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# Political Mobilization and Advocacy Strategies of Palestinian Groups Amid Genocide Allegations in the Gaza Conflict, 2023-2024

Nkechi Cynthia Osuchukwu (Ph.D)<sup>1</sup>, Blessing Chugo Idigo (Ph.D)<sup>2</sup>, Cyprian Uchenna Udegbunam (Ph.D)<sup>3</sup>, Obioma Davison Mbanefo<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Political Science, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Igbariam, Anambra State, Nigeria

E-Mail: cn.osuchukwu@coou.edu.ng

E-Mail: od.mbanefo@coou.edu.ng

#### ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Gaza conflict between 2023 and 2024. While there is a considerable amount of literature on the Gaza conflict, there is limited literature written about the mobilization and advocacy of Palestinian political and civil-society actors in reaction to accusations of genocide against Israel. Hence, this study aims to analyze how Palestinian political and civil society groups mobilized and advocated to influence international opinion, legal bodies, and diplomatic actors, thereby attracting sympathy and solidarity during the conflict. The study adopted a qualitative analysis of 150 documents, which included statements and press releases from Palestinian political groups, legal briefs submitted to international institutions, advocacy reports, social media content, news from mainstream media, peer-reviewed journal articles, scholarly papers, and professional commentaries from academic databases. Previous studies have primarily focused on historical mobilization patterns rather than contemporary strategies. Again, this study addresses this gap by focusing on real-time advocacy strategies during an active conflict. The findings of the study indicate that Palestinian political and civil society actors coordinate to deliberately frame the allegation of genocide against Israel. Also, from the findings of the study, they employ some strategies in the mobilization and advocacy, which include engaging in legal advocacy frameworks with international institutions, using digital platforms to portray genocide allegations, increasing coalition-building with international human rights organizations, and applying internal political messaging. The study suggests that future advocacy efforts should focus on legal campaigns, build a strong digital infrastructure for quick response, and build better partnerships with international human rights organizations for a maximum impact during ongoing conflicts.

Keywords: Palestinian groups, genocide allegations, Gaza conflict, International Court of Justice, human rights advocacy

## INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians has evolved into a new and intense phase following the Hamas assaults on Israel on October 7, 2023. In response to this attack, Israel conducted a large-scale military operation in Gaza (Bloxham, 2025), culminating in advocacy, political mobilization, and accusations of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza that inspired a massive series of protests around the world organized by the Palestinian community and supporters. South Africa laid genocide charges against Israel at the International Court of Justice in early 2024. (Akbar & Genovés, 2024). Essentially, this was the first time such serious legal claims reached the world's top court during active conflict. As of October 2024, more than 42,000 Palestinians died in the war in Gaza, including more than 13,300 children (Amnesty International, 2024). Accordingly, Palestinian organizations launched renewed campaigns, legal actions, and protests. This was after the International Court of Justice ruled, in January 2024, that genocide claims regarding what was happening in Gaza were "plausible" under international law (NPR, 2024).

The background of this study lies in how Palestinian mobilization and advocacy changed after the October 7 attacks. Since then, the scale of protest has been massive in many countries The Crowd Counting Consortium reported that nearly 12,400 pro-Palestinian protests occurred in the United States between October 2023 and June 2024. Hence, it marks the highest number of documented protests since tracking began in 2017 (Chenoweth et al., 2024). University campuses were at the center of, and over 100 schools saw encampments during spring 2024 (Deeb & Winegar, 2024). These actions were met with what some scholars refer to as the harshest crackdown on campus protests in U.S. history (Deeb & Winegar, 2024). At the same time, the conflict had a global reach. It drove wedges between governments in the global North and South. It also divided opinions within many countries, contributing to broader political debates (Carnegie Endowment, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Department of Political Science, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Igbariam, Anambra State, Nigeria E-Mail: <a href="mailto:bc.idigo@coou.edu.ng">bc.idigo@coou.edu.ng</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Department of Political Science, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Igbariam, Anambra State, Nigeria uc.udegbunam@coou.edu.ng

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Department of Public Administration, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Igbariam, Anambra State, Nigeria

To understand how Palestinian groups acted, we need to look at three main ideas. First is political mobilization, which means how people come together, gather resources, and take action to push for change. The second is an advocacy strategy, which covers the tools and tactics groups use, like legal cases, protests, online campaigns, and more. Third is genocide allegations, which gave activists a new legal and moral frame for their work. The genocide case brought by South Africa to the ICJ gave Palestinian groups more ground to argue their case in court and public (BBC News, 2024). This study is important due to the widespread and intense nature of the mobilization. Groups like Palestine Legal have reported a sharp rise in anti-Palestinian bias and crackdowns on speech, showing both how active the movement has become and how strong the pushback is (Palestine Legal, 2024). Furthermore, the conflict has generated more than 2,000 pro-Israel demonstrations, demonstrating the degree of the polarization of public sentiment (Chenoweth et al, 2024). There are over 97,000 injured Palestinians on the ground in Gaza, and nearly 80 percent of the schools are damaged or destroyed (Amnesty International, 2024). These will continue to provide motivating factors for advocacy campaigns and calls for international action.

Many past studies have looked at Palestinian activism, but few have asked how the genocide claims changed things. Much of the earlier research focused on older protest models and did not look at how international law affects strategy today. Also, many studies focused on just one country or group (Idigo & Osegbue, 2025). This missed the big picture of how different Palestinian groups worked together, how they responded to the ICJ case, and how they used new tools like social media. We also know little about how these efforts have connected with global human rights groups. This study aims to analyze how Palestinian political and civil society groups mobilized and advocated to influence international opinion, legal bodies, and diplomatic actors during the Gaza conflict between 2023-2024. The research examines the strategies, coordination patterns, and messaging frameworks used by these groups in response to genocide allegations.

This research adds to what we know in a few key ways. It helps explain how international law shapes protest strategy. It also shows how genocide charges changed the way Palestinian groups framed their message and built support. This includes how they used the law to gain legitimacy and joined forces with wider human rights efforts. On a practical level, it offers activists and legal experts' insights into what is working and where things might go next.

#### Evolution of Palestinian Political Organizations

Palestinian political mobilization has passed through distinct phases since 1948. Each phase showed different forms of resistance and organization. The roots trace back to early resistance during the British Mandate period. The first organized groups were the Muslim-Christian Associations (1918) and the Arab Executive Committee (1920). The two groups were instrumental in mobilizing resistance and promoting national identity during the British Mandate period (Arab Center DC, 2024). These early groups laid the groundwork for future political movements. After the 1948 Nakba, there was a fundamental rupture in Palestinian political organizations, which necessitated new forms of mobilization adapted to conditions of displacement and dispossession. The displacement created a need for broader representation that led to the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is an umbrella political organization formed in 1964, claiming to be the body that represents the Palestinian people (Khalidi. 2020).

The late 1960s marked a turning point as major political organizations emerged. Fatah emerged as a key player after being founded in the late 1950s by Yasser Arafat and Khalil al-Wazir. On 4 February 1969, Fatah founder Arafat was elected Chairman of the PLO in Cairo (Wikipedia, 2025). This shift brought armed resistance to the forefront of Palestinian strategy. Also, various leftist factions, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), emerged. The 1980s saw the rise of new actors. Hamas was formed in 1987 during the First Intifada as an Islamic alternative to secular nationalism. The group later entered electoral politics in 2005. Hamas entered Palestinian politics as a political party in 2005 when it engaged in local elections and won a landslide victory in parliamentary elections in 2006, beating Fatah (Tamimi, 2007).

The Oslo Accords of 1993 created the Palestinian Authority in 1994. This marked a shift toward diplomatic engagement and limited self-governance. However, the failure of the peace process led to renewed conflict and organizational splits (Osuchukwu, 2022). The 2007 Hamas takeover of Gaza created a geographic and political division. The split between Fatah and Hamas following the 2006 elections and the subsequent division between the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 2007 further complicated the organizational landscape of Palestinian politics. This led Hamas to take over the government in June 2007. Hamas has been the de facto governing authority of the Gaza Strip since its takeover (Wikipedia, 2025). This split continues to affect Palestinian political unity today.

## Key Phases in Palestinian Political Mobilization

There have been several distinctive phases of Palestinian political mobilization each of which has operated from within specific historical, strategic, and organizational references. The period of the mandate (1920-1948) was the first period of modern Palestinian political development in which elite-driven nationalist movements came in response to the British colonizing presence and Zionist settlement. This era provided the storyline for Palestinian nationalism and laid the basis for institutional structures that would shape future mobilizations. The post-Nakba era Between 1948 and 1967 was marked by a phase of reconstruction and reorganization, as the Palestinians who turned into political actors adjusted to exile and occupation. This was the era of the rise of new political movements and the militarization of resistance; the two intertwined to dominate the landscape of Palestinian liberation. The creation of the PLO in 1964 marked an important step forward by giving institutional structure to the otherwise fragmented Palestinian political authority, as well as conferring international recognition to Palestinian national aspirations.

The war of 1967 and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip marked another important turning point in Palestinian political mobilization. During this period, the guerrilla struggle in the form of Palestinian fedayeen operations gained international attention and made Palestine the face of Third World struggles for liberation. The proliferation of Palestinian armed groups during this period demonstrated the militarization of Palestinian politics and a reflection of regional and international revolutionary movements generally.

The First Intifada (1987-1993) represented a paradigm shift of unprecedented proportions in the political mobilization of Palestinians, where the struggle moved from an external guerrilla resistance to mass popular resistance within the occupied territories. The uprising established a model of civil disobedience and mobilization that could endure for extended periods. The First Intifada allowed for the reframing of Palestinian-Israeli relations and international engagement of recognition of Palestinian national rights through the Oslo process.

The Oslo period (1993-2000) is characterized by the institutional building of a Palestinian state and diplomatic activity, in which Palestinian political organizations operated in a new context of limited self-governance and negotiated settlement. However, with the failure of the peace process and the initiation of the Second Intifada (2000-2005) came the return of confrontational strategies and an armed resistance which exhibited new characteristics and built upon previous phases of mobilization (Osuchukwu, 2022).

Table 1: Key Phases in Palestinian Political Mobilization

Phase	Period	Primary Strategy	Key Organizations/Leaders	Major Characteristics	Key Events	Outcomes/Impact
Phase 1	1918–1948	Peaceful resistance within the British system	Muslim-Christian Associations, Arab Executive Committee	Working within a colonial framework, petitions, protests	1936- 1939 Arab Revolt	Failed due to British support for Jewish immigration
Phase 2	1948–1967	Formation and preparation	Fatah (formed in 1959), and emerging resistance groups	Scattered refugees, weakened traditional leadership, and limited by Arab governments	Loss of homeland (1948 Nakba)	Small, weak groups with limited autonomy
Phase 3	1967–1987	Armed struggle, transnational attacks, growing unity, international visibility	PLO, Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Peak Palestinian nationalism, attacks from Jordan/Lebanon	1967 Six- Day War, plane hijackings	United Palestinians gained international recognition
Phase 4	1987–1993	Mass protests, civil disobedience, local leadership, rise of Islamism	Grassroots activists, Hamas (formed in 1987), Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), PLO leadership	First indigenous uprising, religious alternative emerges	First Intifada (1987- 1993)	Forced Israeli negotiations established a new resistance model
Phase 5	1993–2006	Limited self- governance and renewed violence	Palestinian Authority (PA), Hamas, Fatah	Divided Palestinian opinion, continued resistance	Oslo Accords (1993), Second Intifada (2000- 2005)	Partial autonomy, but the peace process collapsed
Phase 6	2006– Present	Divided governance and repeated conflicts, wars, disillusioned youth	Hamas (Gaza), Fatah (West Bank)	Geographic and political division, repeated wars 2023	Hamas election victory (2006), multiple Gaza wars	Internal Palestinian division, weakening of national movement; youth disengagement

Source: Authors' compilation, 2025

## Different forms of Palestinian mobilization

Palestinian political mobilization has included many different forms of strategies, utilizing armed resistance, non-violent protest, and diplomatic engagement, often simultaneously or in alternating phases. Periods of intense armed resistance have sometimes been followed by diplomatic initiatives, and non-violent movements have often created the political space for negotiations. Conversely, the failure of diplomatic efforts can lead to a resurgence of armed or popular resistance. Armed struggle is one of the most recognized forms of Palestinian mobilization, which has developed over time from the fedayeen tactics of the 1960s and 1970s to the guerrilla tactics of the First and Second Intifadas and beyond. In the beginning, as a guerrilla group, the PLO applied tactics against Israel in the 1970s and early 1980s that Israel considered terroristic, which the PLO considered to be a war of liberation (Wikipedia, 2025).

Non-violent resistance has represented another crucial dimension of Palestinian political mobilization, particularly evident during the First Intifada. The First Intifada was a sustained series of non-violent protests, acts of civil disobedience, and riots carried out by Palestinians in the Israeli- occupied Palestinian territories and Israel (Wikipedia, 2025). This form of mobilization emphasized mass participation, community organization, and the creation of alternative institutions that challenged Israeli control while building Palestinian capacity for self-governance.

Women launched mass demonstrations, labor strikes, and a boycott of Israeli goods that, for the first time put real economic and international pressure on Israel to negotiate (PBS, 2019). The non-violent strategies of the First Intifada demonstrated the potential for sustained popular resistance to achieve political objectives while maintaining moral authority and international sympathy.

Diplomatic mobilization has constituted a third major form of Palestinian political action, evolving from early efforts to gain international recognition to sophisticated campaigns for statehood and membership in international organizations. The PLO's diplomatic strategy culminated in Palestinian observer status at the United Nations and recognition by numerous countries, while more recent efforts have focused on accountability mechanisms and international legal frameworks for addressing Israeli violations of Palestinian rights. Again, cultural and educational mobilization has also played a significant role in Palestinian political organization, serving to preserve national identity, transmit historical memory, and build solidarity networks. These forms of mobilization have been particularly important in diaspora communities, where cultural institutions have maintained connections to Palestinian heritage while advocating for political rights and return.

**Table 2: Forms of Palestinian Mobilization** 

Form of Mobilization	Description	Key Characteristics	Examples / Periods
Armed Struggle	Use of guerrilla tactics and military operations against Israeli targets.	Fedayeen tactics, guerrilla warfare, perceived as war of liberation by PLO	1960s–1980s (PLO operations), First Intifada (1987–1993), Second Intifada (2000–2005), Hamas military actions
Non-Violent Resistance	Peaceful forms of protest including civil disobedience and mass mobilization.	Strikes, boycotts, mass protests, creation of alternative institutions	First Intifada (1987–1993), BDS Movement (2005–present)
Diplomatic Engagement	Pursuit of international recognition and legal accountability through diplomacy.	UN observer status, lobbying for statehood, ICC appeals	1970s–present; 2012 UN recognition of Palestine as a non-member observer state
Cultural Mobilization	Promotion of Palestinian identity, history, and rights through art, education, and media.	National identity preservation, cultural resistance, diaspora involvement	Ongoing efforts in Palestinian territories and diaspora (festivals, schools, media)
Educational Mobilization	Efforts to build consciousness and political awareness through formal and informal education.	Schools, literacy campaigns, historical education, youth engagement	First Intifada education initiatives; youth awareness programs
Legal Mobilization	Use of legal frameworks and international law to challenge Israeli actions and assert Palestinian rights.	Appeals to ICC, human rights litigation, international accountability mechanisms	Post-2000 legal initiatives, ICC referrals

Source: Authors' compilation, 2025

The Role of Key Political Actors and Organizations in Palestinian mobilization and Advocacy

Several organizations and political actors, such as the PLO, Hamas, and various civil society groups, have shaped Palestinian political mobilization over seven decades (Tarrow, 2011). Their evolution reflects changing strategies and circumstances.

#### Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

The Palestine Liberation Organization has played a central role in Palestinian politics since its establishment, serving as the umbrella organization for various resistance groups and the internationally recognized representative of the Palestinian people. Under the leadership of Yasser Arafat from 1969 to 2004, the PLO evolved from a collection of guerrilla organizations to a proto- state institution engaged in diplomatic negotiations and limited governance functions.

#### Fatah Movement

Fatah emerged as the largest Palestinian faction in the 1960s. It was originally founded to wrest control of Palestine from Israel through armed struggle, but its leaders later spearheaded the peace process with Israel (Osuchukwu, 2022). Fatah's evolution from armed resistance to negotiation reflected broader changes in Palestinian strategy. The group's control of the PLO gave it huge influence over Palestinian policy. However, corruption scandals and failure to achieve statehood damaged Fatah's reputation. The loss to Hamas in the 2006 elections showed declining popular support. Internal power struggles continue to weaken the movement.

#### Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)

Hamas transformed Palestinian politics after its formation in 1987. The 2006 electoral victory demonstrated Hamas's popular appeal. The group combined religious identity with political goals. Hamas has promoted Palestinian nationalism in an Islamic framework. Its social service network won grassroots support. Hamas's rejection of the Oslo Accords positioned it as the main opposition to PLO policy. The rivalry between Fatah and Hamas defined modern Palestinian politics. The internal political split between the two largest Palestinian parties (Fatah and Hamas) has lasted for more than 17 years and has had dire consequences for Palestinians. This division weakened Palestinian unity and gave Israel advantages in dealing with them separately.

#### Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

The PFLP brought Marxist-Leninist ideology to Palestinian resistance. They pioneered international operations during the 1970s, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which advocated for a democratic secular state solution. Although smaller than Fatah or Hamas, the PFLP has a significant influence on Palestinian discourse. Its rejection of Oslo and two-state solutions appeals to some constituencies. The organization continues operating despite Israeli targeting of its leadership.

## Palestinian Authority

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was created in 1994, and the PA became the first Palestinian governing institution. It gained control over parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The authority developed police forces, ministries, and basic state structures. The PA's effectiveness remains limited by Israeli restrictions and lack of sovereignty. Dependence on international aid creates additional constraints. Popular legitimacy questions persist due to the cancellation of elections and authoritarian practices.

## Islamic Jihad Movement

The Islamic Jihad, which was formed in the 1980s, focused purely on armed resistance against Israel. Unlike Hamas, it avoided social services and governance but maintained close ties with Iran. This relationship provided funding and weapons to the group (Hroub, 2018). Islamic Jihad also coordinated with Hezbollah in Lebanon to strengthen its military capabilities. The group has remained active in recent conflicts and participated in major Gaza wars alongside Hamas. Islamic Jihad also launched independent operations against Israel. However, its political influence remains limited compared to larger organizations.

## Palestinian Civil Society Organizations

Palestinian civil society organizations have played crucial roles in mobilization and advocacy efforts throughout the 2023-2024 conflict. They fill the gaps left by formal political structures and provide essential services. These organizations have a wide range of mandates, which include humanitarian aid, human rights documentation, legal advocacy, grassroots activism, and international solidarity building. Prominent among these organizations include Al-Haq, a human rights organization focused on documenting violations of international law in the Palestinian territories; Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, which advocates for Palestinian political prisoners; and various women's rights and youth organizations (Al-Haq, 2024; Addameer, 2024). However, these CSOs have been at the forefront of documenting alleged atrocities, providing humanitarian relief, and disseminating information to international audiences during the 2023-2024 Gaza conflict. Again, they often work in collaboration with international NGOs and human rights bodies, leveraging their expertise and networks to amplify Palestinian voices and advocate for accountability and justice (Human Rights Watch, 2023). Their work is critical in providing credible information and building international solidarity. Amnesty International has been at the forefront of these efforts, conducting extensive research that led to their conclusion that "Israel has persisted in committing genocidal acts, fully aware of the irreparable harm it was inflicting on Palestinians in Gaza" (Amnesty International, 2024). Such documentation has been crucial for Palestinian advocacy strategies centered on genocide allegations.

Further, the role of international humanitarian organizations has been particularly significant given the scale of the crisis. Organizations such as World Vision have been "Operating in Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank" to provide vital support to local communities (Human Rights Careers, 2024).

However, the targeting of humanitarian workers has significantly impacted these organizations' ability to operate effectively. Palestinian civil society organizations have also been active in international forums, seeking to build bridges with global civil society. The 2024 Conference of Civil Society Organizations working on the Question of Palestine focused on "Building Bridges with International Civil Society to Address the Ongoing Nakba" (UN, 2024), demonstrating the strategic importance of international solidarity in Palestinian advocacy efforts.

Table 3: Palestinian Political and Civil Society Groups: Mobilization Strategies and Characteristics (2023-2024)

Organization	Category	Primary Objectives	Geographic Base	Mobilization Strategy	Key Methods
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)	Political	Palestinian representation internationally	Ramallah, West Bank	International Diplomacy	Diplomatic missions, UN advocacy
Fatah	Political	Two-state solution, Palestinian statehood	Palestinian Authority	International Diplomacy	Diplomatic negotiations
Hamas	Political	Rejects Israel's existence, an Islamic state	Gaza Strip	Armed Resistance/Governance	Military operations, governance
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Political	One-state solution, secular resistance	West Bank/Gaza	Ideological Advocacy	Hard-line political advocacy
Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)	Political	One-state solution, socialist transformation	PLO executive committee	Ideological Advocacy	Leftist political advocacy
Palestinian Authority (PA)	Political	Limited autonomy, state-building	West Bank Areas A&B	State-Building	Administrative functions, negotiations
Al-Haq	Civil Society (Legal)	Human rights documentation, legal accountability	West Bank/International	Legal Advocacy	ICC submissions, legal documentation
Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR)	Civil Society (Legal)	Rights documentation, legal advocacy	Gaza Strip	Legal Advocacy	War crimes documentation
Addameer	Civil Society (Legal)	Prisoner rights, detention conditions	West Bank/Gaza	Legal Advocacy	Prisoner advocacy, legal support
Defence for Children	Civil Society (Legal)	Child protection, rights advocacy	Palestine/Internation al	Legal Advocacy	Child rights documentation
International - Palestine					
Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Anti-Zionist advocacy, divestment	United States	Grassroots Mobilization	Protest organization, campus activism
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Palestine solidarity, apartheid awareness	United States	Coalition Building	Faith community mobilization

Organization	Category	Primary Objectives	Geographic Base	Mobilization Strategy	Key Methods
Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Student activism, divestment campaigns	US/International campuses	Grassroots Mobilization	Campus protests, educational campaigns
US Campaign for Palestinian Rights	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Policy advocacy, grassroots mobilization	United States	Grassroots Mobilization	Legislative advocacy, community organizing
Palestinian Diaspora Organizations	Civil Society (Community)	Cultural preservation, advocacy	Global diaspora communities	Cultural Advocacy	Community mobilization, cultural events
Working Families Party	Civil Society (Political)	Social justice, Palestine solidarity	United States	Electoral Advocacy	Electoral advocacy, protest support
IfNotNow Movement	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Anti-occupation advocacy	United States	Direct Action	Direct action, community organizing
Sunrise Movement	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Climate justice, intersectional advocacy	United States	Coalition Building	Cross-movement solidarity, protests
Movement for Black Lives	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Anti-racism, international solidarity	United States	Coalition Building	Solidarity campaigns, intersectional advocacy
Gen-Z for Change	Civil Society (Solidarity)	Social media activism, youth mobilization	Digital/United States	Digital Campaigns	Social media campaigns, digital organizing

## **Previous Mobilization Strategies During Major Conflicts**

Palestinian mobilization strategies have evolved significantly across different conflict periods. Each major conflict produced different mobilization patterns and strategies. Each confrontation brought lessons that influenced later mobilization efforts. These experiences shaped later approaches and organizational development.

## 1967 Six-Day War and Aftermath

The 1967 war and its aftermath marked the beginning of sustained guerrilla warfare as the primary Palestinian resistance strategy. During this period of war, Israel captured the West Bank and Gaza in just six days, and Arab armies collapsed quickly and offered little resistance. Palestinians realized they could not depend on Arab governments to liberate their land. This defeat pushed Palestinian groups toward independent action and armed struggle. This period saw the emergence of fedayeen operations launched from Jordan and Lebanon, aimed at maintaining Palestinian presence in international consciousness and demonstrating continued resistance to Israeli occupation. They used hit-and-run tactics against Israeli targets. The strategy aimed to wear down Israeli morale and provoke overreactions from Israel. Hence, International operations like plane hijackings brought world attention to the Palestinian cause.

## 1987 First Intifada

The first Intifada, which occurred from 1987 to 1993, represented a fundamental shift in Palestinian mobilization strategy, emphasizing mass popular participation and civil disobedience over armed resistance. Youth participation, especially stone-throwing, became iconic images of resistance. Commercial strikes and civil disobedience complemented violent actions, and women played important roles in organizing and sustaining the uprising. The Israeli soldiers confronted the stone- throwing children, which attracted international sympathy to the Palestinians.

## 2000 Second Intifada (Al-Aqsa Intifada)

The failure of Camp David negotiations triggered renewed violence in September 2000, which resulted in the second intifada between 2000 and 2005. Unlike the first uprising, this intifada involved more organized military actions, and popular support for armed resistance increased during this period.

Suicide bombings became a primary tactic, especially by Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Israeli military responses included the reoccupation of Palestinian cities. However, the heavy casualties and economic costs eventually reduced enthusiasm. The death of Arafat in 2004 marked the end of this phase.

## 2008-2009 Gaza War (Operation Cast Lead)

Israel's military operation in Gaza tested Hamas's governance and resistance capabilities. The group combined guerrilla tactics with conventional positions. Tunnel networks and urban warfare proved effective defensive strategies for Hamas. This conflict demonstrated both the capabilities and limitations of Hamas's military strategy, while also highlighting the devastating humanitarian consequences of prolonged confrontation. During the period, international solidarity movements organized boycotts and protests. The Goldstone Report documented alleged war crimes by both sides. Hamas emerged politically strengthened despite military losses inflicted by the Israeli forces.

## 2014 Gaza War (Operation Protective Edge)

The 50-day conflict in 2014 further developed patterns of resistance and mobilization established in previous confrontations, with Hamas and other Palestinian groups utilizing more sophisticated military capabilities while maintaining popular support through social services and governance functions. Hamas used more sophisticated weapons, including tunnels for attacks inside Israel. The group's military capabilities had improved since 2008-2009. International protests were larger and more widespread than previous conflicts. Social media amplified Palestinian voices and images of destruction. The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement gained momentum.

## 2021 Gaza Conflict and Unity Intifada

The May 2021 conflict, often referred to as the "Unity Intifada," represented a unique moment of Palestinian mobilization that transcended geographical and political divisions. This mobilization encompassed Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank, Israel proper, and diaspora communities, suggesting new possibilities for coordinated resistance across fragmented Palestinian communities. The conflict began with protests in Jerusalem over evictions and al-Aqsa access and demonstrated the role of social media and digital organizing in contemporary Palestinian mobilization, enabling rapid coordination and international solidarity building. Palestinian citizens of Israel participated in ways not seen since the early 2000s. The "#SaveSheikhJarrah" hashtag became a global symbol (Abbas et al., 2022).

Table 4: Summary of Previous Mobilization Strategies During Major Conflicts

Conflict/Period	Key Mobilization Strategies	Primary Actors	Tactics Used	International Dimension	Outcomes/Impact
1967 Six-Day War & Aftermath	Shift from state- dependent to independent Palestinian action	Fatah, PFLP, PLO	Cross-border raids, airplane hijackings, guerrilla operations	International operations brought global attention	Palestinian self- reliance established; Battle of Karameh (1968) became symbolic victory
1987 First Intifada	Mass popular resistance, civil disobedience	Unified National Leadership, local committees,	Stone-throwing, commercial strikes, tax resistance, underground schools	International sympathy through media images	PNC declared independence (1988); Palestinians seen as active participants
2000 Second Intifada (Al- Aqsa)	Organized military operations, suicide campaigns	Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Fatah armed wings	Suicide bombings, armed attacks, urban warfare	Limited international support due to tactics	Heavy casualties; separation barrier built; Arafat's death (2004)
2008-2009 Gaza War (Cast Lead)	Defensive urban warfare, tunnel networks	Hamas military wing, civil society	Guerrilla tactics, rocket attacks, civilian shields	International solidarity protests, Goldstone Report	Hamas politically strengthened despite losses; established conflict patterns
2014 Gaza War (Protective Edge)	Advanced military capabilities, social media	Hamas, international solidarity movements	Sophisticated tunnels, improved rockets, cyber warfare	Larger global protests, BDS movement growth	50-day longest conflict; Hamas maintained control

Conflict/Period	Key Mobilization Strategies	Primary Actors	Tactics Used	International Dimension	Outcomes/Impact
2021 Unity Intifada	Cross- geographic mobilization, digital activism	Hamas, Palestinian citizens of Israel, diaspora	Social media campaigns, mixed- city protests, rocket barrages	"#SaveSheikhJarrah" global hashtag	Unprecedented geographic spread; new generation engagement

## The Gaza Conflict (2023-2024)

The Gaza Conflict of 2023-2024, often referred to as the Israel-Hamas war, commenced following a large-scale attack by Hamas on Israel on October 7, 2023, killing approximately 1,200 Israelis and taking over 200 hostages (United Nations, 2023). This prompted Israel's most intensive bombing campaign and ground invasion to date (CSIS, 2024). The scale and intensity of Israel's military response have had devastating consequences for Gaza's population and infrastructure, with reports documenting "damage caused by the war between 7 October 2023 and 5 December 2024 reduced GDP per capita in Gaza by over one half" (UNCTAD, 2025). The conflict has caused intense aerial bombardments, ground operations, and a severe humanitarian crisis in Gaza (CBS News, 2024). It has also caused widespread displacement, destruction of infrastructure, and a dire shortage of essential resources, including food, water, and medical supplies (OCHA, 2024). The conflict has attracted multiple reports documenting "the targeting of journalists, schools, and Israeli-designated humanitarian zones" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2024). This systematic targeting of civilian infrastructure and humanitarian workers has provided crucial context for Palestinian advocacy efforts, particularly regarding genocide allegations. The humanitarian crisis has been compounded by the killing of aid workers, with "196 humanitarians, including UN workers, had been killed in the OPT" between October 7, 2023, and March 20, 2024 (UN, 2024).

The international dimensions of the conflict have been particularly significant for Palestinian mobilization efforts. As Carnegie Endowment researchers note, the Gaza war "has further polarized relations between countries of the global North and South, embedded itself into domestic divides, and raised questions about international norms" (Carnegie Endowment, 2023). This polarization has created both opportunities and challenges for Palestinian advocacy groups seeking international support. International bodies and human rights organizations have raised serious concerns about the scale of civilian casualties and the potential for war crimes, with some legal scholars and states alleging genocidal intent (ICJ, 2024; Human Rights Watch, 2023).

Table 5: Timeline of Major Events in the Gaza Conflict (Oct 2023 - December 2024)

Date	Event Description
Oct 7, 2023	Hamas militants launch major assault on Israel, killing over 1,200 and taking 251 hostages. Israel launches massive military offensive on Gaza.
Oct 12, 2023	Israel orders total evacuation of northern Gaza (1.1 million people) within 24 hours.
Oct 31, 2023	Israeli airstrikes hit Jabalia refugee camp, killing dozens of Palestinian civilians and a Hamas commander.
Nov 19, 2023	Houthi militants hijack Israeli-linked cargo ship in Red Sea, first of many attacks protesting Gaza war.
Nov 24, 2023	First group of hostages released by Hamas as four-day ceasefire takes effect.
Dec 1, 2023	Fighting resumes after temporary truce; new evacuation orders issued for central Gaza and Khan Younis.
Dec 29, 2023	South Africa files case against Israel at ICJ, alleging genocide in Gaza.
Jan 8, 2024	Daughter of MSF worker killed by suspected Israeli tank shell in notified shelter.
Jan 26, 2024	ICJ issues preliminary ruling, finding South Africa's claims "plausible" and ordering Israel to prevent genocidal acts, punish incitement, and ensure humanitarian aid.
Feb 22, 2024	MSF Secretary General addresses UN Security Council, demanding immediate ceasefire and protection of medical facilities.
Mar 1, 2024	Nicaragua institutes ICJ proceedings against Germany for alleged complicity in genocide due to support for Israel.
Mar 28, 2024	ICJ orders new emergency measures, requiring Israel to ensure basic food supplies to Gazans facing famine.
Apr 1, 2024	Israeli forces leave Al-Shifa Hospital "wrecked and gutted" after two-week operation; attack kills seven World Central Kitchen aid workers.

Date	Event Description
May 6/7, 2024	Israel orders Rafah evacuation, takes control of Rafah border crossing, initiating ground offensive.
May 24, 2024	ICJ orders Israel to immediately halt its military offensive and any other action in Rafah that could inflict genocidal conditions.
July 19, 2024	ICJ issues advisory opinion stating Israel's continued presence in Occupied Palestinian Territory is unlawful.
Aug 27, 2024	Israeli military rescues a 52-year-old hostage from Hamas tunnels.
Aug 31, 2024	Israeli forces recover bodies of six Hamas-held hostages from a tunnel under Rafah.
Sep 1, 2024	Thousands protest in Israel after hostage bodies found, labor union strikes to pressure Netanyahu for deal.
Oct 1, 2024	Iran launches ballistic missiles at Israel; most intercepted.
Dec 5, 2024	Amnesty International concludes Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians in Gaza.

## Dynamics of Palestinian Political Mobilization (2023-2024)

The 2023-2024 period has witnessed different political mobilization among Palestinians, both within the occupied territories and in the diaspora. The dynamics of this mobilization have been shaped by several key factors: the scale of the humanitarian crisis, the genocide allegations, and the global response to the conflict. Street protests and demonstrations became a primary mode of expression, with Palestinians in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and inside Israel protesting against Israeli military actions and expressing solidarity with Gaza (Amnesty International, 2023). These protests often faced severe repression from Israeli forces. The regional dimensions of Palestinian mobilization have also been significant. The Gaza war has "brought the post-uprisings era to an end and refocused" attention on Palestinian issues across the Middle East (Valbjørn et al, 2024), creating new opportunities for regional solidarity and support.

The mobilization has been characterized by its diversity, incorporating traditional political organizations, civil society groups, student movements, and international solidarity networks. This multi-faceted approach has enabled Palestinian advocates to operate across multiple domains simultaneously, from grassroots organizing to international legal forums. Again, digital activism emerged as a powerful tool for mobilization, with social media platforms becoming crucial for disseminating information, sharing personal testimonies, organizing solidarity campaigns, and countering dominant narratives (Amnesty International, 2023). Hashtags, viral videos, and online petitions were widely used to raise awareness and pressure international actors.

Academic institutions have become particularly important sites of Palestinian political mobilization. Research indicates that "In 2023–2024, US academia witnessed the largest ever protests condemning Israeli state violence against Palestinians" (Deeb & Winegar, 2024). This academic mobilization has been significant not only for its scale but also for its impact on broader

public discourse about the conflict. The mobilization has extended far beyond academic settings. Data from the Crowd Counting Consortium reveals that "From 7 October 2023 to 7 June 2024, the Crowd Counting Consortium recorded nearly 12,400 pro-Palestine protests and over 2,000 pro-Israel protests in the United States" (Deeb & Winegar, 2024). This represents an unprecedented level of grassroots mobilization in support of Palestinian causes.

Beyond protests, community organizing and mutual aid networks strengthened, particularly in Gaza, to cope with the humanitarian crisis. In the diaspora, mobilization efforts focused on advocating for policy changes in host countries, organizing boycotts, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaigns, and engaging in cultural and educational initiatives to raise awareness about the Palestinian cause (BDS Movement, 2023). The mobilization dynamics were significantly shaped by the immediate impact of the conflict, the allegations of genocide, and the global surge of solidarity movements.

## Palestinian Advocacy Strategies Amidst Genocide Allegations (2023-2024)

The advocacy strategies adopted by Palestinian groups and their allies intensified and diversified amidst the grave allegations of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza. These strategies have operated across multiple levels, from international legal forums to grassroots mobilization, and have leveraged the genocide framework to build international support and pressure. The legal dimension of Palestinian advocacy has been particularly prominent. An important development was the legal advocacy at the International Court of Justice (ICJ), initiated by South Africa, which accused Israel of violating the 1948 Genocide Convention (ICJ, 2024). Major human rights organization supported this through detailed documentation and legal analysis, with Amnesty International concluding that Israel is committing genocide. This represents a significant milestone in Palestinian advocacy efforts.

Media and public diplomacy campaigns were central to Palestinian advocacy strategies. The conflict has highlighted the importance of narrative control and information dissemination in shaping international opinion. Palestinian advocates have worked to counter Israeli narratives by eyewitness accounts and data on casualties and destruction while promoting their interpretation of events, particularly regarding the genocide allegations (Al Jazeera, 2024). Grassroots mobilization has been another key component of Palestinian advocacy strategies. The unprecedented scale of pro-Palestine protests in the United States and other countries has demonstrated the effectiveness of grassroots organizing in building public support. These efforts have been particularly successful in academic settings, where student movements have played crucial roles in challenging institutional positions on the conflict.

International solidarity building has been a crucial element of Palestinian advocacy strategies. Palestinian organizations have worked to build coalitions with international civil society groups, governments, and regional organizations to condemn Israeli actions, demand a ceasefire, and advocate for humanitarian aid (United Nations, 2024). Efforts were made to activate international human rights mechanisms and push for sanctions or other forms of international pressure on Israel. These strategies collectively aimed to shift international public opinion, generate political pressure, and leverage international law to protect Palestinian lives and rights. The digital dimension of Palestinian advocacy has also been significant. Social media platforms and digital organizing tools have enabled Palestinian advocates to bypass traditional media gatekeepers and communicate directly with global audiences. This has been particularly important given allegations of media bias and censorship regarding Palestinian perspectives (Haaretz, 2024).

## The Interplay of International Legal and Media Environments

The international legal and media environments have simultaneously played crucial roles in Palestinian mobilization and advocacy during the 2023-2024 Gaza conflict. These environments have created both opportunities and constraints for Palestinian advocates, influencing their tactics and effectiveness. Legal developments, such as the genocide allegations and international court proceedings, have provided Palestinian advocates with credible sources for media campaigns. Conversely, media coverage has helped to build public support for legal advocacy efforts and has put pressure on international institutions to take action.

The involvement of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and other international legal bodies has legitimized Palestinian legal arguments and provided new venues for advocacy. The ICJ case brought by South Africa, alleging genocide, elevated the legal discourse surrounding the conflict to an unprecedented level (ICJ, 2024). This legal action provided a powerful framework for advocacy, allowing Palestinian groups and their allies to frame the conflict within the context of international law and human rights, thereby gaining legitimacy and attracting global attention. The provisional measures ordered by the ICJ, though not a definitive ruling on genocide, provided a legal basis for calls for a ceasefire and humanitarian access, which were then amplified through advocacy campaigns. The global nature of the media environment has created new opportunities for Palestinian advocacy. Digital platforms have enabled Palestinian advocates to bypass traditional media and communicate directly with global audiences. This has been particularly important given allegations of some mainstream media bias in favour of Israeli narratives.

## **Challenges and Repression Affecting Mobilization Efforts**

Palestinian mobilization efforts during the 2023-2024 conflict have faced significant challenges and repression, both within Palestine and internationally. These obstacles have shaped the strategies and tactics employed by Palestinian advocates and have had profound impacts on their effectiveness. Within the occupied Palestinian territories, Israeli military and police forces frequently suppressed protests, using live ammunition, rubber bullets, and tear gas, resulting in numerous injuries and fatalities (Human Rights Watch, 2023). Mass arrests of activists, journalists, and human rights defenders were also reported, with many held under administrative detention without charge or trial (Addameer, 2024).

Academic repression has been a particularly significant challenge. Despite the unprecedented scale of pro-Palestine protests in academic settings, these efforts have faced "the most vociferous repression of these protests and other criticisms of that violence" (Deeb & Winegar, 2024). This repression has included disciplinary actions against students and faculty, cancellation of events, and institutional pressure to limit pro-Palestine activism. Restrictions on freedom of movement and assembly further hampered organizing efforts, particularly in the West Bank and East Jerusalem (Osuchukwu, Nwanolue, & Obiora, 2022). In Gaza, the ongoing siege and military operations made any form of organized public mobilization virtually impossible, with focus shifting to survival and basic humanitarian needs.

The targeting of Palestinian civil society organizations and humanitarian workers has created additional challenges for mobilization efforts. The systematic targeting of journalists, aid workers, and civil society activists has limited the ability of Palestinian advocates to document violations and provide humanitarian assistance. This has been compounded by restrictions on movement and communication within Gaza and the West Bank. International legal and political pressure has also constrained Palestinian advocacy efforts. Various governments have implemented measures to limit pro-Palestine activism, including restrictions on protests, investigations of organizations, and efforts to silence criticism of Israel. These measures have compelled Palestinian advocates to adjust their strategies and devise new approaches to sustain their mobilization efforts.

The internal divisions within Palestinian politics have created additional challenges for unified advocacy efforts. The continued split between Hamas and Fatah, along with Hamas's exclusion from the PLO, has complicated efforts to present a unified Palestinian position. This fragmentation has been exploited by opponents of Palestinian advocacy, limiting the effectiveness of some mobilization efforts. Palestinian groups encountered digital censorship and surveillance, with social media platforms often accused of disproportionately removing Palestinian content, limiting reach, or suspending accounts, thereby hindering their ability to disseminate information and mobilize support (7amleh, 2023). Internationally, advocacy groups faced accusations of antisemitism, leading to deplatforming, funding cuts, and smear campaigns, which aimed to delegitimize their work and silence critical voices (Amnesty International, 2024). Resource constraints have been another significant challenge, particularly given the scale of the humanitarian crisis and the need for sustained advocacy efforts. Many Palestinian civil society organizations have struggled to maintain their operations while also responding to the immediate needs created by the conflict.

## METHODOLOGY

## Research Design

This study used a qualitative research design, which involved a systematic document analysis and thematic content analysis to investigate how Palestinian political and civil society groups mobilized action and advocated against alleged instances of genocide during the Gaza conflict of 2023 to 2024.

#### Sampling

The research used a purposive stratified sampling strategy to get the widest possible coverage of document types, time periods and organizational actors. 150 documents were reviewed from publicly available sources published between October 2023 to December 2024, either in English or Arabic. The distribution of the final dataset was made up of six categories (descriptions noted below):

Official Political Statements (n=25): Press releases, policy statements, and official communications by Palestinian political entities, including statements made by the Hamas political bureau, the presidency of the Palestinian Authority, the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and representatives of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

Legal Documentation (n=10): Formal legal briefs, amicus curiae submissions and procedural written communication submitted to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), International Criminal Court (ICC), and regional human rights mechanisms.

Civil Society Reports (n=15): Advocacy reports, policy briefs, and campaign materials from established Palestinian civil society organizations, including Al-Haq, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR), Al Mezan Center, and Addameer Prisoner Support.

Media Coverage (n=25): News reports, editorial pieces, and analytical articles from credible international media outlets, including Al Jazeera, BBC News, CBS News, Middle East Eye, and Haaretz.

Academic Literature (n=55): Peer-reviewed articles, working papers, and expert commentaries from academic databases including EBSCOhost, ProQuest, ScienceDirect, JSTOR, and Google Scholar.

Digital Advocacy Materials (n=20): Social media posts and hashtag campaigns from verified organizational and individual accounts on Twitter/X.

Table 6: Social media posts and hashtag campaigns on Palestinian Advocacy (2023–2024)

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
Al Mezan Center for Human Rights	@ AlMezanCenter	January 26, 2024	Today, the ICJ acknowledged the plausibility of Israel committing genocide in #Gaza + the risk of irreparable harm to Palestinians. Legally-binding provisional measures have been issued. An immediate & unconditional ceasefire is the only way to comply with the ICJ's directive.	
LadyVelvet_HFQ	@LadyVelvet_HFQ	January 27, 2024	The International Court of Justice is calling the #GazaGenocide a #Genocide. Israel is ordered to stop killing civilians and give a report next month. Naturally, Israel used the #Antisemitism card, and that failed. If anything, it was almost laughed out of court because they whined, whimpered and later wailed that the ICJ is in cahoots with Khamas.	#GazaGenocide
Omar_Gaza	@Omar_Gaza	January 26, 2024	For Palestinians in #Gaza, they have to endure another month of #genocide thanks to the #ICJ decision that failed to ask for an immediate #ceasefire.  Unprecedented decision my ass. ICJ just failed #justice & humanity.	#GazaGenocide
The Hind Rajab Foundation	@HindRFoundation	November 21, 2024	This decision is not just a victory for Gaza but a crucial affirmation that no one is above the law, no matter their power or position. But our work doesn't stop here. We remain committed to pursuing every war criminal and accomplice involved in war crimes and genocide in Gaza.	#GazaGenocide #JusticeForGaza

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
			▼ Today, w/ @fidh_en @AlMezanCenter @pchrgaza	
Al-Haq	@alhaq_org	December 17, 2024	@LDH_Fr we filed a complaint against Franco-Israeli soldier, for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, torture& complicity in crimes committed against #Palestinians in #Israeli custody.	#GazaGenocide
Asiller Haber Ajansı	@Fetih1453_14	December 30, 2024	Gazze'de son bir haftada 6 bebek soğuktan donarak hayatını kaybetti.	#GazaGenocide
BDS Movement	@BDSmovement	December 4, 2024	Israel's debt skyrocketed to approx. \$340 billion in the 2nd half of 2024, up 20% from the end of 2022, due to its ongoing #GazaGenocide.	#GazaGenocide
CODEPINK	@codepink	November	The war machinery enabling the	#JusticeForGaza #GazaGenocide
JODDI HAK	Соперия	17, 2023	#GazaGenocide comes from	,, Saza Schoolde
			Americans' backyards — it is our duty to SHUT IT DOWN!	
Euro-Med Human Rights	@EuroMedHR	February 22,	Infographic	
Monitor	@IIEonosylMondo	2024	#Albanesa #any #CagaCanasida	#GazaGenocide
l Faro sul Mondo	@ IlFarosulMondo	December 30, 2024	#Albanese #onu #GazaGenocide.	#GazaGenocide
ran Times ار دو	@Iran_Times_Urdu	December 30, 2024	Children don't deserve this. 6 children froze to death so far in Gaza. #Gaza #GazaGenocide #GazaGenocide #NewYear #ImranKhan #سوريا_الان# #riyadh.	#GazaGenocide
MPACUK	@MPACUK	November 2, 2024	Just remember 2 things, for the last 13 months they HAD the power to STOP the #gazagenocide but winning #election2024us was more important.	#GazaGenocide
Palestinian Centre for Human Rights	@pchrgaza	January 14, 2024	100 Days of Ongoing Genocide in Gaza Amid the International Community's Failure to Protect	#GazaGenocide
			Palestinians.	
Palestine Solidarity Campaign	@PSCupdates	March 28, 2024	NEW ACTION - Lobby for Gaza When: 24 April, 2-5PM Where: Parliament Israel has killed over 31,000 Palestinians in its genocidal assault on Gaza. PSC is organising a lobby of Parliament to demand MPs take action for Palestine.	#GazaGenocide #FreePalestine
Palestine Red Crescent Society	@PalestineRCS	November 6, 2023	"#Gaza is facing a catastrophic situation. #Gaza has been asked to choose between human cleansing and genocide, either to leave or to die".	#GazaGenocide

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
Quds News Network	@QudsNen	May 27, 2024	UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Palestine, Francesca Albanese: "The #GazaGenocide will not easily end without external pressure: Israel must face sanctions.	#GazaGenocide
The Fidelity	@thefidelitynews	December 30, 2024	The head of the World Health Organization on Monday called for an end to attacks on hospitals in Gaza after Israel struck one and raided another in the past few days.	#GazaGenocide
The Palestine Chronicle	@PalestineChron	October 25, 2024	A limited ground incursion by Israeli occupation forces in Al- Manara neighborhood in the city of Khan Younis, coinciding with air and artillery strikes, has resulted in 38 confirmed fatalities, including members of the al-Farra family.	#GazaGenocide
Al-Haq	@alhaq_org	February 26, 2024	#UAE to the @CIJ_ICJ '56 years of occupation of Gaza & the West Bank, inc. East Jerusalem, have been shaped by Israel's consistent grave violations against the Palestinian pplthe Court has before it ample evidence to assist its identification of those violations' #ICJPalestine.	#ICJForPalestine
Palestine and MENA Info Center	@PALMENA_IC	February 20, 2024	Ahmed Laraba #Algeria's legal counselor presents arguments to the @CIJ_ICJ on the Legal Consequences or #Israel's occupation of the oPt.	#ICJForPalestine
Middle East Eye	@MiddleEastEye	October 11, 2024	"It's an enormous amount of evidence that speaks to these crimes" Haydee Dijkstal, barrister and Chief Counsel at the International Centre of Justice for Palestinians (ICJP), breaks down the significance of evidence presented in the new Al Jazeera Investigative Unit documentary 'Gaza'.	#ICJForPalestine
BDS movement	@BDSmovement	March 28, 2024	"Famine is setting in" across Gaza, said the ICJ yesterday in the #GazaGenocide case case, recognizing Israel's violation of previous orders & engineered starvation of 2.3m Palestinians, ordering immediate aid entry on scale in coord. with the UN, incl. UNRWA.	#GazaGenocide #ICJForPalestine
				#JusticeForGaza
Law for Palestine	@Law4Palestine	March 20, 2024	Law for Palestine, supported by international coalition, submits Communication to the International Criminal Court establishing the	#ICJForPalestine

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
			perpetration of the Crime of Genocide members of the Israeli War Cabinet.	ру
Clash Report	@clashreport	November 13, 2024	Gilles Devers, the representative of Palestinian victims at the International Criminal Court, has filed a complaint to include Israel's attacks and the crime of genocide in the investigation.	
Al Jazeera English	@AJEnglish	February 19, 2024	In a historic hearing, Palestine presente its case against Israel's occupation of territories to the ICJ.	d #ICJForPalestine
Medical Aid for Palestinians	@ MedicalAidPal	February 26, 2024	Today marks one month since the ICJ issued provisional measures indicating that there is a plausible risk of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza.	ICJForPalestine
Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba Pakistan	@JamiatPK	January 9, 2024	As a party to the Genocide  Convention, Pakistan should declare its intent to submit a "declaration of intervention" in the case against  Israel, following South Africa's application.	ICJForPalestine
Palestine Online	@ OnlinePalEng	January 17, 2024	After South Africa filed a case against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for genocide in Gaza, the country's nearly 50 lawyers # are preparing a separate lawsuit against the US and UK governments on the grounds that they are complicit in Israeli forces' war crimes in Palestine.	ICJForPalestine GazaGenocide
ICJP	@ ICJPalestine	October 24, 2023	ICJP supports @GLAN_LAW and #@alhaq_org legal action to ban British complicity in war crimes.	ICJForPalestine
The Electronic Intifada	@electronicintifada	October 22, 2023	100 genocide scholars and Palestinian and international organizations wrote to International Criminal Court prosecutor Karim Khan, calling on him to "urgently issue arrest warrants" for cases related to Palestine already under investigation by his office.	ICJForPalestine
MintPress News	@ MintPressNews	January 11, 2024	"The scale of destruction in Gaza, the mass targeting of family homes and civilians, the war being a war on children—all make clear that genocidal intent is both understood and has been put into practice."  Tembeka Ngcukaitobi presents a horrific case, documenting Israel's genocidal intent in Gaza, before the	ICJForPalestine

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
			International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Hague.	
Jordan Ministry of Foreign Affairs	@ForeignMinistry	January 16, 2024	DPM & FM @ AymanHsafadi: - 66 countries in the world have expressed support for the ICJ case.	#ICJForPalestine
AJ+	@ajplus	January 26, 2024	The ICJ ruled Palestinians have a right to be protected from genocidal acts, but it failed to demand a ceasefire in Gaza.	#ICJForPalestine
Visualizing Palestine	@visualizingpal	January 11, 2024	Today the International Court of Justice @CIJ_ICJ will begin hearing oral arguments in the case filed by South Africa, invoking the Genocide Convention in the context of Israel's ongoing military assault on Gaza #InternationalCourtofJustice #Palestine_Genocide.	#ICJForPalestine #Palestine_Genocide
In Context	@incontextmedia	January 11, 2024	[FULL VIDEO] South African lawyer Adila Hassim presents the opening argument to the #ICJ, outlining the 4 genocidal acts committed by Israel.	#ICJForPalestine
Neturei Karta	@ Neturei Karta	September 13, 2024	students from multiple NYC schools Marched for the National SJP Day of Action in solidarity with Palestine.	#PalestinianRights #FreePalestine
				#JusticeForPalestine
				#EndGazaGenocide
القانون من أجل فلسطين Palestine for Law	@Law4Palestine	December 17, 2024	For a deeper dive into Professor Ralph Wilde's expert legal opinion, read the full document here: https://alhaqeurope.org/research-icj- eu/.	#PalestinianRights
Observer Diplomat	@observerdiplo	December 21, 2024	Meta under fire for censoring pro- Palestinian content while allowing hate speech against Palestinians. Allegations of bias raise concerns about transparency and fairness in content.	#PalestinianRights
United For Gaza	@UnitedGaza	December 23, 2024	Tear down walls, not lives. Freedom knows no barriers.	#PalestinianRights
American Muslim Today	@ AmericanMuslimT	December 8, 2024	Boulos vs. Trump's Pro-Israel Policies: How Boulos Could	#PalestinianRights

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
			Shape U.S., Israel, and Arab Relations.	
Habitat Defenders Africa (HDA)	@ HabitatDefend	November 29, 2024	Today, Habitat Defenders Africa (HDA) stands in solidarity with people around the world in commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.	#PalestinianRights
The Truth International	@ttimagazine	May 13, 2024	Swiss university students unite in chants for #FreePalestine,	#PalestinianRights
			echoing global calls for justice and solidarity.	#FreePalestine and
Brand Leakage	@Brandleakage	September 7, 2024	detainees at Megiddo prison by Israeli forces. Violations and assaults documented.	#PalestinianRights #FreePalestine
TOP X News	@TOPXNews	August 22, 2024	The ongoing protests in Gaza and recent events in Chicago continue to highlight the importance of supporting Palestinian rights. The world looks on as these demonstrations raise awareness and call for necessary action for Palestine.	#PalestinianRights
SabrangIndia	@ sabrangindia	May 27, 2024	Shruti Kumar champions Palestinian rights in empowering Harvard commencement address.	#PalestinianRights #FreePalestine
Free Palestine Production	@palestineclips	November 1, 2024	This is what they are eating in GAZA.	#PalestinianRights
				#FreePalestine
				#freegaza
				#GazaGenocidentext
IMEU Policy Project	@imeupolicy	December 10, 2024	Today is Human Rights Day - a date chosen to honor the UN's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Biden's White House is dishonoring this day by hosting a confirmed war criminal who	

Author/Organization	Handle	Date	Post Content	Hashtag(s)
			conducted a genocide, and starved and targeted Palestinian civilians.	

#### **Data Collection Procedures**

Document collection followed a systematic multi-stage process:

Stage 1 - Database Searching: Comprehensive searches conducted across academic databases (EBSCOhost Academic Search Complete, ProQuest Political Science Database, JSTOR, ScienceDirect) using Boolean search strings: ("Palestinian advocacy" OR "Palestinian mobilization") AND ("Gaza conflict 2023" OR "Gaza war 2024") AND ("genocide allegations" OR "ICJ case" OR "international law").

Stage 2 - Institutional Website Monitoring: Systematic monitoring of official websites and digital archives of key Palestinian political and civil society organizations, with bi-weekly collection schedules.

Stage 3 - Social Media Harvesting: Targeted collection of social media content using platform-specific search tools and hashtag tracking (#GazaGenocide, #EndGazaGenocide, #Palestine\_Genocide, #PalestinianRights, #FreePalestine, #freegaza, #ICJForPalestine, #JusticeForGaza, and #JusticeForPalestine) with verification protocols for authentic organizational accounts.

Stage 4 - Snowball Sampling: Additional documents identified through citation analysis and cross- referencing within collected materials, ensuring theoretical saturation.

All collected materials were digitally archived using the Zotero reference management system (version 6.0) with standardized metadata schemas including: publication date, source type, organizational affiliation, document format, language, and preliminary thematic tags. Web-based materials were archived using local PDF conversion to ensure data preservation and accessibility. Materials in Arabic were translated using Google Translate. Document authenticity and credibility were evaluated using established criteria adapted from Scott's (1990) documentary analysis framework:

Authenticity: Verification of organizational authorship through official channels

Credibility: Assessment of source reliability and potential bias

Representativeness: Evaluation of document typicality within organizational communication patterns

Meaning: Analysis of document clarity and interpretive accessibility

## **Data Analysis Techniques**

The study used a thematic content analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It focused on finding key patterns in how messages were framed. First, open coding was used to tag words, slogans, and references. Then, axial coding grouped them into broader themes. These included genocide framing, legal appeals, emotional narratives, digital protest, and coalition messaging. Following this open coding, selective coding was undertaken to establish the most dominant themes across the entire dataset. Then, selective coding was carried out in order to highlight the most significant themes within the data. This laid the groundwork for the study to examine how the genocide allegations were framed across a range of outlets, how legal discourse was scaled to global audiences, and how political actors co-ordinated or diverged in their messaging, and paved the way for the research to focus on how genocide allegations were framed across multiple. Social media posts, although brief, provided strong data. Posts with high shares or engagement were marked. Hashtags like #GazaGenocide, #EndGazaGenocide, #Palestine\_Genocide, #PalestinianRights, #FreePalestine, #freegaza, #ICJForPalestine, #JusticeForGaza, and #JusticeForPalestine were tracked across sources. Short captions were treated the same as long-form statements when they delivered a clear message. NVivo 14 software was used to facilitate the development of a transparent and reproducible coding process. The NVivo 14 helped show which themes were shared across different actor types. For example, both Hamas and civil groups used legal terms, but with a different tone and audience. Diaspora campaigns used emotional appeals and slogans. Legal filings used formal claims and evidence. In the final stage, the codes were turned into maps and charts. NVivo's tools helped build a visual model of how ideas connected. This analysis revealed which themes co-occurred, which were most frequently used, and how they evolved. The method offered a clear view of how Palestinian groups shaped their message in the public space. This approach gave a close look at how different actors spoke up, what they said, and how they hoped it would matter. It showed the many ways language, law, and protest worked together in one of the most intense periods of advocacy during the Gaza conflict.

The five final thematic categories identified in NVivo are:

- 1. Genocide Framing and Moral Claims
- 2. International Legal Strategy and Appeals
- 3. Digital Advocacy and Hashtag Campaigns
- 4. Transnational Solidarity Mobilization

## 5. Internal Political Narratives and Factional Messaging

Table 7: Thematic Coding Summary of Palestinian Advocacy Content (October 2023–December 2024)

Main Theme	Sub-Themes (Child Nodes)	Frequency
Genocide Framing and Moral Claims	Victimhood narratives, emotional appeals, historical references	112
International Legal Strategy	ICJ/ICC filings, references to Geneva Conventions, legal outcomes	88
Digital Advocacy and	Hashtags, visual campaigns, viral posts, meme	96
Campaigning	use	
Transnational Solidarity Mobilization	Diaspora involvement, global protest links, coalition actions	72
Internal Political Messaging	Factional unity/conflict, political identity framing	58

Note: Frequency reflects total coded instances across all 150 documents using NVivo

These themes were cross-referenced by the categories of the actors involved (e.g., political, civil society, diaspora) and media format (e.g., press release, tweet, legal brief) to determine the variations in the strategies of the messages.

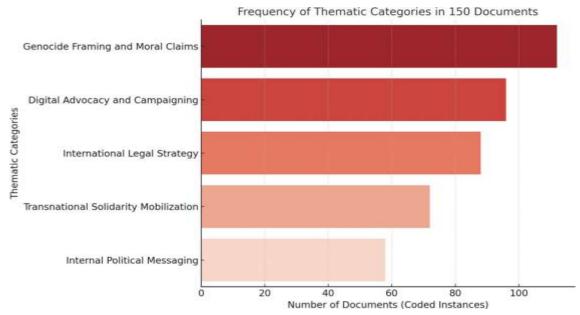


Figure 1: Chart showing the frequency of the thematic categories across all 150 documents using NVivo 14. The most prevalent theme was 'Genocide Framing and Moral Claims,' followed by 'Digital Advocacy and Campaigning' and 'International Legal Strategy.'

Co-Occurrence Map of Key Themes in Palestinian Advocacy Strategies (2023-2024)

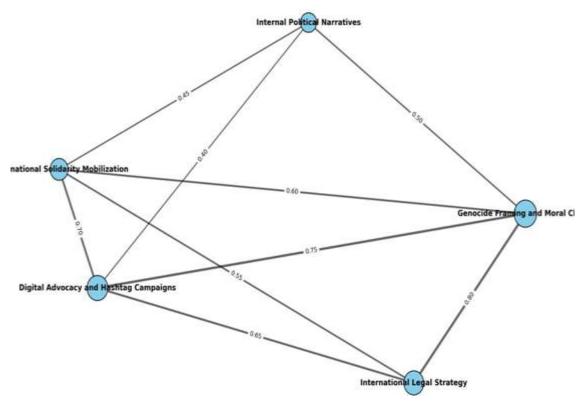


Figure 2: Thematic co-occurrence map illustrating key themes identified in 150 documents related to Palestinian political and civil society advocacy during the 2023–2024 Gaza conflict. Node size reflects thematic frequency, while edge thickness and labels represent the strength of co-occurrence between themes.

## **Ethical Considerations**

As the study exclusively utilized publicly available data, such as institutional reports, official statements, social media content, and legal filings, it did not involve human subjects or private communications and therefore did not require formal ethical approval. Nonetheless, all materials were handled with academic rigour, ensuring accurate attribution, proper citation, and ethical representation throughout the research process.

## **RESULTS**

The thematic analysis of 150 documents showed clear and repeated use of terms like "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing." These were used in legal files, public statements and campaign slogans. The same words kept appearing, showing a common message across many groups. That message aimed to speak to both courtrooms and global public opinion. Also, the documents analyzed revealed five key strategies used by Palestinian political and civil society groups during the Gaza conflict. These strategies, which are discussed below, worked together to build support and pressure on global audiences.

## Genocide Framing and Moral Claims (112 instances)

Palestinian groups made genocide allegations the center of their advocacy. They used emotional stories about victims and linked current events to past tragedies. The framing painted Israel as the aggressor and Palestinians as innocent victims facing destruction. These moral claims appeared in press releases, social media posts, and legal documents. Groups like Hamas and the Palestinian Authority used similar language despite their political differences.

## International Legal Strategy and Appeals (88 instances)

Legal advocacy turned into a major tool for Palestinian groups. They filed cases with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). These filings cited the Geneva Conventions and international law. Civil society groups like Al-Haq and the Palestinian Centre of Human Rights led this effort. They provided legal evidence and expert testimony to support genocide claims. The strategy aimed to get formal legal recognition of alleged crimes.

## Digital Advocacy and Hashtag Campaigns (96 instances)

Social media platforms became key battlegrounds for Palestinian advocacy. Groups used hashtags like #GazaGenocide, #EndGazaGenocide, #Palestine\_Genocide, #PalestinianRights, #FreePalestine, #ICJForPalestine, #JusticeForGaza, and #JusticeForPalestine to spread their

message. They created viral posts with images and videos from Gaza. These campaigns reached global audiences quickly. Digital advocacy let small groups compete with major news outlets. The content mixed emotional appeals with factual claims about casualties and destruction

#### Transnational Solidarity Mobilization (72 instances)

Palestinian groups built networks with international allies, and they worked with human rights organizations worldwide. Diaspora communities organized protests in major cities. These coalitions amplified Palestinian voices and applied pressure on governments. The solidarity movement connected local Palestinian struggles to global justice causes. This network helped coordinate actions across different countries and time zones.

## **Internal Political Narratives and Factional Messaging (58 instances)**

Despite unity on genocide claims, Palestinian groups maintained different political messages. Hamas focused on resistance and fighting back. The Palestinian Authority emphasized diplomatic solutions and statehood. Civil society groups stressed human rights and legal justice. These internal differences showed up in how groups framed their goals and strategies. Yet all factions agreed on the genocide narrative as their main message.

## DISCUSSION

The thematic analysis indicates that Palestinian political and civil society organizations took a multifaceted and simultaneous approach to advocacy throughout the Gaza conflict of 2023-2024, engaging in many advocacy campaigns and strategies aimed at influencing international consensus. The driving force behind these campaigns was the strategic framing of the conflict as genocide. This allowed the actors the opportunity and leverage to utilize international law, human rights norms, and compel the global moral conscience all at the same time. This framing represented a uniquely shared utterance among the factions, allowing the interpretation of the label, genocide, to be interchangeable among the different audiences it spoke to. The framing provided something familiar, yet adaptable toward different audiences like international courts, media, digital documents, grassroots supporters, and others. The intersection between legal and digital suggests a convergence between formal and informal advocacy strategies. Legal briefs made to the ICJ and ICC sought to institutionalize the claim of genocide into the International legal paradigm, while hashtag social media campaigns were designed to express legal arguments into relatable narratives for mass mobilization. This digital amplification strategy, characterized by hashtags like #GazaGenocide, #ICJForPalestine, etc., was effective in spreading their message globally. While internal political differences remained, all groups united around the genocide narrative. This approach targeted three key audiences: international legal bodies, global public opinion, and diplomatic actors. The strategy combined moral-based advocacy with legal-based advocacy and digital advocacy.

The five identified themes reveal how Palestinian advocacy adapted to modern conflict dynamics. Genocide framing dominated all other messages, appearing 112 times across documents. This shows how legal concepts became political tools. International legal strategy ranked second with 88 instances, proving that courts matter in modern advocacy. Digital campaigns came third with 96 instances, showing social media's power to reach global audiences. Transnational solidarity mobilization connected local struggles to international movements. Internal political messaging showed the least activity, suggesting groups prioritized external advocacy over internal debates. The coordination between different actor types proved effective in creating a unified message despite political divisions.

This study has both strengths and limitations. The qualitative approach captured nuanced advocacy strategies that numbers alone could miss. The large document sample (150 items) provided rich data across multiple platforms and actor types. A study of real-time advocacy in the context of an ongoing conflict provided valuable information on contemporary campaigning. However, the study only examined publicly available materials in English and Arabic. Private communications and internal strategy documents were not accessible. Looking at the advocacy dynamics from the Palestinian side may not capture the complete picture. Keeping this limitation in mind, future research should make an effort to systematically study counter-advocacy campaigns, their targets, and how the different audiences understand and then appropriate the messages. Evaluation of long-term impacts would also assess whether any advocacy success extended beyond the immediate media coverage.

## CONCLUSION

This study examined how Palestinian groups mobilized during the 2023-2024 Gaza conflict. The research analyzed 150 documents from political organizations, civil society groups, and digital platforms, and five key advocacy strategies emerged from the analysis. The study shows that Palestinian political and civil society groups used coordinated multi-platform strategies during the Gaza conflict. They made genocide framing their central message. Also, they engage in legal advocacy frameworks with international institutions, strategically use digital platforms to portray genocide allegations and campaigns to reach global audiences quickly, increase coalition-building with international human rights organizations, and apply internal political messaging to get global support despite their internal political differences.

The study is faced with several limitations. Only public documents in English and Arabic were examined. Private communications and internal strategy documents were not accessible. In addition, the study only examined the Palestinian perspectives and did not examine counter-advocacy strategies. Finally, the time duration of the research only examined 14 months of an ongoing conflict. Therefore, long-term impact measurement was not possible during this timeframe.

This study fills gaps in existing research on contemporary Palestinian advocacy. Previous research looked into historical patterns rather than real-time strategies. This study contributes scholarly knowledge concerning political mobilization in the context of an active conflict by demonstrating how

Palestinian actors actively changed their messaging frameworks and advocacy strategies in response to genocide accusations. By merging legal specificity, moral urgency, digital agility, and transnational outreach, organizations created a powerful advocacy infrastructure that engaged both elite and popular areas. This study recommends that advocacy organizations invest in legal capacity-building, strengthen digital infrastructure for real-time response, and expand global coalition networks to maintain pressure on international institutions. The integrated use of law, media, and public protest observed in this case offers a model for rights-based advocacy in other high-stakes geopolitical conflicts.

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