. According to the findings, 85.7% have been the subject of hate speech on Facebook, with Instagram coming in second with 11.4%. The reason behind such a large disparity between the two platforms is due to Facebook being the most popular and widely used social media platform in the Palestinian context.
- 45.4% of the respondents reported that the most common types of hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context are related to political opinions. Only 7.9% of those polled believed that the spread of hate speech on social media in the Palestinian context is motivated by religion.
- The research reveals several characteristics in an attempt to define hate speech in the Palestinian context. It is rooted in the Palestinian public discourse, stemming from the Palestinian political experience represented by the 1948 Nakba and the Naksa of 1967 and their consequences. Consequences such as seeking refuge and displacement were the reason behind normalizing the use of words such as "citizen," "immigrant," "refugee," and "displaced person," in the Palestinian historical narrative, which evolved into discriminatory discourse passed down through generations. This discriminatory discourse takes the form of encapsulated words related to the Palestinian social and political context, such as "tailandi," "chmenit," "jama'et al- banisher," "jama'et shlomo," "dawa'esh" (ISIS) and others. In the Palestinian context, hate speech is closely linked to the gradation and variation of the Israeli oppression against the various Palestinian groups, which fuels hate speech among Palestinians themselves. It also stems from the geographical closure due to the strict security control of the Israeli

Occupation and the lack of exposure to the other in addition to the intellectual closure of schools in terms of their traditional and indoctrinating curricula. Hate speech is combated in a collective society such as the Palestinian one, which is characterized by herd mentality and riding the wave, by personal and critical attitudes toward issues considered unanimous in the Palestinian context. Another type of hate speech manifests itself in the form of organized speech by political authorities, such as the Occupation authority, the Palestinian authority, and the de facto authority in the Gaza Strip.

- The following four types of hate speech are prevalent in the Palestinian context, according to the research findings: Hate speech related to the event, swinging hate speech (usually between political and gender), complex hate speech related to identity on all levels; and religious, regional, ethnic, and sexual, and organized hate speech linked to the ruling political authority.

"36.9% of the respondents perceived the Occupation as a cause of hate speech on social media platforms"

- Results also indicate that 36.9% of the respondents perceived the Occupation as a cause of hate speech on social media platforms. While 34% of the respondents saw Palestinian division as a primary cause, and 23% of them believed customs and traditions were the primary motive behind hate speech on social media platforms.
- Additionally, 80.9% of the respondents did not believe that deleting content is effective in reducing hate speech on social media platforms, and 39.7% believed that the deterrence mechanisms used by social media platform companies are insufficient in limiting hate speech. Moreover, 53.3% of the respondents indicated that parental supervision is ineffective in limiting hate speech, and 60.3% agreed that the most effective ways to reduce hate speech on social media platforms are media education and awareness raising.
- According to the findings, 86.1% of the respondents believed that hate speech on social media platforms influences individual behavior. A high percentage of 86.6% of the respondents indicated that hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context poses a significant risk that includes verbal attacks. Furthermore, a very high rate of 88.9% of those polled believed that hate speech has an effect on people's opinions if they are exposed to it.

- The findings also show that hate speech is jeopardizing the right to free expression and creates confusion with the right to privacy due to the overlapping of private and public spaces. As a result of the expanded circle of publications and participation, more obscurantist thought and the spread of misinformation occur. The creation of a safe, free, and just digital reality is being affected by fueling intolerance, reinforcing the dominant and prevailing discourse, consolidating hate speech and forcing a state of “silencing” to the point of jeopardizing the right to life and safety. In this context, 55.9% of respondents indicated they prefer to ignore hate speech when they are subjected to it on social media platforms, while 2.2% of them prefer to withdraw themselves permanently and close their online account. In addition to jeopardizing the right of freedom of expression, results show a violation of the right to non-discrimination and the right to a fair procedure. These liberties are compromised due to legislative and legal insufficiencies, as well as governments’ inability to confront electronic files and organized hate speech. According to the participants of focus groups, governments are a part of it in some cases. As a result, social media platforms have become a breeding ground for digital rights violations.
- On the question of who is responsible for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context and developing deterrence mechanisms, 32.8% of respondents placed the responsibility on local governments/laws. However, results of focus groups in particular show a fear of leaving the matter in the hands of the political authorities with whom respondents are in conflict. Furthermore, findings show that despite the existence of Palestinian laws and societal initiatives to address hate speech on social media platforms, they are largely ineffective because they are not taken seriously, and are used against citizens, to restrain individual media freedoms and freedom of expression. Individuals are considered responsible for combating hate speech according to 26.2% of respondents, which indicates the importance of self-responsibility in this regard.
- In terms of recommendations on combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context, findings indicate the need for immediate intervention, if possible, to prevent the spread of hate speech. Moreover, 88.4% of respondents believe that those who promote hate speech should face legal consequences, but 68.2% of them believe that this method is ineffective in combating hate speech. Participants in the research emphasize the importance of distinguishing between freedom of expression and hate speech and clarifying the lines between them. This is an initial call to define hate speech in the Palestinian context and is what the research sought. Participants also agreed to concentrate on the practical aspect of media education and the need to organize

actions taken to combat hate speech on social media platforms by implementing practical steps based on an effective presence in the digital space, particularly for legal and effective personalities in society. These steps include participating as much as possible, introducing and recommending to follow writers who write in a qualitative and conscious manner, through building groups of influencers and assisting them in promoting content that combats hate speech. In broader terms, recommendations show the necessity to adopt an awareness-raising approach rather than deterrence mechanisms, which shows the need to adopt media education and include it in school curricula and workshops. As previously stated, media education must emphasize the aspects of values and rights, as well as the significance of digital rights in order to create a safe and free virtual space for all.

General introduction:

Hate speech on social media platforms¹

The technological advancement of the means of communication, particularly social networks, has led to a revolution in the methods of news dissemination, social communication and expression of opinion. Individuals have progressed from an era in which they spread their thoughts and news to small groups of people and in specific ways, to an era where diverse platforms can be accessed instantly, free of charge and on a large scale, regardless of geographical distances and without any obligation to disclose the user's identity directly. The aforementioned provide a greater sense of freedom of expression and disseminating news without verification of their accuracy. Thus, social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and Tik Tok have created a parallel space to reality known as digital reality.

Unfortunately, there is also a dark side to virtual reality, as social media has become a breeding ground for heated debates that frequently result in the use of abusive and derogatory language, promoting hate speech and contributing to its rapid and widespread dissemination. According to the European Commission's annual report on racism and intolerance, "the internet has become an important pillar for the promotion of racism and intolerance, where Hate speech spreads rapidly through

1. ظهر خطاب الكراهية في الإعلام لأول مرة في الولايات المتحدة عام 1989، ليشمل الخطاب العنصري المؤذي الذي كان محصناً بالقانون الأمريكي تحت بند حماية حرية التعبير. European Court of Human Rights. (2021). Hate Speech. Retrieved from: https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/fs_hate_speech_eng.pdf

social media and reaches a much wider audience than extremist print media.”² Based on the recommendations of the 2012 Rabat Plan of Action, the United Nations Strategy 2019³ presents a comprehensive action plan to combat hate speech. This plan is guided by four principles, with special emphasis on the third, which refers to the need to combat hate speech in the digital age.

1. Considering the implementation of a strategy to combat hate speech in order to protect the right to freedom of expression. Emphasizing that the United Nations supports the promotion of communication as a primary means of combating hatred.
2. The responsibility for combating hate speech is a collective one; shared by governments, societies, and the private sector.
3. In today’s digital age, the United Nations emphasizes the importance of assisting “citizens of the digital technology world in order to enable them to identify, reject, and combat hate speech.”
4. The strategy also emphasizes the importance of knowledge, coordination, and research in this area in order to develop effective anti-hate speech strategies.

Hate speech on the Internet is similar to that of it; nonetheless, online hate speech has certain characteristics related to the level of the Internet and its organization, its sustainability, its transfer from one location to another and the anonymity of its owner, which complicates judicial dealings with it. As a result, hate speech on social media platforms has distinct characteristics that, at the same time, pose major challenges in efforts to combat and limit its spread.

1. A recent Swedish study⁴ discovered that social media algorithms contribute to the formation of “echo chambers” – a term that refers to a user’s exposure to content that most closely matches their personal preferences. In other words, these algorithms may increase the likelihood of individuals with racist tendencies being exposed to media content that aligns with their beliefs, thereby increasing the spread of hate speech and racism.
2. The UNESCO report on hate speech on the Internet⁵ indicates the difficulty

2. اللجنة الأوروبية لمكافحة العنصرية والتعصب، (2020). مكافحة خطاب الكراهية. مستقاة من: <https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-key-topics-combating-hate-spe/16809ed2c8>

3. موقع الأمم المتحدة، (2019). استراتيجية الأمم المتحدة وخطة عملها بشأن خطاب الكراهية. مستقاة من: https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/advising-and-mobilizing/Action_plan_on_hate_speech_AR.pdf

4. Wahlström, Mattias, and Anton Törnberg. (2019). Social Media Mechanisms for Right-Wing Political Violence in the 21st Century: Discursive Opportunities, Group Dynamics, and Coordination." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 33 (4). pp. 1-22

5. UNESCO. (2015). Countering online hate speech. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233231>

in applying the law to social media platforms due to logistical complications, especially when the communication platforms' headquarters are located in another country.

3. Hate speech can persist online and appear on multiple, interconnected social media platforms; the same post, video, or photo can appear on multiple platforms. As a result, it spreads quickly and creates an atmosphere of collective hate speech in cyberspace.

"88.4% of respondents believe that those who promote hate speech should face legal consequences"

Internet brokers have developed a variety of definitions in order to monitor and regulate hate speech. In 2016, Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Twitter, Instagram and other companies signed the EU Code of conduct on countering illegal hate speech⁶. These businesses have provided their own definitions of what constitutes hate speech. The Code of Conduct is the first significant effort to legalize technology companies' dealings with the growing online hate speech. According to Eurobarometer⁷ survey results, 75% of those who follow or participate in online discussions have encountered abuse, threats, or hate speech, and nearly half of them say this experience has deterred them from participating in online discussions in the future. These findings show that illegal hate speech on social media platforms restricts the right to freedom of expression for those targeted by hate speech on these platforms.

Some companies, such as Twitter and Yahoo, do not use the term "hate speech" explicitly, but have certain specifications associated with it. Twitter, for example, alerts its users that they may be "exposed to content that may be offensive, abusive, incorrect, inappropriate, or sometimes distorted and frustrating."⁸ Users are warned in the Twitter Terms of Service by the following statement: "you may not post or directly threaten others."⁹ YouTube explicitly addresses hate speech and strives to

6. European Commission. (2019). The European Commission's Code of Conduct for Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online. Retrieved from: <https://www.ivir.nl/publicaties/download/Bukovska.pdf>

7. European Commission.(2016).Media Pluralism and Democracy.Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/information_society/newsroom/image/document/2016-47/sp452-summary_en_19666.pdf

8. Twitter. (2021). Support Center. Retrieved from: <https://support.twitter.com/entries/18311>

9. Twitter. (2021), Terms of Service. Retrieve from: <https://twitter.com/tos>

strike a balance between it and the right to freedom of expression by stating: “We encourage free speech, and we defend the right of everyone to express unpopular opinions. However, we do not allow hate speech, which is defined as “speech that attacks or humiliates a specific group based on their race, ethnicity, religion, disability, gender, age, status, sexual orientation, or gender identity.”¹⁰

According to Facebook’s management, which is considered the most widespread and popular platform in the Palestinian case,¹¹ “harmful, offensive, and threatening content that incites hatred and violence”¹² is prohibited. According to Facebook’s policies, “hate speech that directly attacks people based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or serious disabilities or illnesses will be removed.”¹³

Internet intermediaries are expected to respect human rights in accordance with the directives issued by the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in the Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression¹⁴ in Article 58 (b). According to the article, “business companies must respect human rights and regulate policies on hate speech content in accordance with international human rights law standards, including relevant United Nations treaties and the Rabat Plan of Action.”¹⁵

However, in the same context, it ought to be noted that social media frequently submits to and cooperates with repressive governments and authorities in order to monitor content that falls within the scope of criticism and does not amount to incitement to hatred. These authorities work to remove the content or temporarily stop disseminating it. For example, between 2017 and 2018, direct requests from Israel to social media companies resulted in the deletion of 27,000 posts on Facebook, Twitter, and Google¹⁶ as part of a campaign to censor the Palestinian narrative, as explained by Adalah, the legal center for Arab minority rights in Israel.¹⁷

10. Youtube. (2021). Community Guidelines and Community. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/t/community_guidelines

11. حملة المركز العربي لتطوير الإعلام المجتمعي (2020). مساع ممنهجة لطمس المحتوى الفلسطيني على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي. مستقاة من: <https://7amleh.org/2020/06/07/msaa-mmnhjh-ltms-almhtwa-alfstyny-ala-wsael-altwasl-alajtmaay>

12. Facebook. (2021). Community Standards. Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards>

13. Ibid.

14. United Nation - General Assembly. (2019) Promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. Retrieved from: <https://undocs.org/A/74/486>

15. Ibid.

16. Kayali, D. (2020, January). Human Rights Defenders are Not Terrorists, and Their Content is Not Propaganda. Retrieved from: <https://blog.witness.org/2020/01/human-rights-defenders-not-terrorists-content-not-propaganda>

17. Adalah. (2019, December). Social Media Companies Continue to Collaborate with Israel’s Illegal Cyber Unit. Retrieved from: <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/9859>

Research Topic:

Hate Speech on Social Media Platforms in the Palestinian Context

Social media platforms are considered an important and necessary outlet in the Palestinian situation, especially given the structure of the political situation, the multiplicity of authorities, and the restrictions and sieges that fragment Palestinians and prevent them from meeting and getting to know one another. As a result, communication platforms have evolved into the primary forum for meeting new people and exchanging information and opinions. In a political setting rich in daily events such as the Palestinian one, social media platforms are considered one of the easiest and most effective methods to convey information. Social media platforms are seen as a space for alternative media, expression of opinion and voice raising in the face of the Israeli authorities, the Palestinian Authority and the de facto authority in the Gaza Strip.

Despite the importance of social media as a means of communication and resistance across borders and checkpoints, a lack of genuine communication prevails because of Palestinian geographical, political, and social fragmentation. This reinforces the rise of hate speech on social media and in the Palestinian society.

This research paper aims to:

- * **Monitor hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context.**
- * **Identify the types and severity of hate speech in the Palestinian context.**
- * **Uncover recommendations to limit hate speech in the Palestinian context.**

Need and significance of this research

The necessity for the research stems from the need to ensure a safe, just, and free digital space for all, which necessitates the preservation of individuals' digital rights, that are an extension of human rights in reality and of Palestinians in this context, and because social media platforms are mirrors of the societies. In other words, hate speech on social media platforms reflects hate speech in society, which in turn promotes exclusionary thought and behavior, as well as systemic silencing due to fear and threat between individuals and groups. All of the aforementioned leads to the marginalization of vulnerable groups over time as well as an increase in social tensions and conflicts leading up to violence.

Hate speech also has an impact on everyone's online experience because it fosters an environment that undermines the right to freedom and equality and promotes racism and discrimination. While hate speech has a direct impact on its targets and victims, it also has an effect on free expression through the process of silencing,

whether self or systematic, which creates a sense of helplessness in other users. Furthermore, because the majority of social media users in Palestinian society are young people, the rise of hate speech will have an impact not only on the present but also on the future.

The research is also significant because it is the first of its kind in the Palestinian context, focusing on the internal exploration of Palestinian society through the process of integrating and approaching Palestinian groups in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel. The research also combines an exploratory study to monitor hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context and its manifestations with an in-depth investigation into the ramifications of hate speech and methods of confronting it through the words and ideas of Palestinians themselves. All of the foregoing contributes to the research's genuineness, authenticity, and reflectiveness of reality.

Methodology and mechanisms

This research employs a quantitative and qualitative approach to obtain as many dominant results as possible in order to document and analyze the research participants' experiences. It combines a survey study to monitor indicators of hate on social media platforms to investigate words and terms used to suggest hate speech in the Palestinian context on specific occasions and on different issues, through which issues related to political, social and demographic were monitored in the period mentioned in the table below on the Facebook platform.

The 7amleh Center also conducted a survey, through a specialized outsourced company, based on questions developed by the researcher and the 7amleh staff, in which the opinions of 693 individuals (307 females, 386 males) in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, and Israel were surveyed.

Three focus groups were also established as an additional research method: the Gaza Strip group, Jerusalem and the West Bank group, and Palestinian citizens of Israel group. Focus groups were formed by sending invitations to civil society organizations, social media platforms, and personal circles. Thus, the participants in the focus groups did so voluntarily; however, in order to protect their privacy, their full names will not be used. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, checkpoints, and geographical fragmentation imposed by the Israeli occupation, all focus groups were held for a maximum of two hours per meeting using the "Zoom" application. The methodology of the meetings was a combination of unstructured interviews and pre-set guiding questions that suited the type of exploratory research and encouraged participation. Following the transcription of the interviews, the main axes for monitoring hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context were extracted and used in data analysis.

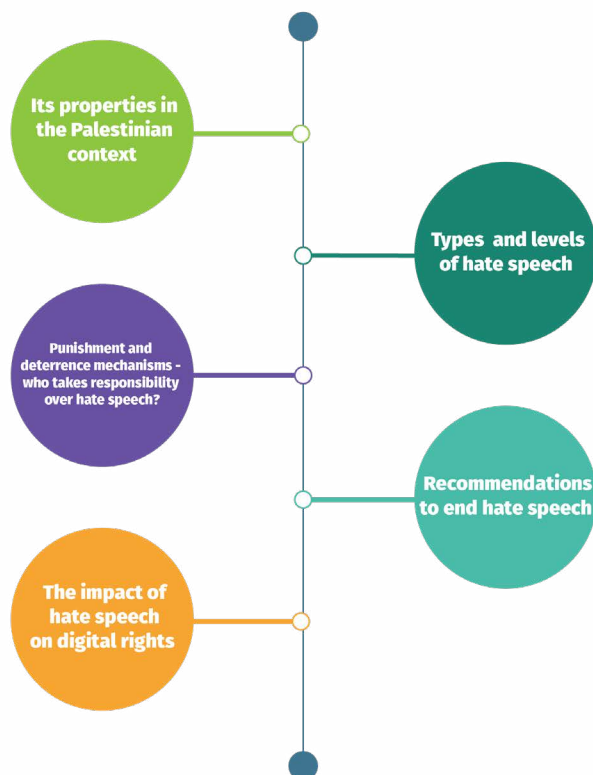
Details of research mechanisms/ data collection methods

Research mechanism	Issues	Number of posts and comments/ participants of polls Participants of focus groups	Geographical distribution of participants or posts	Time period of research
Facebook survey	13 issues	226 posts 57,762 comments	Gaza: 3.2%	26.8.2019- 25.7.2021
			West Bank: 52.85%	
			Jerusalem: 4.8%	
			Israel: 28.8%	
Poll	19 questions	693	Regional: 10.4%	6.6.2021- 25.6.2021
			Gaza: 32%	
			West Bank: 36%	
			Jerusalem: 18%	
Focus groups	3 groups	36	Israel: 14%	6.5.2021
			Gaza: 10	17.6.2021
			West Bank/ Jerusalem: 14	30.6.2021
			Israel: 12	

Results and data analysis:

To monitor hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context, and based on data from the survey of hate indicators, focus groups, and the poll, it is necessary to address the following five axes as presented by the results:

Monitoring hate speech on social media platforms among Palestinians



First axis:

Hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context and its characteristics

Palestinians agree that hate speech is not a new phenomenon in Palestine; it has existed for centuries and been directed against those who are different in color, race, age, religion, or gender. It was expressed in various ways that infiltrated Palestinian life to become an integral part of the expressive linguistic heritage, general culture, and public discourse, which contributed to the state of tolerance and natural interaction with it. Imad from the West Bank refers to popular proverbs that are used in public discourse such as, “sawwad Allah wajhak” (may God blacken your face), “mithel akel el- nawar” (he eats like gypsies) or like “al- badawi eli nazel al madineh” (the bedouin who came to the city). These proverbs entail derogatory descriptive cases that carry hate speech against specific groups in the Palestinian society, which may be similar in other Arab societies.

Palestinian hate speech on social media platforms not only reflects itself in real life versus virtual reality, but also in the passing down of hate speech from generation to

generation based on Palestinian political and historical experience. This is transmitted through discriminatory speech and becomes a part of the widely circulated historical narrative. According to Karim from Gaza, terms like refugee, citizen, and immigrant first appeared in the context of the 1948 Nakba and the 1967 Setback.

He goes on to ask how a seven-year-old child in Gaza defines himself as a refugee or an immigrant. “When hate speech moves beyond the verbal level and into writing, it reaches the level of hate speech transmitted from generation to generation.”

In the Palestinian context, one of the most important characteristics of hate speech is its format. It manifests itself in the form of political coding of specific groups and sects through, often, hidden terms, which are understood by Palestinians who are familiar with the Palestinian context and social and political events. For example, using the term “Thailandi” for workers traveling from Jenin to Ramallah, or “Arab Al-Shmint” as a metaphor for Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Sama, a Palestinian citizen of Israel says: “there are special slurs in hate speech against women, when used in a specific context the intent is to incite, in an attempt to reclaim the term used.” According to Hiba from the Gaza Strip, the veiled nature of hate speech language related to the Gaza context specifically and in light of the division, revolves around accusations of political complicity between Fatah and Hamas. She goes on to say, “When they say they were handed over by Jama’et al Banasher, this is a hidden reference to the Palestinian Authority. Many loaded words carry treason accusations and social exclusion. Not to mention the use of direct words such as double agent and traitor, as well as indirect ones such as the Shlomo group. On the other hand, terms used in the West Bank are associated with political Islam, such as Jama’at Allah or sheikhs. Even if they are indirect, these words suggest Hamas.”

These research findings also show that the geographical fragmentation caused by the Israeli occupation and its policies has a significant impact on fueling hate speech in the Palestinian context. According to Dalia from Gaza, “the siege has prevented us from communicating with the rest of the Palestinian society in the West Bank and the 1948 lands for a long time.” It is one factor which reinforces internal hate speech. Israel is not only making us its enemies, but also each other’s; Today, we are living the repercussions of the Palestinian division, its effects, and the process of disintegration,” Karim from Gaza added. When people ask me, “Where are you from?” I do not say I am Karim from Palestine; I am Karim from Gaza. Because I know nothing but Gaza, this sub-identity became ingrained in me. My interests, issues, and socio-psychological concerns are all related to Gaza. This is an exclusionary discourse that has the potential to devolve into hate speech.” Furthermore, Mohammad, a Palestinian citizen of Israel draws parallels between geographical fragmentation and Israeli oppression. “When we go to buy something from Jenin, they say, look here

comes the Arabs of 1948 or al- shminet group," he says. He goes on to say, "I believe that because of the massive restrictions imposed on them (West bankers), when they come to work here (1948 lands) and see how Arabs are living and start comparing that to continuous arrests and blockades, they form the incorrect impression that the state (Israel) supports us." As a result, in the Palestinian context, Israeli oppression and its various practices against different Palestinian groups, carried out in varying degrees within the policies of "divide and conquer" and "privileges," would fuel hate speech in the Palestinian context.

"40% of Gazans believe that the division is the primary cause of the rise in hate speech"

The political fragmentation represented by the Fatah and Hamas factions casts a long shadow on the intensity of hate speech among Palestinians, particularly those in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. "The division is one of the most important reasons behind the increase in hate speech in Palestine, especially in Gaza, because it is the center of division," says Miqdad from Gaza. According to the findings, 40% of Gazans believe that the division is the primary cause of the rise in hate speech.

Firas from the West Bank provides a more comprehensive explanation of the impact of geographical and political fragmentation (the division), classifying it under a broader category related to geographical and ideological closed-mindedness. "As for the gradations of hate speech," he says, "all things fall under a larger heading: not accepting the different other and the main reason for this is closure." Geographically, all of our borders are sealed; we do not see other civilizations or cultures, and we do not leave to see other people or customs of other societies. This is why we reject the other and the different, even within ourselves." Another reason is intellectual closed-mindedness and the indoctrination method of teaching. "Students finish 12 years of school having read the Bible or the Qur'an a thousand times, but there is no promotion of cultural awareness of reading and openness," Firas says, "through the use of hate speech, this intellectual closed-mindedness leads to attacks on anything different."

In the Palestinian context, hate speech is also directed at anyone who disagrees with the dominant opinion on certain topics such as resistance, so that any criticism or questioning about its feasibility, cost, or even evaluation is considered treason. "In exile, I face a problem with the other Palestinian who believes that everything that happens in Gaza is resistance," Karim from Gaza says. They make all who live in Gaza legendary and believe they are all heroes, and we are all Grendizers, and everything is fine...This image is hate speech because it excludes the truth... People think of me as

a liar, or consider me as anti-Hamas and that I convey an image that does not exist.” In this context, the 7amleh Center reported that 31.8% of respondents repeat the term “thanab” and its derivatives as a metaphor for working both sides and espionage. “As a feminist activist, I cannot wish mercy on the soul of activist Nawal Al-Saadawi without being called a disbeliever,” says Iftikar from the West Bank. In this context, a 7amleh Center survey for keywords related to the death of Nawal El Saadawi found that 15% of the total comments on this issue were blasphemous, in addition to other comments that directly insulted commentators and called for their demise. Thus, in the Palestinian context, hate speech is directed at individuals whose personal opinions challenge the dominant ideas in Palestinian society.

Participants, such as Sherine from Gaza, report organized hate speech when inquiring about the identity of those who engage in it as hate speech supported and directed by certain political parties with the goal of attacking and silencing opposing and critical voices, particularly in Gaza. In addition to the official hate speech organized by the ruling authority and partisans, there are electronic files from false accounts waiting for the order to attack.

There is also the trend of practicing hate speech and riding the wave, perhaps for a personal benefit or simply because of the natural human tendency to join the herd. Taqwa from the West Bank says, “Occasionally, citizens practice hate speech and ride the wave; For example, one day everyone is attacking a specific individual without having any relationship with or any benefit from it. This occurs as part of the violence that has become widespread in society. Moreover, since we are unable to control the phenomenon of violence in society, it is considered an opportunity to channel this violent energy when encountering a ‘catch’ through the practice of hate speech.” In this context, revealing Sama Abdel Hadi’s identity in the case of Al- Nabi Musa’s events is a vivid example of the meaning of ‘the catch’. According to the 7amleh Center, 78% of the total comments on the issue ranged from calling for death and harm to direct insults, as well as gender discrimination and accusations of treason, infiltration, and disbelief.

In its most basic definition, hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context is no different from hate speech in other contexts, but it has its own characteristics. Characteristics of political conditions, the continuation of occupation, division, as well as all the consequences of closure and geographical and intellectual fragmentation leads to the Palestinian individual finding himself confronted with a combination of social and political challenges at the same time.

If we want to create a unique definition of hate speech in the Palestinian context, we conclude the following:

.1.

Rooted in Palestinian public discourse.

.2.

It is derived from Palestinian political experience and its ramifications, such as asylum and displacement, and words like citizen, immigrant, and refugee have become normalized in Palestinian consciousness.

.3.

It is passed down through generations as part of the Palestinian historical narrative.

.4.

It frequently takes the form of encapsulated and veiled words concerning the Palestinian political and social context.

.5.

It is related to Israel's gradation of oppression of various Palestinian groups, which fuels hate speech in the Palestinian context.

.6.

It stems from the occupation's policy of closure and geographical fragmentation, as well as a lack of exposure to the other.

.7.

It stems from the intellectual closure in schools and the traditional and indoctrination curricula.

.8.

Personal opinions that are on unanimous issues in the Palestinian context direct hate speech.

.9.

Hate speech presents itself as organized discourse by the political authority: the Israeli authorities, the Palestinian Authority, and the de facto authority in the Gaza Strip.

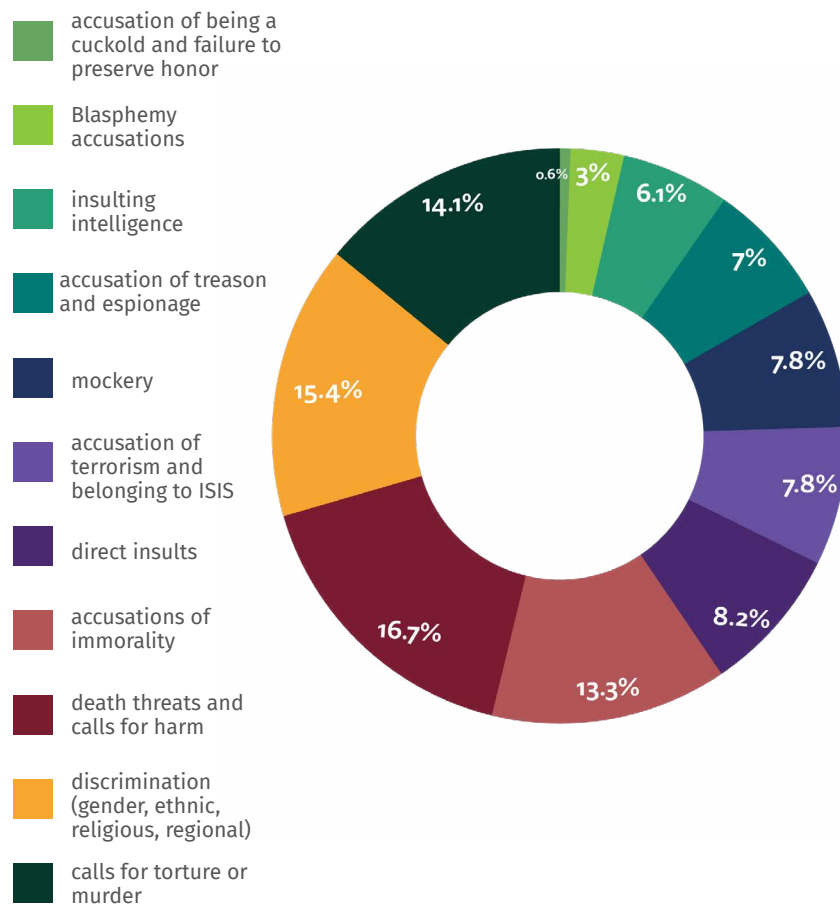
.10.

Hate speech is characterized by a herd mentality and riding the wave

The manifestations and form of hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context

Surveying keywords for several issues that occupied Palestinian public opinion during the years 2020-2021 reveals hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context through the frequency of use of the following classifications, which suggest personal attacks on comments and opinions related to political and societal issues. According to the survey, the most common forms of hate speech in the Palestinian context are: 16.7% death threats and calls for harm, 15.4% of discrimination (gender, ethnic, religious, regional), 14.1% of torture or murder, 13.3% of immorality accusations, 8.2% direct insults, 7.8% mockery, and the same percentage of treason and espionage accusations, 6.1% is for insulting intelligence, 3% is for blasphemy, and less than 1% is for being a cuckold and failure to preserve honor.

Types of hate speech based on frequency rate



Second axis:

Identifying types and severity of hate speech in the Palestinian context

Results indicate four types of hate speech in the Palestinian context, which include hate speech on social media platforms:

1. Non-fixed or event-related hate speech: Results show that the gradation of hate speech in the Palestinian context is not consistent and is event-related. Whereas 73.7% of respondents stated that hate speech increases in response to events, and target groups change in response to events as well, which is logical in a rapidly changing and eventful context. For example, Imad from the West Bank points out that during the Corona period, Palestinian workers working in Israel were the subject of hate speech and accused of spreading infection and transmitting the Corona virus to the West Bank.
2. Swinging hate speech (between political and gender): According to the findings, 42.5% of Palestinians consider political hate speech to be the most severe, owing to its long persistence and the fact that the Palestinian people are embroiled in a political conflict. “Basically, I see in Gaza and in Palestine in general that the persistent hate speech is at the political level, and leads the scene in Gaza,” says Miqdad from Gaza. He goes on to say, “The second ranking hate speech is against gender. When we publish videos in our campaigns that include clips of an unveiled woman, the comments shift away from the issue at hand, which is usually social or political, and toward comments like “Why isn’t her hair covered?” or “Instead of discussing this, go cover yourself and look at what you’re wearing. Miqdad continues, “gender-based hate speech is on the rise as a result of social issues, such as the attack on journalist Rawaa Murshid. The conversation shifted from the attack to: “What did you do? What exactly were you doing in a border area? What did you do to deserve to be attacked? What were you doing with another man and woman? For example, there was an increase in gender-related hate speech during the two-day period when the journalist’s case was trending on social media. However, once this issue calms down, we always return to the consistent category of hate speech, which is political. Furthermore, political opinions are constantly exploited and turned into hate speech against one another.” In this context, the 7amleh Center’s monitoring of keywords related to the case of journalist Rawaa Morshed’s assault revealed that 35.7% of the comments were direct insults. Furthermore, the survey shows that the public interacted with issues related to gender and women’s rights in the first three cases out of the fifteen that were surveyed. There were 13,866 comments about Nawal El Saadawi’s death, 11,700 comments about Israa Gharib’s murder, and 9,572 comments about the Sama Abdel Hadi case, compared to 2,977 comments

about preventing family unification and 2,720 comments about activists' arrest, all of which are political issues. Poll results support this by showing that 63.3% of respondents believe hate speech in the Palestinian context is motivated by political events. The election period, according to 53.1% of respondents, is the period which fuels hate speech the most. This was reflected in the speech of the majority of focus group participants. "Unfortunately, the elections, which are supposed to be a democratic process, increase hate speech the most," says Saleh, a Palestinian citizen of Israel.

"63.3% of respondents believe hate speech in the Palestinian context is motivated by political events"

3. Organized hate speech: According to focus group participants, it is speech directed by political authority to attack opponents and opposition figures. This type of discourse was most prevalent in the Gaza group, which described it as "electronic flies and fake accounts" whose goal is to spread hate speech in order to silence any different or critical voice through intimidation and the application of psychological and social pressures. In this context, and in addition to direct accusations of treason and espionage, according to the 7amleh Center, 4.4% of the words circulated in relation to the accusations of treason and espionage refer to the word agenda or agendas, a metaphor for the opposition voices accused of having foreign agendas and being funded by them.
4. Compound hate speech: Focus group discussions linked political oppression with gender oppression, particularly of women, which is what is referred to as compound hate speech. Whereas Palestinian participants from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and the Palestinian citizens of Israel emphasized the existence of hate speech directed at feminist activists and politicians, as well as their presence in the public and virtual spheres. According to Shireen from Gaza, hate speech is directed against opponents in general, against those who oppose politically, but it is harsher, more violent, and indecent if the opponent is a woman. The indicator of hate speech in the Palestinian context suggests that issues related to gender, social gender and women's rights in the Palestinian context, such as the CEDAW convention, the murder of Israa Gharib and the assault on journalist Rawa Morshed, are often met with accusations of defilement, moral fall and direct insults. Anbara from the West Bank says of women's participation in popular resistance and the use of hate speech against them, "everyone becomes authorized and has the right to practice his patriotism except for women, as if women are prohibited from doing so in their homeland, or from political

participation or participation in the resistance.” According to the poll results, 38.8% have been subjected to hate speech because of their political views, 11.4% because of their personal behavior, 10.1% because of their religion, and 9.1% because of their looks and appearances.

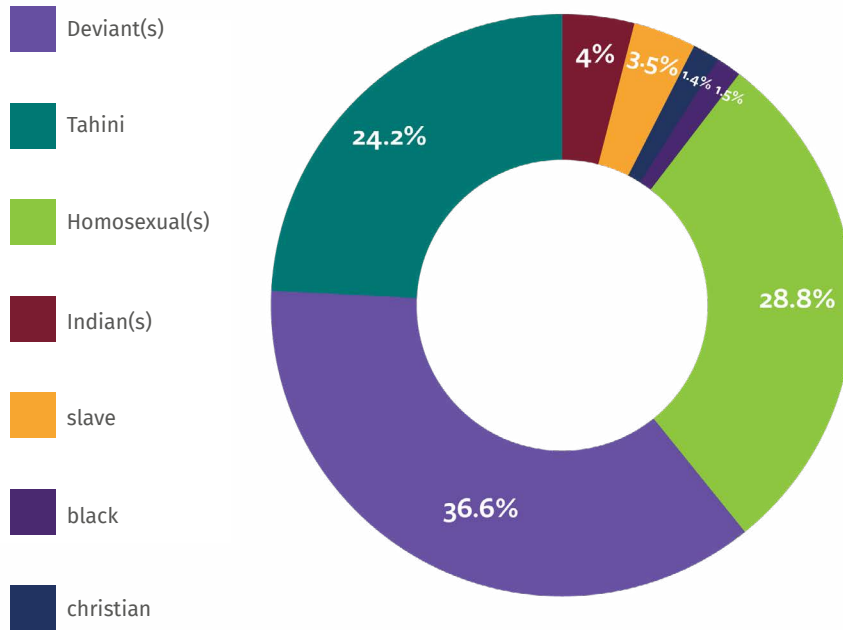
The overlapping of the private and public on social media platforms fueled hate speech under the category of expression of opinion without any limits or deterrents, affecting individuals’ personal choices to the point of harming themselves and contemplating suicide. Dalia from Gaza says, “I was engaged to a young man from Nablus, and I ran a campaign appealing to the president to do anything for us to be united in Nablus. Three issues were at the heart of the hate speech I received. The first was about my physical appearance; I am overweight, which does not reflect my young age. As a result, the comments included “he’s marrying someone older than his mother,” despite the fact that he is four years older than I am. The second comment was why would the son of Nablus marry the daughter of Gaza when she was worthless? The third issue was when we separated; they began spreading rumors that he separated from me for moral reasons, which reflected negatively in reality and in my conservative city. People began to say that the girl is unquestionably flawed, and her morals are deplorable. This had a significant impact on me, causing me to withdraw and refrain from socializing for two months, and I attempted suicide.” According to the survey, mockery in hate speech is a key component in the Palestinian context; it is repeated by 7.8% and appeared in 94.7% in the form of laughter.

The above mentioned is confirmed by Reem, a Palestinian citizen of Israel, who believes that the group most exposed to hate speech on social media are women, and that this is due to the patriarchal system and thought in which we live. She points out that social media platforms transmit hate speech and violence that exists on the ground. She continues, “When women express their opinions on any topic, especially recently about the Mansour Abbas or about the LGBTQ+ community, and especially if the woman is religious and advocates for the the LGBTQ+ community), she is considered the weakest link in reality and subsequently attacked social media.” Consequently, the more diverse an individual’s identity structure is, the more they are exposed to hate speech from a variety of sources.

In the Palestinian context marked by a dynamic political context, occupation, and a struggle for individual freedoms, Iftikar from the West Bank claims, “women with a feminist ideology and female activists are exposed to intense hate speech. This type of hate speech is systematic and compound, rather than random. For example, a disabled woman activist is subjected to hate speech from multiple sources. As a result, the categories and severity of hate speech are related to the individuals’ sexual, intellectual, political, partisan, color, and gender identity, rather than the political situation, changing context, and events. According to the 7amleh Center’s survey, gender discrimination is indicated by 89.6% of the gender discrimination

words used in this context. 36% of words related to homosexual identity, such as gay and its derivatives, are repeated descriptively, by 24.2% in a disguised manner, such as the word “tahini,”¹⁸ and by 28.8% directly.

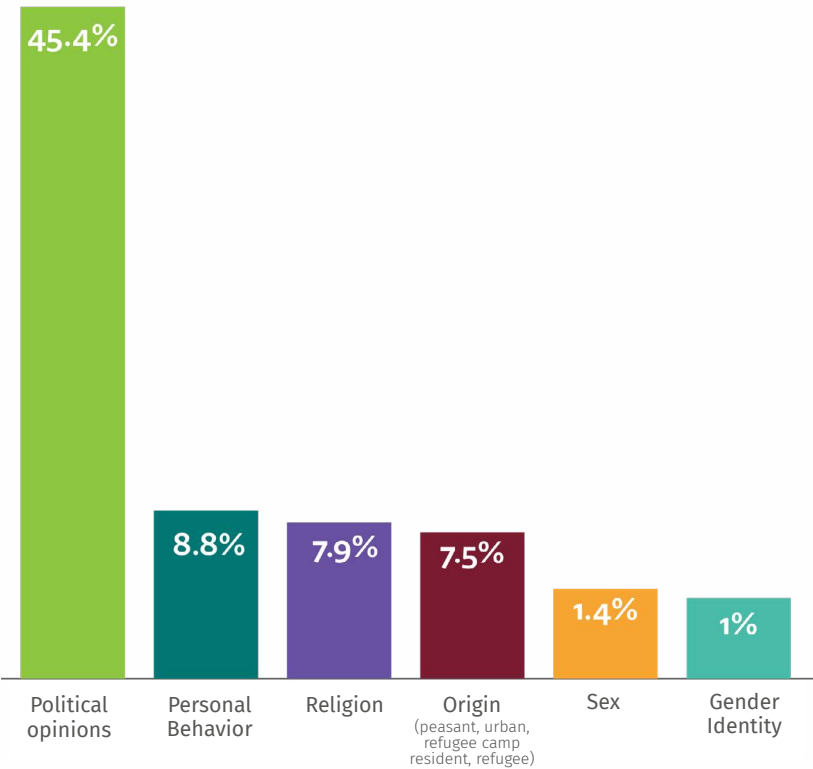
Frequency of using keywords relating to social categories:



The survey results show the gradation presented in the graphic below for the most common types of hate speech on social media platforms. It is remarkable that the survey results place hate speech based on sexual and gender tendencies at the bottom of the pyramid, with small percentages, and this reflects the disregard of gendered hate speech as noteworthy as it appeared in focus groups and polls on social media platforms, specifically Facebook. It is also worth noting the huge disparity in ratios between political opinions and the rest of the components. This can be traced back to the Palestinian context, where political events dominate most aspects of life, as well as the dominant debate in recent months, which has revolved around elections. It is also worth noting that 7.9% of respondents believe religious hate speech is prevalent on social media platforms in the Palestinian context. According to the 7amleh Center, religious gender discrimination accounts for 1.4% of all categorized words. This can be explained by the fact that in times of national conflict, the political takes precedence over the religious and sectarian, and religious unity or rapprochement takes a national turn. This does not negate the occurrence of incidents of religious hate speech: 9% of respondents indicate that sectarianism is a

18. كلمة "طحينة" تحمل معنى أو دلالة للنقاش حول الدعم المادي الذي قدمه مصنع "طحينة الارز" لجمعيات ومؤسسات مثلية والذي تحول لقضية رأي عام.

motivator for the spread of hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context, and 16.9% indicate that hate speech increases on religious occasions. In this context, the 7amleh Center monitored the discussion on the issue of burning the Christmas tree in the city of Sakhnin in Israel, and found that 47.3% of comments were insults, 24% in the form of accusations of terrorism and ISIS, 6.2% in the form of accusations of treason and infiltration, and 3.9% were blasphemous. Furthermore, in the case of the shrine of the Al-Nabi Musa, in addition to direct insults and calls for death, 16.5% of comments were accusations of treason and infiltration and 5.1% were blasphemous.



Third axis:

The impact of social media hate speech in the Palestinian context: on digital rights

According to 88.9% of the respondents, hate speech on social media platforms, in the Palestinian context, impacts people's attitudes and behavior. In order to elaborate on this axis, some of these impacts have been discussed:

"55.9% of people prefer to "ignore" hate speech on social media platforms if they are exposed to it, while just 24.7% chose to reply"

1. **Infringement on the right to free expression:** When talking about opinions and behavior, the participants link the process of systematic silencing and the reaction towards it, which is reflected in withdrawing from the discussion, or just ignoring and not responding. This can be referred to as the institutionalization of the silencing process, which can take several forms, such as refraining from expressing an opinion on controversial subjects or criticizing governmental power, as some participants pointed out. Karim, from Gaza Strip, said, "There is a comprehensive strategy to silencing that includes many types of repression or societal pressure, and I don't just mean repression by arrest, jail, or assault; repression may take many forms. The goal of soft repression is to suppress the opposing opinions and marginalize intellectuals. For example, in Gaza, there was a prominent journalist named Ahmed Saeed who went live every morning to discuss the country's situation and current events. Saeed has been detained over 24 times and now just posts jokes on Facebook"¹⁹. This is how critical, opposing voices are silenced while a single voice is raised, the one that the political establishment wants to emphasize. According to Karim, "this is what led to the suppression and silencing of rational and free voices so that anyone living in Gaza is unable to express his/her opinion. Apart from silencing, the technique of emptying and redirecting content on social media platforms is also used. This is mentioned by many participants who still use social media platforms, but not to express their opinion. According to the survey's findings, 55.9% of people prefer to "ignore" hate speech on social media platforms if they are exposed to it, while just 24.7% chose to reply. 49.6% of people prefer to ignore hate speech on social media

19. الاسم والمعلومة ضمن مقابلة يـورية-مجموعة غزة.

if they witness it, while 21% choose to respond. These findings indicate the influence of hate speech on directly infringing on the freedom of expression, as demonstrated by focus groups, as well as boosting self-censorship, whether by content emptying or by voluntarily refraining from giving an opinion to avoid confrontation.

The participants in the focus groups pointed out the seriousness of psychological and social pressure resulting from hate speech and its impact on choosing non-confrontation and withdrawal. Shireen from Gaza, a field activist since 2006, referred to the difference between confrontational attacks (face to face) and cyber-attacks which are more violent and have no limit in their magnitude.. If my account encounters two insults, I pretend not to notice. If they insult my family, and me I also pretend not to notice. However, one does not guarantee the level of filth that is practiced against him and how far it can reach. Sometimes one, no matter how brave, chooses silence or not to be part of the discussion.” Despite this, the results of the survey indicate that 26.4% of females choose to respond if they are exposed to hate speech on social media platforms, compared to 23.4% of males.

2. Confusion in understanding the right to privacy because of the overlap of private and public space:

- 2.1 The spread of hate speech on social media platforms blurs the line between private and public space creating confusion between the freedom to exercise opinion and the right to privacy. This is apparent in some participants’ descriptions of the web page as “home” being attacked by comments. It is an analogy to infringing on the sanctity of the home in the Palestinian context, as well as the Arab context in general, with all the consequences in conservative societies. “In the past, I did not respond and I was not curious to enter into discussions. However, when it came to my house, to my personal page and from a colleague of mine, I could not shut up. The idea that he wrote me on my page is like the idea that I would open the door to his house, do immoral things, and insult him in the middle of his house. This is disastrous and humiliating because when he enters my personal page, he intrudes on my space and my private platform, where I express my opinions and thoughts with 5,000 friends.” So, the concept of privacy on social media platforms, as it appeared in focus groups is not obvious and placing criticism, satire, expression of opinion, and privacy in the same basket. In this context, more than 60% of respondents stated that media education is necessary.
- 2.2 Expanding the circle of dissemination of hate speech: 71.5% of the respondents indicated the spread of hate speech on social media platforms. Participants in the focus groups also agreed that social media platforms have a role in disseminating

hate speech more quickly, which has implications for individual and group privacy. Ahlam, a West Bank resident, stated that social media platforms had boosted hate speech “due to a lack of accountability or control. A person hiding behind a screen and tells what he wants. There is no father, mother nor a society. Everyone has a phone and shoots pictures and we don’t know if he is a political analyst or a journalist or what.” However, the results of the survey indicated that 53.3% do not see parental control as an effective mechanism to combat hate speech. Sama, Palestinian resident of Israel, mentioned a critical point of view, “I am not sure if social media platforms have reinforced or provided more space for hate speech to arise as it used to exist before, but it was simply between individuals and more personal. Today we all see the comments, even if the issue is not about us and we comment and involve ourselves. I don’t know if the issue increased or simply it was present, and now it is enhanced by a platform.”

"When a 9-year-old kid comes down the street and sees a dark-skinned girl, he starts calling her "abdeh," or "slave"."

The speed of dissemination also expanded the circle of participants, which is indicated by Saleh, Palestinian resident of Israel, “In the past, hate speech was within the village or city. Today, social communication has a wider circle. The news of the Nazareth area arrives to Al-Rina and Ein Mahel.” Hate speech is getting wider and more dangerous, and people are becoming more exposed to it and involved in fueling it without working to confront it.

Within the data of the widespread use of hate speech, the poll conducted by the 7amleh Center showed that only 7.1% of the respondents participated in practicing hate speech. This can be explained by the lack of a consistent, known and common definition of hate speech in the Palestinian context. In addition, social media platforms contribute to spreading hate speech and revealing it to many age groups, and this is what makes it comprehensive. Ahlam, a West Bank resident says, “When a 9-year-old kid comes down the street and sees a dark-skinned girl, he starts calling her “abdeh,” or “slave.”

- 3. Promoting the dissemination of obscurantist thought and misleading news:** Social media has contributed to the spread of hate speech by spreading obscurantist thought and false news and rumors, undermining the validity of

information published on these platforms. These matters have contributed to the promotion of hate speech and its quick spread reaching everywhere and all generations. 21% of the respondents believe that misleading news is a central factor in spreading hate speech, while 14.5% indicate that the general atmosphere encourages the expansion and dissemination of hate speech. Even if you do not want to be part of this discussion, you are exposed to it due to its rapid circulation on social media platforms. Facebook and other social platforms have become a source of news without referring to its source or checking its authenticity; this has contributed to spreading hate speech. Hiba, from Gaza says, "Today, due to social media networks, if you cough in Gaza, it will reach Jenin. Every individual has his own platform under the freedom of expression, and to the degree that he uses it to spread poison and hate speech, and when someone leaves a comment on his page, he considers it an infringement of part of his privacy, personal freedom or space. Social media has two roles, a negative and powerful role in that it publishes ideas and things that we have not heard about before. And the second role, without social media, we would not have heard many events and not everyone would have become an official spokesperson and shared the events with us from his point of view."

"According to the survey's findings, 23% believe that customs and traditions reinforce hate speech on social media platforms"

4. Violating a safe, fair and free digital space.

4.1 Fueling intolerance: Hate speech and attacks on social media platforms fuel intolerance, especially since 24.7% of those who have been attacked choose to respond and it may be in the same offensive manner that was practiced on them. This expands hate speech. Hiba, says "Your political affiliation does not always 100% match your attitude, which is a perfectly natural and logical condition. People, on the other hand, are pressuring you to become a blind defense mechanism. As a political activist, I've recently evolved into a machine that reacts to and confronts visitors to my page, and even if I write about how to cook spaghetti, they'll comment that it's because of my political affiliation." Enhancing the prevailing and dominant speech in society: In the Palestinian context, social media platforms reflect the power relations that exist in the Palestinian society. Therefore, fueling hate

speech and giving it a platform helps to reinforce the dominant speech while also counteracting initiatives to reformulate public discourse. According to the survey's findings, 23% believe that customs and traditions reinforce hate speech on social media platforms. Taqwa from the West Bank explains, "The group that goes along with the mainstream (the dominant line) in the society, always wins whether they conduct hate speech or not, because in all cases the society applauds for them whether they are right or wrong. While the number of people who express a new point of view or an opinion that is not accepted by all groups (such as secularism, women's rights, and (CEDAW) is decreasing."

- 4.3 Consolidation of hate speech within the algorithms of social media platforms: Randa, from the West Bank, raised a critical topic, namely, the algorithms of social media platforms that encourage the building of groups with similar ideas or proximity to one another. Consequently, social media platforms increase isolation, exclusion and discussion with only "who agrees with you" or opinions close to yours, which was mentioned at the beginning of the research as "echo chambers." These algorithms suggest groups, videos, or content that are close to topics of interest to an individual. Thus, it allows hate speech to persist in different forms and across different platforms. Randa added, "Social media platforms work according to groups. Your request to join a group concerned with women's rights, for example, will be approved depending on your responses. You will not be accepted if you were not supportive of their opinions. In fact, what happens in these groups is an internal debate between parties that agree on the vast majority of issues and seldom have any disagreements, which is a complete waste of time."

"According to the survey's findings, 23% believe that customs and traditions reinforce hate speech on social media platforms"

5. Infringement of the right to life and security: 86.8% of respondents believe that hate speech on social media platforms can lead to cases of violence and attacks in the real world. Saleh, from the 1948 occupied Palestinian areas, points out the indicators, which begin with direct speeches or insinuations on social media platforms and can escalate to the level of actual threat and violent attacks. Saleh cites the recent elections as an example: "Anger towards Mansour Abbas and the incitement on social media platforms pushed some people to the point where Abbas was assaulted during a demonstration. This assault occurred as a result of some discussions on social media, regardless of whether I agree with him or not."

Saleh continues, "Lately, hate speech has progressed from being mere insinuations to a state of clarity. If one reads the comments on Arab Knesset members' accounts, one will notice that the majority of infringements are personal and directed at their families, as the attack on Aida Touma- Sulieman in the debate on homosexuals exemplifies. "In my opinion, social media occupies a large part of our daily lives, and if hate speech continues to escalate, it may pose a danger," Saleh adds. "It has gotten to the point where even matters that were previously kept private out of fear of embarrassment or shame are now assumed to be acceptable to share on social media as a space that has been made available. As a result, I believe that the danger of hate speech lies in the possibility of it affecting people's lives, even to the point of killing someone." Saleh believes.

" Comments calling for torture or murder are common by 14.1%, ranking third after calls for death and gender discrimination. Furthermore, the term 'murder' is used 54.2% of the time, while the term 'beating' and its derivatives are used 34.7% of the time "

In this context, according to the hate speech indicators survey, comments calling for torture or murder are common by 14.1%, ranking third after calls for death and gender discrimination. Furthermore, the term 'murder' is used 54.2% of the time, while the term 'beating' and its derivatives are used 34.7% of the time. This information is extremely concerning, as it reflects a trend of legitimizing violence and threats on social media platforms. This would reinforce self-censorship and the silencing approach, particularly if there is a genuine threat.

Fourth axis:

Punishment and deterrence mechanisms: Who bears the responsibility for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context?

79.8% of the respondents expressed an optimistic view regarding the ability to combat hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context, while the discussion focuses on the most efficient strategies as well as the parties that should take responsibility.

The introduction of parental control sparked controversy as the respondents were divided between agreeing and opposing it. In terms of preventing hate speech, 46.7% believe parental monitoring is effective, while 53.3% do not. Anbara, from the West Bank, says, "Hate speech starts from early years at home and school and it is reflected on social media platforms." While 60.3 % of the respondents considered Media Education to be the best way to combat hate speech because knowledge and the ability to analyze and criticize without attack is necessary in combating hate speech that accuses individuals and groups in the Palestinian context of blasphemy on the one hand and treason on the other.

Firas from the West Bank adds that openness is essential, and if it is not possible due to the Israeli occupation, then measures must be taken to decrease shutting-in and encourage people to read and conduct discussion sessions with individuals from other groups within the same community. "The student must be convinced that his comparable thoughts to mine are incorrect. It's natural for us to be unique."

" When confronted with hate speech, 55.9% opt to ignore and not reply, while just 7.8% choose to remove the account from their contact list "

This is also emphasized by Khitam from Gaza, who emphasizes the value-based aspect of media education, which is summarized in accepting the other and learning the foundations of democracy that go beyond its formal meaning to correct what Khitam describes as a "defect in the moral system" that does not raise people to respect privacy and accept the other. Even universities, religious institutions, and civil institutions do not enhance the importance of respect for opposing viewpoints, and our understanding of democracy concentrates on one component while ignoring the other.

Although the majority of the participants in the study cited increasing awareness as a primary motivation for combatting hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context, there is still skepticism regarding the efficiency of such initiatives, particularly within their target audience. Organized speech, which is mostly seen in Gaza and the West Bank, is one kind of hate speech in the Palestinian context. Sherin, from Gaza, added “Awareness initiatives will have no effect on these parties. They are quite aware that they are engaging in hate speech. I mean, awareness campaigns can have an impact on people, regular citizens, and activists, but they cannot have an impact on electronic flies because their goal is to disrupt your mood and compel you to withdraw from any political discussion. I am with awareness initiatives, but they are not going to provide the desired results. I believe that individuals who engage in hate speech are unconcerned about the consequences of their actions.”

Only 19.1% believe that content deletion may be used as a deterrent, while 60.3 % think that social media platforms’ deterrent and punishment measures, such as content deletion and account closure, are insufficient to combat hate speech. The technique of self-silencing by disregarding direct exposure to hate speech is particularly intriguing in the findings. When confronted with hate speech, 55.9% opt to ignore and not reply, while just 7.8% choose to remove the account from their contact list. In both instances, it is preferable to remain silent and withdraw.

86.1% of respondents believe that legislation is ineffective in reducing hate speech on social media platforms, indicating discontent with the existing regulations. Furthermore, 88.4% think that imposing legal penalties on hate speech promoters would be an effective strategy to reduce hate speech, indicating a clear need to criminalize hate speech. This highlights the need for clear laws and a serious approach to law enforcement as it appeared in focus groups, notably in the Palestinian context, at least in the West Bank. Nassif says, “We want laws; we need to fight to raise the ceiling of Palestinian legislation to match the ceiling of the numerous international accords signed by the PLO and the Palestinian Authority.” President Mahmoud Abbas was the first Arab president to sign the Arab World Declaration on Media Freedom in 2016, in which he urged countries to reject hate speech and enact legislation prohibiting national, racial, and religious hatred, which he defined as incitement to discrimination, aggression, and violence.²⁰ However, the reality is different. As Nassif describes it, “It is unreasonable to go to the Palestinian cybercrime police to file a complaint against one of the obscurantist parties, and the official there says, ‘Why do you care about CEDAW? It is against women and against religion.’ If you are an officer of cybercrime police and do not enforce the law, then we have a problem here. We must have regulations, laws and professional behavior of the relevant staff.”

20. السياسة الأوروبية للجوار. (2016). فلسطين توقع على إعلان حرية الإعلام في العالم العربي. مستقاة من: <https://www.euneighbours.eu/ar/south/stay-informed/news/flstyn-twq-ly-alan-hyt-alalam-fy-alalm-alrby-almadm-mn-almshw-alawrwy>

The decision by Law No. 16 of 2017 regarding cybercrime²¹, specifically in Article 40, which explicitly stipulates maintaining civil peace is a top priority and gives the competent authority to monitor the content of websites inside or outside the country that post any content that threatens national security, civil peace and social structure. However, it is not sufficient or directed to combat hate speech based on the experience of the participants but rather to suppress free voices and curb the press and activists. This contradiction was reflected in chasing activists who condemned the death of activist Nizar Banat, as well as the detention of many individuals who were active on social media platforms encouraging the public to demonstrate. These arrests have triggered hate speech in the Palestinian context on social media networks. In this context, 53.8%% of all comments on the arrest of journalists following the assassination of Nizar Banat were treachery accusations. 10.6% of the comments used the description of mercenaries “mortazaqa,” “shabbiha,” or “gangs.”

" 60.3% think that social media platforms' deterrent and punishment measures, such as content deletion and account closure, are insufficient to combat hate speech"

There are two levels of dealing with hate speech in the Palestinian context: the first is legislation that criminalizes acts that jeopardize the public interest and disseminate hate speech, but it is ineffectual. The second level consists of particular regulations to control behavior, similar to a code of honor that are based on broad criteria to avoid hate speech. Presidential Decree No. 3 of 1998, for example, was issued to enhance national unity and avoid provocation. It described provocation as discrimination, incitement to violence, and insulting other religions, as well as provocation to use violence against brothers and other nations. According to the decree, anybody who fails to follow the directive will be penalized in accordance with the law. Despite the fact that the decree was against hatred, it did not specifically include hate speech. In terms of Palestinian media legislation, a draft audio-visual media bill was introduced in 2016 but it was not enacted due to the disruption of the Palestinian Legislative Council's work. Article 22 B states that broadcasting content that incites hate, violence, or terrorism, as well as religious, sectarian, ethnic, or discriminatory strife, is prohibited. Article 38 also imposes a punishment of 2,000-10,000 Jordanian dinars²² for violators.

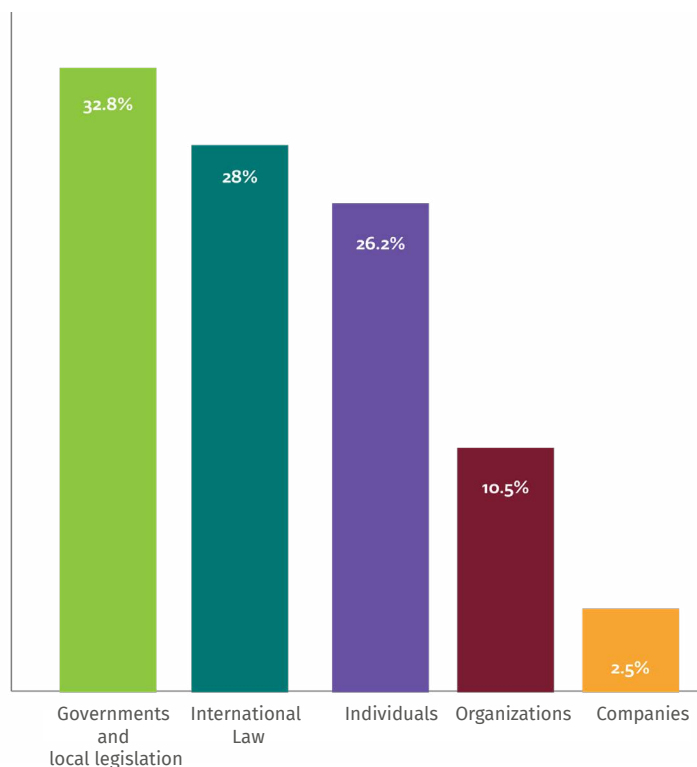
21 مؤسسة الحق: القانون من أجل الإنسان. (2017). مذكرة قانونية حول القرار بقانون رقم (16) لسنة 2017 بشأن الجرائم الإلكترونية. مستقاة من: shorturl.at/hnsE1

22. EU Neighbors. (2018). MedMedia Report – Addressing hate speech and racism in the media in the Southern Mediterranean: A review of formal and informal regulatory approaches. Retrieved from: <https://www.euneighbours.eu/en/south/stay-informed/publications/medmedia-report-addressing-hate-speech-and-racism-media-southern>

Between Reality and Desire:

Who Should Be Responsible for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context?

According to the survey's findings, the strength of the influence on minimizing hate speech on social media platforms falls on the following.



According to the findings, the government should carry primary responsibility and establish regulations to prevent those who participate in hate speech. However, Palestinians, particularly in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, point to a serious problem in light of the political division and cold war between Fatah and Hamas, as well as the nature of governmental authority practiced to oppress the citizens. Miqdad, from Gaza, says, "Governments are supposed to be the main actors to combat hate speech and I assume that the government should be trusted by all citizens, but this is not the case in our country neither in the West Bank nor in Gaza. What is needed from them is to fight hate speech. The government intends to establish rules to prevent hate speech or define what constitutes hate speech, but we are concerned that their criteria will be biased in favor of a political party and would compromise liberties. I believe that an independent body, a human rights body or civil society institutions is the one to take lead in setting standards to fight hate speech. This is because of our unique circumstances."

This is also mentioned by Khitam from Gaza, who agrees with Miqdad that the government does not perform the role expected of it. Instead it promotes hate speech by spreading electronic flies to attack people and ideas which disagree with the government and it encourages inflaming hate speech by disseminating electronic flies to attack people and ideas that disagree with them. Sherin, a Gaza resident, highlights the difficulties of filing complaints against electronic flies, who establish false accounts on a daily basis so that the government can find a way to bypass the regulations it enacts. Given the government's absence and questions about its authenticity, integrity, and legality, participants in focus groups rely on human rights and women organizations, as well as civil society, to oppose or at least reduce the intensity of hate speech.

Another striking observation is that corporations, which manage social media platforms, are not held liable for not combating hate speech. This may be due to the common misconception that social media platforms are a "private space" or "home," and that the person who controls the page is the one who is responsible for it. Alternatively, more than 80% of respondents do not feel that processes used by businesses to prevent hate speech, such as deleting material and canceling accounts, are an effective means of countering hate speech. It is an invitation to reconsider mechanisms that businesses employ and if they are appropriate for the environment in which they operate.

Fifth Axis:

Recommendations for combating hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context

Many recommendations and ideas have been made by Palestinians to combat hate speech on social media platforms, with the most essential questions being how to prevent the spread of hate speech of all sorts and what approach should be used. Recommendations indicate that combating hate speech on social media platforms must embrace the idea of "confronting speech by speech" and the importance of converting this into actual measures. According to Nassif, a West Bank resident: "There must be a strategy and an action plan by involving those who are victims of hate speech. We must unite in order to confront it."

A) Immediate intervention

When exposed to hate speech on social media platforms, the participants agreed that immediate action is required to stop or limit the spread. Muhammad, a Palestinian

resident of Israel says, “I prefer intervening from the beginning to combat hate speech because if we ignore it, it will grow. If the problem is at the level of a family, a city, or a village, I recommend approaching them directly to fix the problem, emphasizing the group’s effect in combating hate speech in order to have a bigger impact.” He also counts on the people who have influence in general. Therefore, it is crucial to approach them immediately to fix the situation before hate speech gets out of control. Yasmine, a Palestinian resident of Israel, describes her neighborhood as one of the areas afflicted by organized crime gangs, “It is difficult to go to the police in certain cases, especially because they do not do their job, which complicates the situation and puts you, your family and your close circle in danger. So in such a complex situation I think we can intervene at the level of the family or friends.”

Some believe that addressing hate speech on social media platforms requires skill and diplomacy, as well as consideration of Palestinian society’s power structures, in order to first attract more readers and then maintain continuity. “Sometimes the procedure requires diplomacy in order to keep minimum work,” explains Nassif, a West Bank resident. “I mean, I write weekly political articles and do three reviews, the first to ensure that there are no inciting words because I don’t want the Israeli occupation to arrest me or close my Facebook account, and the second is to ensure that there are no inciting words because I don’t want Palestinian Preventive Security to arrest me. The third review, for clans, the patriarchal mentality, and the remnants of feudalism values. As a result, three reviews must be completed before the article may be shared on social media. A person can publish what he or she believes, but only for a limited time, as he or she will be arrested. There are those who disagree with the diplomatic approach and point to the inherent dangers of non-confrontation, particularly in light of the rapid spread of hate speech. For example Taqwa from the West Bank points out: “Perhaps self-censorship is positive in terms of gaining more space, but it can also be negative in that it allows people to ride the wave. I think that censorship should be systematic and thorough. It is possible that someone speaks in a convincing manner, people agree with him, particularly those who are afraid to speak up, and they have found someone who speaks in their name and in a convincing manner without offending. I believe that severe self-censorship is not required, especially when individuals discuss sensitive social topics.”

B) Emphasizing the difference between freedom of expression and hate speech - where is the limit?

According to Miqdad from Gaza, “It is critical to raise awareness about distinguishing between hate speech and freedom of expression and opinion. You can criticize the authorities and Hamas as long as your speech does not discuss private matters. Talk

about political issues! Why do you bring up matters related to honor and treason accusations? Tell your opinion of this person; tell your opinion of his political performance, because when we enter into the issue of betrayal and blasphemy, we enter into hate speech.” Thair, a West Bank resident, emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between hate speech and freedom of expression by pointing out the contradiction between the two, “because hate speech limits the expression of opinion in various ways, including by applying pressure to silence people.”

The right to freedom of expression is explicitly stated in international human rights law, and governments and states have the authority to define and recognize hate speech, as well as enacting legislation to combat it. As a result, governments’ approaches differ, resulting in ambiguous definitions and the implementation of legislation that contradict with international human rights law. Moreover, there is a flaw in the application of laws set by governments to combat “hate speech” in different regions of the world. On the one hand, there are examples of influential people and public figures who incite violence and threaten to resort to violence without holding them accountable. On the other hand, anti-“hate speech” laws are applied as mechanisms to suppress opposition and critics and to undermine freedom of expression.

Opinions on how to cope with the rise of hate speech, particularly in conflict zones and under repressive governments vary. Some claim that requiring speech to be regulated based on its content involves undermining and restricting freedom of expression. Advocates of regulating speech and content argue that freedom of expression is not an absolute right and is subject to some limitations under Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights²³. So the key question is when is it permissible to limit freedom of expression?

Freedom of opinion may be subject to restrictions in specific circumstances, based on paragraph 3, Article 19, and Article 20 of the Covenant, 1951²⁴ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the 1969²⁵ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. For the restriction to be legitimate, it must fit the three-part test emanating from the third paragraph of the Covenant, which stipulates that the restriction be:

1. **Exceptional and not arbitrary. It should be a last resort provided that it is in a democratic society.**

23. جامعة مينيسوتا: مكتبة حقوق الإنسان. (2021). العهد الدولي الخاص بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية (1976). مستقاة من: <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/arab/b003.html>

24. اللجنة الدولية للصليب الأحمر (2021). اتفاقية منع جريمة الإبادة الجماعية والمعاقبة عليها (1948). مستقاة من: <https://www.icrc.org/ar/doc/resources/documents/mjsc/62sgrn.htm>

25. الأمم المتحدة- حقوق الإنسان- مكتب المفوض السامي. (2021). الاتفاقية الدولية للقضاء على كافة أنواع التمييز (1965). مستقاة من: <https://www.ohchr.org/ar/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx>

2. To protect a worthy goal or project, and to show power, such as criminalizing criticism of the government and immunizing officials from criticism.
3. The public interests supersede private interests.

This is not applicable in the Palestinian context, mainly Articles 2 and 3, in addition to the modest and faltering legislative attempts that are due to political division. For example, although the Palestinian Basic Law (the Constitution) affirms respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the amendments of 2003 did not address the issue of hatred, and it was not considered a crime to be held accountable for by the law, as detailed in Article 19: “freedom of opinion shall be inviolable” and every person has the right to express and publish his opinion verbally, in writing, or by other means of expression or art, subject to the provisions of the law.”²⁶ The same applies to criminal legislation, as the Jordanian Penal Code²⁷ No. 16 of 1960, which is in force in the West Bank, did not clearly address the issue of hatred and combating it, although it contains a number of articles that criminalize speech that calls for conflict or incites sectarian strife. On the basis of Article 150 of this law, some Palestinian journalists were arrested on charges related to inciting sectarian strife²⁸ which opponents see as a process of undermining freedom of expression and restraining the press from playing its role in disclosure.

C) Regulating activities to combat hate speech on social media

The participants unanimously agreed that organized Palestinian action on social media is essential in combating hate speech aimed towards any individual, group, or category. Hate speech is linked to the limitation of freedom of expression and the silencing measure. It is a call to mobilize as many people as possible, in an attempt to create a different speech. Imad from the West Bank says, “If we do not show solidarity with each other, we will not protect each other.”

It is important to highlight some of the initiatives taken by Palestinian media outlets to deal with the internal instability and political conflicts in light of occupation and cases of treasonous accusations. Such initiatives included setting standards to address hate speech, such as “Nisaa FM” radio, which has adopted a Code of Conduct that prohibits broadcasting news that encourages violence, hatred, ethnic cleansing, and other forms of discrimination²⁹.

26. نفس المصدر المادة 19.

27. مقام: موسوعة القوانين وأحكام المحاكم الفلسطينية. (2021). المادة 150 من قانون العقوبات الأردني رقم 16 لعام 1960. مستقاة من: <https://maqam.najah.edu/legislation/33>.

28. المركز الفلسطيني للتعمية والحقنوة الإعلامية (المديعة 2018). الدليل التدريبي حول مواجهة خطاب الكراهية في فلسطين. مستقاة من: <https://www.madacenter.org/files/>.

29. راديو نساء فم. (2021). مدونة قواعد السلوك الخاصة بشبكة نساء الإقليمية. مستقاة من: <https://www.radionisaa.ps/article/747/%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%88-%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%81-%D8%A7%D9%85>

Another initiative was taken by The Palestinian Journalists Syndicate in 2012, which adopted a Code of Conduct which calls for tolerance and condemns defamation and incitement to violence against any person, entity or institution on the basis of race, gender, religion or political affiliation³⁰. Moreover, twenty-one Palestinian media outlets signed a statement in 2019 to confront internal hate speech in the Palestinian media³¹. A guidance manual was also issued on hate speech in general. However, it seems that these community initiatives, stemming from good and patriotic intentions, are insufficient to combat the escalating hate speech in social media in the Palestinian context. Hence, the participants suggest some practical steps in developing a discourse that addresses hate speech as follows:

1. Active engagement in the virtual world and the sharing of each other's writings (posts). Nassif, resident in the West Bank says, "Others take us seriously when I publish and there are 100 shares, and when you write and I share, our presence in the virtual space becomes tangible. We have a large number of people, but our difficulty is that we are disorganized and do not assist one another."
2. Qualitative and informed writing. Imad from the West Bank says, "In my opinion; those who write with logic and for a general goal rather than a personal one, are a minority not in numbers, but in their appearance on social media. It is the loud voice that exists. For example, the word "kos-im" which is a bad word because it contains all the disrespect for women, we imported it from Lebanon, and now it is becoming popular, accepted, and highly "cool." Two months ago, it was not accepted at all. The thing is that a group of tweeters and influencers imported it from Lebanon and started using it, and it is actually a practice of hate speech under the cover of expressing opinion." Imad suggests promoting qualitative and informed writing, sharing an annual list of "20-30 people worthy of follow-up" who write logically without getting involved by hate speech or by opposing other opinions.
3. Some, like Firas from the West Bank, suggest employing social media platforms through their central players, who are influencers and are considered role models and at the same time have many followers. "It is possible to rely on our influencers. We can build a group of influencers to pass ideas to counter hate speech and accept differences."

30. نقابة الصحفيين الفلسطينيين (2021). مدونة السلوك المهني الإعلامي (2012). مستقاة من: <https://www.pjs.ps/ar/pjs2/code-of-Conduct>

31 المركز الفلسطيني للتنمية والحقوق الإعلامية "مدى". (2019). وثيقة مواجهة خطاب الكراهية الداخلي في وسائل الإعلام الفلسطينية. مستقاة من: <https://www.madacenter.org/article/1558/%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%89-21-%D9%88%D8%B3%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85-%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%AA%D8%A8%D9%86%D9%89-%D9%88%D8%AB%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%85%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%A9-%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83-%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A9>

4. The need for Media Education for everyone. More than 60% of Palestinians believe that media education and awareness raising are the most effective methods for reducing hate speech on social media platforms. This necessitates the creation of free media platforms that function under the principles of respect and open exchange of ideas. Karim, from Gaza says, “For example, if we watch Palestine TV or Al-Aqsa TV, which are the most famous and they broadcast purely ideological political speeches, we find terms imprinted in people’s consciousness over the past 15 years, words that we hear today as if they were facts. For example, the words collaborator, agent, traitor, and coordinator; these words are dangerous in the public consciousness. When I was younger, I was scared when I heard the word “collaborator,” which meant a dangerous person who had committed many evil deeds. Nowadays, anybody might be referred to as a “collaborator.” From an educational standpoint, it is important to interact with the media. This necessitates the creation of educational media curricula delivered in schools through workshops targeted at students at an early age, or through media awareness campaigns on how to deal with the digital space while respecting digital rights and preserving a safe, free, and healthy environment.

5. The need for joint cooperation with social media companies.

Joint collaboration entails adapting the definition of hate speech in the Palestinian context in order to make it easier to detect hate content and penalize it in compliance with the company’s rules and regulations. It is worth noting that the respondents believe that the adopted systems of deleting content and closing accounts are ineffective in combating hate speech, which suggests that companies should reconsider their deterrence mechanisms and encourage the trend toward strengthening the formulation of confrontational speech in the digital space based on human rights principles.

Annex One

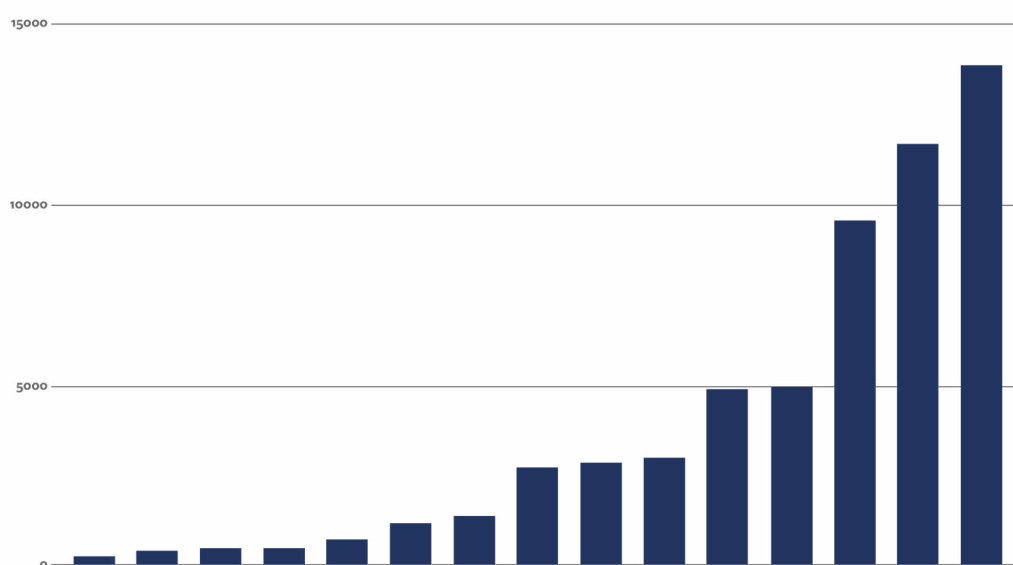
Questions of Focus groups:

1. Have you ever been subject to any hate speech?
2. Have you ever practiced hate-discrimination-racist speech yourself? If yes, why?
3. What is your reaction/feeling to being exposed to hate speech?
4. What are the words or terms that indicate hate speech in the Palestinian context?
5. What are the main types of hate speech that you see in the Palestinian context? Which groups are targeted by hate speech in the Palestinian context?
6. Is there constant and changing hate speech in the Palestinian context? When does hate speech increase in the Palestinian context?
7. Which groups suffer the most from hate speech?
8. In your opinion, what are the reasons behind spreading hate speech?
9. How do you see the gradation of hate speech in light of the political, sectarian, geographic, and gender fragmentation?
10. What are the implications of hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context? (Violence, racism, repression...) Is hate speech reflected in social media platforms on the ground?
11. Do you think that limiting hate speech can contradict freedom of opinion and expression?
12. Are you in favor of enacting laws to combat hate speech? Does the political authority or the law have the right to deal with criticism as hate speech?
13. Who is responsible for combating hate speech and to what degree of responsibility: Individuals, companies, governments (domestic laws), international laws, associations?
14. At what stage should hate speech on social media platforms in the Palestinian context (discrimination and racism) be combated? (From the beginning or when inciting violence)?
15. Are the implications of all hate speech the same in the Palestinian context? Which implication is more serious? Why? (Political hate, gender hate, sectarian hate or regional hate?)

Annex Two

Cases surveyed according to the public's interaction with it:

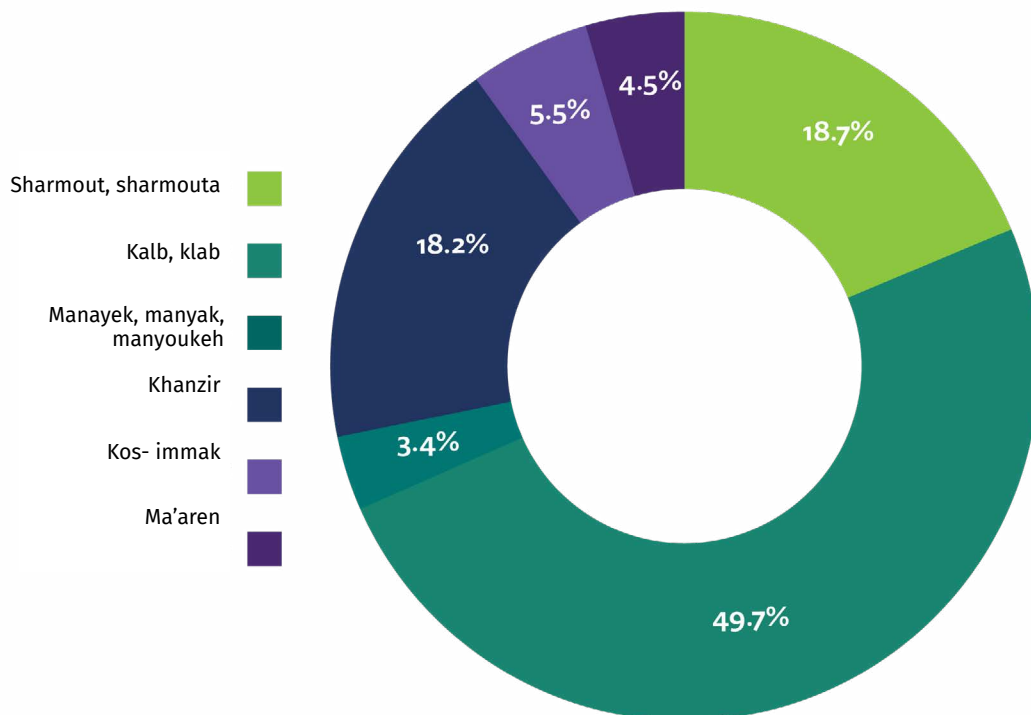
The case	Number of posts	Number of comments
Death of Nawal Elsaadawi	11	13866
Israa Gharib	23	11700
Sama Abd Al- Hadi	22	9572
Shrine of Al- Nabi Musa	15	4879
Tahinet Al- Arz	19	4875
Preventing family unification	10	2977
CEDAW Convention	39	2825
Activists' arrest	20	2720
Sakhnin and the Christmas tree	18	1328
Rawaa Murshid	19	1157
Political Islam	7	714
Break up CEDAW sit- ins	7	487
Al- Tantoura Beach	7	486
Journalists' arrest	12	402
Nationality Bill	4	261



Annex Three

Frequency of categorized vocabulary of direct insults

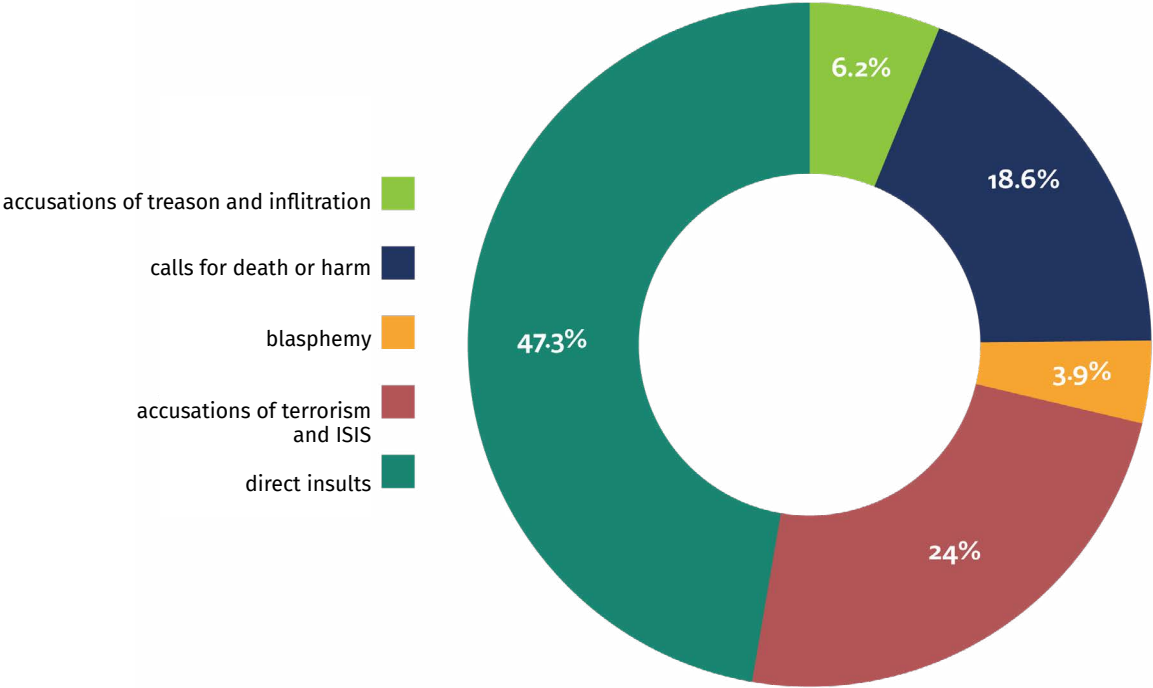
Direct insults	Sharmout, sharmouta	251
	Kalb, klab	667
	Manayek, banyak, manyoukeh	45
	Khanzir	244
	Kos- immak	74
	Ma'aren	60



Annex Four

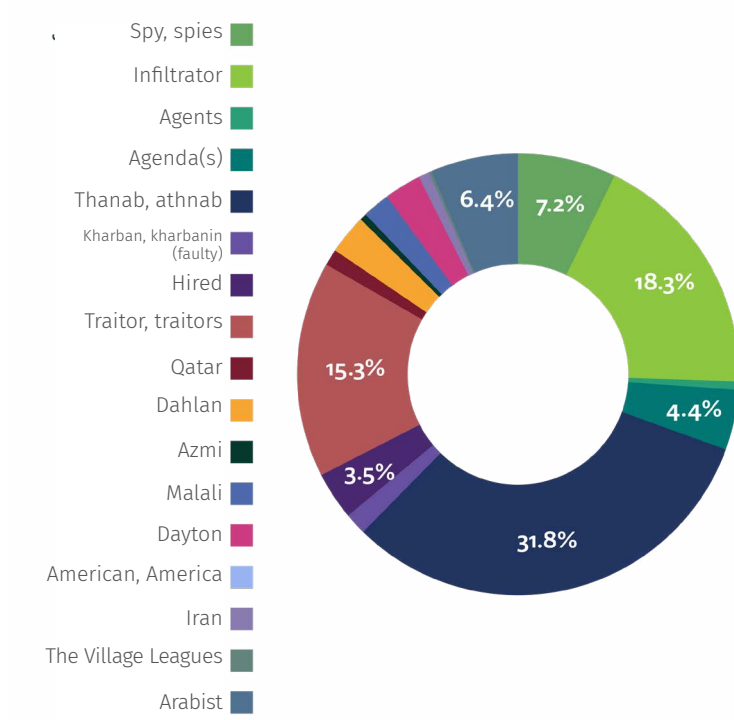
Discussion on the issue of burninh the Christmas Tree in Sakhnin

The case	Number of posts	Number of comments
Sakhnin and the Christmas tree	18	1328
	Categoraized comments	130



Annex Five

Frequency of categorized vocabulary of treason and infiltration



Accusations of treason and espionage	Frequency
Spy, spies	83
Infiltrator	210
Agents	7
Agenda(s)	51
Thanab, athnab	365
Kharban, kharbanin (faulty)	18
Hired	40
Traitor, traitors	181
Qatar	14
Dahlan	33
Azmi	6
Malali	1
Dayton	23
American, America	31
Iran	9
The Village Leagues	2
Arabist	74

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