



**Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**The role of non-state actors in strengthening Palestinian
diplomacy: Public diplomacy (1993-2022)**

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**This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Master's degree in
The International Law and Diplomacy**

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Thesis Approval

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By
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This thesis was defended successfully on 26/02/ 2024. and approved by:

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Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is substantially my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the Arab American University or any other institution.

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Dedication

To the homeland of the prophets, which is complete with martyrs and the steadfastness of
prisoners and refugees

They are a symbol of pride that will never be extinguished

For Palestine running..

Where the sky embraces the specters of the Holy Land

To every human being who seeks goodness and seeks light at all times

To those who sincerely and sincerely belong to this country.

To this homeland that is complete in grief, steadfastness and resistance

To beloved Gaza..

I echo the words of the poet Haroun Hashim Rashid:

One day we will return to our neighborhood... and drown in warm water from me

Fouad Mamoon Haroun Rashid

Acknowledgement

Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, who has facilitated my affairs and enabled me to complete this dissertation. Praise be to God Almighty for the majesty of His grace and the greatness of His blessings. Praise be to God who has enabled me and helped me to accomplish this scientific work through which I seek to serve my community.

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I also extend my deepest thanks and gratitude to the esteemed discussion committee. I also extend my sincere thanks to my university, which embraced me as a lofty scientific beacon, "the Arab American University," represented by its administration, professors, and all of its employees.

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Fouad Mamoon Haroun Rashid

Abstract

The study aimed to identify the role of non-state actors in strengthening Palestinian diplomacy, focusing on the period from 1993 to 2022. Using a descriptive analytical approach, interviews, and content analysis, the study found that non-state actors, including popular committees, organizations, activists, and alternative media, became prominent in Palestine to address the lack of international media coverage. These actors effectively used social media and were significantly involved during key events like the 2021 Palestinian uprising. Despite their impact, they faced challenges due to weak political and economic programs, highlighting the need for a comprehensive political strategy.

The influence of non-state actors on local and international policies depends on their adaptability to societal and political changes, independence, and structural diversity. These actors have been crucial in attracting international support and shaping awareness of the Palestinian issue, with movements like the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) playing a key role. The study emphasized the importance of Arab and Western support in bolstering these efforts.

Recommendations included developing new strategies for public diplomacy, enhancing interaction with non-state actors, and establishing official platforms for continuous dialogue. It also stressed the need for civil society and NGOs' participation in public diplomacy and their representation in international forums.

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Introduction

The Palestinian popular resistance evolved with the development of the Palestinian cause. Palestinian people have been always contributing to humanity, and the model of the Palestinian uprising (Intifada) is the perfect example that embraced many forms of popular confrontation against the occupation. The word (Intifada) entered all the languages of the world, and shows that the Palestinian people and their successive generations are creative in devising tools and means of public diplomacy that suit each stage of the Palestinian cause. Palestinian popular diplomacy aims to defend the Palestinian cause on social media, in addition to winning and supporting global public opinion, through which the rights of the Palestinian people can be claimed in accordance with United Nations resolutions and international agreements¹.

Among the most prominent non-state actors within the framework of public diplomacy are the Civil Society Organizations, which play a major role in state policies. The first is providing support for government policies as partners, and the second is working independently of the government with the aim of achieving more positive results in the field of public diplomacy. In addition to universities, schools, and opinion leaders as the most trusted sources of information, as well as the internal target audience of public diplomacy, which has a significant influence on government policies, as well as the private sector and semi-governmental organizations².

Anyone who follows some of the international NGOs that later formed pressure groups and were successful models that were able to achieve their goals; can recognize that there are some general features in terms of management, organization, professionalism, and the ability to employ long-term strategies. Also, some of these organizations/groups had

¹ Abu Khasiwan, Yahya Qaoud. (2020), Popular Digital Diplomacy, Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, Berlin, Germany, p.16.

² Muhammad, Firas. 2021, Chinese Public Diplomacy and Soft Power, University of Mosul, Iraq.

goals close to the goals of Palestinian NGOs, and many Palestinian organizations, especially those operating from outside of Palestine, recorded important successes and breakthroughs at several levels, especially during periods of crisis and confrontation with the occupation, which always required comprehensive external Palestinian support³.

The May 2022 uprising witnessed a remarkable development in popular solidarity towards the Palestinian cause, which was reflected in international capitals through marches, demonstrations, and even in football stadiums, where Leicester City player Hamza Chowdhury carried the Palestinian flag, in the British Football Cup final, which is what the player did. Manchester United's Paul Pogba flag in his team's match. Solidarity with Palestine extended to the digital space of the players, where popular support for the players in solidarity formed a protection network for them from any sanctions that might fall from their clubs, just as it accompanied the support for the boycott of Bella Hadid and the subsequent calls to boycott the company. Dior, which displaced its image as an advertising face for its products⁴.

The study gains its importance from its novelty and the novelty of the part being addressed, which is non-state actors as a tool of public diplomacy that has not been studied previously. This means the scarcity of studies that have addressed this part, in addition to presenting proposals to decision makers to strengthen public diplomacy and non-state actors.

The justification for choosing this topic is due to the neglect of many previous studies at the Palestinian and Arab library level to delve into the heart of the subject of the study, as the researcher will focus mainly on the role of non-state actors (public diplomacy) in

³ Saeed, Abdul Raouf. (2017), *Palestinian Popular Diplomacy as Reflected in Local and International Media 2012-2016*, Master's Thesis, Academy of Management and Policy, Gaza, Palestine.

⁴ Jarrar, Montaser. (2022), *Popular Diplomacy: An Introduction to Strengthening Palestinian Political Action*, Research Center, Al-Bireh, Palestine.

strengthening official Palestinian diplomacy. The researcher also sees a weakness in official diplomacy. The Palestinian Authority, and the lack of integration of roles between official and public diplomacy for the State of Palestine. Therefore, not doing this research means further academic neglect, specifically with regard to public diplomacy, which takes on sensitivity and specificity as it relates to the Palestinian issue.

This study relied on the theory of liberalism and benefited from it by analyzing the increasing role of non-state actors, as liberalism refers to the importance of non-state actors and NGOs in determining how the international system works. The study can use this theory to analyze how non-state actors have influenced the development of Palestinian diplomacy since 1993 and how they have contributed to strengthening Palestine's voice on the international stage. The study can also analyze how non-state parties interacted with the Palestinian government and how this cooperation contributed to strengthening Palestinian diplomatic efforts. The study was also based on the theory of social movements and the theory of resource mobilization. The benefit of social movements theory lies in understanding the dynamics of social movements, as social movements theory helps in understanding how non-state actors (social movements) arise and develop but also the factors that influence them. This theory also allows us to understand what motivates participants and actors in Palestine, and how these movements influence the promotion of awareness and interaction with issues of official diplomacy. Benefiting from resource mobilization theory is through analyzing the social and political resources of the State of Palestine in the context of non-state actors. This can include financial resources, political support, social networks, organizational skills, media, and international relations and how these resources impact public diplomacy efforts to support the Palestinian issues.

Hence, this study seeks to investigate the role of non-state actors in strengthening Palestinian diplomacy: public diplomacy (1993-2022), and to discover the extent of the success of Palestinian public diplomacy in mobilizing and gaining international support in favour of the Palestinian cause.

The Research Problem

After the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian foreign relations had to be exercised within the political and legislative context an international level, therefore, there was a shift in the Palestinian political discourse, which was reflected in the performance of the institutions of the Palestinian Authority, especially since the discourse was affected by international law and its context, and the reduction of political action at the international level to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Political action became limited to the Palestinian Authority and the official offices of the Palestinian Authority, in which they also faced issues of budgets, staff preparation and empowerment. In addition, fundamentally, the occupation's government works to limit the efficiency of the work of international relations for the Palestinians, through the work of the occupation foreign ministry to pressure and influence international bodies and governments in accordance with the common interests and influence enjoyed by the occupying state.

This issue leaves gaps in the messages and tasks of the official Palestinian diplomatic work in conveying messages related to the Palestinian people to the world, and specifically to other peoples, especially since, after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, the role of the PLO also became limited, in line with the political context and the new political discourse, which aims to establish a state on borders of June 4, 1967⁵.

⁵ Abu Chamaa, Ziid. (2013), The role of Al Jazeera in influencing Palestinian diplomacy after the Israeli aggression on Gaza in 2008, Birzeit University, Birzeit, Palestine.

Additionally, there is a problem related to the challenges faced by the State of Palestine in obtaining more international recognition and establishing diplomatic relations with certain countries as a result of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as well as to challenges in competing with the propaganda stories and models of the other side of the conflict, which is the Israeli occupation, which increases the obstacles it has. In building alliances and strong international support that can contribute to strengthening official diplomacy for Palestine⁶.

This study examines opportunities to invest in active bodies in non-state diplomacy to fill the gaps resulting from official foreign policy, by examining the opportunities for activating these bodies and the extent of their effectiveness in conveying the Palestinian voice and its messages to various countries in order to gain the support of peoples who put pressure on their governments, especially since there are obstacles facing the PLO. which prompts us to ask several questions about redefining social and popular movements and their role in external communication with social movements⁷.

The research problem is reflected in the discussion in the context of the transformations taking place in Palestinian diplomacy and the external relations of the Palestinian Authority, especially after the Oslo Accords, according to the set of variables that occurred in the political discourse and the context in which the Palestinian Authority comes, and the obstacles and challenges imposed on it by the Israeli occupation government. Based on the above, the problem of the study is represented by the following main question: **What is the role of non-state actors in strengthening Palestinian diplomacy: Public Diplomacy (1993-2022)?**

⁶ Melhem, Awatef. (2023), *Diplomacy and its Role in Promoting the Palestinian Narrative*, Ministry of Culture, Palestine.

⁷ Al-Tamimi, Bassem (2022), *Diplomacy of Governmental Organizations in Palestinian Foreign Policy*, *Siyasat Magazine*, Institute of Public Policy, Issue 47, Ramallah, Palestine.

Importance of the Study

First: Theoretical Importance

This study contributes to expanding our understanding of the role of public diplomacy and its impact on official diplomacy by highlighting the interrelationship between non-state and political actors in the context of Palestine. It can help guide future research and develop new theories on the factors that influence diplomacy, and by analyzing the period from 1993-2022, the study can identify the factors that influenced the success or failure in strengthening official diplomacy for Palestine. This contributes to identifying preferences and making informed decisions. In addition, the study enables us to analyze how social movements and public and official diplomacy interact in the context of Palestine, which helps to delve deeper into understanding how these factors influence building an effective role for diplomacy.

Second: Practical Importance

- The study provides a clearer vision of how non-state actors can be used to enhance formal diplomacy, through which this can guide policy formulation and decision-making at the governmental and diplomatic levels.
- The study directs attention towards improving public and official diplomacy strategies, which contributes to strengthening influence and success in achieving political and social goals.
- Promoting transparency and participation. By presenting the relationship between public diplomacy and non-state actors, the study enhances transparency and participation between the government and civil society and builds trust between them.
- Providing the Palestinian and Arab library with this type of specialized studies in the political field and the field of international relations.

- Providing proposals to decision makers to strengthen public diplomacy and non-state actors, and highlighting the difficulties facing official Palestinian diplomacy, as well as public diplomacy through the challenges facing non-state actors.

Study Questions

- What are the most prominent non-state actors that appeared in Palestine during the period between 1993-2022, and the goals that they worked to achieve in support of the Palestinian cause?
- How did non-state actors contribute to strengthening international awareness and support for the Palestinian issue?
- What is the role of official diplomacy in communicating with unofficial actors and directing their efforts in serving the Palestinian cause?
- What are the main factors that affect the public/popular diplomacy of the State of Palestine?
- What are the diplomatic mechanisms followed by non-state actors, to contribute to strengthening official diplomacy or to serve the Palestinian cause?
- What are the main obstacles facing Palestinian public/popular diplomacy?
- What ideas can be presented through analyzing the performance of non-state actors to develop the performance of Palestinian public and official diplomacy?

Study Hypotheses

The fundamental hypothesis is that there is a defect in the official Palestinian diplomacy, and it needs support in order to be able to create the required international impact. Here lies the necessity of the support represented by public diplomacy and the non-state actors

it contains to mobilize popular and political public opinion regarding the Palestinian issue and support peace and development for Palestinians and their right to exist and live in dignity.

This study also assumes that public diplomacy has played an important role in strengthening the official diplomacy of the State of Palestine over the period of 1993 to 2022 through interaction and cooperation with non-state actors. It is also assumed that these interactions and partnerships have contributed to increasing international awareness and support for the Palestinian cause, and have contributed to developing the diplomatic tools and mechanisms of the Palestinian state, and strengthening its position in the international community.

The study also assumes that the presence of factors that hinder the efforts of public diplomacy and non-state actors in promoting the Palestinian cause, such as political, economic, security, and media challenges.

Objectives of the Study

- Identify the most prominent non-state actors that appeared in Palestine during the period between 1993-2022, and the goals they worked to achieve in support of the Palestinian cause.
- Identify the contribution of non-state actors in strengthening international awareness and support for the Palestinian cause.
- Explaining the role of official diplomacy in communicating with non-state actors and directing their efforts in serving the Palestinian cause.
- Knowing the main factors that affect the public/popular diplomacy of the State of Palestine.

- Identifying the diplomatic mechanisms followed by non-state actors, to contribute to strengthening official diplomacy or to serve the Palestinian cause.
- Identify the main obstacles facing Palestinian public/popular diplomacy.
- Directing suggestions and ideas to develop official Palestinian diplomacy based on an analysis of the performance of non-state actors in the field of public diplomacy.

Study Limitations

- Spatial boundaries: non-state actors, which include active individuals, social, popular, and student movements in Palestine and abroad.
- Time limits: the period extending from 1993 to 2022.
- Difficulty in collecting reliable sources and accurate information about the actual role of public diplomacy and its impact on the official diplomacy of Palestine through social movements during the specified period.
- Determinants linked to the complexities of the political context, as the period extending from 1993 to 2022 witnessed multiple political changes and events in the Middle East region in general and Palestine in particular. The impact of these changes on non-state actors and social and diplomatic movements can be a challenge for analyzing relationships and impact
- The interaction of non-state actors with formal diplomacy and public diplomacy can be complex due to the diversity of different voices, goals and interests.
- Difficulty in reaching experts and non-state actors.

Study Methodology

Method: Based on the nature of the study and its objectives, the descriptive analytical method was used in the current study, in order to suit it for the purposes of the study, in terms of monitoring and analyzing the reality of the study problem at the present time as it is in reality through describing, interpreting and predicting it, and it is the appropriate and best approach - in the opinion of the researcher-. Followed by consulting literature to clarify the theoretical background of the study. Descriptive analytical studies are known as: “the in-depth descriptive approach, in which the scientific researcher describes various scientific phenomena and problems, and solves the problems and questions that fall within the scope of scientific research”⁸.

Study Tools: The study tools are as follows:

- In-depth interviews: Conducting in-depth interviews with 10 specialists and experts in Palestinian official diplomacy and public diplomacy, community actors, activists and influencers on social media sites who support the Palestinian cause and which play a remarkable role in strengthening Palestinian public diplomacy. Below are the names of the people interviewed:
- Dr. Dalal Erekat/University Professor of Diplomacy and Strategic Planning for Postgraduate Studies at the Arab American University.
- Ambassador Imad Al-Zuhairi, a Palestinian diplomat who holds the position of Director General of the Palestinian International Cooperation Agency (PICA).
- Khaled Abu Qaraa/ diplomat in the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and political activist on social media.

⁸ Melhem, Awatef. (2023), *Diplomacy and its Role in Promoting the Palestinian Narrative*, Ministry of Culture, Palestine.

- Abdel Qader Abdel Muti Al-Azza/part-time professor at An-Najah National University - Faculty of Law.
- Abdul Aziz Al-Salhi/ researcher in the field of social and human sciences.
- Kamal Bimbashi/ DJ, activist, and social media influencer.
- Amin Saeb/ Photographer and social media influencer
- Diana Halloum/ journalist and political activist on social media
- Nassim Al-Khalidi/ engineer, community activist, professor at the Technion Institute, and archaeological researcher from Nazareth.
- “Uday”/Palestinian rapper.
- Nevin Al-Qadi / Palestinian fashion designer.
- Lina Al-Zoubi/ Digital media journalist for Palestine TV.

Content Analysis: through content analysis of previous literature and reports, and analysis of the performance of non-state actors representing public diplomacy.

Chapter One

Literature Review

The Palestinian cause has gained great importance on the international scene, in light of the political, social and technological developments that the Middle East region witnessed during the time period extending from 1993 to 2022. To keep pace with this development and enhance international support for the State of Palestine, it has become necessary to employ new diplomatic methods such as public diplomacy and benefit from non-state actors as strategic tools, as this period is based on activating public diplomacy through the participation of civil society in supporting official Palestinian diplomacy.

This chapter of the study includes the theoretical background and a review of literary studies related to the subject of the study, in addition to the research methodology, and the introduction that includes the problem, importance, objectives, hypotheses, limits, and determinants of the study.

1.1 Theoretical Background

In this section, we will review three theories: liberal theory/social movements theory/resource mobilization theory. These theories play a pivotal role in understanding societal changes. How these theories are used will be analyzed in the study to understand public diplomacy and non-state actors in the Palestinian context. Theories will also be used to understand how social movements and non-state actors influence the Palestinian issue, and how to invest these theories in analyzing relevant issues and phenomena.

1.2 Liberalism

Liberal theory arose in the Renaissance period, and its main scholars include Kant and Bentham. Liberals see the international system as an environment that provides opportunities for either cooperation or conflict alike, as they have reached a state of awareness that the state is not the only important player and that non-governmental actors play an important role. Also in determining how the global system works and operates. International organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union, and the African Union were all built on the basis of liberal thought, through cooperation between states and non-governmental bodies, common goals can be achieved and benefits that extend to all of humanity. Therefore, liberal theory is considered one of the most appropriate theories to study the impact of public diplomacy and non-state actors and increase their importance at the international level⁹.

1.3 Benefit from Liberalism

This study benefits from liberal theory by:

- Analysis of the increasing role of non-state actors, as liberal theory indicates the important role played by non-governmental organizations in the international system as a whole, in addition to the possibility of using this theory to analyze how non-state actors influenced the development of Palestinian diplomacy since 1993 and how they contributed to strengthening the issue. The Palestinian Authority on the international scene, in addition to analyzing how non-state actors interacted with official Palestinian diplomacy and how this interaction contributed to strengthening official Palestinian diplomatic efforts.

⁹ Naidoo, Jervin. 2015, The “diplomacy” of non-state actors: The case of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), University of Pretoria

- Public diplomacy and international relations: Liberal theory highlights the importance of international relations and international cooperation. The study can use this theory to understand how non-state actors can play an important role in strengthening Palestine's relations with other countries and how Palestinian goals and interests can be achieved through public diplomacy.
- Preserving basic issues: Liberal theory attaches great importance to issues of high priority, such as human rights, environmental protection, and freedom. Thus, the study can use this concept to find out how non-state actors can support and enhance basic Palestinian issues, such as the right to self-determination and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. And also studying the possibility of achieving this through public diplomacy.

1.4 Social Movements Theory

The theory of social movements was developed in Europe to justify a group of new movements that emerged during the sixties and seventies of the last century, which came "to understand and analyze human interaction as a social actor who constitutes the primary party in the process of social change"¹⁰

The theory of social movements is considered as a social reaction that reflects the contradictions that occur in modern society due to the globalization of neoliberalism and excessive bureaucracy. Emphasis is always placed on the existing differences between old and new social movements resulting from the emergence of new social contradictions embodied in the contradiction between the individual and the state, which indicates the transition from defending class interests to defending non-class interests related to human

¹⁰ Tilly, Charles. (2005) *Social Movements 1768-2004*, translated by Rabie Wahba, 1st edition, National Translation Project, Cairo.

interests. New social movements are more concerned with developing a collective identity and betting on the middle class rather than the working class¹¹.

Criticism of the Theory: The modern theory of social movements has been subjected to several criticisms, and among these criticisms is the ambiguity surrounding its expected goals. In addition, the use of the term “modern” poses a challenge, as it lacks a clear definition that explains the specific concepts appropriately, and this could lead to shedding light on the common characteristics between what is traditional and what is modern, especially with regard to origins and goals¹².

Benefits of the Theory: The current study benefits from social movements theory by:

- Understanding the dynamics of social movements, as social movements theory helps in understanding how social movements arise and develop and the factors that influence them. This theory also allows us to understand what motivates non-state actors in Palestine, and how they influence the promotion of awareness and interaction with issues of official diplomacy.
- Analysis of resources and intermediary organizations, as resource mobilization includes and addresses the role of different resources in supporting non-state actors. How to provide resources and support for official diplomacy in Palestine will be addressed by non-state actors such as civil society organizations and activist groups.
- Strengthening communication and social networks by focusing social movements on building social networks, communicating, and understanding the role of public diplomacy to enhance communication with local communities and audiences and build solidarity relationships that enhance the effectiveness of official diplomacy.

¹¹ Bu Gharara, Hamama. (2022) The role of social movements in the political change in Tunisia, Larbi Ben M'hidi University, Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria, p. 23.

¹² Abdel Qader, Reem. (2018), Social Movements and Dealing Mechanisms by Arab Political Systems (Comparative Study: Algeria/Tunisia), Zian Ashour University of Djelfa, Algeria.

- Using social movement concepts, strategies can be developed to strengthen public and formal diplomacy for Palestine through interaction with various non-state actors.

I.5. Resource Mobilization Theory (Theory of Social Change and Uniting Power Sources)

This study is based on the theory of resource mobilization, which appeared at the hands of John De Marcati and Mayar Zald, who wrote a book entitled: “The Dynamics of Social Movements,” which is a theory that deals with the study of how social movements and changes in society are formed and developed. This theory focuses on the pivotal role of different resources in stimulating and shaping social movements and changes. The theory includes concepts such as intermediary organizations, solidaristic relationships, and the availability of economic, political, and communication resources¹³.

This theory proposes that social movements arise as a result of the availability of various resources to individuals and groups, such as money, time, skills, social networks, and political support. The theory holds that these resources enhance the ability of individuals and groups to participate in social movement and protest activities. Consequently, these resources can lead to the formation of broad coalitions and organizations that work to achieve certain goals.

The proponents of this theory believe that social movements are logical responses to situations and possibilities that have recently emerged in society, and therefore they should not be considered indicators of social imbalance, but rather they are a manifestation of social effectiveness and a structural component of the political process. This approach is concerned with the direct - measurable - impact of social movements on

¹³ Bu Gharara, Hamama. (2022) The role of social movements in the political change in Tunisia, Larbi Ben M'hidi University, Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria.

Political issues, while not paying much attention to the dimensions of this movement at the intellectual level, the level of raising awareness, and crystallizing identity¹⁴.

Benefit from Theory: This study can benefit from resource mobilization theory through the following:

- Analysis of the social and political resources of the State of Palestine in the context of non-state actors. This can include financial resources, political support, social networks, organizational skills, media, and international relations, and how these resources impact public diplomacy efforts to support Palestinian issues.
- Analyze the role and influence of intermediary organizations, such as non-governmental organizations and cultural and social institutions, in strengthening official diplomacy by providing resources and building partnerships.
- Identify areas where non-state actors can effectively influence the strengthening of official diplomacy, whether through supporting Palestinian issues or strengthening international awareness.

1.6 Review of Literary Studies

There have been many studies that have dealt with the subject of public/popular diplomacy, which include several tools, of which social movements can be considered one of them. The following is a review of those studies after they have been classified into Arab and foreign studies, studies that dealt with public/popular/non-governmental diplomacy, and studies that dealt with non-governmental actors. Official/social movements, arranged chronologically from newest to oldest as follows:

¹⁴ Bu Gharara, Hamama. (2022) The role of social movements in the political change in Tunisia, Larbi Ben M'hidi University, Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria, p. 23.

1.6.1 Arab Studies

Studies Dealing with Diplomacy (Public/Popular)

The study (Al-Tamimi, 2022)¹⁵ aimed to shed light on the role of NGO diplomacy in the political field, to clarify the importance of these organizations as important tools in the context of foreign policy, and to analyze the impact of this tool on foreign policy in general, and especially on Palestinian foreign policy. The study reviews how these organizations play an important role in promoting issues of human rights, justice and peace in the international context, and how their efforts can affect the orientations and policies of the Palestinian government with regard to international relations. The study adopted the descriptive approach and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: These non-governmental organizations have played a prominent role in practicing popular diplomacy at the international level. This role came about as a result of these organizations' standing in specialized international agencies, in addition to their innovative programmes. It is also worth noting that these organizations join national, regional and global networks and organizations, as they participate in active or advisory memberships in many networks and organizations with a prominent international presence. The most important of these networks and organizations are: the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network in Copenhagen, the International Organization against Torture, the International Federation for Human Rights in Paris, the International Coalition to Prosecute War Criminals - ICAOs, and the European-Arab Center of Human rights and international law. Available data also show that these Palestinian non-governmental organizations have succeeded in building sustainable

¹⁵ Al-Tamimi, Bassem (2022), *Diplomacy of Governmental Organizations in Palestinian Foreign Policy*, Siyasat Magazine, Institute of Public Policy, Issue 47, Ramallah, Palestine.

relationships with their international counterparts, and this is no less important than the influence of the Palestinian National Authority in the context of international relations. These organizations have worked to uncover cases of racial discrimination and human rights violations against the Palestinian people, and to direct this information to international and Arab bodies, in addition to strengthening cultural and educational exchange programs with civil society institutions in different countries. The international campaign launched by the Palestinian Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations Network in 2002 under the title “The Popular Campaign Against the Wall in the West Bank,” and the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement launched by Palestinian civil society organizations in 2005, also witnessed two models. Two successes reflect the ability of these organizations to achieve great achievements in the field of practicing popular, non-governmental diplomacy. The study recommended the need to seriously intensify and strengthen efforts, and provide the necessary capabilities, to make the most of these diplomatic tools in serving Palestinian foreign policy and achieving national interests.

As for the study (Jarrar, 2022)¹⁶, the study aimed to research popular diplomacy as an entry point for strengthening Palestinian political action. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: that there is a possibility to support peoples, and the approach to strengthening support for Palestine is with a different methodology. Starting from the bottom and rising to influence decision makers is effective. On the other hand, the volume of interaction with the Palestinian issue from various countries of the world confirms the purity and justice of the issue and reflects the importance of activating popular diplomacy, and the

¹⁶ Jarrar, Montaser. (2022), Popular Diplomacy: An Introduction to Strengthening Palestinian Political Action, Research Center, Al-Bireh, Palestine.

necessity of mobilizing all capabilities in order to activate it in all countries of the world. The study confirms that popular diplomacy is complementary to official diplomacy in all its aspects, as it played a remarkable role in strengthening international humanitarian and political sympathy with the Palestinian cause and people, and even covered what traditional official diplomacy was unable to achieve. The study recommended the necessity of investing in the outputs and unifying the efforts of digital platforms, as well as working with communities, while working to raise the capabilities of official diplomacy in the field of popular diplomacy and supporting its initiatives, and investing in those involved and supportive influencers.

While the study (Mahmoud, 2022)¹⁷ aimed to investigate the communication strategies implemented by Palestinian and Israeli public diplomacy in the context of the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood crisis and the war on Gaza. The study focused on analyzing and presenting these strategies and understanding how to deal with complex and difficult situations. For this purpose, the researcher in this study relied on a survey approach, where the ideological discourse analysis model developed by Van Dijk was applied to the Palestinian public diplomacy pages and the Israeli pages in the specialized Arabic language in covering events. This model has been used to examine the linguistic content and contextual structure of speeches and publications. The study reached a set of important results by analyzing the communication strategies used by the concerned parties: The Israeli strategy: The Israeli page relied on shifting blame on others, as it turned a blind eye to the main cause of the crisis and the violent escalation, and focused instead on the attacks of the Palestinian demonstrators, which it described as “ extremist terrorist groups”. It was found regarding the Palestinian strategy: Palestinian public

¹⁷ Mahmoud Ahmed. (2022), Communication strategies for Palestinian and Israeli public diplomacy via Facebook during the Sheikh Jarrah crisis and the Gaza war: an analytical study, *Journal of Media Research*, Volume 61, Issue 3, pp. 1577-1628.

diplomacy relied on shifting blame to the Israeli side as the main cause of the crisis. I presented leaflets revealing the Israeli occupation's violations of the rights of Palestinians and attempts to expel them from their homes without justification, in addition to highlighting the steadfastness of the people of Gaza in the face of war.

The study (Mohamed, 2021)¹⁸ aimed to identify public diplomacy and soft power in China, adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: Public diplomacy means that the government, with the participation of various social circles, presents the national situation, comprehensive development methods, and foreign policies to Foreign peoples through the media and activities carried out by embassies, consulates and other foreign policy tools, as the application of public diplomacy has become a new topic in light of the developments of the times.

As for the study (Abu Jahl, 2020)¹⁹, it aimed to identify the role of popular diplomacy in strengthening Egyptian-Palestinian relations, during the period extending from the year 2011 to 2019. The study adopted both the comparative approach and the political behaviour approach, in addition to the descriptive and analytical approach. The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: that popular diplomacy has worked to move international public opinion towards the Palestinian issue through international solidarity, and international solidarity delegations have played an effective role in strengthening the steadfastness of the Palestinian people through repeated visits, and material and moral support provided to strengthen and support The Palestinian people, and popular diplomacy has been subjected to some fluctuations regarding the Palestinian issue. This is mainly due to the internal Palestinian division.

¹⁸ Muhammad, Firas. 2021, Chinese Public Diplomacy and Soft Power, University of Mosul, Iraq.

¹⁹ Abu Jahl, Ibrahim. (2020), The role of popular diplomacy in strengthening the Egyptian -Palestinian relations (2011- 2019), Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine.

The study recommended that the organizational structure of the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs include: A committee specialized in popular diplomacy, which strengthens the relationship of the Palestinian people with all the peoples of the world, with the need to work on holding specialized courses aimed at introducing employees in the official and private media sector; The role of popular diplomacy in strengthening relations between peoples.

The study (Saeed, 2017)²⁰ sought to identify the role of popular diplomacy in strengthening the steadfastness of Palestinian refugees, especially since the transformation imposed by the developments of the era did not make diplomacy popular only in its goals; rather, it made it popular in its means as well. It needs everything related to the people, as it will only succeed with the presence of popular diplomats coming from the people who are able to understand their language, feel for them, and are able to truly serve them. The study relied on the descriptive analytical approach, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: that popular diplomacy influences the international and Palestinian decision-maker in strengthening the steadfastness of the Palestinian refugee by all material and moral means that help him adhere to the right of return, and one of the goals of popular diplomacy is to renew identity. Palestinian territories, despite the Israeli occupation's continued attempts to obliterate them and undermine adherence to the right of return. In addition, popular diplomacy works to move international public opinion towards the Palestinian issue in general and the refugee issue in particular, through international solidarity. The study recommended facilitating the work of solidarity delegations, in addition to the need to coordinate work between official diplomatic work and Palestinian popular diplomacy.

²⁰ Saeed, Abdul Raouf. (2017), *The Role of Popular Diplomacy in Strengthening the Resilience of Palestinian Refugees*, Gaza Center for Studies and Strategy, Palestine.

Furthermore, the study (Saeed, 2017)²¹ aimed to identify Palestinian popular diplomacy as reflected in local and international media from 2012-2016. The study also aimed to identify the goals of Palestinian popular diplomacy towards the Palestinian issue. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach and used the content analysis tool to analyze the sample. From the contents of three media news sites, namely the Palestine News Site, the Al Jazeera News Site, and the CNN Site, over a period of six months during the year 2016, the number of days in the analytical sample reached 23 days. The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: In their media coverage of Palestinian popular diplomacy, local and international media relied on news coverage to convey information and events; The news came first on Palestine TV, then Al Jazeera, then CNN, which means that Palestinian popular diplomacy did not find sufficient media space to make it a destination for solidarity with the Palestinian cause. The study confirmed in its results that the official sources issue the Palestine website, then came the Al Jazeera website, then CNN, which means that Palestinian public diplomacy needs media laws in the sources covered by Palestinian public diplomacy in order for Palestinian public diplomacy to reach its goals.

On the other hand, Ramlawi's (2016)²² study aimed to investigate the reality of Palestinian diplomacy. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and the study concluded that there is a difference between the beginnings stage and the subsequent political and diplomatic successes associated with the organized struggle approach on the one hand, and the current reality associated with the Oslo Accords and the road map, and attempts to overthrow the Palestinian right to resistance, and adopting

²¹ Saeed, Abdul Rouf. (2017), *Palestinian Popular Diplomacy as Reflected in Local and International Media 2012-2016*, Master's Thesis, Academy of Management and Policy, Gaza, Palestine.

²² Ramlawi, Nabil. 2016, *Palestinian Diplomacy... Accomplishments and Declines*, Palestinian Papers Magazine, Issue 13, Yasser Arafat Foundation, Palestine

a futile negotiation approach with Israel. . Which led to the division of the nation and the loss of the most important force, which is the unity and cohesion of the nation. The study concludes that diplomacy does not formulate policies; But it is an important part of the political work system in the state. When the state progresses in the political and economic field; The pace of diplomatic work is increasing, and it is working energetically and creatively. And vice versa; If the state is in a state of decline and political confusion, diplomacy will not be able to make or transform the reality lived in the state into a paradise for the countries of the world.

Nettle's study (2014)²³ revolves around analyzing diplomacy and the art of negotiation and their impact on political decision-making. The importance of the study stems from the fact that it highlighted what diplomacy does to settle disputes and crises, promote and strengthen international relations, and its important role within the scope of foreign policy as it is considered the main tool. There's nothing wrong with it, and it works to support political and international relations, and reconcile conflicting interests and differing viewpoints of countries. The study aimed to highlight the role of diplomatic means in managing crises and resolving disputes, by highlighting negotiations as a diplomatic tool for implementing foreign political decisions and resolving crises. International political policy through diplomatic missions as stipulated in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations in 1961, the study concluded that diplomacy and negotiation are closely linked, and the negotiation process cannot be undertaken without the presence of diplomacy, and that negotiations are the best means among the diplomatic means stipulated by the United Nations to settle international disputes. Diplomatic and consular missions play an important role in resolving international crises.

²³ Nateel, Reem. 2014, Diplomacy and the art of negotiation and its impact on political decision-making, Al-Azhar University, Gaza, Palestine.

Studies Related to Social Movements:

The study (Al-Badawi, 2022)²⁴ aimed to identify the methodological development that the sociology of social movements has undergone since their emergence. The revolutions that the world witnessed in the last three centuries, starting with the English Revolution and ending with the French Revolution and then Bolshevism; It contributed to consolidating the protest action, as the study adopted the historical approach. The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: The emergence of new social movements was linked to the profound changes experienced by some societies at multiple levels. Social movements also emerged from the injustice that exists in all institutions, especially those that reject human aspirations for justice, and these movements always carry a set of structural issues and personal reasons. The emergence of a social movement is crucially linked to the emotional activity of individuals. The feeling of being insulted, exploited, and ignored by a social group is the primary motivation that generates in them the will to act in protest without fear. The results confirmed that most theories of social movements focused on the existence of two types of social movements - the first type is represented by classical social movements, and this type of social movements is associated with advanced industrial societies, and this type is also represented by traditional and classic social movements that arose in the context of work and the workforce. It had a close connection with trade union movements and workers' protests against injustice and exploitation practiced by industrial capitalism. The second type is represented by new social movements, which are limited to new issues and problems that are far from the economic and productive sphere, as they include a wide range of social, environmental, cultural and other issues. These movements address multiple issues and

²⁴ Al-Badawi, Hajar. (2022), *Sociology of Social Movements: Protest Movements in Morocco as a Model*, Index Journal for Survey Studies, Volume 2, Issue 6, Rabat, Morocco.

include diverse coalitions of social groups. These movements are characterized by the fact that they face new challenges and adopt multiple strategies to confront contemporary challenges.

As for the study (Youssef, 2020)²⁵, it sought to identify the nature of the Palestinian youth movement, and its national, political and struggle roles, especially after the geographical political division in the Palestinian territories after the year 2007, the disruption of political life and national institutions, and the Palestinian national situation reaching a great degree of blockage, regression and lack of confidence. The student movement, which is essentially a natural extension of the youth movement, created a democratic model for students in which there is competition, pluralism, and intellectual and political rivalries. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method by analyzing the reality of social and student movements specifically in Palestinian society. The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: The youth movement It played an active popular field role in an attempt to end the division under different names, “March 5 Youth,” “June Youth,” and “Youth Movement,” at the same time it allied itself with some civil institutions to bring positive change in Palestinian society toward playing a greater role to end the division. In addition to this is the mission that it has undertaken and continues to undertake, related to peaceful popular resistance against the occupation by employing tools and strategies in symbolic, cumulative, offensive and positive resistance, and possessing effective field leadership capable of innovation and creativity and embracing a national democratic culture that embraces everyone, including factions, youth and protest movements. The student movements that are reflected in the student councils in Palestinian universities throughout their long history have undertaken two

²⁵ Youssef, Ayman. (2020), *The Palestinian Youth Movement in the West Bank: Student Democracy, National Reconciliation, and Popular Resistance in a Time of Political Division 2007-2013*, Arab American University, Jenin, Palestine.

main tasks: The first and decisive one was and still is political in nature and militant in content, represented by combating the occupation and creating a conscious student generation capable of understanding the important obstacles and contradictions that the Palestinian people's cause has experienced, to the point where the student movement came to dominate the front seats in the Palestinian struggle movement, especially in the wake of the 1967 setback. The second is essentially social, academic, and union services in nature, aiming to help Palestinian students complete their educational journey by providing a comfortable atmosphere for science and learning, and by extending a helping hand to students in need of access to university seats, securing grants, loans and aid, and ensuring good coordination with university administrations and the Ministry of Higher Education in this regard.

1.6.2 Foreign Studies

The study (GÜÇ, 2022)²⁶ aimed to provide a detailed assessment of public diplomacy and its techniques, starting with the concept of soft power integrated with public diplomacy. As part of this effort, public diplomacy techniques are illustrated and attempted to be presented to the reader in a practical manner. In this study, an attempt was made to draw a detailed conceptual framework for the phenomenon of public diplomacy. In order to understand public diplomacy, the concept of soft power is introduced in detail first. Then the conceptual framework of public diplomacy was drawn. Another topic mentioned in the study was public diplomacy techniques. The descriptive analytical approach was adopted and public diplomacy techniques were examined in five basic categories, such as listening, defense, cultural diplomacy, reciprocal diplomacy, and

²⁶ GÜÇ, YUMUŞAK. (2022), Soft Power, Public Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy Techniques: A Conceptual Evaluation, *Turkish Business Journal*, 2717-848X, 03/06/2022, pp. 103-119.

advocacy, in which examples were provided. The study was prepared to provide a purely conceptual framework, and the study reached a set of results, the most important of which are: For many years, the traditional diplomacy model has been accepted as the most important player in building relations around the world. Traditional (formal) diplomacy involves negotiations between two or more government officials that result in agreement or conflict. Countries with high military and economic power in international relations have always occupied a balancing position against their counterparts. For many years, traditional diplomacy was the dominant model in international relations, and in the twenty-first century, a new way of foreign policy has emerged that deeply affects international relations and causes a kind of shift in the prevailing pattern known as public diplomacy, where its subject is people rather than governments. The results confirmed that public diplomacy, which can be considered a strategic communication model, has meanings such as influencing the people of other countries and becoming a center of attraction for them. Public diplomacy requires interaction with different peoples using tools and perspectives that go beyond traditional diplomatic methods. Public diplomacy, which causes a shift in diplomacy in this aspect, is a strategic communication method used by a government to convey its ideals, ideas, culture, political system and national goals, in brief, its own story to other peoples. States aim to expand their spheres of appeal by influencing the people of other countries and non-governmental or international organizations through their activities in the field of public diplomacy. In order to achieve this, they make use of various public diplomacy techniques, tools and stakeholders. The study recommended further analysis of the conceptual dimension of public diplomacy by researchers working in the field of public diplomacy.

As for the study (Snow, 2020)²⁷, it aimed to identify the nature of public diplomacy, with a focus on the cultural aspect. The study adopted the descriptive approach through a study of the American case, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: cultural exchange and cultural diplomacy are two additional components of public diplomacy that are explicitly committed to strengthening the power of the soft influence of the state. Cultural diplomacy can also be defined in a military sense as “the dissemination of aspects of a state’s culture in support of its external or diplomatic goals,” in addition to “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture between countries and their peoples to enhance mutual understanding.” The results confirm that international exchanges and broadcasting are the main pillars of public diplomacy across national governments. Since American public diplomacy comes from the United States, its components tend to influence the global approach, although countries may place greater emphasis on one over the other. For example, countries that have always been considered soft powers, such as Japan or France, are more likely to prioritize culture in their public diplomacy.

While the study (Liu, 2018)²⁸ came in an effort to research the development of Chinese public diplomacy in building its soft influence in one of the largest European countries, the Netherlands, during the period from 2006 to 2018. The study also aimed to examine changes in the participation of non-state actors in the Chinese public diplomacy campaigns over time. The study adopted the descriptive approach, and reached a set of results, the most important of which are: The Chinese government in the Netherlands began to cooperate with non-traditional non-governmental actors and increased it to

²⁷ Snow, Nancy. (2020), Public diplomacy, Main Components of Public Diplomacy, Türkiye.

²⁸ Liu, Zhu. (2018), Case Studies on China’s Public Diplomacy Strategies in the Netherlands: Non -State Actors’ Involvement and the Collaborative Network, Leiden University and Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael.

achieve its goals in the field of public diplomacy and to overcome some of the difficulties that include its lack of access to non-governmental networks. In its findings, it emphasized that these non-governmental actors were completely independent actors without initiated links with the government, however, the links were gradually developed as these groups became larger. Therefore, it is known that the rapid growth and development of Chinese communities and the arrival of the digital and information age increase the diversity of non-governmental actors benefited from by the Chinese embassy. Civic groups or community societies, especially student associations, are relatively inward-looking groups that focus primarily on linking communities to each other and neglect linking them to the local population. Although the Dutch Chinese Cultural and Educational Association states that transmitting Chinese culture and connecting Chinese students with the Dutch is one of its missions, it still only connects Chinese within the network and increases their identity. The results also confirmed that there is no clear evidence of the presence of other independent and active non-governmental individuals involved in Chinese public diplomacy in the Netherlands. Unlike the United States, there is no accomplished and famous Chinese cultural ambassadors, such as Yao Ming in the NBA sports field and Jackie Chan in the film industry, have actively and actively participated in public diplomacy in the Netherlands. Chinese nationalist leaders still occupy the main and singular position in this process.

Likewise, a study (Naidoo, 2015)²⁹ aimed to examine the increasing importance of non-governmental actors and the use of diplomacy as a tool. The example of the International Committee of the Red Cross was used as a case study to describe how non-governmental entities have become more influential in international relations. The

²⁹ Naidoo, Jervin. 2015, The “diplomacy” of non-state actors: The case of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), University of Pretoria.

organization structures of the International Committee of the Red Cross were examined in more detail. The main conclusions here was that the Executive consists only of members of Swiss nationality, and the reason for this is the organization's argument regarding Switzerland's neutral history, as a reason for retaining membership of only Swiss nationality. Another important conclusion is that the appointment of the President of the National Assembly is made by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Committee of Red Crescent Societies. Strategic appointments of former government officials and diplomats were essential to each association. Another conclusion is that the National Societies of the International Committee of the Red Cross adopt 3 different codes when carrying out work. Mostly the cross is used as a symbol of Christianity, in Islamic countries the crescent moon is used, and in the Jewish country the Star of David is used. However, this different use of symbols does not mean that they are prevented from carrying out their work as members of the International Committee.

1.6.3 Comment on Previous Studies

It is noted how important the issue of public/popular diplomacy/NGOs and social movements is, and this is evident through the following:

In Terms of Objectives: The objectives of previous studies were multiple, as the study (Al-Tamini, 2022) aimed to identify the diplomacy of government organizations in Palestinian foreign policy, while the study (Jarrar, 2022) aimed to identify popular diplomacy as an entry point for strengthening Palestinian political action, while The study (Mahmoud, 2022) sought to investigate the communication strategies of Palestinian and Israeli public diplomacy via Facebook during the Sheikh Jarrah crisis and the Gaza war, while the study (Muhammad, 2021), entitled: Public Diplomacy and Chinese Soft Power

as an International Study Researching Public Diplomacy, and in the Study other international; We find a study (Abu Jahl, 2020) that focused on analyzing the role of popular diplomacy in strengthening Egyptian-Palestinian relations (2011-2019). In contrast, the study (Al-Badawi, 2022) aimed to learn about the sociology of social movements through researching protest movements in Morocco as an example. As for the study (Youssef, 2020) was concerned with analyzing the reality of the Palestinian youth movement in the West Bank in terms of student democracy, national reconciliation, and popular resistance.

In Terms of Results: Studies have confirmed that social movements and non-governmental organizations have played an important role in practicing public diplomacy at the international level. The most important of these networks and organizations are: the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network in Copenhagen, the International Organization against Torture, and the international campaign launched by the Palestinian Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations Network in 2002 under the title “ The Popular Campaign Against the Wall in the West Bank, and the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement launched by Palestinian civil society organizations in 2005, are two successful models that reflect the ability of these organizations to achieve great achievements in the field of practicing popular, non-governmental diplomacy (Al-Tamimi (2022), and studies have confirmed the possibility of obtaining people’s support, and that the approach to strengthening support for Palestine with a different methodology that starts from the bottom and rises to influence decision-makers is effective (Jarrar, 2022), noting that Palestinian public diplomacy relied on shifting blame to the Israeli side. As a main cause of the crisis. Publications

were presented revealing the Israeli occupation's violations of the rights of Palestinians and attempts to expel them from their homes without justification, in addition to highlighting the steadfastness of the people of Gaza in the face of war (Mahmoud, 2022), but public/popular diplomacy was subjected to some fluctuations towards the Palestinian issue; This is mainly due to the internal Palestinian division, a study by (Abu Jahl, 2020). Here it is mentioned that the youth movement played an active popular field role in an attempt to end the division under different names, "Youth of March 5," "Youth of June," and "Youth Movement." At the same time, it allied itself with some civil and civil institutions to bring about positive change in Palestinian society towards playing a greater role in ending the division. In addition to this is the mission that it has undertaken and continues to undertake, related to peaceful popular resistance against the occupation by employing tools and strategies in symbolic, cumulative, offensive and positive resistance, and possessing an effective field leadership capable of innovation and creativity and embracing a national democratic culture that embraces everyone from factions and youth and protest movements (Youssef, 2020), which reflects the fact of the emergence of new social movements that were linked to the profound changes that some societies experienced at multiple levels (Al-Badawi, 2022).

Benefiting from previous studies: It consisted of benefiting from the models and theories used in previous studies to understand diplomatic relations and their impact, and applying these frameworks to the context of the current study to analyze the relationship between public diplomacy and official diplomacy in the case of Palestine. It also benefited from previous studies in building the theoretical framework and crystallizing the problem of the study. There was benefit from the results and knowledge gained from previous studies to deepen understanding of the interactions between public diplomacy

and non-state actors mentioned in previous studies on the form of social movements, and how to achieve common goals, in addition to identifying research gaps that have not been fully addressed or with the required accuracy. This makes it possible to focus on these aspects and provide new contributions.

What distinguishes the current study from previous studies and what is new is its focus on the role of public diplomacy and its impact on strengthening the official diplomacy of the State of Palestine, through non-state actors. This topic represents a specific specialization, which contributes to adding new insights to the diplomatic field, in addition to the fact that the study focuses on a specific time period from 1993 to 2022, which allows for the analysis of changes and developments over this period, especially in the context of Palestinian international relations after the signing of the agreement. Oslo in 1993. The study also provides a comprehensive look at how these factors affect official diplomacy, and how public diplomacy can contribute to strengthening official diplomatic efforts, in addition to the study's contribution to developing more effective diplomacy for the Palestinian state by activating the interaction between public diplomacy and social movements.

Chapter Two

Historical and Theoretical Aspects

2.1 Definition of Concepts and Terminology

2.1.1 Diplomacy

The definition of diplomacy is consistent with the concept of traditional international law that the state is the only international entity. The nature of diplomacy means implementing foreign relations between states, and the diplomat is the permanent representative of the state (the ambassador) to another state or his assistants who hold the same capacity (diplomats)³⁰.

The term diplomacy goes back to the Greek language from the name (diploma), from which the word “diplome” is derived, and it basically means “an official document issued by those in authority and granting its bearer certain advantages.” With the passage of time, this word moved to living languages, including the Arabic language, to express a concept and meaning that goes beyond linguistic pronunciation or linguistic translation to actual practice, and the term diplomacy developed as a result of the development of relations and communication between governments and peoples. And the diplomatic practice that has spread in most European countries since the eighteenth century³¹.

It is the science of foreign relations or the foreign affairs of countries, and in a more specific sense it is the science and art of negotiations, as defined by Charles de Martens. As for Fodéré³² 1900, he defined it as the art of representing the authorities and

³⁰ Al-Ajrani, Mahmoud Abd Rabbo. 2011, *Diplomacy (Theory and Practice)*, Zahran Publishing House, Amman, p. 8.

³¹ Zaid, Shorouk. 2017, *Palestinian Public Diplomacy: Sports as a Model of Soft Power*, Birzeit University, Palestine, p. 1.

³² Pradier-Fodéré (1827-1904), French legalist and a professor of public law at the Armenian College of Paris, was called to create and direct the Faculty of administrative and political sciences at the University of Lima (1874)

interests of the country to the government and foreign powers, and working to ensure that the rights and prestige of the nation are respected and not violated or underestimated abroad, managing international affairs, unifying and following up on political negotiations, according to the government's instructions³³, which is the art of representing authorities, and is a set of international laws, standards, concepts and rules that regulate relations between various countries and international institutions with the aim of serving the highest interests of the state and the people. Promoting the interests of countries and supporting relations through communication, negotiations, exchange, and concluding international agreements and treaties³⁴.

2.1.2 Formal Diplomacy

A type of diplomacy that includes formal relations between governments and countries at the diplomatic level. It is the practice that involves sending and receiving ambassadors and official diplomats and exchanging official messages and statements between governments. Formal diplomacy aims to strengthen international relations and effective communication between countries in various fields, such as politics, economics, culture, trade, security and law. Formal diplomacy relies on a set of rules and protocols that govern diplomatic relations between countries, and includes agreements, treaties, contracts, memorandums of understanding, official visits, official talks and bilateral meetings. and multilateral. Formal diplomacy seeks to achieve the interests of the state and promote international peace, security, and cooperation of states in various fields³⁵.

³³ Al-Ajrami, Mahmoud Abd Rabbo. 2011, *Diplomacy (Theory and Practice)*, Zahran Publishing House, Amman, p. 8.

³⁴ Marouf, Abed. (2018), *Palestinian diplomacy between two stages: the revolution and the state*, the Palestinian Al-Ayyam newspaper, website visit date 10/10/2023 <https://www.al-ayyam.ps/>

³⁵ Melhem, Awatef. (2023), *Diplomacy and its Role in Promoting the Palestinian Narrative*, Ministry of Culture, Palestine.

Palestinian Official Diplomacy is Procedurally Defined as: the activities and procedures undertaken by the Palestinian National Authority, as an internationally recognized political entity, in order to develop and manage official relations with states, international institutions and international organizations. The definition of Palestinian official diplomacy includes activities and procedures that are associated with classical diplomatic work in the international arena.

Palestinian public diplomacy encompasses a wide range of strategies and efforts aimed at influencing international public opinion and governmental policies to support Palestinian national interests. Zaharna (2010)³⁶ defines it as the tactics used by Palestinian organizations and authorities to sway global views and policies favorably. Khalidi (2013)³⁷ elaborates that it involves promoting the Palestinian narrative on the global stage to garner backing from foreign governments and international civil society. According to Gerges (2005)³⁸, Palestinian public diplomacy includes media utilization, cultural initiatives, and diplomatic engagements to shape perceptions and policies regarding the Palestinian quest for self-determination and statehood. Said (1992)³⁹ emphasizes the role of Palestinian leaders, activists, and organizations in engaging with global audiences to present their perspective and counter negative portrayals in international media. Nassar (1991)⁴⁰ adds that it is an organized campaign by Palestinian entities to advocate for their rights and build alliances with international actors to support their political and social objectives. These varied definitions highlight the multifaceted

³⁶ Zaharna, R. S. (2010). *Battles to Bridges: US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy after 9/11*. Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁷ Khalidi, Rashid. (2013). *Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East*. Beacon Press.

³⁸ Gerges, Fawaz A. (2005). *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. Cambridge University Press.

Said, Edward W. (1992). *The Question of Palestine*. Vintage Books.

³⁹ Said, Edward W. (1992). *The Question of Palestine*. Vintage Books.

⁴⁰ Nassar, Jamal R. (1991). *Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares*. Rowman & Littlefield.

nature of Palestinian public diplomacy, showcasing its importance in international relations and the quest for Palestinian rights and statehood.

2.1.3 Public Diplomacy

These are diplomatic activities that aim to address the popular masses through popular means to create direct relations between peoples and gain their support. What contributed to the emergence of popular diplomacy is scientific and technological progress in various means of communication⁴¹. In 1956, the term "people's diplomacy" was coined and used for the first time in the United States of America. This term has been adopted by the media and other means of communication in the field of international relations. These operations focused on shaping public opinion and strengthening interaction between NGOs and other international associations. These efforts contributed to the formulation and development of the Department of International Relations.

Public diplomacy is a key soft power tool that cannot be ignored; In soft power, narrative and reality must reflect each other. Part of the country's identity is inherited from history and part is an ongoing construction. There are aspects of national reputation that can be changed, for better or worse, through choices of actions, words, and images. Even inherited parts of national reputation are open to revision over time, as states have come a long way in commercializing states and Palestine cannot remain idly by⁴².

However, the term public/popular diplomacy became popular during the 1990s, and its use increased dramatically after the events of September 11, 2001. This term gained wider circulation in the United States, where US President George W. Bush

⁴¹ Abu Chamaa, Ziid. (2013), The role of AlJazeera in influencing Palestinian diplomacy after the Israeli aggression on Gaza in 2008, Birzeit University, Birzeit, Palestine, p. 6.

⁴² Iriqat, Dalal. 2019, Palestinian Nation Branding via Public Diplomacy, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, May 2019, Vol. 7, No. 05, pp. 202-216.

referred to the concept, saying: “Our efforts at public diplomacy are not very strong and not very good compared to the efforts made by individuals who spread hatred”⁴³.

Public diplomacy in the twentieth century was viewed as a state-based tool used by foreign ministries and other government agencies to communicate and persuade foreign audiences with the aim of influencing their governments. Today, public diplomacy is conducted through various means used by states, state blocs, some subsidiaries and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes and behaviour; To build and manage relationships, to influence ideas and stimulate actions to promote their interests and values that automatically influence their foreign policy making. Governments often have a set of goals and a certain vision on a particular issue, and must shift the minds of their partners to contribute in the way they wish. We must be very clear about this: Diplomacy is about interests, and we are here to advance our interests in the world. Public diplomacy is about helping persuade, engage, influence and inform to allow the process to happen. Public diplomacy in the 21st century is referred to as New Public Diplomacy (NPD)⁴⁴.

Palestinian public/popular diplomacy is procedurally defined as: a set of activities and actions adopted by civil society and the Palestinian masses, including non-governmental organizations, associations and popular institutions, to promote the cause of Palestine and the rights of its people on the international stage. Popular diplomacy is based on the interaction of civil society and social movements with the international community in order to achieve political and social goals in favor of the Palestinian cause.

⁴³ Dahlan, Enas. (2020), *The Role of Popular Diplomacy in Strengthening Palestinian-Algerian Relations*, Higher College of Administration and Policy, Gaza, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Iriqat, Dalal. 2023, *Public Diplomacy in the TwentyFirst Century, Examining the Changing Channels of International Relations and Country Branding*, date of visiting website 13/1/2024
<https://thisweekinpalestine.com/public-diplomacy-in-the-twentyfirst-century/>

2.1.4 Non-State Actors

In the realm of international relations, the concept of non-state actors encompasses a broad spectrum of definitions and perspectives, reflecting the multifaceted nature of these entities. Risse (2002)⁴⁵ defines non-state actors as entities that participate or act in international relations without affiliation to any particular state, highlighting their independence from state control. Nye and Keohane (1971)⁴⁶ expand on this by identifying non-state actors as largely or completely autonomous from the state, including NGOs, multinational corporations, and transnational advocacy networks. Boli and Thomas (1997)⁴⁷ further elaborate that these actors operate without direct government affiliation, pursuing their own interests in the international arena. Josselin and Wallace (2001)⁴⁸ emphasize the diversity of non-state actors, which range from international organizations and NGOs to multinational corporations and informal networks, all influencing global affairs. Arts (2003)⁴⁹ describes non-state actors as groups and individuals exerting influence beyond national boundaries to shape policy, public opinion, and outcomes in international relations. These varied definitions underscore the complexity and significance of non-state actors in shaping contemporary global dynamics.

These are entities that play a role based on their personal capacity rather than formally. These entities participate in the policy-making process by exercising influence and pressure, influence it and influence official actors through the pressure and influence

⁴⁵ Risse, T. (2002). Transnational Actors and World Politics. In Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T., & Simmons, B. A. (Eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. Sage Publications.

⁴⁶ Nye, J. S., & Keohane, R. O. (1971). *Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction*. International Organization, 25(3), pp. 329-349.

⁴⁷ Boli, J., & Thomas, G. M. (1997). *World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization*. American Sociological Review, 62(2), pp. 171-190.

⁴⁸ Josselin, D., & Wallace, W. (Eds.). (2001). *Non-state Actors in World Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴⁹ Arts, B. (2003). Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power. *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*, 7, pp. 23-58.

they exert, and play an important role in making binding public policies. This non-state role can include many forms such as pro- or opposition-based initiatives, public pressure, cooperation, and discussion⁵⁰.

The researcher defines them as: groups that stimulate public awareness, participate in public discussions, and exert pressure on official authorities and companies to achieve positive changes. Playing a vital role in promoting social change and achieving multiple goals in multiple areas, these actors can include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), charities, unions, youth groups, individual activists, local communities, social interest companies, and individuals working for Achieving positive change. They address a variety of issues such as human rights, environment, education, health, social justice, and more.

2.1.5 Social Movements

Lorenz von Stein⁵¹ was the first to introduce the term "social movement" to denote forms of protest with a positive goal for change. This happened in 1842, and this term was then used to describe important events, the first of which was the slave revolt led by Spartacus against the authority of Rome. Important transformations followed over the centuries, including revolts of peasants, workers, and women. These developments were called the "social movement," which aimed to change and rebuild. Up to the past three centuries of human history, these periods have become pivotal in shaping the concept of social movements. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the revolutions in these periods, including the English Revolution of 1698, the American

⁵⁰ Bin Salman, Omar. (2018) Non-state actors and the mechanisms of their influence on social policies, Al-Haqiqa Magazine, Volume 17, Issue, Algeria, p. 104.

⁵¹ Lorenz von Stein (1815 – 1890) was a German economist, sociologist, and public administration scholar. He analyzed the class state of his time and compared it with the welfare state. He outlined an economic interpretation of history that included concepts of the proletariat and of class struggle.

Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. All of these revolutions contributed specifically to strengthening and developing protest action, and to formulating new practices⁵².

Charles Tilly defined social movements as “a series of sustained performances, oppositions, and campaigns by ordinary people to raise a set of demands.” Charles Tilly considered social movements an important means because they allow ordinary people to participate in politics. Tilly strengthened his definition of a social movement as “collective action aimed at establishing a new system of life”⁵³.

Erik Neveu⁵⁴ also defined it as “the mobilization of women and men around hopes, emotions, and interests. It is also an excellent recipe for putting into discussion the social stakes of research on justice and injustice. It is also sometimes appropriate to move society and politics to be recorded in the collective memory”⁵⁵.

The concept of social movements, according to Ibrahim Al-Bayoumi Ghanem in his book “Protest Movements in the Arab World,” can be considered the organized efforts made by a group of citizens as representatives of a popular base that lacks official representation, with the aim of achieving change in the existing conditions, policies, or structures to be closer to The values in which the movement believes. These movements can be limited locally or extend to include a national or even international scope⁵⁶.

A social movement can also be referred to from the social aspect as a set of activities aimed at defending a certain principle or achieving a certain goal. In general,

⁵² Al-Badawi, Hajar. (2022), *Sociology of Social Movements: Protest Movements in Morocco as a Model*, Index Journal for Survey Studies, Volume 2, Issue 6, Rabat, Morocco.

⁵³ Tilly, Charles. (2005) *Social Movements 1768-2004*, translated by Rabie Wahba, 1st edition, National Translation Project, Cairo, p. 44.

⁵⁴ Erik Neveu (1952) is Professor of Political Science at Rennes University. His work focuses on journalism and television, social movements and the international circulation of theories including “Cultural Studies”.

⁵⁵ Ramadani, Soraya. (2016), *Social Movements: A Sociological Approach*, Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, Issue 24, University of Algiers (2), Algeria, p. 342.

⁵⁶ Shubita, Ali. (2023), *The Concept of Social Movements*, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mohamed Lamine Debaghine University, Setif 2, Algeria.

social movements include a group of individuals who share a common faith or similar ideas and collectively strive to achieve common goals. Therefore, it can be said that the term social movements shows a form of collective action rather than focusing on the values associated with this type of activity. There are many social and political movements and agendas that can fall under this concept. Individuals participating in these movements can include a variety of social groups, from working mothers protesting silently, to intellectual social thinkers, to demonstrators participating in mass street rallies. According to Herbert Blumer⁵⁷, a social movement is a collective project aimed at establishing a new order.

The researcher defines social movements as: gatherings of individuals or groups who unite to achieve change in social, political, or economic reality. These movements arise when there is discomfort or dissatisfaction with certain aspects of life, and aim to influence authorities, institutions, or prevailing forces in order to achieve changes that are more consistent with their vision and values. Social movements are characterized by the fact that they seek to achieve transformations and changes in the social or political system collectively, and are usually centered around specific issues related to social justice, human rights, the environment, democracy, equality, and others.

⁵⁷ Herbert George Blumer (1900 – 1987) was an American sociologist whose main scholarly interests were symbolic interactionism and methods of social research, believing that individuals create social reality through collective and individual action.

2.2 Historical Perspective

2.2.1 Palestinian Diplomacy

A. Official Palestinian Diplomacy

After the formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964 AD at the first conference of the Palestinian National Council in Jerusalem, the Liberation Organization played an important role in the Palestinian issue and highlighted it to the countries of the world, as the League of Arab States decided to consider the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the Arab Summit held in Rabat in 1964. 1974 AD, and in light of this, the Palestine Liberation Organization carried out many global diplomatic actions, which resulted in the inclusion of the Palestinian issue on the agenda of the United Nations as a separate item. A resolution was issued by the United Nations on 11/22/1975 bearing the number (2236) including the right of the people The Palestinians have self-determination, their right to sovereignty and independence, and the return to their land⁵⁸.

The PLO's interest in diplomatic work to resolve the Palestinian issue increased, because diplomacy is considered one of the means for states to implement their foreign policies and achieve their goals, in addition to other means with military, economic, and media power. Palestinian diplomacy gained special importance among the countries of the world, as Palestinian diplomacy became active after the PLO entered the negotiations. With the Israeli occupation and the countries of the world to resolve the Palestinian issue, and after the declaration of the Palestinian state by the Palestinian National Council in Algeria in 1988, Palestinian diplomacy became influential in the peace process and in some countries such as the United States of America and European countries, and the

⁵⁸ Sarsour, Tamer. (2017), The development of the Palestinian file in the United Nations towards the recognition of all legitimate national rights, Research Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Khaled Al-Hassan Foundation - Center for Studies and Research, Palestine, p. 105.

activity of Palestinian diplomacy increased after the signing of the Oslo Accords between the PLO and the Israeli occupation in 1993 AD, with the aim of influencing and pressuring the countries calling for and sponsoring the peace process in several aspects, most notably supporting the Palestinian position in negotiations with the Israeli occupation, securing financial support and development programs in Palestine, and supporting the institutions of the Palestinian National Authority⁵⁹.

On November 29, 2012, Palestinian diplomacy was able to achieve a major achievement on the international scene by extracting nations' recognition of Palestine as a state and granting it non-member observer status in the United Nations, which eliminated any doubts about Palestine's status as a state⁶⁰.

2.2.2 Palestinian Public/Popular Diplomacy

a. Origin

Palestinian public/popular diplomacy has exploded and evolved over time as the Palestine issue progressed. The features and dangers of the Zionist project began to appear and become apparent starting with the adoption of the British Mandate over Palestine by the United Nations University in 1922. During the 1920s, the resistance of Palestine witnessed a significant development in the face of the policies of the British Mandate and the Zionist project. This resistance was characterized by a peaceful manner, and expressed a set of demands through conferences, seminars, and protests⁶¹.

⁵⁹ Saleh, Suleiman. (2015), *Media and Public Diplomacy*, Dar Al-Fikr, Cairo, Egypt

⁶⁰ Al-Muzaini, Fadl. The gains of the State of Palestine after it obtained the status of a non-member observer state in the United Nations, *Al-Isra University Conference Journal*, Second issue, (2018), p. 14.

⁶¹ Odeh, Abdel Raouf. (2021), *The role of popular diplomacy in activating European Union decisions regarding the Palestinian issue - from the two viewpoints of Palestinian journalists*, Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine.

There is an important period of time that extended from 1936 to 1939, known as the Great Palestine Revolution. Which came as a result of the rapid increase in the pace of Zionist immigration to Palestine since the beginning of the thirties. The "Hebrewization" policies were reflected in work in Jewish settlements and the spread of unemployment in rural and urban areas, in addition to the expansion of the phenomenon of brokering, selling land, and transferring its ownership to the Jewish Agency. These conditions and the practices of the British Mandate authorities negatively affected the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Thus, the Great Palestine Revolution, also known as the "Palestinian Countryside" Revolution, broke out in the period from 1936 to 1939. In this context, the revolution was characterized by peaceful methods of resistance, and was led by national committees and their branches in various cities of Palestine. A long-term strike that lasted for six months was launched in the city of Jaffa, and its repercussions spread to all parts of Palestine. The committees cooperated with the ambulance and district committees and youth associations, and institutions and shops were closed except for bakeries and pharmacies. The revolution took various forms, including demonstrations, strikes, and peaceful activities, which attracted attention to the issue and increased interaction with it, which are as follows:

- The Palestinian Arab Youth Movement played a major role, as it contributed to strengthening organizational and sports work. It developed a national charter for the youth of Palestine, stressed the importance of education for girls, and encouraged industrial, agricultural, and commercial education.
- In the Palestinian economic field, the Arab Economic Bank and the Agricultural and Industrial Bank were established, and the Nation Bank was established to enhance the role of the banking sector.

- The Palestinian youth revolution gave the national media an important role in directing public opinion and providing detailed information about the danger of Zionism and the necessity of confronting it.
- Arab workers' associations were also active during this period to confront "Hebrewization" policies that aimed to transfer work into the hands of the Jews⁶².

Popular diplomacy and classical diplomacy share the same aspiration to achieve the same national goals, whether through strengthening bilateral relations or through contributing to the international arena. But in the current context, the means and methods used in each type vary. Popular diplomacy is a modern concept that has been strongly established in the recent period as a result of technological progress and the development of media. This concept clearly demonstrated itself after the most important and powerful countries in the world used this strategy, especially the United States of America after the events of September 11, 2001. This type of diplomacy represents an effective means of achieving its goals after trying various other means⁶³.

Many definitions of the concept of popular diplomacy have been presented, the most prominent of which are:

"Activities that aim to address the masses through popular means, with the aim of establishing direct relations between peoples."⁶⁴

"It includes non-governmental institutions and those who have influence in public opinion, with the aim of directly or indirectly influencing the decisions of countries"

⁶² Odeh, Abdel Raouf. (2021), The role of popular diplomacy in activating European Union decisions regarding the Palestinian issue - from the two viewpoints of Palestinian journalists, Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine.

⁶³ Jarrar, Montaser. (2022), Popular Diplomacy: An Introduction to Strengthening Palestinian Political Action, Research Center, Al-Bireh, Palestine.

⁶⁴ Al-Samarrai, Shafiq. (2002), Diplomacy, London. Dar Al-Hekma, Britain, p. 273.

governments regarding foreign policies, in addition to their role in direct communication with other peoples to influence their ideas and the policies of their governments.”⁶⁵

Popular diplomacy is defined as a series of steps and programs designed to influence foreign peoples and public opinion to achieve a nation's foreign policy goals. This diplomacy involves exchanging information and direct communication with individuals and non-governmental groups in order to enhance understanding and build relationships. This type of diplomacy is characterized by its focus on non-state (popular) actors, with the aim of achieving special political goals for states.

The researcher defines popular diplomacy as: a concept that refers to the use of informal, non-governmental means and methods to influence international public opinion and shape foreign policies through interaction with the international community, as popular diplomacy depends on direct communication with the masses and non-governmental organizations, with the aim of achieving political goals. Certain social issues. Popular diplomacy is also closely linked to social movements, as social movements use the tools of popular diplomacy to spread their issues and demands and influence international public opinion. Through social media campaigns, social movements can communicate their issues and attract broader public sympathy and support.

b. The Objectives of Palestinian Public/Popular Diplomacy and the Axes of its Work

Popular diplomacy is an effective tool that the Palestinian people have used since the emergence of Zionist immigration to Palestine. Popular resistance developed in proportion to the progress of the Palestinian issue, as the Palestinian people formed a

⁶⁵ Dahlan, Enas. (2020), *The Role of Popular Diplomacy in Strengthening Palestinian-Algerian Relations*, Higher College of Administration and Policy, Gaza, p. 28.

pillar of resistance and confrontation of the occupation by adopting multiple forms of protest and confrontation. These methods are distinguished by their ability to influence global public opinion and present the issue of the Palestinian people in a way that highlights its various aspects.

Palestinian popular diplomacy aims to achieve a set of important goals:

- Exposing the occupation's crimes and denying its false claims through recognized and independent media.
- Defending the Palestinian cause and highlighting it on social media.
- Attracting and supporting international public opinion to support the Palestinian cause.
- Demanding the rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with international resolutions⁶⁶.

(Odeh, 2021)⁶⁷ adds other goals, which are as follows:

- Building communication links with participating parties in civil society, such as non-governmental organizations, the media, and the general public, with the aim of influencing these participating parties and contributing to a vital role in protecting the interests of the state.
- Participate in promoting international peace and conflict resolution, and launch programs aimed at promoting coexistence, tolerance and achieving reconciliation.
- Strengthening the concept of citizenship and activating the role of peoples in an attempt to correct inappropriate paths and provide solutions to challenges that may be difficult for official bodies to solve.

⁶⁶ Abu Khasiwan, Yahya Qaoud. (2020), Popular Digital Diplomacy, Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, Berlin, Germany, p. 16.

⁶⁷ Odeh, Abdel Raouf. (2021), The role of popular diplomacy in activating European Union decisions regarding the Palestinian issue - from the two viewpoints of Palestinian journalists, Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine.

- Focus on directing and shaping public opinion through the media, including pamphlets, books, seminars, and lectures, with the aim of stimulating public opinion to support specific positions that affect government policies.
- Interacting with local partners and strengthening cooperation with foreign ministries, which contributes to achieving joint coordination of policies and strategies.
- Achieving long-term goals, interacting with international public opinion, and providing it with information easily and quickly, with the aim of increasing pressure on governments to achieve a change in their policy.

c. Pillars of Public Diplomacy

The concept of popular diplomacy includes several pillars that explain its applied nature. These pillars are as follows:

Communication between the Government and Citizens: Popular diplomacy reflects the interconnected relationship between the government and the people, as it represents the aspirations of citizens and expresses their opinions and demands. This type of diplomacy is founded on direct communication between citizens and the government, and is involved in dealing with daily situations and events.

Cooperation Through civil Society Organizations: This intersection includes the cooperation of non-governmental organizations with the government, as these organizations contribute to the independent implementation of their activities and by directing visions towards common goals. This interaction between organizations and the government reinforces the concept of popular diplomacy.

Public Participation: Popular diplomacy is based on attracting the masses and the people towards its efforts. This is done through various means such as

demonstrations, public campaigns and seminars to spread knowledge and stimulate interaction with issues.

Exploiting Culture and Arts: Popular diplomacy is based on using culture and arts to communicate with the public and convey visions and opinions. These methods reflect great attractive power and provide the ability to effectively shape public opinion.

Influencing the International Arena: Popular diplomacy aims to influence global public opinion through the media and communication with international institutions. Representatives and activists present their views and contribute to the formulation of international resolutions⁶⁸.

In short, the components of popular diplomacy are communication between the government and citizens, cooperation with civil society organizations, attracting and directing the masses, and exploiting culture and arts, and the influence of international public opinion to achieve its diplomatic goals.

d. Means and Tools Used in Public Diplomacy

The means and tools used in popular diplomacy include:

Unions and Associations: Includes various alliances and associations such as women's unions, peace supporter groups, labor and student unions, and other professional associations. These popular organizations have the ability to coordinate, communicate, and bring together the masses.

The Literary and Artistic Field: The literary and artistic field is considered one of the most important areas used in popular diplomatic work. These areas have the potential to overcome obstacles that might be encountered by forces opposed to this type

⁶⁸ Abu Jahl, Ibrahim. (2020), The role of popular diplomacy in strengthening the Egyptian -Palestinian relations (2019- 2011), Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine.

of diplomacy. Literature and the arts arouse public opinion and direct audiences toward important issues. Examples include: art exhibitions, books, folk art, fashion, singing, and music.

Experts in International Organizations: These include experts working in international organizations such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies, who possess deep knowledge in various fields such as economics, sociology, and technology. These experts play an important role in clarifying their countries' views on various issues, and have a strong influence on guiding public opinion.

It is clear from the above that popular diplomacy relies on a variety of tools and means, including popular organizations, literary and artistic fields, and experts from international organizations, to achieve its goals and spread its messages and opinions among the masses and the international community⁶⁹.

e. Forms of Palestinian Public Diplomacy

Palestinian public diplomacy focuses on building a world-wide value system to resist injustice, oppression, and aggression, and to address all forms of bloody violence through peaceful or nonviolent means. Among the forms of popular diplomacy that the researcher draws from the perspective of peaceful popular resistance, which has always been an approach for the Palestinian people:

Symbolic Public Diplomacy: involves maintaining effective communication channels between members of the same movement. This is reinforced through the use of signs, symbols, names and uniforms of the action crews. These symbols aim to enhance national belonging and communicate with the masses by participating in national events and preserving popular heritage.

⁶⁹ Shadeed, Wael. (2021), *The Role of Popular Diplomacy in Promoting the Issue of Palestinian Prisoners*, Academy for the Study of Refugees, United Kingdom, Britain, p. 26.

Accumulative Public Diplomacy: It consists of maintaining field activity and transferring protests and movements to the circles of the popular movement. These approaches enhance communication and interaction with the masses, and encourage others to commit to the struggle against the occupation and the enemy.

Offensive Public Diplomacy: It consists of organizing a series of field activities to undermine the opponent's forces and frustrate him, and to increase pressure through demonstrations, strikes, and other direct activities. This approach seeks to attract the support of the masses and encourage them to participate in social movements.

Defensive Public Diplomacy: It deals with caution with the opponent, and seeks to preserve the ethics of resistance and the values of universal humanity. It aims to reduce excessive use of force and violence, and focus on defending individuals and infrastructure by peaceful means.

Positive Public Diplomacy: aims to create legal and institutional alternatives that serve the general interest of the people. It works to encourage people to avoid dealing with occupation institutions or oppressive regimes, and seeks to develop independent societal, economic, and development structures⁷⁰.

By using these multiple forms of public diplomacy, Palestinian non-state actors can effectively contribute to the struggle for justice, freedom, and the realization of their legitimate rights.

⁷⁰ Youssef, Ayman. (2020), *The Palestinian Youth Movement in the West Bank: Student Democracy, National Reconciliation, and Popular Resistance in a Time of Political Division 2007-2013*, Arab American University, Jenin, Palestine.

2.2.3 The Role of Public Diplomacy in Strengthening Official Diplomacy

A. The Relationship of Public/Popular Diplomacy in Strengthening Official Diplomacy

Public diplomacy greatly influenced the development of diplomacy, and this was achieved in particular after the spread of the concept of democracy and the independence of peoples. Democracy has profoundly changed the way diplomacy is practiced, becoming more susceptible to pressures from public opinion and the media. In addition, popular diplomacy has lost its ancient traditions that were linked to the aristocratic classes, and has become an effective and direct tool in connecting peoples and promoting permanent communication between nations. This development could enhance the role of modern diplomacy. In the past, traditional diplomacy was based on understanding and dealing between governments. But nowadays, countries seek to develop direct relations with peoples, through direct communication and addressing them directly. This reflects a change in the approach to diplomacy, as states aim to communicate with the public and present their vision and policy more clearly⁷¹.

It should be noted that national brand marketing is carried out in the same way as strategic communication in general. Through fiction, Tom Fletcher places the national story at the heart of what he describes as the magnetic force, which is roughly the attractive force as described by Joseph Nye⁷². So, how do countries use their magnetic power in the digital age? Three ideas must be considered here: the presence of a strong national story; Knowing how to tell it, knowing how and when to mix the tools, and taking full advantage of social media in public diplomacy. To gain soft power, a country

⁷¹ Abdel Latif, Aya (2021), *New Patterns of Diplomacy in Light of Information and Communications Technology*, Journal of Teaching Research, Part. 4, Volume 36, Baghdad, Iraq.

⁷² Joseph Nye (1937) is an American political scientist. He and Robert Keohane co-founded the international relations theory of neoliberalism, which they developed in their 1977 book *Power and Interdependence*.

needs a compelling national story, a narrative that encourages others to support or not obstruct your strategic goals. Soft power is not about marketing a country's products or attracting tourists, but rather about international politics and the ability to influence what happens. There is a difference between, on the one hand, national innovations that are used and appreciated, which constitute elements of national reputation, and, on the other hand, soft power: the ability to set the agenda and achieve goals without the use of force. The US's national reputation as a source of companies like Apple, Facebook, Google, and other Silicon Valley-style modern marvels, and its "I Have a Dream" slogan, reflect America's cultural influence, exerted through products that virtually define modern living, and which is what matters in the nation's successful marketing. American, the cultural and commercial aspects of national reputation must be maintained in balance⁷³.

In short, popular diplomacy and soft power have greatly influenced the development of diplomacy after the spread of the concept of democracy and its impact on international relations. Diplomacy shifted from its focus on understanding between governments to engaging people and achieving direct communication between states and the public.

B. Popular/Public Diplomacy Within the Foreign Policy Strategy of the State of Palestine

The foreign policy strategy of the State of Palestine included policies for developing the network of popular public diplomacy relations at the local and international levels through:

⁷³ Iriqat, Dalal. 2019, Palestinian Nation Branding via Public Diplomacy, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, May 2019, Vol. 7, No. 05, 202-216

- Develop a volunteer work program to involve students in Palestinian universities in conquering the Internet and conveying the Palestinian voice to the world.
- Organizing Palestinian cultural, folkloric and musical events in cooperation with local partners in the squares of the targeted countries.
- Encouraging local partners to organize advertising campaigns, events and exhibitions to promote tourist attractions and Palestinian products.
- Arranging visits for media and civil society delegations from various countries in both directions.
- Holding seminars and meetings in universities, cultural institutions, and Israeli civil society to talk about Palestinian suffering under occupation.
- Organizing visits to Palestine by Jewish delegations from abroad, with the aim of drawing attention to the Palestinian situation and the suffering of the Palestinian people.
- Organizing field trips for members of delegations to visit the areas affected by the occupation, with the aim of presenting and explaining the suffering of the Palestinians first-hand.
- Providing Palestinian embassies with information and promotional materials that highlight Palestinian products and goods, to strengthen the Palestinian economy.
- Building cooperative relationships between Palestinian National Action factions and political parties in various countries, to enhance solidarity and exchange experiences.
- Inviting political figures and active parliamentarians to visit Palestine and learn about the reality of life under occupation.
- Organizing visits by Arab and foreign diplomatic missions to the wall and settlement areas to see the situation closely.

- Exchange youth delegations from different countries to sign twinning agreements between youth institutions, to enhance international understanding and cooperation.
- Encouraging and supporting international solidarity activists to visit Palestine to find out the reality of things and convey that image to their worlds.
- Encouraging academic institutions to provide international scholarships to Palestinian students to enhance their education and support.
- Holding meetings with women's organizations and intellectuals who defend human rights to convey the suffering of the Palestinians and the challenges they face.
- Listening to the views of segments opposing the Palestinian issue and working to change their positions through communication and dialogue⁷⁴.

The researcher notes that the foreign policy strategy of the State of Palestine shows a great focus on strengthening popular public diplomacy by developing relations and activating communication with various local and international parties. These steps represent an important effort to reach diverse segments of the global community and highlight the issue of Palestinians under occupation. On the positive side, it is clear that the country is committed to activating this strategy through a variety of activities and actions:

- It appears that the role of youth in achieving this strategy is vital, as a volunteer program has been included for Palestinian university students to contribute to spreading awareness through social media and digital media.
- Organizing cultural, folkloric and musical evenings in the targeted countries represents an effective way to display diverse Palestinian heritage and culture and shed light on national identity.

⁷⁴ Sectoral Strategy for Foreign Policy 2021-2023. (2021), National Development Plan 2021-2023, Prime Minister's Office, Ramallah, Palestine.

- Supporting local partners to organize advertising campaigns and events to promote tourism and Palestinian products that contribute to strengthening the local economy and providing job opportunities.

This strategy appears integrated and diverse, and seeks to reach a wide and diverse audience of partners and supporters at the local and international levels.

C. Challenges and Achievements of Palestinian Public Diplomacy

There are important challenges that negatively affect the performance of public diplomacy, which are as follows:

- Absence of a clear strategy for action: Popular action lacks a solid strategy to achieve its goals in an organized manner.
- Lack of knowledge and awareness about popular diplomacy and its fields.
- Lack of continuity in popular campaigns, as effective influence requires permanent and continuous efforts.
- Individual work and the lack of cadres participating in popular diplomacy.

As for the achievements by Palestinian public/popular diplomacy:

- There were many demonstrations around the world denouncing the crimes of the occupation against the people of Palestine, and they concluded with demonstrations opposing the deportation of Palestinian families from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood and denouncing the aggression against the Gaza Strip in May of last year.
- Multiple forms of boycott against Israel have been promoted at the political, diplomatic, economic and cultural levels.
- Daily demonstrations against the apartheid wall and settlements were supported.
- The issue of illegal settlement, which received widespread rejection at the international level, was exploited to isolate and expose the scandals of the Israeli occupation practices.

- The boycott of Israeli products, especially those produced in the settlements, was supported.
- Racist practices and human rights violations committed against the Palestinian people have been revealed.
- Technology and information exchange were used to build support networks that support the rights of the Palestinian people.
- Economic and political pressure was exerted on countries and companies involved in investing in or purchasing settlement products⁷⁵.
- The solidarity of the peoples of the world with the Palestinian cause has increased after the recent war on the Gaza Strip, which led to demonstrations and marches in various countries, including a march that took place from various Jordanian governorates towards the Palestinian border.
- The impact of Palestinian popular diplomacy on world opinion was highlighted through actions such as raising the Palestinian flag at the British Football Cup finals, and other actions that reflect solidarity, as well as the formation of support networks for players in solidarity to protect them from any sanctions that their clubs may impose.
- Demonstrations were witnessed in various parts of the world in protest against the practices of the occupation forces towards Jerusalem and the people of Jerusalem.
- Demonstrations demanding the return of Palestinian refugees and the establishment of a Palestinian state were witnessed in several countries around the world.

Regardless of the challenges, Palestinian public diplomacy remains an essential tool for promoting the cause of the Palestinian people and exposing violations of the

⁷⁵ Ahmad Husam. (2016), *The Impact of the Oslo Accords on Palestinian Diplomacy 1993-2014*, Master's Thesis, College of Graduate Studies, Al-Aqsa University, Gaza, Palestine, p. 126.

occupation, while achieving a number of successes in achieving global support and support for its cause.

2.2.4 Non-State Actors and Social Movements

A. Non-State Actors

In the 1990s and thereafter, there were many transformations in the role of the state and increased interaction between public and private sector institutions, as well as multinational corporations, international organizations and civil society organizations in shaping public policies and determining their course. New visions of development have been developed that place people at the center of the country, encourage local participation, and focus on meeting the basic needs of citizens. New terms such as empowerment and achieving access for the poorest of the poor have emerged in this context. These transformations represent a change in the concept of sovereignty and the use of technology and modern means of communication, and have led to a growing role for the third sector, as this sector assumes an important role in distributing resources and improving social justice. Consequently, the roles of NGOs, the private sector and international organizations in policy formulation and implementation have also increased⁷⁶.

The establishment of non-governmental organizations to provide social services to citizens was encouraged, but this encouragement was based on diverse visions. Some governments consider these organizations an alternative to the state and finance them mainly from private donations. While other governments have encouraged and funded civil society organizations as mediators between the state and citizens. This contributed to

⁷⁶ Al-Fahdawi, Fahmi Khalifa. (2001), Public Policy, 1st edition, Dar Al Masirah, Amman, Jordan, p. 30.

increasing the role of civil society organizations in providing social services in many countries⁷⁷.

The researcher notices from the above that there is a shift in the role of the state in the 1990s and after. This shift reflects changes in the state's perception of its role in directing policies and developing societies. This is important because the role of the state plays a decisive role in achieving economic and social development. There has also been an increase in interaction between The public and private sectors, which contributes to achieving better goals through the exploitation of resources and expertise in the public and private sectors. This leads to the fact of increasing the role of the third sector, which includes non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations and civil society, which can enhance the distribution of resources more equitably, effectively and improve social justice, and achieving a lot through cooperation between various actors and influencers.

Components of Non-State Actors

Political Parties: Edmund Burke⁷⁸ defines them as “a body of united individuals who seek, through their joint efforts, to work in the national interest in accordance with a certain principle on which they all agree”⁷⁹. There are a set of goals that They form the basis of any political party, as they vary and are shaped according to a variety of factors, whether they are national, nationalistic, religious, regional, or international goals. The character of these goals depends on the formation and organization of the party and its

⁷⁷ Bin Salman, Omar. (2018) Non-state actors and mechanisms for approving social policies, Al-Haqiqa Magazine, Volume 17, Issue, Algeria,

⁷⁸ Edmund Burke (1729 – 1797) was an Anglo-Irish statesman and philosopher who served as a member of Parliament. He was a proponent of underpinning virtues with manners in society and of the importance of religious institutions for the moral stability and good of the state.

⁷⁹ Zaghrat, Mahdi. (2020), The Role of Non-state Actors in Evaluating Local Public Policy in Algeria, Mohamed Khidir University - Biskra, Algeria, p.59.

political affiliation. Among these goals that can be part of the agenda Political party: protecting the country from external aggression, as the party works to enhance security and defend national sovereignty, in addition to achieving peace and harmony within the country, and this includes dealing with internal conflicts and strengthening understanding and common interests between various groups and components, in addition to monitoring the government and its institutions and spreading awareness political through organizing seminars and conferences and participating in decision-making processes⁸⁰.

The private sector: It is represented by a group of institutions owned by individuals or companies with their own money. The Palestinian private sector can play an essential role in achieving political, economic and social development and play a role in public diplomacy. As a result of this role, the private sector bears rights and responsibilities that qualify it to participate in decision-making, which leads to increasing the production of this vital sector and placing it in the interest of the nation as a priority⁸¹.

Characteristics of Non-State Actors

There are a set of characteristics that characterize the network of non-state actors, which are explained as follows:

- These forces are distinguished by their dynamism, their ability to reshape themselves, and the diversity of the means of communication that they use.
- And the pressure tools that follow it overlap.
- Expansion within its geographical scope.
- Its members' vigilance in moving from one issue to another.

⁸⁰ Zaghrat, Mahdi. (2020), The Role of Non-state Actors in Evaluating Local Public Policy in Algeria, Mohamed Khidir University - Biskra, Algeria.

⁸¹ Qaddoura, Doaa. (2020), The practical practice of public relations in the Palestinian private sector and the mental image of it, An-Najah National University, Nablus, Palestine.

- Although these forces may include governmental and popular forces, they operate independently of governments and interfere indirectly and informally in policy making, but the government may exercise indirect direction of these forces⁸².

B. Social Movements

Despite the continuous developments and diversity in the elements of social movements, they have continued to develop and spread constantly. In this sense, we noted that the social movement has a long history. Its history is distinct from that of other political forms, such as election campaigns, national celebrations, displays of military force, the appointment of public officials, and collective mourning. Consequently, many studies indicate that social movements are not limited to general mass actions or activities organized by people for a specific cause with the aim of achieving a specific goal.

The transformation witnessed by social movements affected four levels, which he explained (Al-Sahili, 2021)⁸³ as follows:

- **Identity of the Movements:** Feminist and student movements, others with demands related to the environment, organizations and associations for immigrant minorities, and pro-peace groups emerged.
- **Its Forms of Struggle:** Less institutional forms were created than before, such as: marches, campaigns, sit-ins, strikes, and occupying headquarters.
- **Their Demands:** The new social movements emphasized resistance to the social control they wage against the authorities and the defense of the independence of social groups.

The demands of the new social movements are usually non-negotiable, as is the case with

⁸² Bin Salman, Omar. (2018) Non-state actors and mechanisms for approving social policies, Al-Haqiqa Magazine, Volume 17, Issue, Algeria,

⁸³ Al-Sahili, Mabrouk. (2021), The Role of Social Movements in Political Change in the Arab World - A Case Study of Sudan, Humanity and Social Journal, Volume 7, Issue 2: pp. 216-232, Algeria, p. 220.

the social movements in Algeria that demanded the departure of the former President of the Republic, Abdelaziz Bouteflika. 2019 demonstrations.

- **The Social Structure:** It consists of organizations composed of diverse interest groups, which include different societal segments that may be workers, women, students, and farmers, who are united by a general cultural/political denominator that makes these different sectors have unified interests based on the general feeling of injustice or lack of democracy.

Then; Social movements have specific goals that vary depending on context and time, and can include a variety of methods and strategies such as demonstrations, protests, public campaigns, political lobbying, and even charitable activities. Social movements represent a way for individuals and groups to express their protest and positions, and often contribute to changing reality and improving societal conditions by communicating and interacting with issues and problems that movement members see as calling for collective intervention.

Marxist readings come to emphasize that social movements involve class struggle to achieve change⁸⁴, and at the same time, some capitalist views view them as representing an opponent to be avoided, incited, and sometimes even eliminated. This makes it necessary to build a strong social movement that embraces democratic values. The important role of civil society remains clear, as it seeks to achieve this in a repressive political environment⁸⁵.

On the other hand; Activists within social movement organizations form internal cultures that enhance communication and commitment, and contribute to their continuity.

⁸⁴ Marx, K. (1984). *The struggle of classes in France (1848-1850)*. Brussels, Messidor, p. 8.

⁸⁵ Al-Badawi, Hajar. (2022), *Sociology of Social Movements: Protest Movements in Morocco as a Model*, Index Journal for Survey Studies, Volume 2, Issue 6, Rabat, Morocco.

These cultures play a crucial role in strengthening the unity and integration of the movement and ensuring its continuity. This internal culture influences the development and organization of the movement, contributes to the formation of its identity, which influences the emergence and influence of the movement, and encourages recruitment, organization, and determination of strategies and results. Activists define common definitions that characterize their collective identity and determine the details of their connection to each other and their political position. They also construct frameworks and discourses that contribute to understanding the issues they seek to defend, and circulate publicly to attract new members and achieve desired change. However, this does not occur in isolation from the dominant culture and existing structural differences, as movement members form identities, frames and discourses within a particular cultural context⁸⁶.

Social movement identity is reflected in culture and brings its members together into a common cultural identity that enables them to interact and participate in collective activities. Over time, this cultural integration may accelerate, as social movements form sites for the formation of new concepts and ideologies. Attracting members, maintaining collective action, and cultural integration are essential to the success and sustainability of social movements. This internal culture comprises a variety of elements including goals, ideology, beliefs, worldviews, values, norms, symbols, identities, stories, collective memories, rituals, songs, and art. These elements enhance solidarity, enhance collective spirit, and motivate participants in the movement, contributing to its continuity and success.

⁸⁶ Fares, Sayed. (2023), *The Culture of New Social Movements: Anthropological Approaches*, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha, Qatar.

Objectives of Social Movements

The goals of social movements are based on achieving changes in social values and cultures, and specifically address transformations related to individual independence. New social movements seek to achieve profound modifications in entire social structures. Traditional social movements are characterized by a social basis that stems from social classes, such as the peasant and workers movement, which was based on the working class, and is characterized by relative homogeneity. While new movements find their basis in different groups such as women and youth. Issues discussed by this theory include: the various social foundations of new social movements⁸⁷.

New social movements are characterized by their flexibility and diversity in structure. Unlike traditional movements, which are often based on class groupings such as the middle class and collective manifestations, new movements seek to form multiple groups that focus their attention on different identities, such as women, youth, race, nationality, and others. These movements aim to bring about changes through cognitive challenges. For example, some of these movements focus on redefining concepts such as race, gender, and religion, broadening the scope of social challenges.

Referring to some theories, new social movements arise in response to social discrimination, with a focus on promoting diversity in society and achieving equal opportunities. These movements represent a type of collective rebellion against traditional political and social forces. In a different context, new social movements can be based on groupings that share common identities, and are loosely connected that allow them to expand and spread across national borders⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Neveu, E. (2019), *Sociology of Social Movements*, Paris, La Découverte, p. 5.

⁸⁸ Al-Badawi, Hajar. (2022), *Sociology of Social Movements: Protest Movements in Morocco as a Model*, Index Journal for Survey Studies, Volume 2, Issue 6, Rabat, Morocco.

Types of Social Movements

There are two types of social movements according to experts in social movement theories in developed societies:

The First Type: classical social movements that were linked to work and workers' struggles against capitalist abuses. These movements are summarized in the trade union and labor movements that arose in the context of the industrial economy.

The Second Type: new social movements that are characterized by protest actions, whether organized or unorganized, that go beyond the economic and productive scope. These movements are characterized by addressing new and different issues, targeting multiple fields and diverse social groups, and using multiple strategies to address conflicts. New social movements have emerged to fill the gap left by trade union movements, in light of the crises that the labor world is suffering from and the challenges of political representation. This type of movement may be more renewed in some European countries, where trade union movements bear fewer responsibilities than in the past. On the other hand, the underdeveloped countries and the Maghreb countries witnessed an explosion in associational movements. This can be explained by the absolute dominance of its social system and the negative backgrounds of the collectivist movement, as well as the social, political and economic changes that adopted a liberal approach⁸⁹.

It falls within these two types of social movements: There are many designs, explained by (Ramadani, 2016)⁹⁰ as follows:

⁸⁹ Derras, Omar. (2023), On social movements, *Insaniyat Journal - Algerian Journal of Anthropology and Social Sciences*, Algeria, date of visit 8/24/2023 <https://journals.openedition.org>

⁹⁰ Ramadani, Soraya. (2016), *Social Movements: A Sociological Approach*, *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Issue 24, University of Algiers (2), Algeria.

- **Reform Movements:** seek to achieve specific changes in laws and standards to increase rights or improve the situation in a particular field, such as environmental movements or unions.
- **Radical Movements:** aim to radically change the value system and social structure, such as civil rights movements that seek equality regardless of race.
- **Value Movements:** aim to change social and cultural values and standards, such as religious movements that seek religious reform.
- **Conservative Movements:** aim to preserve existing values and traditions in society without significant change.
- **Normative Movements:** seek to change the rules and procedures that govern values in society, without challenging the values themselves.
- **Salvation Movements:** Aim to convert individuals and focus on changing them from within, such as missionary movements.
- **Peace Movements:** They work to reduce violence and promote peace in society.
- **Violent Movements:** They use violence or armed methods to achieve their goals.
- **Transformative Movements:** aiming for comprehensive and major change in all aspects of society.

Social movements include three types of demands: programme, identity and position. The program's demands include support for or declared opposition to actual or proposed movements by parties that the movement seeks to influence. As for identity demands, they consist of affirming that "we" (the claimants) constitute a unified and reliable force. While situational demands emphasize connections and similarities to other political actors such as excluded minorities, well-established citizen groups, or supporters loyal to the regime. Sometimes movements are concerned with the position of other

actors, such as campaigns to defend specific activists or actors or groups deprived of rights. We can imagine these formulas or forms of collective action in light of some characteristics that are present to some extent in all of these forms, and we may find differences in degree. Represented in:

- [Group] conflict tendencies regarding clearly defined opponents;
- informal exchanges among group members;
- The collective identity shared by members⁹¹.

⁹¹ Shubita, Ali. (2023), *The Concept of Social Movements*, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mohamed Lamine Debaghine University, Setif 2, Algeria, p. 4.

Chapter Three

Non-State Actors Within the Framework of Public Diplomacy in the State of Palestine: Models

3. Introduction to Case Studies

The relationship between non-state actors and public and official diplomacy for Palestine can be directed concretely. Non-state actors represent an important part of Palestinian national efforts to achieve justice and freedom. The case studies here are as follows:

3.1 Boycott Israel Movement (BDS):

The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement was initiated by Palestinian civil society. The movement's founding was a collective effort rather than the work of a single individual or a small group of founders. However, one of the prominent figures associated with the founding and promotion of the BDS movement is Omar Barghouti⁹².

The BDS movement was officially launched on July 9, 2005, when over 170 Palestinian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), unions, refugee networks, women's organizations, and other civil society groups issued a call for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel.

The Boycott Israel Movement is a prominent informal means of applying peaceful pressure on Israel to achieve Palestinian justice. BDS efforts can complement official and public diplomacy efforts for Palestine by creating international pressure and highlighting

⁹² Omar Barghouti (born 1964) is a founding committee member of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) and a co-founder of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement. He received the Gandhi Peace Award in 2017.

human rights violations by Israel. Official Palestinian diplomacy can use the success of the BDS movement as evidence of international support for the Palestinian cause.

1. Palestinian Student Movements:

Which play a vital role in representing the voice of Palestinian youth and mobilizing support for the Palestinian cause inside and outside Palestine. Universities and educational institutions that include Palestinian student movements can be platforms to guide international awareness and debates on issues of occupation and justice. Palestinian student movements must cooperate with official diplomacy by directing their demands and goals to the international community through Palestinian embassies and representatives.

2. Social Movements in Jerusalemite Society:

Social movements in Jerusalemite society appear as entities that promote national unity and support official efforts to preserve Palestinian identity in the city of Jerusalem. These movements can help strengthen the resilience of Jerusalemites against pressures and legal and political challenges imposed by Israel. Official Palestinian diplomacy must exploit the role of these movements in directing international attention to the issue of Jerusalem and the need to protect religious and cultural freedoms there.

3. Individual Non-State Actors, Including:

- **Nevin Al-Qadi**: Palestinian fashion designer
- **Muhammad Al-Kurd** is one of the influential Palestinian figures in the field of social media and digital media. Muhammad Al-Kurd is considered one of the prominent account holders on social media platforms, and he is known for his efforts to spread awareness of the Palestinian issue and shed light on the suffering of the Palestinian people. This type of individual is very important because they use social

media to communicate with a wide audience and convey news and information effectively.

- **Maryam Barghouti** is a Palestinian-American writer, blogger, researcher, activist, commentator, and journalist, and a resident of the city of Ramallah. Maryam worked as a journalist and correspondent specializing in issues related to the Levant.
- **Bassem Youssef**: Egyptian doctor, actor, and social media influencer.
- **The Joubran Trio**: It is a Palestinian musical band made up of three brothers, originally from the city of Nazareth. The Joubran Trio became famous for playing the oud throughout the Arab world until they reached the international level, as the trio presents musical performances in most countries of the world, and thus they became artistic ambassadors for Palestine. And Levantine art in general, as the trio represents the Palestinian identity and the Palestinian musical identity in the countries of the world, according to the words of the Palestinian artist Wissam Gibran, one of the members of the band⁹³.

⁹³ Al-Arab Magazine (2023), The Arab Levant should be more open to the culture of the Maghreb: Artist Wissam Gibran: I am amazed by Gnawa music and its traditional instruments. Al-Arab Magazine, Issue 12814, date of visiting the website 1/16/2024 <https://alarab.news>



Figure 3.1 - Joubran Trio - Photography: Ameen Saeb

- **Haroun Hashem Rashid:** He is a Palestinian poet from Gaza City. He was given several titles, including the Poet of Return and the Poet of the Revolution. The poet has many collections and poems, from which approximately 90 of his poems were chosen to be presented by Arab singing figures such as: Fayrouz, Fayda Kamel, Muhammad Fawzi, and Talal Maddah, in addition to The poet wrote several plays that were performed on Arab theatres. Out of the suffering, displacement, and successive calamities that befell the Palestinian people, the poet devoted his writings and poems to serving the Palestinian cause, thus becoming a Palestinian diplomat using his art to convey the message⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ Wafa Agency. (2020), Haroun Hashem Rashid, website visit date 1/16/2024 <https://info.wafa.ps>



Figure 3.2 - Haroun Hashem Rashid - Palestinian Return Centre

- **Reem Al-Banna:** She is a Palestinian artist, composer, and musician from the city of Nazareth. She released several singing albums, numbering 13, that were dominated by the national Palestinian character, with a special interest in singing for children. She was able to convey her voice to the Palestinians in the occupation prisons and in the camps, and wherever the Palestinians were present in the world. The artist received many awards, including being chosen as the Ambassador of Peace in Italy in 1994 and Person of the Year from the Tunisian Ministry of Culture in 1997⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ Badran, Walid. (2018), Rim Banna: The passing of a Palestinian artist “whose songs traveled the earth,” BBC, website visit date 1/16/2024 <https://www.bbc.com>



Figure 3.3 - Reem Al-Banna - Photography : Aziz RAISSI - Tunisia 2013

- **Folklore Troupe:** Folklore Troupe is an independent, non-profit artistic body that relies primarily on the efforts of its male and female volunteers. It was founded in 1979 with the efforts of a group of enthusiastic and promising male and female artists. Since then, Al-Funoun has been crowned as a pioneer of Palestinian folk dance. It has presented more than 1,000 performances locally and internationally, produced 12 dance works of art in addition to dozens of paintings. In its career, it has won many first prizes and distinguished certificates of appreciation from local and international festivals. The troupe presents Palestinian folklore. Singing and dancing, with a vision of her own that combines authenticity and modernity, through which she works to develop the performing arts in Palestine, to contribute to the preservation and development of the Palestinian cultural identity, and to enhance the spirit of belonging, expression, creativity and teamwork⁹⁶.

⁹⁶ Al-Funoun Popular Band website visit date 2/1/2024 <https://el-funoun.org/>



Figure 3.4 - Folklore Troupe - <https://el-founoun.org/> - June 2009

- **Bella Hadid:** She is a model of Palestinian origin who lives in the United States of America. Bella Hadid is one of the most famous models in the world, as her pages on social media include tens of millions of followers. Bella Hadid plays an important role in supporting the Palestinian cause, by Harnessing her great fame, in order to spread the Palestinian cause and expose the crimes of the Israeli occupation against the Palestinian people, as she publishes information and stories, including photos and videos, on her pages on social media and highlights the violations of the Israeli occupation, and the model also participates in demonstrations and protests. Supporting the Palestinian cause that takes place in the United States of America⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ Metwally, Marwa. (2023), Bella Hadid: Beauty and the Resistant Palestinian Spirit, Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper, website visit date: 1/16/2024 <https://rb.gy/ftr5kr>



Figure 3.5 - Bella Hadid - Pro Palestine Rally New York - 2021
Source : SixPages Magazine - GC Images

Hence; Palestine has many non-state actors who play an effective diplomatic role at all levels, as there are many influential figures such as the cartoonist Naji Al-Ali⁹⁸ and the literary theorist Edward Said⁹⁹. Given that the list may be long in mentioning all the Palestinian non-state actors, the researcher targeted the influencers on social media in the current period are from the younger generation, which we will review later.

Prominent Palestinian figures and non-state actors represent an important part in supporting Palestinian popular diplomacy and strengthening international awareness of the issue. Nevin Al-Qadi and Muhammad Al-Kurd use their fame in the world of fashion and social media to convey the message of Palestine and highlight its issues. Maryam Barghouthi and Bassem Youssef contribute with their analyzes and participation in the

⁹⁸ Naji Al-Ali (1936 - 1987) was a Palestinian cartoonist, noted for the political criticism of the Arab regimes and the Israeli occupation in his works. He is best known as the creator of the character Handala.

⁹⁹ Edward Said (1935 - 2003) was a Palestinian-American academic, literary critic, political activist, and musician. As a professor of literature at Columbia University, he was among the founders of post-colonial studies.

media to spread awareness of human rights and the situation in Palestine. The Joubran Trio represent Palestinian musical art and act as artistic ambassadors to convey Palestinian identity. Harun Hashim Rashid uses his poetry to express the experiences of the Palestinian people. Reem Al-Banna and the El-Funoun Popular Band contribute to Palestinian art and culture, with their focus on preserving identity and conveying the Palestinian voice, while Bella Hadid uses her fame as a model to convey the Palestinian cause and solidarity with the Palestinian people. Here, they are part of soft power, which plays a role in strengthening Palestinian public diplomacy through events and their status as famous and influential individuals, attracting attention to the Palestinian issue and shedding light on events and circumstances in Palestine.

The experience of social movements and the work of Palestinian non-governmental organizations stands out as a unique experience that is distinguished by its specificity in the nature of its programs. These programs were carefully and thoughtfully designed, which contributed to their ability to adapt and influence the various stages of development of the Palestinian issue.

3.2 The Boycott Israel Movement (BDS)

Palestinian National Committee for Boycott: Leader of the global Boycott of Israel (BDS) movement

Established as the broadest coalition in Palestinian civil society, the Palestinian Boycott National Committee (BNC) leads the Boycott Israel (BDS) movement globally. This committee was established as a result of the agreement of the overwhelming majority of components of Palestinian civil society on the necessity of continuous and strategic work to achieve the rights of the Palestinian people through several dimensions,

including isolating Israel at the local, regional and international levels in the economic, academic, cultural, military and political fields¹⁰⁰.

The Palestinian Call to Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Israel was launched on July 9, 2005, with broad support from various sectors of Palestinian society, including political, professional, and popular parties and federations, as well as refugee rights frameworks and civil society organizations. Following the first Palestinian National Conference of the BDS movement in 2007, the National Committee for the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions of Israel (BDS National Committee - BNC) was established in early 2008. Today, the BDS National Committee represents the largest coalition in Palestinian civil society at the international level, homeland and the diaspora, it takes the reins of the BDS movement, both locally and internationally.

The efforts of the National Committee for the Boycott are based on a set of goals, including:

- Promoting and disseminating the culture of boycott as a peaceful means of popular resistance against the Israeli occupation, colonialism, settlement and apartheid regime.
- Develop effective strategies and programs to implement the boycott call and achieve its goals through campaigns that take into account the local, regional and international context.
- Leading the BDS movement at the international level, and providing guidance and support to activists opposing normalization with Israel.
- Tracking and confronting Palestinian and Arab normalization projects with Israel in various fields, whether economic, security, cultural, environmental, or others.
- Defining and developing priorities and standards for the boycott process.

¹⁰⁰ BDS movement. (2023), Indicators of the growing influence of the Boycott Movement (BDS) until mid-2023, website visit date: 8/25/2023 <https://bdsmovement.net>

- Organizing and coordinating local and international conferences and workshops that enhance boycott and divestment efforts.
- Providing accurate information and research on the involvement of international and Israeli companies in violations of international law, with the aim of investigation and accountability.
- The National Committee for the Boycott is working to implement these goals in order to achieve justice, end occupation and colonialism, and achieve the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people¹⁰¹.

Growing Influence of the BDS Movement Through Mid-2023: Interaction and impact

The BDS movement witnessed remarkable development and growth in its influence on the global scene until mid-2023. This movement is witnessing an expansion in its indicators of success, as it reflects the growth of its strength and the response of the world's civil society to its call to boycott the Israeli entity and pressure it for change and to achieve justice for the Palestinian people.

Below we review 17 tangible indicators of the growing influence of the boycott movement until mid-2023:

- The global security company "G4S" has withdrawn from dealing with the Israeli colonial and apartheid regime, after years of boycott campaigns and pressure from BDS supporters and partners.
- Cancelling the twinning agreement between the municipality of Barcelona and the municipality of Tel Aviv in solidarity with the Palestinian cause and in support of human rights.

¹⁰¹ Al-Khatib, Omaira. 2021, Palestinian consumer trends towards supporting local products and boycotting Israeli products, Al-Quds Open University, Palestine.

- The Norwegian city of Oslo banned the import of goods implicated in Israeli colonies, based on its respect for international law.
- The decision of the Belgian city of Liege to sever relations with the Israeli apartheid regime and support the rights of the Palestinian people.
- The Brazilian municipality of Belém declared it “a zone free of Israeli apartheid.”
- The Belgian city council of Verviers freezes its relations with Israeli apartheid.
- Indonesia refused to host the Israeli team in the FIFA U-20 World Cup for Men, due to its position in support of the Palestinian cause.
- A historic call from the Palestine Liberation Organization and the BDS movement to dismantle the Israeli apartheid system.
- A call from the Palestinian trade and professional unions for global support for the boycott movement.
- The South African Rugby Union supported the boycott by cancelling the invitation of the Israeli team “Tel Aviv Heat”.
- The interaction of artistic and cultural circles with boycott initiatives and cancellation of Israeli participation in cultural and musical events.
- The Canadian Federation of Public Employees supports the boycott movement and its support to end Israeli apartheid.
- Cancelling an exhibition for Israeli universities at the Brazilian Unicamp.
- Cancelling the Indigo Music Festival in Sinai based on calls in support of the rights of the Palestinian people.
- Artist Sam Smith cancelled his show in Tel Aviv due to his solidarity with the boycott movement.
- Ending the “Balkan Trafik” festival’s partnership with Israel.

- A call to stop trade with Israeli colonies by a European Parliament committee¹⁰².

Indicators of this movement show its growing influence and the great responses to its call in the world. These indicators reveal a shift in international awareness of the Palestinian issue and the need for the world to stand against the apartheid system and the injustice to which the Palestinian people are exposed.

On the external level; The boycott movement adopts a strategy that aims to gradually change the relationship with Israel with the aim of reaching a stage of divestment from it and imposing a boycott at various levels and in a variety of fields (political, economic, sports, and military), with the aim of isolating it from its geographical surroundings and imposing an international ban on it. The movement faces challenges from political alliances that support the Israeli side, which makes activists devise ways to deal with these challenges, by calling for example on Europe to boycott Israeli settlement products, which has proven to be a great success for the boycott campaign in this region. As for the internal Palestinian popular side, the movement is intensifying its activity in the Palestinian territories to boycott Israeli products and institutions and to spread awareness among new generations of Palestinians. The movement's activities inside the Palestinian territories are important tools for strengthening the boycott of the Zionist occupation at the people's level.

As for the boycott at the international level, it includes imposing sanctions on a country or political system by international bodies with the aim of preventing dealing with it because of its threat to international peace and security. There are many examples

¹⁰² BDS movement. (2023), Indicators of the growing influence of the Boycott Movement (BDS) until mid-2023, website visit date: 8/25/2023 <https://bdsmovement.net>

of this, such as the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Syria and Libya due to their role in threatening international security and exporting weapons¹⁰³.

It is clear from the above that the popular boycott is considered one of the most effective forms of movement at the economic level, as it is led by popular leaders and institutions from civil society. An example of this can be referred to from the history of Egypt, when the Egyptians used the boycott movement as a means of resisting the British occupation during the 1919 revolution.

4 Palestinian Student Movements

The characteristics of the Palestinian student movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are as follows:

In the 1970s, student councils were formed in Palestinian universities as a result of the contradiction and conflict with the Israeli occupation, and were not based on a direct conflict between students and university administrations. Despite this, serious attempts continued to link the national struggle against the occupation and its policy of exclusion and displacement with the democratization of student life. Thus, the contradiction emerged between the national political goal and student ambitions and non-political demands.

The various student blocs are essentially a representation of Palestinian political movements, factions, and organizations existing in the diaspora prior to the Oslo Accords. From the point of view of some student activists within universities, these blocs may not have the ability to make independent decisions in student affairs away from the directives of their political leaders. This raises questions about the effectiveness of the

¹⁰³ Abdel-Al, Mahmoud. (2018), "Boycott" and resistance strategies: the Boycott of Israel (BDS) movement as an example, date of visit 8/25/2023 <http://www.acrseg.org/40843>

student movement as an actor in its own right, independent of political organizations and factions.

After the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian student movement was subjected to political and organizational divisions and fragmentation as a result of the emergence of new interests and contradictions. The student and mass movements had a stagnation in activity and rhetoric and romanticism, and fragmentation and division appeared as a result of the preference for building institutions of national authority at the expense of popular organizations and trade union federations.

The participation of Palestinian female students within universities remains limited and disproportionate to their numbers and size. Instead, their participation often seems to be formal and cosmetic. The percentage of female students' representation in student councils can be used as an indicator to measure gender integration in the educational process, despite the vital role of female students on campus in union, national, and political activities¹⁰⁴.

These characteristics shed light on the challenges and dynamics facing the Palestinian student movement and affect its role and effectiveness in the Palestinian arena.

It is noted from the above the challenges that the Palestinian student movement faced and is still facing in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Throughout its history, continuous efforts to link the national struggle with the demands of student life and its improvement are evident, as well as the direct influence of political organizations and factions on the student movement, which raises questions about its ability to make independent decisions that serve the interests of students. The movement finds itself in a

¹⁰⁴ Youssef, Ayman. (2020), *The Palestinian Youth Movement in the West Bank: Student Democracy, National Reconciliation, and Popular Resistance in a Time of Political Division 2007-2013*, Arab American University, Jenin, Palestine, p. 7.

complex situation after the Oslo Accords, as political fragmentation have emerged affecting its cohesion and effectiveness. There is a need to strengthen the capacity for independent decision-making and enhance the role of young men and women in the struggle for change and justice.

In his book (*Students and Resistance in Palestine: Books, Guns, and Politics*), Edo Zelkovitz¹⁰⁵ points out that the General Union of Palestinian Students adopted an approach of armed struggle, where it held summer military training camps, emphasizing its impact in shaping the combat doctrine of students. It is also seen that the Muslim Brotherhood joined the union, but they were restricted within it due to the PLO's marginalization of them. He talks about the beginning of the student movement in the occupied territories in the 1970s, pointing to the role of universities in providing education to various segments of society, and confirms that universities contributed to the national struggle and that "Israel" imposed censorship measures on the Palestinian academic system.

“Students for Justice in Palestine:”

The movement was founded in 1993 and has more than 200 branches in American universities. It seeks to educate students about the Palestinian cause and demands justice and equality. It has been subjected to pressure and bans on American universities due to its support for the Palestinian resistance. Israeli organizations have accused it of spreading hate.

In November 2023, Students for Justice in Palestine organized a protest in front of Columbia University's Memorial Library, where they placed seven small red-stained coffins and Palestinian flags. They also wrote slogans condemning the victims of the war

¹⁰⁵ Ido Zelkovitz. (2019), Routledge, *Students and Resistance in Palestine*.

in Gaza. The university responded by suspending the movement and other student solidarity groups. This action sparked widespread protests among students and faculty members. Since Israel's attack on Gaza in October 2023, the movement and others have organized events and demonstrations to denounce the occupation and support the Palestinian resistance (Zaki, 2023)¹⁰⁶

Students for justice in Palestine managed to cancel a lecture by the Zionist ambassador to Ireland, Zeev Boker, at an Irish university. The Foreign Relations Association at Trendy College in Ireland invited the Zionist Ambassador Booker to give a 15 minute lecture, followed by 45 minutes dedicated to asking questions and receiving answers related to the conflict between the Palestinians and the Zionist entity. About 40 male and female students demonstrated in front of the main lecture hall at the university, which forced the organizing body to cancel the lecture, for reasons related to security and the surrounding circumstances, according to their expression.

5 Social Movements in Jerusalemite Society

The stages of the work of social movements, which were mainly reflected in the local sphere in Jerusalem society, are as follows:

Period of Jordanian Rule (1948-1967): The local community was developed through local bodies and social movements, in addition to infrastructure development in the villages surrounding Jerusalem.

The General National Struggle (1967-2001): It includes:

The Phase of Establishing Presence (1967-1974): focused on preserving the Jordanian curriculum in schools and protecting institutions and endowments from occupation control.

¹⁰⁶ Zaki, Nihad. (2023), *Students for Justice in Palestine*. What do you know about the movement that ignited American universities against Israel?

The Phase of Strengthening Resilience (1974-1987): witnessed volunteer activities and the establishment of grassroots community committees to enhance resilience and provide services.

The Intifada (1987-1993): witnessed the formation of grassroots committees working in various fields and the emergence of a trend towards developing the local community in parallel with the national struggle.

Attempts to Build a Palestinian Presence (1993-2001): They focused on building official institutional bodies such as the “East House” to represent Jerusalem and build sovereignty at the level of the city of Jerusalem.

Jerusalemite Communities and Self-Reliance (2001-2017): With the decline of national fieldwork, local leadership moved Jerusalemite to the local level and social movements focused on self-strengthening and confronting local challenges¹⁰⁷.

Since then, the Jerusalemite community has witnessed multiple efforts to strengthen local sovereignty and develop infrastructure, despite the challenges the city faces as a result of the complex political situation.

The researcher notes the efforts of social movements and local bodies and their general role in strengthening community structure in order to improve living conditions and infrastructure. In addition, social movements played an important role in directing community awareness and participation to confront challenges. The stages of the general national struggle also reveal ongoing efforts to preserve local identity and heritage, in addition to strengthening resilience in the face of political and economic challenges. As leadership shifts to the local level, the focus on self-promotion and addressing local challenges becomes more important. The role of the local Jerusalemite community is

¹⁰⁷ Salem, Walid. (2019), Social Movements in East Jerusalem from the General National Struggle to the Local Developmental Struggle and Building Sovereignty from Below, Jerusalem, website visit date 8/23/2023 <https://www.akhbarelbalad.net/>

evident in preserving identity and strengthening community communication, and these efforts play an important role in preserving heritage, developing the future, and achieving the desired progress.

Nevin Al-Qadi: Palestinian Azyad Designer

Protecting and preserving identity is a fundamental value that she was raised upon. This is what Palestinian fashion designer Nevin Al-Qadi said and continues to repeat from the words of her activist father, who encouraged her about the importance of preserving national identity, noting that she was inspired by his phrase, “You do not have to carry a weapon, for we all.. We are able to preserve the case with our methods and tools.” Al-Qadi learned the lesson of preserving identity from the great and honourable people of her country, such as her father, Abu Nasser Muhammad Al-Qadi, and the activist Fayhaa Abdel Hadi. She pointed out that they were examples of loyal, honourable people who embodied modernity and heritage, and said that she sought to transfer these values into her work in fashion design and preserve the spirit of traditional dress.

Nevin Al-Qadi highlighted the importance of her presence in Paris and how she was able to integrate different cultures, stressing that she is proud to be Palestinian and carries her homeland with her everywhere she goes. She demonstrated her desire to consolidate the identity of Palestine in the minds of future generations, especially generations born outside the country. She pointed out that the arts, in all their forms, are an effective way to achieve this.

In the field of design, she said that she collaborated with Egyptian painter Magdy Al-Kafrawy to transform the keffiyeh into art that carries a message of peace. She also referred to her use of fabric to design dresses that reflect beauty and uniqueness, and she carried the olive branch with her as a symbol of stability and life.

Nevin Al-Qadi concluded her message by saying that her message will continue as long as she lives, and stressed the importance of transmitting her heritage to future generations, with optimism that every lemon will give birth to a child, and that hope lies in the continuation of cultural inheritance.

Bassem Youssef: An Egyptian Arab confronts the Israeli narrative in Western media, and achieves success on the most important global digital platforms.

Egyptian journalist Bassem Youssef has invested in his digital power as an artist, social media influencer, media expert, and politician. He made a real impact through several bold and sharp television interviews with British broadcaster Piers Morgan, where he discussed the Palestinian issue in an influential manner. The intervention achieved widespread interaction in Egypt and the Arab world, with about 15 million views within two days, and it became the focus of attention on the Google search engine and a trend on X platform (formerly Twitter).

Google

باسم يوسف

Images Videos News ويكيبيديا ديانتة اولاد ماذا قال برج الاستعلام

All filters Tools

About 23,500,000 results (0.30 seconds)

Tip: Limit this search to **English** language results. Learn more about filtering by language

Bassem Youssef (باسم يوسف)
Egyptian comedian and television host

Overview Interviews Videos Movies and shows

Zocalo Public Square

Age: 49 years
March 22, 1974

Spouse: Hala Diab (m. 2010)

YouTube - العربية AlArabiya
مقابلة خاصة مع الإعلامي المصري باسم يوسف
مقابلة خاصة مع الإعلامي المصري باسم يوسف - 94K views · 5 days ago ...more. AlArabiya

5 days ago

Instagram · @bassem 1 month ago

It should be noted that British broadcaster Piers Morgan confirmed that his meeting with Egyptian journalist Bassem Youssef achieved 15 million views, making it the most watched interview ever.



Bassem Youssef assumed the character of an Israeli citizen during the interview, and asked embarrassing questions to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, expressing his rejection of the aggression against the Palestinians and their displacement, as he relied on previous statements by an Israeli ambassador in which he called on the Palestinians to live temporarily in Sinai.

Youssef referred to the victims in Gaza compared to Israel, and expressed his concern for his wife's family members in Gaza. Youssef also expressed in his intervention the collapse of masks in the face of some heads of state who ignore the suffering of Palestinian children.

The interview received positive interaction from audiences and university doctors such as Dr. Sami Abdel Aziz, former dean of the Faculty of Information at Cairo University, as some considered him a professional voice that expresses the Arab point of view in a professional and rational manner capable of bringing about change through his sarcastic style in revealing contradictions in Western positions.

Bassem Youssef is a doctor, journalist, and influencer who is able to understand the Western mind and the Western media, and is able to influence and invest in this

understanding for the benefit of the Palestinian cause and his Egyptian-Arab humanitarian affiliation.



A live broadcast was also conducted between Bassem Youssef and Moataz Azaiza, the Palestinian photographer who excelled in covering the war on the Gaza Strip. For this reason, the American magazine GQ considered him the “Man of the Year 2023,” as he was an example of the power of influencers, activists, and humanitarians. In a live broadcast on Instagram, Palestinian journalist Moataz Azaiza spoke with Egyptian journalist Bassem Youssef about the difficult conditions facing civilians in the Gaza Strip due to the Israeli war. Azaiza explained that civilians were evacuated to the south, and that the Israelis entered Khan Yunis, demanding that the Palestinians move to Rafah, and later to Deir al-Balah.



Figure 3.6 - Screenshot of an exchange between Bassem Youssef and Moataz Azaiza on Instagram

Bassem Youssef denounced the actions of the Israeli occupation, pointing out that it continues to displace Palestinians, forcing them to move from northern Gaza to its center, and then to the south. Youssef pointed out the contradiction in Israel's statements, which initially confirmed that it was targeting northern Gaza to save the southern regions.

Moataz Azaiza confirmed that the occupation forces succeeded in reaching various areas in the Gaza Strip and set up checkpoints, which led to the evacuation of large numbers of civilians. He pointed to the continuation of attacks on Palestinians, even in the areas to which they were transferred to shelter. Azaiza also spoke about the deterioration of the security and humanitarian situation in Gaza, noting that Israeli attacks threaten the lives of innocent civilians who are trying to escape from killing and displacement.

Chapter Four

Analysis and Discussion

4.1 The Most Prominent Unofficial Actors that Appeared in Palestine During the Period between 1993-2022, and the Goals they Worked to Achieve in Support of the Palestinian Cause.

Participant 5 considers the presence of non-state actors that are relevant in the conflict, which include Palestinian civil society associations, the European Union, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), business groups, non-governmental organizations, research centres, and the Israel lobby in the United States.¹⁰⁸

Popular committees, organizations, popular and civil institutions, activists, and media institutions can be considered among the non-state actors that appeared in the aforementioned era, as the diplomat indicated¹⁰⁹. In light of the state of denial of Palestinian rights in the West and the lack of international media focus on the Palestinian issue, these actors sought to find alternative ways to reach the global audience, either by adopting new methods of resistance (in all its forms), which shed light on the current events in the Palestinian scene, Or through advocacy campaigns and the use of social media, which proved to be one of the most important and fastest means of reaching the international audience, and we saw this in the Palestinian uprising in 2021, which began in Sheikh Jarrah and moved to all cities. Added to this is the importance of the youth movement in the field. Which is effectively reflected in media coverage globally.

¹⁰⁸ Participant 5, personal interview 1/14/2024

¹⁰⁹ Participant 1, personal interview 1/2/2024

While it is seen¹¹⁰ that the non-state actors had a more specific form and an important role during the Israeli war of annihilation on the Gaza Strip, which began on October 7 and is still continuing, this war was different from other wars and the impact was unprecedented. Influencers, journalists, and content makers who are inside the battle and under fire, and with communications cut off more than once, the picture was from the heart of the field and on social media platforms, not on any other media.

On the other hand, Participant 7, a researcher in the field of social and human sciences, believes that it is not possible to be certain that there are non-state actors in the true sense of non-state actors, as the political, economic and social context did not allow for real accumulation and investment, so we call bodies/institutions/individuals non-state actors that can amend legislation or policies, whether at all levels or issues. But there are ongoing attempts that come in the context of responding to what is happening within society, whether on the political or social/economic levels. Therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that non-state actors have achieved radical transformations regarding the Palestinian issue for several reasons:

- First, these non-state actors came at an embryonic stage of the transition of Palestinian society from a society under occupation to a Palestinian society with incomplete sovereignty, due to “Israel” disavowing its obligations to achieve the Palestinian state, which created a state of distortion that did not allow room for these non-state actors. If we want to call it that, it means working to change any Palestinian living reality, even if there are some scraps related to variables that coincide with the political economic system of the Palestinian Authority.

¹¹⁰ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

- The separation that occurred between popular movements from political organizations at a certain stage, and specifically during the “establishment of the state” stage, so that these popular movements transformed from unions, movements, or even individuals, from a state of non-state work to institutionalization in one way or another, made these non-state actors disappear. The purpose of its existence. Non-state actors cannot continue in the absence of political organizations, because the political organization or faction carries a political, social, and economic program that all factions have abandoned in the absence of achieving the political horizon, which has made non-state actors lose their effectiveness on the ground as well. This proposition suggests that in the natural state, non-state actors are an extension of official actors, and are their shadow in light of their weakness, but the result is a complete absence of official actors in the first place, or they have turned into an operational market only without achieving higher goals, and this is also reflected in the non-state actors.
- Non-state actors were linked to the labour market, so the “market” for NGOs, consultants, and specialists began to flourish. We use the description of the market here because the entire field of non-state actors has turned into an operational field, not a field that seeks to create a new reality.
- If what is meant by non-state actors is the popular movements that have emerged, youth initiatives and others, they may be sincere and real, but of course in light of the lack of integration of a complete struggle situation, sufficient investment is not made in the outputs of the work of these actors or they are not accumulated as they should. We mentioned previously, this is due to the absence of a real political, social and economic program among the factions, and the weakness of the Palestinian Authority¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ Participant 7, personal interview 1/10/2024

It is noted from the above that during the period from 1993 to 2022, various non-state actors appeared in Palestine, such as popular committees, popular organizations, activists, and alternative media, which emerged to enhance awareness about the Palestinian issue and compensate for the lack of international media coverage. These actors have developed new strategies for resistance and global influence, whether through popular demonstrations and campaigns or the use of social media, with the aim of achieving change in the Palestinian reality. In 2021, the Palestinian uprising witnessed widespread movements starting from Sheikh Jarrah and extending to various cities, where the youth movement played a prominent role in shedding media light on the events.

In the Israeli war of annihilation on the Gaza Strip, specifically the last war in 2023, non-state actors played a pivotal role in conveying reality through influencers, journalists, and content makers within the war. However, some researchers believe that non-state actors cannot be definitively identified, as they are considered a response to social and political transformations in Palestinian society. In general, it appears that non-state actors in Palestine were influenced by the political and economic context, and despite their attempts to shed light on the Palestinian issue and achieve change, they faced challenges related to organization and political programs.

It can be said that after the second intifada and since the launch of the BDS movement, indicators began to appear related to greater involvement of non-state actors, and this is the reason for the increased use of social media around the world, which led to presenting these means as an effective weapon to spread the Palestinian narrative. In any case, there are times when more focus is placed on non-state actors (for example, the Gaza War, Sheikh Jarrah, the issue of electronic gates, etc.) This is what he sees¹¹², as

¹¹² Participant 1, personal interview 1/2/2024

this is due to the nature, importance and sensitivity of the event. How are these actors mobilized to spread the story in the societies in which they live?

There is another point of view that links the emergence of non-state actors to the period of the launch of social media platforms and the presence of 3G, which helps the user to publish and browse anywhere, and this point of view is adopted by him¹¹³.

While some date the period in which the efforts of non-state actors emerged to the year 2012, since internationally, specifically in 2012, the United Nations General Assembly decided to grant Palestine observer status as a non-member state. Non-governmental actors, including NGOs and advocacy groups, played a major role in building international support for this diplomatic recognition. At the national level, the Boycott, Separation, and Sanctions (BDS) movement in particular has become a notable force in shaping international dialogue and actions related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ¹¹⁴.

Another team believes that May 2021 will be the peak of Palestinian influence on social media platforms, with the escalation of the May uprising or the Sheikh Jarrah uprising. What distinguished that period was the emergence of new faces on social media platforms due to their presence at the scene of the event, such as Mona and Muhammad Al-Kurd, who opened the eyes of the world to what was happening in their neighbourhood in Jerusalem and in Palestine in general. In October 2023, Gazan content makers, male and female, topped the list of influence on social media platforms through their coverage of the massacres committed by the occupation against the people of Gaza in both Arabic and English, which made the world see in audio and video what is

¹¹³ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹¹⁴ Participant 3, personal interview 1/1/2024

happening in Palestine, very quickly and without any barrier to the speed of transmission and delivery¹¹⁵.

4.2 The Contribution of Non-State Actors in Strengthening International Awareness of and Support for the Palestinian Issue

Participant 11, a university professor in diplomacy and strategic planning in postgraduate studies at the Arab American University, believes that the new means that appeared in the period between 1993 and 2022, including social media and technological development, contributed greatly to helping non-state actors convey their messages and share their issues on a large scale. Global and playing a non-state diplomatic and media role. Public diplomacy is the new boom after diplomatic work was monopolized by official bodies in countries such as foreign ministries. The individual has now become a diplomat with the ability to carry out the same role that official diplomats carry out since 1993. Public diplomacy and non-state actors were not playing the major role they do today, because official Palestinian diplomacy was playing a very major role in that period in terms of negotiations, treaties, contact and communication with other countries through the Palestine Liberation Organization and then the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Participant 6, a part-time professor at An-Najah National University - Faculty of Law, believes that informal actors have a major role no less important than the official governmental role, in strengthening international awareness of the Palestinian issue and mobilizing international support for it. This is something he agrees with (Participant 5)¹¹⁶, as it has become an essential factor influencing national and international governmental

¹¹⁵ Participant 4, personal interview 1/4/2024

¹¹⁶ Participant 5, personal interview 1/14/2024

policies and measures, and the involvement of a diverse group of actors including elements of civil society, the private sector, as well as local authorities; it also represents a prevention of further erosion in Pluralism in decision-making.

In a complementary context, we find that the foreign policy of modern countries is based on a joint process within the coordinated and accumulated efforts of more than one party, and these actors, most notably Think Tanks, play an important and fundamental role. Considering that these elites combine two main advantages: scientific knowledge and accumulated practical experience on the one hand, and the capabilities, material requirements and time for thought, analysis, synthesis and conclusion on the other hand; To build the forward-looking vision that is the basis for any effective and successful foreign strategy and policy to empower the Palestinian Arab people.

In this regard, informal actors play a major role in influencing the internal and external policies of countries related to the Palestinian issue. To evaluate the development achieved by any organization in this context, four specific criteria must be taken into account:

- First, the first assessment relates to the organization's ability to adapt to developments in the environment in which it operates. The more effectively an organization is able to adapt, the more effective it will be, as inertia can lead to its loss of relevance and even its extinction.
- Second, comes the second evaluation, which focuses on the independence of the organization, that is, on its lack of subordination to other institutions, groups, or individuals, which makes it easier to control.
- Third, the assessment relates to the interconnectedness and diversity of the organization's structure. It is characterized by its interconnected organization and the presence of

multiple organizational structures and levels of internal arrangement, which enhances its ability to ensure the loyalty of its members and survive.

- Fourth, the evaluation deals with cohesion, that is, the absence of conflicts within the organization that negatively affect the performance of its activities. Resolving conflicts and divisions in peaceful ways reflects the development of the organization.

This role can only be completed with Arab and Western support in general and Palestinian support in particular, which expresses the reality and representations of peoples and their vision on the issue of Arab rights in Palestine. Those organizations that resist the presence of the Zionist occupation and reject any relations with it, regardless of their nature, criminalize its policies and confront attempts The Zionist occupation aims to build relations in all fields at the popular level. The most important of these organizations is the global movement to boycott and divest from Israel (BDS). The Law Foundation for Palestine, Al-Haq Foundation, and the Institute for Palestine Studies.

In order for these actors to reach a level where they can influence the policies of countries and the level of participation in decision-making, this requires first: the formation of a strong public opinion, by starting from the aspirations and representations of the people, and then second: expanding the circle of popular support, through the formation of a practical program. Through it, you can communicate with all relevant civil society organizations in the Arab countries, which would expand the circle of influence at the regional and international levels¹¹⁷.

These organizations, movements and institutions have taken advantage of the new opportunities provided by ICT to increase their visibility and thus their influence. By bringing global cultural flow, and transferring information, ideas, and representations of

¹¹⁷ Participant 6, personal interview 1/10/2024

the world as factors to influence the internal policy of governments and bring about comprehensive change, as well as influencing the foreign policy of governments and directing them with what is consistent with the values and principles of the peoples. This is what was achieved to some extent in strengthening international awareness of the Palestinian cause and supporting it through these activities, through first: social media and publishing news, pictures and field testimonies on platforms such as “Twitter” and “Facebook”. These non-state activities succeeded in attracting the attention of millions around the world and their governments acknowledge the difficult conditions experienced by the Palestinian people.

Therefore, social media contributes significantly to strengthening political, national and social awareness, and strengthening societal and political values, in addition to strengthening awareness of events and situations both externally and internally in Palestine. This is evident through the creation of thousands of pages and the launch of various campaigns and events that comprehensively address the Palestinian issue, bear Palestinian concerns, and address multiple issues, most notably the issue of refugees, prisoners, Jerusalem, settlement, and genocide. These initiatives also work to spread awareness and direct attention to the challenges facing the Palestinian people, whether with regard to humanitarian or political issues, and encourage effective participation in resolving these issues.

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Transferring the image from the heart of the field, translating it into English, and the presence of English-speaking influencers is the distinguishing mark. In addition to exposing the lie of the occupation narrative, it contributed to the sympathy of people abroad towards those with the right. He reinforces his answer (Bambashi)¹¹⁸ by citing live examples from effective influencers: Moataz Azaiza, Pelistia, Bisan and others have

¹¹⁸ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

become among the most followed people in addition to their party independence and that they do not belong to any faction. They only express defenceless civilians in Gaza.

(Participant 7)¹¹⁹ believes that non-governmental bodies are the main contributors to strengthening international awareness and supporting Palestine economically and socially. For example, “Intersect Innovation Hub” is a startup accelerator that operates in 5 Palestinian cities to enhance the entrepreneurial environment at all levels. It enhances the Bank of Palestine Accelerator Group and provides Palestinian entrepreneurs with workspaces, financial planning, networking and mentorship opportunities, and even programs aimed primarily at promoting economic development, creating job opportunities, and strengthening skills. The Intersect Innovation Hub shows the world that Palestinian innovators can and have created cutting-edge technology solutions for Palestine and the world. This encourages international investment capital and increases awareness of Palestinian talent and potential, strengthening the connection between global institutions and Palestine's talented workforce. Socially, there are organizations in Palestine that focus mainly on raising international awareness of Palestinian culture and art, highlighting the richness of its history. This helps the international community better understand the Palestinian people, creating a space to support and love the lives of Palestinians.

On the other hand, (Participant 7)¹²⁰ believes that “the non-state actors, the popular movements that have emerged, youth initiatives, and others, may be sincere and real, but of course, in light of the lack of integration of a complete struggle situation, there is not sufficient investment in the outcomes of work.” These factors are not accumulated, as we mentioned previously. It is possible to talk about the BDS movement

¹¹⁹ Participant 7, personal interview, 1/3/2024

¹²⁰ Participant 7, personal interview 1/10/2024

as a very strong and present example in this field, but amid the network of power relations, and amid the chaos of the market and academic and cultural institutions as well, the impact of the movement becomes weak at the local level specifically. , which may weaken it abroad.

It is noted from the above that informal actors play a prominent role in strengthening international awareness of and support for the Palestinian issue, according to the analysis of Participant 6 from An-Najah National University. These actors are of great importance in achieving influence on internal and external policies related to the Palestinian issue. Non-state organizations and individuals also contribute to forming a forward-looking vision based on scientific knowledge and practical experience.

On the other hand, effective evaluation of the effectiveness of these actors requires taking into account several criteria, including the ability to adapt to environmental developments and their independence from other institutions, in addition to taking into account the interconnectedness and diversity in the structure of the organization as another criterion that contributes to its strength and survival. Non-state actors also play an important role in conveying the Palestinian image to the world, whether through short videos or holding awareness seminars and conferences. There is an emphasis on using social media and digital campaigning techniques to provide effective communication and convey events in a simple and effective manner.

In the same context, the importance of Arab and Western support to strengthen informal efforts cannot be overlooked, with a focus on the vital role of parties that reject normalization and oppose settlement policies, such as the Boycott and Divestment Movement (BDS), and Palestinian institutions specialized in various fields.

Accordingly, it is the duty of non-state actors in Palestine and outside it to strive to form Arab and international public opinion about the legal entitlements to Palestinian national rights, and that the Palestinian issue is a national issue that concerns every Arab citizen, and that legitimate rights do not lapse by statute of limitations, and that is by directing public opinion. And the media towards strengthening the concept of justice, legitimacy, collective perceptions, and historical rights, and working to strengthen local and international legal frameworks to put pressure on the institutions of the international community in order to preserve all Arab rights in Palestine, which would create an international public opinion about the nature of Zionism and its goals.

4.3 The Role of Official Diplomacy in Communicating with Non-State Actors and Directing their Efforts in Serving the Palestinian Cause.

A very important role falls on the shoulders of the official authorities towards the non-state actors. This point of view is adopted by Participant 8, a journalist in the digital media of Palestine TV, who believes that in terms of guidance, the official authorities must guide the influencers, academics and artists in terms of the specific topics, campaigns and issues that serve the cause, in addition. Until the support of official bodies gives non-state actors a kind of support and endorsement, in addition to freedom of opinion and expression of the issue in a way that suits the targeted party¹²¹.

The journalist and political activist on social media¹²² believes that despite the Palestinian government's restrictions on its resources due to the occupation, the President's Office has established some bodies on the ground that serve the cause of the Palestinian people. An example of this is the "Higher Council for Innovation and

¹²¹ Participant 8, personal interview 1/2/2024

¹²² Participant 9, personal interview 1/3/2024

Excellence,” which works to create a culture of excellence and innovation among the Palestinian people, especially youth. The Council provides support and resources to young innovators directly and through local institutions and bodies, which leads to greater cooperation and efforts in the Palestinian environment.

(Participant 1)¹²³ recommends that official diplomacy should work to build strong bridges with these actors and strive to contain all the actors because collective work in mobilization and advocacy is more effective than the work of an institution alone. Therefore, support and coordination with these actors is considered essential for conveying the Palestinian national message, especially since these actors are considered informal, which gives them flexibility in expression and movement, unlike official diplomatic institutions that adhere to official norms. (Participant 2)¹²⁴ agrees with this, as he believes that there is an awareness and mobilization role that is preferable to the masses more than official actors, because the majority of the public are ordinary people who are not concerned with chairs and power. The public prefers this type of advocacy, such as boycotting Israeli goods and mobilizing for a successful strike.

The meaning of international Palestinian rap (Participant 10)¹²⁵ presents a different point of view. He believes that if the Palestinian government is like the government of South Korea, and we take KPop as an example, then how can governments invest their resources in the music scene to reap national revenues and make music an export? Here the role of Government and official diplomacy positively support popular diplomacy¹²⁶.

¹²³ Participant 1, personal interview 1/2/2024

¹²⁴ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹²⁵ Participant 10, personal interview 1/5/2024

¹²⁶ Participant 10, personal interview 1/5/2024

On the other hand, (Participant 7)¹²⁷ believes that the centres of responsibility, specifically the institutions of official diplomacy, were supposed to invest in non-state actors and deal with them as an ally, not as a competitor at work, by harnessing the cadres available within the field of non-state actors who possess tools such as languages and digital media capabilities can be harnessed to expose “Israel” globally, in addition to raising awareness about our issues as Palestinians, but we still see a gap in this framework.

Some view negatively the role of the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is almost non-existent. It did not intend to invest in these media figures to spread the Palestinian narrative on a larger scale. Although the Palestinian Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Hossam Zomlot, was one of the most prominent figures in Western media arenas, this was out of his personal effort and his dedication of time to highlighting the cause of his people, and this was not reflected in the overall work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹²⁸.

As for the means by which decision makers in Palestine must deal with non-state actors, to achieve the maximum benefit from their efforts, it is possible to benefit from the mobilization and follow-up possessed by non-state actors, conveying the image and dealing on its basis, such as a goods sector. There must be an official decision in which it responds. The official position of non-state actors as an example while considering¹²⁹.

Thus; The importance of official diplomacy is the ability to define a vital role in communicating with non-state actors, and directing its efforts towards achieving goals that effectively serve the Palestinian cause. This role is to lead the direction and coordination between influencers, academics, and artists, as official bodies must identify

¹²⁷ Participant 7, personal interview 1/10/2024

¹²⁸ Participant 4, personal interview 1/4/2024

¹²⁹ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

topics and campaigns that reflect their vision and serve the Palestinian cause in a way that attracts attention. Moreover, it is the role of official bodies to provide support to non-state actors, as this support contributes to giving these influencers the flexibility to express their views and move effectively for the cause.

4.4 The Main Factors that Affect the Public/Popular Diplomacy of the State of Palestine.

One of the most important main factors that influence Palestinian public diplomacy is the means and tools used to convey the message, document and publish it, in addition to those who publish these messages. Participant 11 believes that non-state actors have achieved great successes at the level of art, such as: the Gibran trio and the painter. Muhammad Zabaneh and the artist Reem Al-Banna, even at the level of Palestinian cuisine and the spread of pages on social media that promote and document Palestinian dishes, spices and herbs, such as the Craving Palestine page¹³⁰.

The most important factor is always sharing the Palestinian narrative, and this can be achieved through several means, including through non-governmental bodies. This is what Haloum emphasizes (Participant 9)¹³¹ and gives a prominent example of this, which is the Boycott, Separation and Sanctions (BDS) movement, which was supported by Palestinian activists around the world, which prompted the famous star Shakira to cancel her concert in Israel in 2018. The BDS movement and activists motivated and mobilized a large number of people to share the realities of the Israeli occupation with the artist, which ultimately convinced Shakira not to perform at Tel Aviv.

¹³⁰ Participant 11, personal interview, 1/17/2024

¹³¹ Participant 9, personal interview 1/3/2024

On the other hand, pressure on communication and advocacy sites affects the official discourse to some extent, and (Participant 2)¹³² mentions the same influential example presented by (Participant 9)¹³³, which is the BDS movement and the boycott of goods in addition to the suspension of diplomatic agreements between countries.

According to (Participant 5)¹³⁴ there are other factors:

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The conflict is a decades long conflict that has displaced many Palestinians, leading to a heightened negative perception of Israel in the International community.

Role of the Media: The media plays a major role in shaping public opinion. Coverage of the conflict has been criticized for the unbalanced choice of mode.

The role of Non-Governmental Bodies: Non-governmental bodies such as civil society organizations, human rights groups, and religious institutions played a major role in shaping public opinion and advocating for the Palestinian issue.

The Role of the International Community: The international community played a major role in shaping public opinion and advocating for the Palestinian issue, but the efficiency of international efforts is approaching limits due to the lack of consensus among the international community.

The researcher agrees with the above and emphasizes that the public and popular diplomacy of a country depends on several factors, and there are several factors that may affect the public and popular diplomacy of the State of Palestine:

- The state of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its developments play a major role in shaping public opinion around the world regarding Palestine. Political and security events in the region may affect the image of Palestine in international eyes.

¹³² Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹³³ Participant 9, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹³⁴ Participant 5, personal interview 1/14/2024

- Alliances and partnerships, meaning the diplomatic relations that Palestine maintains with countries and international institutions, play an important role in the success of public diplomacy, as the impact of alliances and partnerships on international support can directly affect international reputation.
- The ability to convey issues effectively and attractively via social media sites contributes to strengthening popular and diplomatic support.
- It cannot be ignored that the efficiency and transparency of the Palestinian government plays a role in transferring confidence from the international community and other peoples. Good governance and combating corruption contribute to building a positive image.
- Palestine's commitment to human rights and working to resolve humanitarian issues in the region can enhance global support and contribute to improving the international image.

4.5 Diplomatic Mechanisms Followed by Non-State Actors, to Contribute to Strengthening Official Diplomacy or to Serve the Palestinian Cause.

There are two main mechanisms worth noting: the first is documentation, reporting, and legal review in Palestine, and the second is moral activism such as the Boycott, Separation, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, (Participant 8)¹³⁵ explains. Legal documentation and review constitute an essential part of Palestinian diplomacy, as they provide the necessary basis for legal arguments, support the narrative, and enhance the legitimacy of Palestinian claims in the international community. These tools enable Palestinians to effectively participate in diplomatic initiatives, negotiation processes, and

¹³⁵ Participant 8, personal interview 1/2/2024

promote their rights and aspirations. Legal documentation and reporting contribute to the cause of the Palestinian people in many ways, including compliance with international law, establishing facts and narratives, countering disinformation, promoting human rights, engaging with international organizations, and finally, through bilateral and multilateral agreements. Ethical activism like the BDS movement also serves the cause of the Palestinian people in many ways, including economic pressure, raising awareness, promoting accountability, influencing corporate behaviour and political influence in the region and around the world. The economic and social consequences have proven to be influential in influencing political decisions in various countries in favour of Palestine through the efforts of the BDS movement.

Electronic campaigns to standardize hashtags and images and publish them in several languages help put pressure on the official position¹³⁶.

However, (Participant 7)¹³⁷ believes that usually, and by virtue of the nature of the programs under which the work of non-state actors comes, these actors intersect with international movements and institutions, social or political movements, and human rights and relief institutions, and therefore these actors carry a discourse of in which can be used properly when demanding a position or direction adopted by official diplomacy, but there is still a disconnect between official actors and non-state actors, and this cannot be denied.

Thus, we can talk about specific mechanisms explained below:

- **Documentation and Legal Reporting:** Documentation and legal reporting constitute an essential part of Palestinian diplomacy. This documentation provides the necessary basis for legal arguments and enhances the legitimacy of Palestinian claims in the international

¹³⁶ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹³⁷ Participant 7, personal interview 1/10/2024

community. It contributes to compliance with international law, establishing facts and narratives, and countering misinformation.

- **Moral Activism (BDS):** The Boycott, Separation, and Sanctions (BDS) movement represents a moral mechanism used to serve the Palestinian cause. This campaign includes economic pressure by boycotting institutions that support Israeli policies, raising awareness about the rights of the Palestinian people, and promoting international accountability.
- **Media and Awareness Campaigns:** Non-state activists follow media mechanisms to effectively convey Palestinian issues. This includes standardizing and marketing hashtags across social media, and publishing images and information in multiple languages to increase global awareness.
- **Cooperation with International Movements and Institutions:** Non-state actors often cooperate with international movements and human rights and relief institutions. This cooperation contributes to strengthening international solidarity and directing pressure towards official positions that serve the Palestinian cause.
- **Organizing and Participating in Pressure Campaigns:** Non-state actors participate in international pressure campaigns to improve official positions toward the Palestinian issue, whether through demonstrations, presentations, or email campaigns.
- **Use of social media:** Non-state actors rely heavily on social media to convey messages and achieve influence on international public opinion.

5 The Main Obstacles Facing Palestinian Public/Popular Diplomacy

- The lack of a national strategy for public diplomacy is the most important obstacle, according to the vision of the Palestinian diplomat (Participant 1)¹³⁸. What is meant by

¹³⁸ Participant 1, personal interview 1/2/2024

this is that work in public and popular diplomacy requires the participation of the Palestinian “all”, all official, non-state, popular, civil institutions and the private sector. Activists, etc. The absence of this strategy reduces the chances of achieving the goals desired by adopting such a method.

- Western support for the other side in this conflict, and the division of the government negatively affects the official and diplomatic position¹³⁹. It is important to note that the lack of a political horizon in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a major obstacle to achieving real peace. This kills “hope” and prevents core issues from being addressed, including the dispossession of the Palestinian people, the status of Jerusalem, and the military occupation that has continued since 1967. In addition, there are three main problems: the increasing number of organized parties and united institutions involved In the international fields, the masses who were traditionally affected by foreign policy but are now part of it, and the process and progress of digitalization¹⁴⁰.

(Participant 9)¹⁴¹ adds other obstacles and challenges, which are explained as follows:

- **Media Bias:** Western media often does not adequately represent the Palestinian narrative or highlight Palestinian viewpoints well, which is something that is emphasized by (Participant 8)¹⁴², as one of the most important influencing factors is international support for the occupying state, as Social media restricts publications related to the Palestinian issue, whether audio, visual, or written, and this negatively affects the extent of the issue’s spread on the global scene, especially to the peoples of foreign countries.

¹³⁹ Participant 2, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹⁴⁰ Participant 5, personal interview 1/14/2024

¹⁴¹ Participant 9, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹⁴² Participant 8, personal interview 1/2/2024

- **Lack of Resources:** Palestinians need more financial and technological resources, which may limit their ability to engage in effective public diplomacy campaigns. This includes challenges in exploiting social media and other modern communication tools.
- **Challenges of Confronting the Narrative:** Israel has always worked to confront Palestinian messages and even made efforts to influence the media and public opinion, constantly trying to dismantle the realities of the Palestinian situation.
- **Movement Challenges:** Due to the occupation and barriers across the West Bank, Palestinians are restricted in physical interaction with international organizations and politicians.
- **Challenges of Normalization:** Some Arab countries are making efforts to normalize relations with Israel, creating challenges for public diplomacy and affecting perceptions of unity within the Arab world.
- **Division of Palestinian Factions:** Internal division between Palestinian parties could hinder unified and harmonious communication in diplomatic efforts.

There are also other obstacles such as:

- The absence of political organizations that are supposed to work to educate non-state actors.
- Not providing opportunities for young people.
- The official institution does not provide opportunities for social movements to work truly on the ground under the pretext of competing for legitimacy¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ Participant 7, personal interview 1/10/2024

4.6 Ideas that Can be Presented Through Analyzing the Performance of Non-State Actors to Develop the Performance of Palestinian Public and Official Diplomacy.

In the past decade, especially after the creation of TikTok and Instagram, there has been a huge increase in support for the cause of the Palestinian people. Social media platforms have allowed Palestinians to tell their own stories and reach a huge audience. Before the beginning of digital media, the world depended on printing; As for the new era of digital communication, it has made it easier to communicate with the outside world and see Palestinians as human beings - people with dreams, goals, ambitions, talents, and creative creativity¹⁴⁴. (Participant 3)¹⁴⁵ presents a set of ideas explained as follows:

Analyzing the performance of non-state actors can contribute effectively to developing the performance of Palestinian public and official diplomacy. One of the main points relates to effective communication with civil society, as this can be achieved by strengthening communication with civil society organizations and non-governmental associations. It is proposed to hold dialogue sessions and workshops to understand the depths of society's needs and include them in the formulation of foreign policies. On the other hand, social media can be exploited as an effective tool to enhance the performance of diplomacy. Encourages strengthening the digital presence of Palestinian diplomacy through these means, with a focus on monitoring reactions and actively participating in digital dialogues.

Diplomatic networks built on personalities and youth can be built to stimulate cultural exchange and promote international understanding. Supporting youth and student exchange programs contributes to strengthening cultural communication and building bridges of understanding. Communication with Palestinian communities abroad cannot

¹⁴⁴ Participant 9, personal interview 1/3/2024

¹⁴⁵ Participant 3, personal interview 1/1/2024

be ignored, as it is an important aspect. By strengthening relations with these communities and exploiting their influence, support for the national cause can be strengthened. Interactive programs should be launched to increase awareness and effective participation of Palestinian communities with the international community.

Emphasizing that improving the skills of diplomats is also an essential part. The performance of diplomats can be enhanced by providing training programs aimed at developing communication and negotiation skills. Emphasis should also be placed on strengthening cultural and linguistic understanding to improve the quality of interaction with different cultures.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

1. Non-state actors appeared significantly in Palestine during the period from 1993 to 2022, as these actors diversified to include popular committees, organizations, activists, and alternative media. This phenomenon comes in response to the urgent need to highlight the issue of Palestine and compensate for the lack of international media coverage.
2. These actors benefited from social media as an effective tool for communicating and transmitting events, and the youth movement played a prominent role in shedding media light on the events, especially during the Palestinian uprising in 2021. However, these actors faced challenges related to organization and weak political and economic programs. The challenge highlights the need for integrated struggle and a comprehensive political program to ensure that actors achieve their goals effectively.
3. The role of non-state actors in influencing local and international policies on the Palestinian issue depends on four main criteria. First, an organization's ability to adapt to developments in the environment determines its effectiveness, as inertia can lead to it losing its relevance. Second, the second evaluation focuses on the independence of the organization, which makes it easier to control. Third, the interconnectedness and diversity of the organization's structure contribute to strengthening its ability to ensure the loyalty of its members. Finally, harmony reflects the effectiveness of the organization through resolving conflicts and divisions in peaceful ways, which contributes to its sustainable development.

4. Non-state actors play an important role in attracting international support and shaping international awareness about the Palestinian issue. Taking into account the importance of the intellectual stores and technological thinking of these actors in influencing national and international policies related to the issue.
5. Local, regional and international alliances and partnerships are essential for the success of the efforts of non-state actors, and economic and social initiatives play a vital role in improving the image of Palestine and strengthening a comprehensive understanding of Palestinian society, both at the local and international levels.
6. The importance of Arab and Western support to strengthen unofficial efforts cannot be ignored, focusing on the vital role of parties that reject normalization and oppose settlement policies, such as the Boycott and Divestment Movement (BDS), and Palestinian institutions specialized in various fields.
7. It highlights the positive role that official bodies can play in stimulating creativity and innovation by establishing bodies that promote excellence and providing support and resources for creative youth. By building strong bridges between official bodies and non-state actors, cooperation and comprehensive efforts can be enhanced, reflecting positive interaction that enhances the push towards better achieving national goals.
8. The public and popular diplomacy of the State of Palestine affects several aspects, as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict plays a decisive role in shaping global public opinion. In addition, diplomatic relations and alliances with countries and international institutions are linked to the success of diplomacy, and effective communication through social media contributes to strengthening popular and diplomatic support. The efficiency and transparency of the government plays an active role in transferring international confidence, as well as the state's commitment to human rights and

resolving humanitarian issues in the region. It contributes to strengthening global support and improving its international image.

9. Non-state actors rely on specific diplomatic mechanisms to provide support for official diplomacy and serve the Palestinian cause. The first method is legal documentation and reporting, as this tool forms the basis for providing legal arguments and strengthening the legitimacy of Palestinian demands on the international scene. This mechanism can achieve compliance with international law, establish facts and counter disinformation, and guide engagement with international organizations. The second approach is evident in moral activism, particularly the Boycott, Separation and Sanctions (BDS) movement. This campaign includes economic pressure, raising awareness about the rights of the Palestinian people, and promoting international accountability. In addition, non-state actors benefit from information and awareness campaigns, and their cooperation with international movements and institutions enhances international solidarity and directs pressure toward change in official positions. The use of social media is also emerging as an effective means of conveying messages and achieving influence on international public opinion.
10. Palestinian diplomacy faces major challenges that include the absence of a unified national strategy, media bias, lack of resources, occupation restrictions, regional challenges, and internal division between factions. These problems hinder the ability of the Palestinians to achieve their diplomatic goals and highlight the importance of coordinating the efforts of all actors and developing unified strategies to improve the international and popular situation of Palestine.
11. Analyzing the performance of non-state actors opens the door to a set of ideas for developing Palestinian diplomatic performance. This includes strengthening

communication with civil society through dialogues and workshops, and effectively investing in social media to improve digital presence. It also encourages the building of diplomatic networks with young people to enhance cultural exchange, and directs attention towards communicating with Palestinian communities abroad to exploit their influence and enhance international support. In addition, it focuses on developing the skills of diplomats through dedicated training programs to enhance communication and negotiation and improve the quality of interaction with international partners. These activities, derived from the analysis of non-state actors, can contribute significantly to strengthening Palestine's diplomatic influence on the international scene.

5.2 Recommendations

A. Recommendations to the Palestinian Government:

1. Developing new strategies for public diplomacy, with a focus on strengthening the positive influence of non-state actors in the context of diplomatic work.
2. Strengthening interaction and cooperation with non-state actors by developing effective mechanisms and channels for communication, such as creating official platforms for permanent dialogue.
3. Encouraging the participation of civil society and non-governmental organizations in formulating and implementing public diplomacy policies, and ensuring their representation in international forums.
4. Strengthening transparency and governance in relations between the government and non-state actors, by developing specific mechanisms to evaluate and follow up on joint efforts.

5. Intensifying efforts aimed at strengthening international cooperation and building alliances with non-official actors on the international scene.
6. Improving public communication and diplomatic outreach to increase public awareness about Palestinian issues and the role of non-state actors in strengthening diplomacy.
7. Providing financial resources and political support to non-state actors who play a prominent role in strengthening Palestinian diplomacy.

B. Recommendations for Researchers:

1. Conduct deeper studies on the impact of Non-state actors on Palestinian public diplomacy policies, with a focus on analyzing actual results and practical impact.
2. Expanding the scope of research to include case studies to understand the interactions of non-state actors with government policies in the field of public diplomacy.
3. Pay special attention to exploring effective methods to enhance cooperation between the government and non-state actors, with a focus on innovation and exchange of experiences.
4. Supporting the conduct of research on the impact of social media and technology on strengthening Palestinian diplomacy through non-state actors.

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المخلص

هدفت الدراسة إلى تحديد دور الجهات الفاعلة غير الحكومية في تعزيز الدبلوماسية الفلسطينية، مع التركيز على الفترة من 1993 إلى 2022. وباستخدام نهج تحليلي وصفي ومقابلات وتحليل المحتوى، وجدت الدراسة أن الجهات الفاعلة غير الحكومية، بما في ذلك اللجان الشعبية والمنظمات والناشطين ووسائل الإعلام البديلة، أصبحت بارزة في فلسطين لمعالجة نقص التغطية الإعلامية الدولية. استخدمت هذه الجهات الفاعلة وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي بشكل فعال وشاركت بشكل كبير خلال الأحداث الرئيسية مثل الانتفاضة الفلسطينية عام 2021. وعلى الرغم من تأثيرها، فقد واجهت تحديات بسبب ضعف البرامج السياسية والاقتصادية، مما يسلب الضوء على الحاجة إلى استراتيجية سياسية شاملة.

يعتمد تأثير الجهات الفاعلة غير الحكومية على السياسات المحلية والدولية على قدرتها على التكيف مع التغييرات المجتمعية والسياسية والاستقلال والتنوع البيئي. كانت هذه الجهات الفاعلة حاسمة في جذب الدعم الدولي وتشكيل الوعي بالقضية الفلسطينية، حيث لعبت حركات مثل مقاطعة وسحب الاستثمارات وفرض العقوبات (BDS) دورًا رئيسيًا. وأكدت الدراسة على أهمية الدعم العربي والغربي في تعزيز هذه الجهود.

وتضمنت التوصيات تطوير استراتيجيات جديدة للدبلوماسية العامة، وتعزيز التفاعل مع الجهات الفاعلة غير الحكومية، وإنشاء منصات رسمية للحوار المستمر. كما أكدت على ضرورة مشاركة المجتمع المدني والمنظمات غير الحكومية في الدبلوماسية العامة وتمثيلها في المحافل الدولية.