**BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY**

Faculty of Business and Economics

Master Program of Business Administration

**"Social Media Mobilization in Time of Crisis: Palestinian Employment in Lebanon"**

Submitted by:

Shurooq Rafeeq Ameen Morrar

1175232

**First Supervisor**: Dr. Amal Nazzal – Business and Economics Faculty

**Second Supervisor**: Prof. Mustafa Jarrar – Department of Computer Science.

# "Social Media Mobilization in Time of Crisis: Palestinian Employment in Lebanon"

**"حراك وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في ظل الأزمات: العمالة في الفلسطينية في لبنان"**

## Submitted by:

Shurooq Rafeeq Ameen Morrar

**First Supervisor**:

Dr. Amal Nazzal

_____

**Second Supervisor**:

Prof. Mustafa Jarrar

_____

## Discussion Committee:

Dr. Samia Al-Botmeh

_____

Dr. Samah Abu Assab

_____

*February 3, 2022*

*"This Thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's Degree in Business Administration from the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Birzeit University, Palestine"*

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**Abstract**

This study aims to explore the role of social media mobilization in times of crisis, and how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media to mobilize their critical employment situations and discriminatory work law. This study contributes to our understanding of social media mobilization to generate a robust understanding of the intricacies of relationships formed online in times of crisis among disadvantaged populations. Exploratory study was conducted, where a two-stage research methodology was employed to address the research objectives. The first on five semi-structured interviews with key figures and activists in Lebanon. The second one is a Sequential Explanatory Strategy to collect 1305 relevant Arabic tweets from Twitter. This study explores how activists in Lebanon utilize social media to express their employment situation and work rights. In addition, this study provides us with a better understanding of the Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues. Based on the analysis conveyed, and according to the study, social media is the most powerful resource available for refugees for collecting information, organizing movements, disseminating objections, and demanding their rights.

الملخص

تسعى هذه الرسالة الى فهم ودراسة بيانات وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في أوقات الأزمات. كما وتسعى هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة وضع اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في لبنان واستخدامهم لوسائل التواصل الإجتماعي في ظل قرار وزير العمل اللبناني الصادر في شهر تموز ٢٠١٩ تجاه اللاجئين بشكل عام واللاجئين الفلسطينيين بشكل خاص. اعتمدت الدراسة المنهج الاستكشافي، وتجزأت المنهجية إلى مرحلتين. الأولى هي مقابلات شبه منظمة مع خمس شخصيات ونشطاء رئيسيين للحراك في لبنان. والمرحلة الثاني هي تحليل كمي ونوعي لـ ١٣٠٥ تغريدة تم نشرها على منصة التواصل الإجتماعي "تويتر" حول هذا الموضوع. أعربت نتائج الدراسة عن كيفية استخدم النشطاء الفلسطينيين في لبنان لوسائل التواصل الإجتماعي للحشد عن وضعهم الوظيفي وحقوق العمل. بالإضافة إلى فهم أفضل لبيانات وسائل التواصل الإجتماعي العربية فيما يتعلق بقضايا اللاجئين. وبيّنت الدراسة أهمية وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي للاجئين كوسيلة لجمع المعلومات وتنظيم الحراكات ونشر الإعتراضات والمطالبة بالحقوق

**Chapter one: Overview of the research**

1 Introduction

Recent riots and demonstrations around the world were orchestrated through networks of activism, organized through the medium of social media, and similar political uprisings, for instance, in Egypt in 2011, were also shown to be shaped, framed and mobilized along digital lines (Lim, 2012). This master thesis aims to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media to announce their cause in relation to their critical employment situations and discriminatory work law. An increasing amount of social interaction is happening online, and social media is becoming a core environment for building and expanding networks (Hansen, 2011), gaining information and advice (Kozinets, de Valck, Wilner, and Wojnicki, 2010), forming identities (Lim, 2012) and acquiring emotional support (Bruhn, Heinrich, Schäfer, and Schoenmüller, 2012). Social media provides a space and tool for the formation and expansion of networks and mobilization mechanisms to better communicate social and political participation, civil society, and democracy (Lim, 2012). To date the study of social media mobilization in time of crisis and transnational contexts is limited which provides a fruitful avenue for future research (Dekker, Engbersen, Klaver and Vonk, 2018). Similarly there has been only limited empirical application of how refugees, as marginalised and highly disadvantaged population, could be more empowered by the use of different media environments (Rettberg and Gajjala, 2016) and numerous questions have been raised in previous literature concerning the overall impact of social communication platforms (Jansen, Zhang, Sobel, and Chowdury, 2009). Similarly, networks and relationships shape repertoires of connection, yet our knowledge of social media as a facilitator for social and political activism requires further development, as empirical studies on this original phenomenon are still largely absent (Jansen et al., 2009). Hence, this study will make an important and timely contribution to our understanding of social media mobilization to generate a robust understanding of the intricacies of relationships formed online in times of crisis among disadvantaged populations.

The aim of this research is to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media to express their cause in relation to their critical employment situations and

discriminatory work law and to make an important and timely contribution to our understanding of social media mobilization to generate an understanding of the relationships formed online in times of crisis among disadvantaged populations.

There are five chapters in the thesis, each discussing a distinct aspect of the research topic. Chapter 1 is an introduction and provides an overview of what the research will provide. The chapter is subdivided into four parts. An overview of the research is provided in part 1, followed by a description of the Palestinian refugee context in Lebanon in part 2, an exploration of the research problem and contribution in part 3, and research objectives and methodology in part 4. Chapter 2 reviews literature review. The chapter consists of three parts. In part 1, we are discussing public introduction, in part 2, we are exploring socio-economic backgrounds, in part 3, we are addressing employment and the labor force, in part 4, we address refugees' psychological impact. Chapter 3 is research methodology and it's subdivided into four parts. Part 1 illustrates the research aim and objectives, part 2 looks at Research Design, part 3 reviews methodological instruments, and part 4 outlines the methodological limitation. Chapter 4 concentrates on data analysis and findings. Part 1 describes the working conditions, part 2 illustrate subjective experiences of Palestinian refugees, part 3 investigate the position of the Lebanese media and the Lebanese government regarding the reality of the refugee protests, part 4 looks over the official efforts, part 5 clarify the attitude of the Lebanese people towards the movement of Palestinian refugees, and part 6 resolves the consequences of movement. The thesis has achieved its main objective in chapter 5.

1.1 Background to the Research

According to the U.N. Refugee Agency 70.8 million people around the world have been forcibly displaced (UNHCR, 2019). This recorded number is the highest since World War II. Most people remain displaced within their home countries, but about 25.9 million people worldwide have fled to other countries as refugees. More than half of these refugees are children. In Lebanon, of the 425,000 Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA since 1948, only 260,000-280,000 currently reside in Lebanon. A study published in 2010, has revealed the disadvantaged work conditions which Palestinian

refugees suffer from, where high levels of joblessness has been witnessed and recorded (Chaaban et al., 2010). Many Palestinian workers are discouraged from working, 56% of refugees are jobless and only 37% of the working age population is employed. The Palestinian refugee labor force reaches 120,000, of which 53,000 are working. Moreover, those with a job are often males in low status, casual and precarious employment. Despite many professions that Palestinian refugees are prohibited from, such as law, medicine, and engineering, in June 2019, the Lebanese Ministry of Labour closed down some Palestinian owned businesses under the claim that they are undocumented non-Lebanese workers, whom should be treated as foreign labourers in Lebanon (NPR, 2019). Therefore, a huge social media campaign was run against these exclusionary acts targeted at Palestinian workers, demanding the Lebanese government to reconsider their rights to obtain work permit to gain employment. Therefore, this study aims to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media platforms to better mobilize masses and to employ social media mobilization as a pressuring tool against any discriminatory work law.

1.2 The Palestinian Refugees Context in Lebanon

1.2.1 Historical and Political Background

In Lebanon, 425,000 Palestinian refugees have registered with UNRWA since 1948, only 260,000-280,000 currently reside in Lebanon. Like many groups of refugees in multiple hosted countries like Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon and Jordan. They were forced to flee multiple times from their home (Chaaban et al., 2010). The Palestinian community in Lebanon established before and after the creation of the state of Israel when the UN had provided a homeland for Jewish in Palestine following the colonization of Palestine in 1948 (UNHCR, 2019). More Palestinian refugees were driven out from their homes during the colonization of what remained of Palestine in 1956 and 1967, followed by many more of the continuing Israeli invasions, Lebanese civil war (1975-1991) and war of the camps (1985-1989) (Suleiman, 2006). All of these political conflicts obliged Palestinians to flee from their homes multiple times.

According to a 2008 study, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon can be divided into three groups: those who were residents and registered Palestinians in 1949, those who were residents but unregistered in 1949, and those who came after 1967. The first group carries identification cards, travel documents, benefit from UNRWA's services, and also have records in the Lebanese Surete Generale and the Directorate of Arab Palestinian Refugees, the second group has identity cards and travel documents, but have not been registered with UNRWA, and the third group carry no identification cards, travel documents, and do not benefit from UNRWA's services (O'Donnell, Watt, & Zabaneh, 2008).

1.2.2 Socio-economic Context

Furthermore, Suleiman (2006) has illustrated how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon may be less fortunate than Palestinian refugees in other host countries. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon suffer from social rejection and lack of opportunities to live an enriching, distinctive and creative life, despite the special status of long-term refugees. Also, O'Donnell et al (2008) point out how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have experienced difficulty accessing higher education, medical care, and social security, regardless of whether they are registered with UNRWA. In addition, they are prohibited from owning land in Lebanon and have been restricted from building and restoring their camps.

In terms of job opportunities, they are excluded from over 72 professions such as medicine and law; this led them to low-paid and unregulated work. All this deprivation because of the shortage of legal status, civil and social rights must have distinguished them from foreigners' refugees. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon did not seek permanent settlement; regarding it as tantamount to renouncing their inalienable rights to return to Palestine, but they are continuously mobilizing for their social and economic right which always be rejected by Lebanese Governments as they consider it a preface for permanent settlement.

1.3 Research Problem and Contribution

Based on the tough and discriminatory living situation in which Palestinians refugees in Lebanon are living, a tool for mobilizing their causes and pushing for their rights might be helpful. For refugees, accessing different social networking sites (hereafter SNS) is a helpful window and worldwide online platform, which mobilize their needs, living

conditions, work rights, and other crucial issues to the world. That being said, SNS platforms will be rich with active, interactive, substantial, heterogeneous and rich variety of online data in social media, which may be sentimentally analyzed to better understand many social, political, economic issues from the perspective of commune.

We conducted this study to investigate how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media to express their concerns about their critical employment situations and discriminatory working conditions. The purpose of this study is to examine whether social media mobilization in crisis times could reflect Palestinian employment issues in Lebanon under the strict policies from the Ministry of Labour.

Moreover, this research will provide a better understanding of refugees' issues worldwide, in particular, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In addition, this research aims to clarify how social media content and dynamics could be organized among marginalized communities, who lack many resources, to express their opinion through the online Arabic language.

## 1.4 Research Objectives and Methodology

### 1.4.1 Research Objectives

Specifically, the researcher aims to achieve three main objectives: first, to analyze how activists in Lebanon use social media during crisis situations to express their employment and work rights, according to political and economic policies against foreigners. How can social media be used by central actors, such as activists, for acquiring and disseminating information, power, and solidarity generated by web-based ties? To better understand refugee issues through social media data collected in Arabic.

### 1.4.2 Methodology

This research is an exploratory study that aims to explore in some depth the role of social media under prolonged adverse conditions, in particular among disadvantaged populations like the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

*The Context*

The Palestinian presence in Lebanon dates from the Nakba in 1948, according to the 2017 statistics, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are betwee 260 - 280 thousands (UNHCR ,2019). They are living in 12 refugee camps and 156 other Palestinian communities spread with the Lebanese geographic areas (Pcbs, 2019).

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are concentrated in Sidon with (36%), followed by North (25%), Tyre (about 15%), Beirut 13%, Al Chouf 7%, and Bekaa 4%. The results also indicated that about 5% of the Palestinian refugees have another nationality (Pcbs, 2019). The results also indicated that about 7.2% of the Palestinian refugees (10 years and above) are illiterate (cannot read and write). Moreover, the percentage of enrolment in education for individuals from (3-13 years) was about 94%. While the percentage of those holding a university degree and higher was about 11%. In addition, the results showed that the unemployment rate among Palestinian refugees 15 years and above in Lebanon was about 18% of the individuals participating in the labour force. The rate of unemployment among young people (15-19 years) reached 44%, while the unemployment rate was 29% for the individuals (20-29 years) (PCBS, 2019).

According to the labour ministry policies, Palestinian refugees were banned from practice about 72 professions (Chaaban et al., 2010). They are banned from working of law, medicine, engineering, barbers, and many other professions. The permitted professions are limited to low wages jobs such as agriculture and construction work, in addition to depriving them from owning property and inheriting property from their family members. This makes Palestinian refugees in Lebanon the foremost unfortunate and impoverished group of Palestinian refugees in any Arab host country.

Despite their long presence in Lebanon, Palestine refugees stay excluded from key aspects of social, political and economic life within the country. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon live in camps, the space inhabited by about two thirds of Palestine refugees. Those camps' populations have increased and many have become cramped shantytowns, offering little privacy to residents and exposing them to health hazards.

Palestinian workers in Lebanon demands to be merged in the Lebanese labour markets, but unfortunately there are many political and governance restrictions which makes this issue a more contested topic. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have minimum rights of civil, economic, space and mobility, despite their enhancement in the Lebanese economy through their consumption and taxation (Chaaban, et al., 2010).

1.4.3 Research Methodology

Based on the three primary research questions outlined above, a two- stage research methodology is proposed as follows:

A Sequential Explanatory Strategy for collecting relevant Arabic social media content. This strategy of collecting online data includes two steps. The first one, Thematic analysis of the data which was collected of the relevant hashtag " تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة", which was started on Twitter on the 14th of June, 2019.  And the second step is a qualitative analysis of the online data collected in phase one, or what so called a netnography study. The researcher will be able to analyze the attitude of the opinion holder in addition to subjective opinions text which contains opinions, emotions, or sentiments in order to explore people's opinions within social media. In addition, this framework will be capable to determine the subjectivity, polarity, and intensity of the evaluated Arabic opinions, where specific syntactic features are used to determine the strength of the opinion.

Semi-structured interviews with key figures and activists engaged with the studied online activism in Lebanon. The main goal of these interviews is to discuss how the activists establish and organise the hashtag online flow, how they expand their online networks, broker relations with other activists, and what are their dynamics and mechanisms of translating this online activism into an offline one.

**Chapter two: Literature review**

2. Introduction:

Refugees around the world play an important role in studying, understanding, and analyzing marginalized groups which are forced to flee from their home countries and have to integrate into new communities with different languages, cultures, customs, and traditions. In addition, refugees have to develop their new life, looking for shelter, source of income and social capital. Social media has recently been examined as a means of enhancing refugees' social integration within the framework of challenging social, economic, cultural, and political conditions (AbuJarour, & Krasnova, 2017; Kutscher & Kreß, 2016). This literature review will focus on the integration of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Moreover, the literature review chapter will concentrate on studies which focus on the disadvantage work condition which Palestinian refugees suffered from in Lebanon (Chaaban et al., 2010). In addition, there are many studies highlight the importance of establishing formal legal status, civil and social rights that must distinguish Palestinian refugees in Lebanon from foreigners' refugees (Suleiman, 2006; O'Donnell et al., 2008).

Moreover, this chapter will provide a comprehensive literature review around multiple areas that affect Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The socio-economic background of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon will be reviewed, their employment and labor force, their psychological impact, and the importance of using social media to better integrate with their lived communities.

The goal of this literature review is to deeply understand the context of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in order to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media platforms to better communicate with masses and to employ social media communication as a pressuring tool against any discriminatory work law.

2.1 Socio-economic background

In 2019, UNHCR reported that 70.8 million people all over the world were forced to flee their homes, a record number since World War II (UNHCR, 2019). Due to conflict or persecution, 37,000 people are forced to run away from their homes every day. Around 25.9 million people worldwide have fled their home countries as refugees, but the majority remain within their home countries, where 2.6 million of them live in camps. On the other hand, Muggah & Abdenur (2018) shows that 80% of refugees are living in urban areas and informal dwellings.

The illiteracy rate among Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is 7.2% for those ages 10 and older. More than half of the refugees are children of primary school age but more than half of them did not go to school, especially girls. For instance, out of every ten-refugee boys in primary school, there are fewer than eight refugee girls (UNHCR, 2019). This will be detrimental to children's development; since they were born and grew up in communities, which were missing the educational rights for long periods. In Lebanon for example, the PCBS report in 2019 shows that the percentage of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon whose holding a university degree and higher was only 10.5% (PCBS,2019).

American Muslim for Palestine study reveals that two out of every five refugees in the world are Palestinians (AMP ,2019). The Palestinian Nakba resulted in the displacement of 800 thousand Palestinians in 1948, who fled from their homes during Nakba. For now, The PCBS report in 2019 shows that up to 6 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA in Palestine and Diaspora. They are distributed in the West Bank 17%, Gaza strip 25%, Jordan 39%, Syria 11%, and Lebanon 9%.

The UN Refugee Agency (UNRWA) registers 425,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon since 1948, but only 260,000-280,000 of those refugees currently reside in Lebanon (UNHCR ,2019). This is a similar situation to many refugees spread across multiple hosted countries (Chaaban et al., 2010). The Palestinian community in Lebanon was founded before and after the colonization of Palestine  by Israel after the UN provided a national home for Jews in 1948. In addition to those who fled during Israel's colonization of the rest of Palestine (1956,

1967), more Palestinians' refugees also fled during multiple Israeli invasions, the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1991), and the Camp War (1985-1989) (Suleiman, 2006). Palestinians were forced to flee their homes multiple times due to these political conflicts.

A study published in 2008, classifies Palestinian refugees in Lebanon into three groups, those residents and registered Palestinians in 1949, residents but unregistered Palestinians in 1949, and residents after 1967. The first group carries identification cards, travel documents, benefit from UNRWA's services, and also have records in the Lebanese Surete Generale and the Directorate of Arab Palestinian Refugees, the second group has identity cards and travel documents, but have not been registered with UNRWA, and the third group carry no identification cards, travel documents, and do not benefit from UNRWA's services (O'Donnell et al., 2008).

Moreover, Suleiman (2006) has shown how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon may be the less fortunate group of Palestinian refugees in other hosted countries. In spite of the special case of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as long-term refugees, they suffer from social unacceptance, lack of opportunities to live a distinctive, creative and enriching life. Moreover, O'Donnell et al (2008), explain how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, whether registered with UNRWA or not, have been suffering from the difficulty to access higher education, health services, and social security. In addition, they have been suffering from restrictions on building and reconstruction work within the camps, and they are prevented from owning land in Lebanon.

2.2 Employment and Labor Force

In terms of job opportunities, Palestinians are excluded from over 72 professions; this led them to low-paid and unregulated work. All this deprivation because of the shortage of legal status, civil and social rights that must distinguish them from foreigners' refugees. The two studies by Suleiman (2006) and O'Donnell et al (2008) conclude that Lebanon's national legislation must generate a stable legal issue for Palestinians as prolonged refugees, not foreigners (Suleiman, 2006). With formal legal rights, Palestinians will have a solid criterion to guarantee their rights as prolonged refugees in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

did not seek permanent settlement; regarding it as tantamount to renouncing their inalienable rights to return to Palestine, but they are continuously mobilizing for their social and economic right which always be rejected by Lebanese Governments as they consider it a preface for permanent settlement.

A study published in 2010, has revealed some disadvantaged working conditions which Palestinian refugees suffer from; high levels of joblessness have been witnessed and recorded (Chaaban et al., 2010). The Palestinian refugee labor force reaches 120,000, of which only 53,000 are working. Moreover, those with a job are often males in low status, casual and precarious employment. Despite that there are many professions that Palestinian refugees are prohibited from, such as law, medicine, and engineering. Many Palestinian workers are discouraged from working, 56% of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are jobless and only 37% of the working-age population is employed. Those who had jobs had accepted any job that could be offered to them rather than remaining unemployed due to severe poverty and frustration from getting valuable jobs because of restrictions and discriminatory tendencies among many employers

Based on 2007 statistics, half of the Palestinian workers receive less than 500,000 LBP/ month, equivalent to $328.07, which is under the average minimum wage in Lebanon which is equal to $450 USD (GIZ, 2019). Only 2% of refugees have acquired a work permit. According to the International Labour Organization, the Palestinian refugees' employment status has a direct effect on their development conditions (ILO, 2012). Furthermore, according to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Ministerial Decree No.1756, Palestinians are treated as foreigners and required to obtain a work permit prior to employment. In addition, they are required to make full contributions to the National Social Security Fund in spite of receiving very limited benefits (El-Natour and Yassine, 2007).

To prove how refugees worldwide are forcibly disabled from gaining jobs, a recent survey had been conducted over employers in Coventry in the West Midlands, which found that in spite of the lack of employees, and difficulty to fill job vacancies, less than 5% of employers hired a refugee (Harris, 2019). In addition, the survey exposes how finding a job helps refugees' integration, improve language skills, empower social capital, and cultural

awareness. Another study found that less than half of refugees are using social media in order to look for jobs (Alencar, 2018). On the other hand, Cheung & Phillimore (2014) found that, without social networks, refugees have a detrimental effect on gaining jobs. Therefore, this study is interesting to explore how social media mobilization might, or might not, express about workers' work rights and conditions, and if so, how activists could organize, mobilize, and act within online environments. In addition, a recent report by OECD with a contribution to UNHCR aims to help refugees to integrate with the host society and explain through a 10-point multi-stakeholder action plan and targeted the employers, refugees, governments and civil society in order to explain how refugees could be treated as a significant opportunity for the host country, given the many skills and aptitudes that they bring (OECD,UNHCR, 2019). Other research also reflected the different levels of online hate speech which refugees face on a daily basis.

## 2.3 Refugees Psychological Impact

In June 2019, the Lebanese Ministry of Labour closed down some Palestinian-owned businesses under the claim that they are undocumented non-Lebanese workers, who should be treated as foreign laborers in Lebanon. Therefore, a huge social media campaign was outraged against these exclusionary acts against Palestinian workers, demanding the Lebanese government to reconsider their rights to obtain a work permit to gain employment.

To focus on the psychological factor, extant research has discussed how resettlement practices, forced migrant policies, cultural traditions and the economic, political and social conditions of the host country can affect refugees' feelings after many years of displacement and deprivation. The expression of 'us' and 'them' generates a sense of unacceptability from the hosted population heritage and culture (Ford, 2011). According to ILO report (2014), Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are treated as a liability on the Lebanese economy as they rival Lebanese on their work opportunities, without taking into consideration the significant contributions of the Palestinian refugees to the Lebanese economy (Chaaban et al., 2010). As a result of transculturalism, Barnett (2013) has studied how refugee identity in Czech can be affected by leaving their home country; refugees adopt some elements of the culture of their new host country while holding onto others. The study also shows how discrimination, felt,

name-calling, racism, and provocative media generate a negative impact on refugees' feelings and well-being. Another article published in 2008, shows the effects of hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers on their well-being (Hayes, Leudar, Nekvapil, & Turner Baker 2008). Hayes et al., (2008) illustrate how refugees and asylum seekers in the UK suffer from psychological problems related to social and political activities, media criticism, and hostile rejection by the local population (Hayes et al., 2008). Regarding the Palestinians' refugees' psychological status and well-being, few studies which explain the Palestinian refugees' sentiment and the continued conflict, unacceptance, discrimination, racism between Palestinian and Lebanese could be found. Moreover, the researcher is not aware on any studies which have explained Palestinian mobilization after the openness to social media and the Internet that opened up the horizons for refugees to express their feelings toward their conflict. Therefore, this study is interested to examine whether the use of social media was helpful or not for Palestinians' refugees to express and share their feelings and thoughts about the discriminatory laws and stressful psychological status which they have been living in for a long while.

2.4 Introduction to Social Media

Media is one of the most significant sources for hearing about current events and learning about the various issues of the day, such as economics, science, and politics. Additionally, its main function is to monitor government responses to issues that arise among citizens on their land and throughout the world.

The media can inform people about a protest event in many ways like television, print news, radio news, online news. There are however differences in the effectiveness of diverse media in executing these roles.

A recent study by Bouliane et.al. (2020) examined the difference between how social media and television respond to protests sparked by President Trump's election and how they affect participation in marches and demonstrations on the ground. They found that "Twitter use offers more consistent effects compared to Facebook in relation to the cycle of protest. In

contrast, television use has no impact on awareness and thus, limited potential for mobilization".

The country is improving on new social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook as a result of technological developments that have affected generations, particularly young people. Twitter and Facebook allow the dissemination of information, the mobilization of movements, and the delivery of news, which has been a challenge to the traditional media (Shaw, 2016). The study by Shaw (2016) also showed that there are several factors that distinguish social media from traditional media. They include instant feedback, user-generated content, more efficient approaches, self-engagement, and collaborative roles with new participatory platforms resulting in alternative views that influence collective opinions and social opinions as a whole.

Social media allows communication independent of hierarchy, economic differences, or standards of living, thereby allowing for intensified impressions and contributing to a more sustained campaign during and after movements.

On July 11, 2019 the Ministry of Labor shut down al-Aref Ceramic Stores owned by Palestinian Ziad al-Aref, because it failed to provide work permits to all employees. This set off the mobilization against the decision of the Lebanese Minister of Labor to impose a work permit for Palestinian refugees. Social media was significantly employed during the movements. The first hashtag of the mobilization is #تجويعي يخدم الصفقة followed by #بدنا نعيش بكرامة ، # يسقط قرار الوزير، #العمل حق للفلسطيني.

The study by Shaw (2016) and Fox (2020) concluded that social media is currently unable to regulate social media data. Within this paper, the researcher explains how opinions generated through social media about social movements can be explained.

2.5 Refugees and Social Media

Recent studies have explored the importance of social media in enhancing refugees' social integration within the new challenging social, economic, cultural, and political situations (AbuJarour & Krasnova, 2017; Alam & Imran, 2015; Kutscher et al., 2016). However, there is little research insights on how technology can be successfully used to alleviate human suffering, improve refugees' chances for integration, and enhance the acceptance of refugees among the hosting population (AbuJarour & Krasnova, 2017). Some recent studies have discussed how SNS empower refugees' migration experience, Alencar (2018), for example, finds that SNS was particularly relevant for refugee participants to acquire language and cultural competence, as well as to build both bonding and bridging social capital.

Another study reveals that social media helps migrants on deciding whether to migrate or not, and to decide the destinations of where to settle, after finding that the majority of Syrian asylum migrants have access to social media information before and during migration, often through the use of smartphones (Dekker et al., 2018). Asylum migrants use various strategies, such as checking the source of information, validating the information with trusted social ties, triangulation of online sources, and comparing information with their own experience, to validate rumours that are present on social media and come from unknown sources. AbuJarour and Krasnova (2017) also reveal how SNS and technology, especially smartphones, have played an important role in saving refugees' lives during their journey towards safe countries, as well as in their integration thereafter.

Marlowe (2019) showed how social media changed the way refugees interacted with their host communities for the purpose of integration in civic activities such as education, employment, and more activities. A study published in 2018, has discussed how the government of Canada helps Syrian refugees in 2015 after they fled from their home country to integrate with their new community and discussed how social capital networks including family, friends and their social connections influence them to gain houses and jobs (Al Mhamied et al., 2018).

On the other hand, some research reveals the dark side of social media in bullying and excluding refugees in the hosting countries. Rettberg and Gajjala (2016) have studied the negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees, as either terrorists or cowards, in social media through analyzing twitter hashtag of #refugeesNOTwelcome. Ekman (2018) reveals the negative strong public feelings towards immigrants following the New Year's Eve 2015 attacks in Köln, as masses mobilized an online backlash through social media against refugees under the claim of alleged violent and sexual attacks by refugees. That being said, this research highlights the importance of understanding the relation between anti-refugee mobilizations, online racism, and digital communication practices.

Moreover, Wilding (2009) explains how information and communication technologies (hereafter ICTs) could cause negative outcomes for refugees in spite of its importance and positive outcomes since, in their local environments, it could lead to increased social exclusion. In his book, Rucht (2018) describes how establishing a rich understanding of historical trends using different methodologies and interpretive and hermeneutic methods focused on a thick interpretation by multiple causal explanations of behaviors, attitudes, and thoughts toward refugees and asylum seekers could be very useful. Therefore, this research is interested to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon built virtual communities through social media in order to influence their integration, claiming their civil rights especially the right to work.

Technology provides refugees communities to build solidarity among migrant groups, accordingly, marginalized communities can negotiate their social, economic and cultural conditions. An ethnography study of 15 refugees settled in New Zealand (2019) reflected the refugees' transnational practices of social media and its influence on integration and belonging and concluded that social media can influence their integration at times of rapid political, technological and social change (Marlowe, 2019). Another study with 18 refugees from multiple nationalities in the Netherlands explained the role of government, host society and the agency of refugee actors in determining the way refugees experience social media and how integration policies are shaped in the host country and reflected their responsibility to acquire cultural and civic knowledge (Alencar, 2018).

That is all being said, SNS could be looked at and investigated as an online platform where many refugees' dynamics, conflicts, opportunities, and risks are embedded within. Therefore, this research is going to investigate how activists use social media tools to expand networks, broker relations with other activists, and globalize resources. Social media can be viewed as both a technology platform and public space for expanding and sustaining the networks upon which social movements depend (Lim, 2012). The Arab revolts, for example, the Egyptian Revolution, exemplifies how online social networks are facilitated by social media, which has become a key ingredient of contemporary populist movements. In addition, Jobmann (2019) highlights how actors can utilize the way they share news in order to reignite fear and anger among masses toward the refugee crisis. For example, in 2015, a very emotional image of a young Syrian refugee boy washed up on a beach generated the emotions of masses and captured the hearts of thousands toward the Syrian refugee's rights issue (Prøitz, 2018).

Interestingly, scholars of organization studies (OS hereafter), in particular, the sociology of work studies, and social media studies (SMS hereafter) have increasingly recognized that these two areas of research would both benefit from greater crossover and encourage future researchers to push social media studies deeper into the traditional domain of organizational analysis. Recent literature integrates SMS and employment studies, which provides a fruitful avenue for future research. For example, Jeske and Shultz (2016) discuss the question of whether social media content screening by employers is truly helpful for recruitment and selection, as social media content screening for employment brings along some issues of bias and discrimination, data protection and security. Another study (Feuls, Fieseler & Suphan, 2014) discusses the use of social media and the internet during the individual unemployment phase and asks whether social media helps the unemployed individual maintain their support relationships, and how social media influences the unemployed individual experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the work studies and social media studies within the broader field of organizational studies.

**Chapter three: Research Methodology**

3. Introduction

This research is an exploratory study that aims to explore in some depth the role of social media in raising awareness and mobilizing crowds in times of crisis, in particular among disadvantaged populations like the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Thus, a two-stage research methodology is employed to address the research objectives. The first one is a Sequential Explanatory Strategy for collecting relevant Arabic social media content to better understand, in some depth, Arabic social media data on Twitter, in relation to Palestinian refugee employment issues in Lebanon. In this stage, the researcher applied a Thematic analysis of the data which was collected of the relevant hashtag   " تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة ". Then a qualitative analysis of the online data collected in phase one was applied. The second one is a semi-structured interview with key figures and activists engaged with the studied online activism in Lebanon in order to discover the extent of compatibility between the results of the data collected and analyzed in the first stage and how the activists establish and organize the hashtag " تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة " online, and how they build and expand their online networks.

3.1 Research Aim and Objectives

This research is dedicated to explore how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon utilize social media to express their cause in relation to their critical employment situations and discriminatory work law. This study aims to reveal whether social media mobilization in times of crisis could reflect Palestinian employment issues in Lebanon under the strict policies from the Ministry of Labour, in addition to clarifying the working conditions of Palestinian employees in Lebanon under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers.

Moreover, this research provides a better understanding of refugees' issues worldwide, in particular, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In addition, this research aims to clarify how

social media content and dynamics could be organized among marginalized communities, who lack many resources, to express their opinion through the online Arabic language.

The researcher aims to achieve three main objectives:

1. To explore how activists in Lebanon utilize social media, in times of crisis, to express their employment situations and work rights, under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers.

2. To examine how central actors, such as core activists, use social media to acquire and disseminate information, power, and solidarity generated by online social ties.

3. To better understand Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues.

## 3.2 Data Collection

An exploratory methodology was adopted by the researcher to explore in depth the role of social media in time of crisis because it relatively recent and rapidly developing environment, in particular among disadvantaged populations like the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

The research includes two main stages as follows:

### 3.2.1 Data Collection phase 1: Sequential Explanatory Strategy

A Sequential Explanatory Strategy for collecting relevant Arabic social media content. This strategy of collecting online data includes two steps:

1. Thematic analysis of the data which was collected of the relevant hashtag "تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة", which has started on Twitter on the 14th of June, 2019. In addition to the most relevant hashtags that supported the main one.

2. Qualitative analysis of the online data collected in phase one, or what is called a netnography study for collecting the active, interactive, substantial, heterogeneous, and rich variety of online data in social media (Kozinets, 2010). One social media platform has been selected (Twitter) due to its global

popularity and usage rates in the research contexts, and most importantly its free accessibility to the relevant online data. Data collection involves the researcher acting as a non-participant observer (Thompson, Stringfellow, Maclean, and Nazzal, 2021), and collecting data from social media platforms, and charting the interactions of the community and its members (Kozinets, 2010). In Lebanon, posts will be in Arabic and therefore can be collected and translated by the researcher for analysis and interpretation.

Following Kozinets' (2015) netnographic procedure, this research started with entrée to a specific online community; which was Twitter. Then data collection and observation were conducted, where online conversations, tweets, and retweets were collected under the main hashtag "تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة#" over the period [July 5, 2019 – September 14, 2019]. A total of 261 tweets were cut and pasted into a word processor, and then manually analyzed, and interpreted. Finally, ethical consideration and member checks were done.

There were 256 additional hashtags derived from the main hashtag "تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة#". These were divided into two parts: 22 hashtags directly relate to the main hashtag; 234 hashtags are excluded because they do not relate to the search topic. The 22 hashtags were selected based on the number of times they were repeated, in addition to their direct relationship with the research topic, after the researcher reviewed what was listed from the replies to tweets related to these hashtags for example, #العمل_حق_للفلسطيني, #صوتنا_أعلى_من_الفتنة, and #عين_الحلوه.
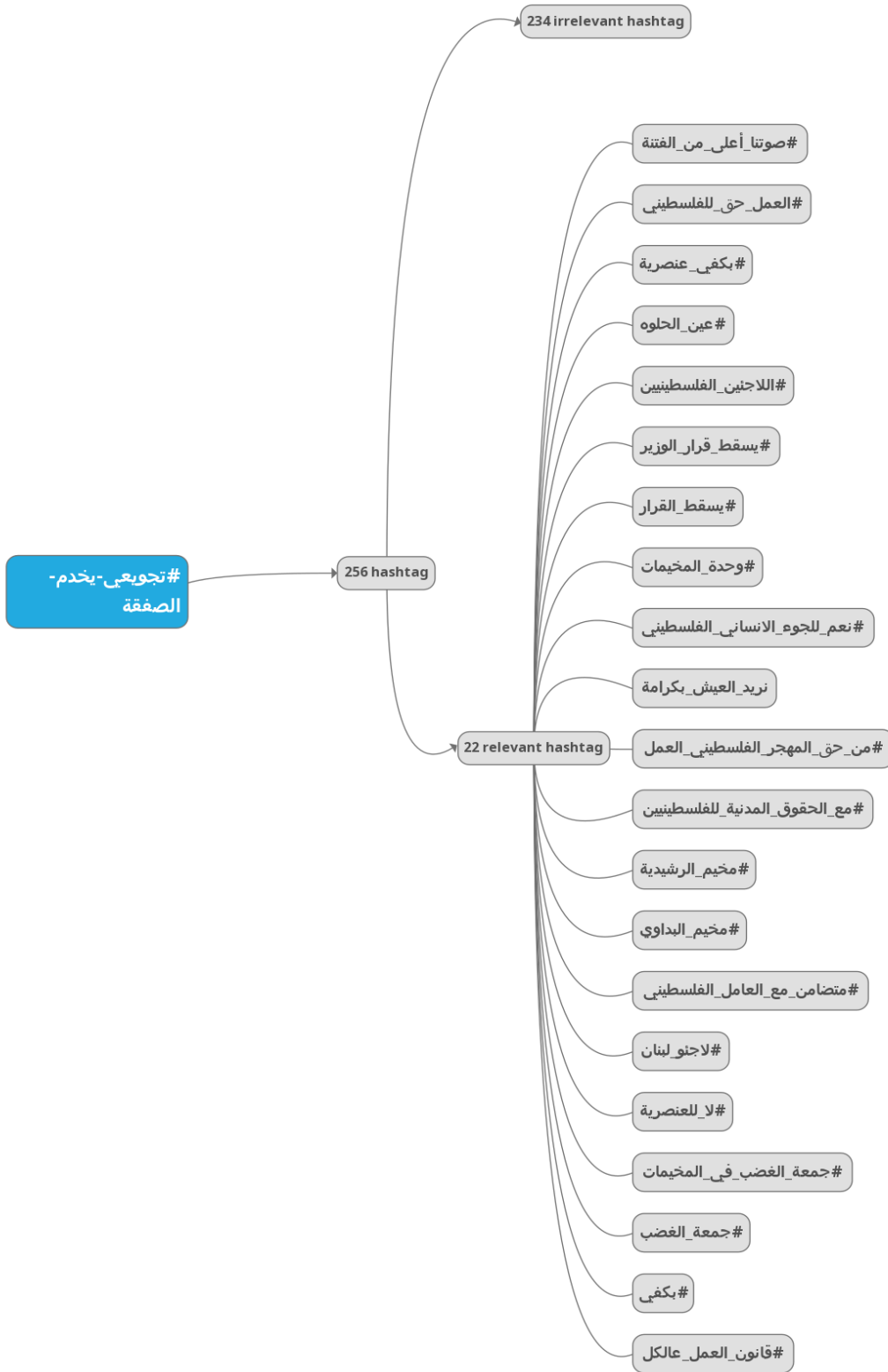
*Figure 1 Hashtags*

You need to give numbers and titles for these figures just as you have done with the tables.

After that, the researcher extracts all tweets under the whole hashtags to receive 1305 pure tweets that had a direct relationship to the research topic. The 1305 tweets were printed, coded, and categorized before analysis and interpretation. All 1305 contributions received a classification number (from A001 to V049).

The researcher classified the data into positive and negative. About 930 tweets support the status of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and the rest of the tweets do not support it. Moreover, the researcher clarifies the data into 26 clusters (see Table 1) in order to group tweets, such that subjects within the same cluster are more similar to each other than to the objects from another cluster.



*Figure 2 Tweets*

Besides analyzing the complete set of tweets, thick qualitative analyses were performed in this study, following Kozinet's (2015) procedure, hypothesizing that "quantitative and qualitative content analysis does not have to be mutually exclusive, but can complement each other" (Langer and Beckmann, 2005: 196).

*Table 1 Clusters and its repetition*

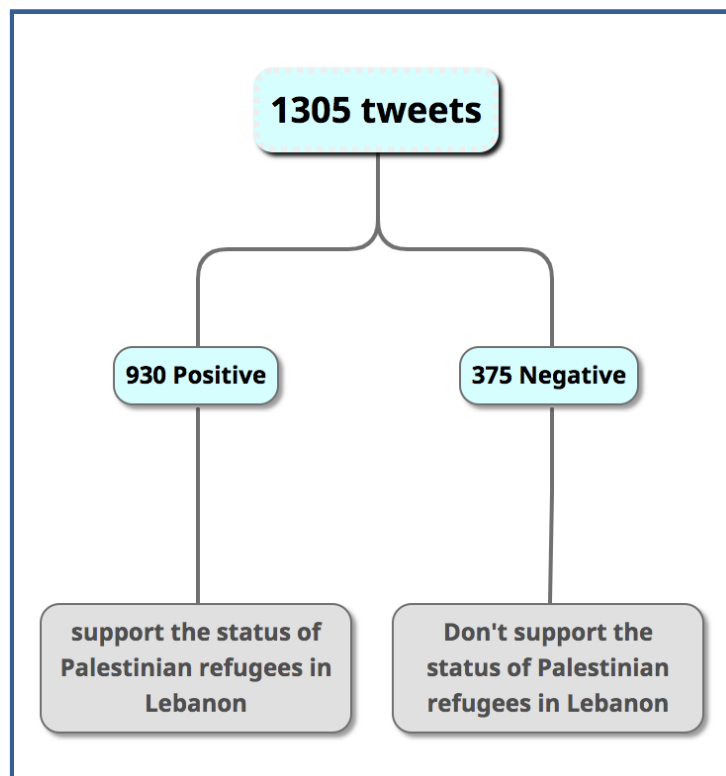| Clusters | NO. of tweets |
|---|---|
| Working Conditions of Foreigners in Lebanon. | 13 |
| Right to Return' Excuse | 34 |
| Protests against the Minister of Labor Law to Object against the Deal of the Century and the Refusal of Resettlement | 210 |
| The Special Case of Palestinian Refugees from other foreigners | 41 |
| Lebanese Laws Imposed to Expel Palestinian Refugees from Lebanon | 41 |
| Camp's uprising Against the Minister of Labors decision | 144 |
| The Parties Unite to get their Rights | 61 |
| The Refusal use Weapons in the Camps and the desire for civil revolution | 36 |
| Belief in the Right to live with Dignity | 105 |
| The Difference between a Refugee and a Foreigner | 25 |
| Feeling Racism Against Religion "Muslim, Christian" | 15 |
| Resorting to Emigration in Order to Live in Dignity | 17 |
| Unity with the Lebanese Nation | 33 |
| Persuading the Lebanese People to Support the Minister of Labors Decision | 31 |
| Advertisements Concealing the truth of the Refugees Status in the Camps and their Contributions to the Lebanese Economy | 237 |
| Official Support | 27 |
| Discussing the Consequences of the Minister of Labor's Decision with the Lebanese Government | 17 |
| Demanding a Dignified life for Refugees in Lebanon | 13 |
| Acts of Solidarity from Palestinians towards Refugees through Protests and Donations | 11 |
| Demonstrations to Reject the Violation of Human and Civil Rights of Refugees | 45 |
| General Strike to Resume Palestinian Refugees as Active Members in the Economic Flow in Production and Consumption | 50 |
| Hate Speech Against Palestinian Refugees | 51 |
| Social Media Limitations | 11 |
| Social Media Effects | 23 |
| Breaking Fear | 9 |
| The Effect of Social Mobility for Organizing Other Activities During the Global Pandemic Covid-19 | 5 |

Standard ethical procedures were employed in this research for informed consent and ensured confidentiality and anonymity of participants (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Wilkinson and Thelwall, 2011). Within the in-depth interviews, and the netnographic analysis, the overall purpose of the research and the procedures of the study were informed to the participants, as well as their right to voluntarily participate. The Internet Research Ethics IRE procedures (Kozinets, 2010) were followed within the netnographic analysis by the researcher. Protecting the participants' private data from being disclosed was followed to ensure confidentiality (Thompson et al., 2021). To ensure anonymity, all participants' names were referred to by codes (Neuman, 2006).

This research will analyze Arabic language data as regardless of the Arabic language style (Colloquial Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic - MSA; Jarrar et al., 2017); then analyze it in order to extract sentiment analysis and opinion mining. Moreover, the researcher will analyze the attitude of the opinion holder in addition to subjective opinions text which contain opinions, emotions, or sentiments in order to explore people's opinions within social media.

In addition, the researcher will determine the subjectivity, polarity, and intensity of the evaluated Arabic opinions, where specific syntactic features are used to determine the strength of the opinion. This important analysis does not have a theoretical foundation in your literature review, it should have been discussed there initially.

*Table 2 The sentiment analysis approach- schematic steps*

| **Download tweets from Twitter** | Twitter data constitutes a rich source that can be used for capturing information about any topic imaginable. In this research, the researcher used the gathering feedbacks about Palestinian workers issues under the hashtag "تجويعي_يخدم_الصفقة#" from Twitter. |
| --- | --- |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Pre-processing Steps** | The researcher performs a number of pre-processing steps to normalize and prepare the opinions for processing. First, the researcher removed punctuations and non-Arabic letters, removed links, special characters, hashtags, and digits. Then, the text was *Normalized and Tokenized* (Al-Kabi, Gigieh, Alsmadi, Wahsheh, & Haidar, 2014; Pang, & Lee, 2008; Vinodhini, & Chandrasekaran, 2012; Ravi, & Ravi, 2015; Cambria, 2016). |
| **Classifier** | The researcher classify a sentence for the target segment related to the hashtag (AlKabi, Gigieh, Alsmadi, Wahsheh, & Haidar, 2014; Pang, & Lee, 2008; Vinodhini, & Chandrasekaran, 2012; Ravi, & Ravi, 2015; Cambria, 2016). |

3.2.2 Data Collection phase 2: Semi-structured Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews with key figures and activists engaged with the studies online activism in Lebanon. The main goal of these interviews is to discuss how the activists establish and organize the hashtag online flow, how they expand their online networks, broker relations with other activists, and what are their dynamics and mechanisms of translating this online activism into an offline one.

In-depth interviewing was based on a semi-structured schedule, "discussion prompt" which was organized around the research aim and objectives of the study. Respondents were questioned extensively and in-depth. The interviews varied in duration from 30 to 70 minutes, and were taped and transcribed. It's difficult to meet the respondents face to face because they are geographically distant from the researcher. So the interviews were computer-assisted (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), conducted via social media applications available to the respondents.

Using Skype video call, two interviews were accomplished, another interview was conducted using WhatsApp audio call, the last interview was done through Facebook Messenger call.

Rotating and randomizing were adopted, so the questions are not asked in the same order to each respondent. The respondents lead the interview according to their interests and concerns under the main topics. To ensure the credibility of the participants, interview probes were used (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe, 1991).

Because the research is exploratory, the sample of respondents is difficult to find, the aim is to develop an initial understanding of what will be studied to be compared with data collected from Twitter, the researcher needs to observe whether a particular issue needs in-depth analysis, the Linear Snowball sampling technique as a non-probability sampling technique was used. That is, existing respondents provide referrals to recruit other respondents required for the research study (Goodman, 1961).

The semi-structured interview prompt was divided into ten main themes:

- The respondents' origin, study, and immigration status.
- The fact of how Palestinian refugee living in Lebanon.
- Restrictions facing the Palestinians in Lebanon are considered as a means of expelling the refugees.
- Lebanese and Palestinian television channels and their contribution to reversing the refugee crisis.
- The impact of social media on mobility.
- The origin of the hashtag and its impact on the expansion of the online movement.
- The importance of social media mobilization on the ground.
- The most popular social media platforms used by Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.
- The importance of expanding the mobility network for meaningful impact on the ground.
- Mobility results.

To reflect the research objectives, the researcher used the constant comparison method to develop thematic categories (Silverman, 2000). Using this technique, the qualitative data were categorized and compared for analysis purposes. The researcher transcribed, coded, and categorized data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Based on diverse characteristics and direct relevance to the understanding of the addressed research objectives, five respondents were selected as a sample for the interviews (Belk, 2006). Among the characteristics considered in the sampling were the geographic distribution and gender criteria given that the respondents reside in different Lebanese camps and cities; on the other hand, they have had a prominent role as being among the leaders and influencers of the movement in several areas and levels (see Table 3 for respondents' profiles).

Offline and online data were both transcribed, coded and categorized (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Thematic categories in relation to the research objectives were developed through the constant comparison methods (Silverman, 2000). Next, single words, descriptive phrases, or longer textual material were assigned to emerging codes; which were then condensed into themes (Kvale, 2009).

Taking into account the principles of social research in terms of protecting the identities of the participants in a research (Von Benzon, 2019; Wilkinson & Thelwall, 2011); special precautions in anonymizing and protecting the participants in a study were adopted, specifically for their moral, political, professional, and social obligations (Townsend & Wallace, 2016).

*Table 3 Participants' Profiles*

| Interview Number | Name | Occupation |
|---|---|---|
| Interview 1 | Osama | Head of Palestinian Human Rights Organization |
| Interview 2 | Khaled | Palestinian legal advisor in Lebanon and Director General of an institution specialized in the rights of Palestinian refugees. |
| Interview 3 | Salam | Lecturer at a Lebanese University and Media personality in Lebanese TV channel |
| Interview 4 | Ahmad | Producer in Lebanese TV |
| Interview 5 | Mona | An employee of an association to support women's sexual and |

| | | reproductive health and one of the young activists in the movement |
| --- | --- | --- |

3.4 Methodological Limitation

As common with any robust social theoretical inquiry, this research faced several limitations. Although this research looks at providing a deeper and richer understanding of Arabic sentiment analysis on social media sites rather than generalizing the data; generalization is the most prominent limitation in this research. Given that most of the target group use Facebook rather than Twitter, the findings of this research might be applicable to the respondents, as limited as they are. Twitter was used in the research rather than Facebook given that Facebook was not a public platform for gathering data like Twitter. Furthermore, many hashtags were unrelated to the topic of the research, which required the researcher to manually filter them.

Second, time is one of the main limitations of this study. Because this research was conducted on data from July to September 2019; while the targeted data was published several months before the research, downloading historical old tweets, such as the targeted data, is not allowed by Twitter API policies.

Third, while using snowball sampling, it is usually impossible to determine the sampling error or make inferences about populations based on the obtained sample (Bryman & Bel, 2018). Each respondent recommended new participants from their own network with the same thoughts and beliefs. This will cause a sampling bias according to the first respondent orientation. Furthermore, most participants had a poor internet connection, which resulted in some sentences being missed and forcing the researcher to forego the video conference in favour of a voice conversation. One respondent was adamant about not making a video or audio call. He supplied a file including the answers to the key themes of the interview.

Fourth, the interview questions asked respondents about events that happened in the past. This will cause recall bias because the participants will recall information according to their own outcome status. This form of bias can be a particular problem in case-control studies (Cox and Hassard, 2007). So the researcher gathered data from Twitter during the course of

the movement issue to reveal the credibility of interview respondents' answers through ethnographic study.

Fifth, participants may provide general and inaccurate answers. Although the researcher applied the rules of confidentiality and privacy to participants' data, political concerns may affect their answers to avoid exposure to political accountability, repression, and threats about what they share on social media. This will affect the accuracy of the data collected.

Sixth, since translation is also an act of interpretation, meaning may be lost in the translation process (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010). Most of the tweets were written in colloquial Arabic, translating them into English may not be accurate and lose part of their meaning, especially in tweets that contain an element of irony and humor.

**Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Findings**

4. Introduction

This chapter describes the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the research findings. The findings of the collected data are critical in answering the presented research questions that guided the study. The data analyzed is to identify, describe and explore the relationship between tweets and interview data. The main purpose is to better understand the Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues in order to explore the reality of the image reflected by social media activists in Lebanon expressing the employment situation and work rights, under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers.

The construct for the data of tweets and interviews collected was categorized and coded to provide organized, accessible and retrievable data as well as ensuring the validity and transparency of the data. Moreover, the structure of the data will provide a deeper understanding for the data collected by reflecting the voice and reality of the participants (Linneberg and Korsgaards, 2019)

The researcher examined these codes and started to separate, look at, think about, conceptualize, and arrange the information to make sense of ideas, which were later assembled and transformed into categories. From the 5 interviews and 1,305 tweets, the researcher utilized the first-order arguments I observed to identify 26 second-order themes, which mapped out into six aggregate dimensions as can be seen in Table 3 in the appendix (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013). The aggregate dimensions are Palestinian refugees protest in Lebanon against the decision of the Lebanese Minister of Labor, the Palestinian refugees' emotions in light of the mobility in the camps, the position of the Lebanese media and the Lebanese government regarding the reality of the refugee protests, the position of the Lebanese media and the Lebanese government regarding the reality of the refugee protests, the role of the Palestinian government to support the movement, the attitude of the Lebanese people towards the movement of Palestinian refugees, and the consequences of movement.
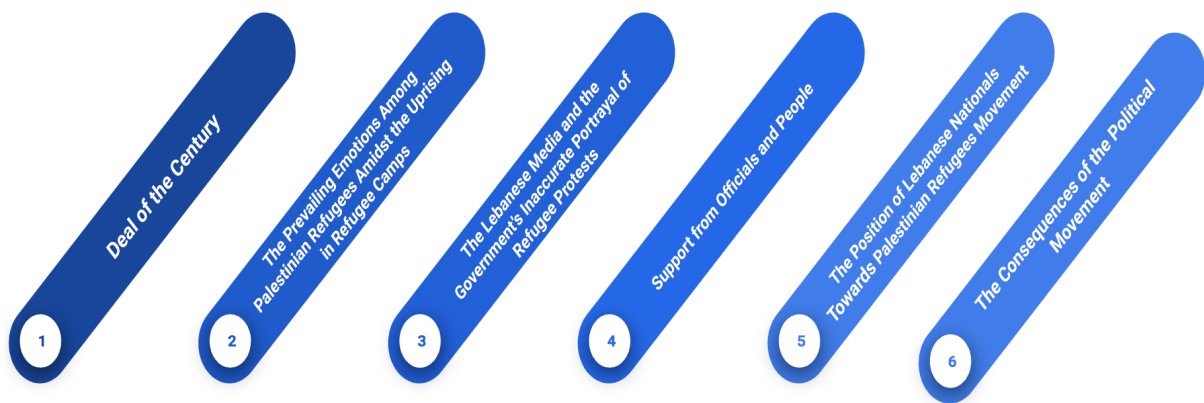
*Figure 3 Aggregate Dimensions*

## 4.1 Working Conditions

After labelling the data collected from Twitter, it turned out that 31% of 1305 tweets described the Palestinian refugee's protest in Lebanon against the decision of the Lebanese Minister of Labor. For instance, there are 181 tweets reflecting the right to work for a Palestinian refugee under the political and economic conditions in Lebanon, 57 tweets considered the protests against the Minister of Labor law as a form of protesting against the deal of the century and the refusal to resettle, and 41 tweets indicated the special case of the Palestinian refugee from other foreigners worldwide. Furthermore, the rest of the tweets described how Lebanese laws are considered repellent against Palestinian refugees from Lebanon and confirmed that the refugee's acquisition of civil rights in Lebanon does not eliminate their right to return, and discussed the working conditions of foreigners in Lebanon.

The collected tweets from Twitter and the analyzed data from the qualitative interviews, disclosed that the Palestinian refugees' protests in Lebanon are against the decision of the Lebanese Minister of Labor. In addition to the strict working conditions of Palestinian employees in Lebanon under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers which declaim Palestinian refugees specifically. Other tweets also revealed that Palestinians in Lebanon were deprived of their civil rights.

According to tweet NO. A231, foreign workers in Lebanon suffer and face difficulties the most from extreme discrimination and racism from the working conditions, and are prohibited from working in many middle and high-level jobs. With the displeasure shown on the tweet, it states: *"The hatred towards the Palestinians and Syrians is a crime and should be punished by law. Despite Lebanese exiled all over the world they prohibit Palestinian's the right for employment, even though the Palestinians have lived dozens of years in that country against their will"*.

Salam, during the interview, showed another sturdy example that reflects how foreign workers in Lebanon have been exploited, where the refugees accept work with lower wages in order to secure their expenses, she said: *"The corruption inflicted from supervisors or those in positions of power upon Palestinian workers led to exploitation of illegally hired Palestinian workers. For example, a Palestinian doctor receives a nurse's salary even though he/she does the job of a doctor"*.

Another set of tweets signifying the right for Palestinian refugees to work under the political and economic conditions in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees have been forcibly displaced since the Nakba to Lebanon, and currently remain long term displaced under the refugee status and still suffer from the deprivation of basic human rights and in addition to the right to work. According to the tweet NO. U77, unlike refugees and migrants in other countries, the Palestinian in Lebanon is subjected to racism and are denied many basic human rights, it states: *"At a time when Lebanese refugees achieved the highest positions in asylum countries, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are treated with inequality and are discriminated against by racist laws and restrictions. They are deprived the right to own property, the right to inherit and prohibited from working in over 70 professions"*.

The interviews confirmed the difficult working conditions Palestinians constantly face in Lebanon. Mona, a Palestinian refugee, said she constantly feels frustrated from working illegally and being deprived of a secure job. As she states: *"I worked in more than one job and I was unable to sign an employment contract, and now I'm required to get a work permit to pay even more taxes and will not receive any work benefits"*. In addition, there are

many laws that contribute to increasing restrictions on Palestinian refugees in obtaining a secure and reliable employment, for example, property law prohibits entrepreneurs from owning the workplace and forces them to pay expensive rental rates that increase year after year. Mona says the property law has deprived some graduates from the opportunity to create their own jobs. She said: ***"The law of preventing Palestinian ownership directly impacts individuals whose careers require owning property such as a pharmacy, office or clinic. Moreover, the cost of rent is continuously increasing"***.

Moreover, the right to return mantra is the dream of all refugees in the world, but belief in the right of return should not be contradictory with the implementation of civil rights in the host country, because everyone has the right to live in dignity. Activists' tweets reflect how Palestinian refugees in various countries live in better conditions and attain their civil rights, as well as their belief in the right to return. According to tweet NO. F19: ***"Providing economic and social rights to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon does not forfeit the right to return, for example, a Palestinian refugee living in Jordan has economic, social, and political rights and on the other hand, they are all committed to their right to return"***.

In addition, Ahmed said: ***"The right to return does not deny the human rights of the Palestinians anywhere"***. Ahmed explained that the possession of a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon does not prohibit his right to return to his homeland. Despite this, refugees living in various countries in the world are able to own property and return to their homeland, he said: ***"Lebanon has a large percentage of expats living outside of Lebanon. A total of 17 million expats currently have homes in the countries they live in, and this does not prevent their right to return to Lebanon. This contradicts the Palestinians current situation in Lebanon, as their goal is to live in dignity and stability and not to own property"***.

Many activists on Twitter see the Minister of Labor law against foreign workers as an excuse to support the deal of the century that aims to resettle refugees. According to tweet NO.C6, the campaign launched by the Lebanese Minister of Labor, Camille Abu Suleiman, to combat illegal foreign employment, sparked a wave of protests when it affected Palestinian workers, in a scene described by leaders of Palestinian factions as serving the Century Deal. It states: ***"The decision of the Ministry of Labor is just a free service to Zionist enemies and a step***

*towards executing the Deal of the Century and implementing the American and Israeli agendas"*. In addition, Palestinian refugees protested in Lebanese camps and streets with slogans denying their desire to resettle. One of the slogans that were launched tweet NO. A6 states: *"No displacement, no resettlement, we want to return to Palestine"*.

According to Ahmed, refugees in Lebanon refused to resettle because of their adherence to the right to return to their homeland, he said: *"Abu Ammar [Former President of the State of Palestine] was offered to resettle the refugees in Lebanon, but he refused because the refugees do not want resettlement nor displacement. They only want civil rights, which are the right to own, live in dignity, and the right to work"*.

Due to the long migration period of Palestinians in Lebanon, data collected revealed how Palestinian refugees have been contributing significantly to the Lebanese economy as compared to other foreigners. Tweet NO. C38 which states: *"How far can the widespread racism reach in the departments, ministries, and the Lebanese government? Why a Palestinian of many generations born on this land due to occupation cannot be treated the same as a Palestinian would be treated in another country."*. In addition, Osama said: *"Although 72 years have passed since the Nakba, most of the Palestinian workers were born in Lebanon. However, they were required to obtain work permits like European and Syrian foreigners despite the long-term asylum status"*.

In addition, collected online tweets reflected the importance for the Lebanese government to take the necessary actions by implementing a law taking into consideration the situation of Palestinian refugees differ from other foreigners, tweet NO. A167 states: *"The privacy of Palestinians in particularly Palestinian refugees in Lebanon necessitates the importance of the Lebanese government to implement the Labor law to consist of humanitarian principles and not based solely on politics"*. According to Khaled, the Palestine Liberation Organization called for a Palestinian refugee situation in Lebanon. He said, *"The responsibility of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) emerged as a result of the struggle of the national refugee rights and to highlight the refugee situation or status as compared to other groups of non-Lebanese residents"*.

After reviewing the Twitter content in light of the recent decision of the Minister of Labor, there are many opinions stating the constant pressure inflicted upon Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is to force the Palestinian refugees to leave Lebanon. Ahmed believes that the Lebanese security services have supported some brokers who facilitate the migration of refugees, he said: ***"There are Lebanese agencies that helped the well-known broker "Al-Ghalayini", in which refugees are able to communicate with relatives to facilitate their departure"***. According to Palestinian Refugees Portat (2020), the number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has shockingly declined as a result of brokers facilitating their emigration. These actions lead to renouncing their right of return. Portat has confirmed Al-Ghalayini as being prominent in leading the exit of thousands of Palestinians from Lebanon to Europe. A route system starting from Beirut airport, heading to Ethiopia, then to Brazil and Bolivia then to Spain leading to the European continent.

This encouraged the refugees to demonstrate against these repressive policies against them. The tweet NO. A248 states: ***"In a state of anger and demanding's to stop such repressive measures, as these decisions have no goals other than pressuring Palestinian refugees in order to force them to either emigrate or accept resettlement compliant with the deal of century"***. In addition to some tweets that called on the Palestinian refugee to search for a destination to migrate away from Lebanon, for example, tweet NO. A62 which states: ***"Palestinians must search for a new place other than staying forever in Lebanon. As Palestinians were forced to settle in Lebanon, they will take the first opportunity they have to emigrate away from the desolation in camps"***.

4.2 Organizing Over Social Media

Most of the tweets focused on the Palestinian refugees' emotions as a result of decisions enforced by the Lebanese Minister of Labor and their mobilization in the camps. 48% of tweets reflected those feelings from several perspectives. There are 272 tweets directed towards the camp's uprising against the decision of the Minister of Labor, 115 tweets express the refugee's faith in the right to live in dignity, 62 tweets described the parties' unity in order to achieve their rights. Another point of view focuses on differentiating between a refugee from a foreigner, and experiencing racism against their religion, as well as refusing to use

weapons during the civil disorder in the camps and trying to create an alliance with the Lebanese people in order to live in dignity and harmony with each other.

One of the means by which refugees expressed their dissatisfaction and rejection of this decision was via social media. Social media is a great platform for the voiceless to raise their voice. Every individual has a right to freely express themselves through social media without the fear of retaliation or interference. Therefore, every user of social media has freedom of speech and expression. They utilized social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter to speak out against the hardships they faced. Despite the lack of mobility available they were able have their voices heard to demonstrate and protest for their rights and expand their networks, as Ahmad said: ***"Crowds started to rally on social media and then moved on to reality, as social media replaced the loud speakers of protests to be the voice of the people, which persuaded them to unite"***. Also, Mona showed how Bourj el-Barajneh, Nahr al-Bared, and Rashidiyeh camps[1] received the invitations that caused them to demonstrate and join other camps to demand their rights, she said: ***"The topic started through social media platforms, WhatsApp messages and Facebook pages. The crowd was brought to reality and with quick responses, many of the camps on the same day through invitations came together and revolted in the camp"***. It was also clear on Twitter how the camps interacted with the movement that started from Ain El-Hilweh camp, tweet NO. B48 states: ***"Stated by a member in Ain Al-Hilweh: our people in the rest of the camps, conducted massive demonstrations and completed what was started together. This proved that we are rightful and we will not be silenced by betrayal. Ain Al-Hilweh will return to beauty, it will rise up and flourish again. We have responded to the sounds of corruption with constant perseverance"***. The collected tweets also showed how the movement transferred to Rashidieh and Burj Al- Shamali and other camps.

The movement contributed to the uprising of young people away from their political party affiliations Hamas[2] or Fatah[3]. Tweet Number A226 reflected that, as it states: ***"Attempting to turn the issue into Palestinian auctions and differences between Hamas and Fatah is very***

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[1]  Bourj el-Barajneh, Nahr al-Bared, and Rashidiya camps are Palestinian camps located in Lebanon.
[2] Islamic Resistance Movement - Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah
[3] Palestinian National Liberation Movement - Ḥarakat at-Taḥrīr al-Waṭanī al-Filasṭīnī

*unsuccessful because the demonstrators are leading the officials, not the other way around ... The people are greater than their leadership"*. Palestinian refugees greatly suffered in Lebanon. The injustice that people live in camps and the unjustified laws against them do not belong to members of a particular party or sector. Therefore, the refugees had united and risen up as one unit, demanding their unanimous right from various parties and policies, as Salam said: *"The Palestinian refugees are unified together to protest for the right to work despite their political differences".* *Also, Ahmed agreed with her by saying: "Many protests occurred at the camp level far from the factions and parties. As Hamas and Fatah attempted to unite with each other despite their differences either through escalation or negotiations"*.

Moreover, refugees believed in the importance of achieving their demands peacefully without causing any chaos and away from armed demonstrations, trying to refute what is being broadcast through the media that the refugee is a terrorist, criminal, and rioter in Lebanon, as Salam said: *"It is unfortunate the way Lebanese TV stations describe the Palestinians in Lebanon as thieves and terrorists, although they have committed the least criminal cases in Lebanon over the years"*. Ahmed, one of the youths coordinating the movement, said: *"The refugees through social media communicated and agreed with each other to reject racism towards the Lebanese, and to refuse to use weapons during demonstration"*. This was evident on Twitter, the tweet NO. A156 states: *"Giving out roses to members of the Lebanese army and security forces at the checkpoints of Ain Al Hilweh camp is an expression of peaceful and civilized protests"*. The Palestinian President, *Mahmoud Abbas*, also expressed the need to adhere to the peaceful demonstration, saying as Tweet No. A169 states: *"President Mahmoud Abbas stated: We reject all forms of escalation with the Lebanese people and the solution will happen only through discussions"*. Palestinian refugees do not deny the Lebanese people support of their cause, and their support for the refugees' demands to live in dignity, so the refugees refused to use weapons and demonstrated the desire to demonstrate peacefully as tweet No. A113 states: *"Objection towards the Lebanese decision must not lead to insulting and demeaning the Lebanese people, we do not want to offend the supporters that have stood with Palestinians through thick and thin. Lebanese are against the decision, and in general, they support our cause"*.

The movement against the decision of the Lebanese Minister of Labor contributed to creating awareness among Palestinian refugees in Lebanon about the importance of changing the bad conditions in which they live in the camps. In addition to rejecting unjust laws which deprive them of many human and civil rights. Tweet NO. B37 states: "*Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are faced with an opportunity to re-establish their political presence and humanitarian cause. The ongoing Friday demonstrations "The day of anger" went on for the third week and is aimed at revitalizing the camps' military activity and propelling the movement's humanitarian demands"*. Mona confirmed this by saying: *"The movement began by demanding the right to work and ended with the efforts of the refugees to demand civil rights that were denied for years in which they did not have the courage to claim previously. As the Palestinians have become aware of their rights, their capacities, and abilities to achieve fairness and equality"*. Unfortunately, with her long-term refugee status in Lebanon, Mona added: *"It's very unfortunate that the Palestinians are prohibited from running and voting in a country that they live in and are affected by its laws. Palestinians are prohibited to participate in Lebanese demonstrations, and the security have the right to prevent Palestinians from participating just because they are refugees"*. Osama emphasized the suffering of the refugees in the camps by saying: *"In Burj Al Barajneh camp the electricity networks are very poor, among the worst in the world, more than 100 people died of electrocution, 80% of them children within a year"*.

4.3 Subjective Experiences of Discrimination

A feeling of distinction arose between the Palestinian refugee and other foreigners in Lebanon, because the Lebanese law not only gave privacy to the long-term asylum period that the Palestinian refugee was forced upon, but also denied the Palestinian refugee many of the rights that any other refugee gets. Ahmed mentioned real evidence of this by saying: *"A Syrian and a foreigner can own property in Lebanon. This does not make sense as this notion contradicts the Palestinians right to return"*. Ahmed also explained the deprivation of a refugee from many civil rights that any other refugee receives, such as ownership and inheritance, by saying: *"After the July war a Lebanese cleaning company in which their*

*workers were from south Asia caused the workers to return to their homelands and caused a shortage of workers, despite that, Palestinians were rejected by the company to work as a cleaner"*.

Discrimination on the basis of origin is not the only type of discrimination against refugees, but also discrimination based on religion and wealth owned by the Palestinian refugees themselves. The Lebanese law granted some Palestinians Lebanese citizenship due to their religion and wealth. According to World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples (2021), several middle class Palestinians , mostly Christians, have become Lebanese citizens, partly out of fear that the secular balance of the country could be upset by the influx of many Sunnis. As Salam stated, by saying: *"The Lebanese sectarian system, the economic system, and the political system have turned around the heads of money and the wealthy Palestinians, they have given them Lebanese nationalities, as it has given many Christians the Lebanese nationalities"*. The data collected from Twitter agreed with Salam's opinion. as tweet NO. C18 states: *"A refugee in Lebanon is a refugee until his Christianity is proven, as they are destructive sectarian standards".* Several questions surfaced on Twitter about the coverage of the Palestinian Christian labor law, as the tweet NO. C19: *"A rhetorical question: the new labor law for Palestinians, includes Christian and Muslim Palestinians?"*.

As a result, the desire to emigrate arose based on the unjustified laws that refugees encountered during their asylum period, in addition to all the restrictions that they live in the camps, and denying them the most basic human rights, as Salam said: *"Lebanese laws are detrimental to Palestinian refugees.  Palestinians consider any place to live better as compared to the humiliation and degradation they experience in Lebanon"*. Tweet NO. J3 confirms the issue of Palestinians seeking humanitarian asylum from Lebanon, claiming: "Yes, to the Palestinian request for asylum and to leaving the prisons of the Palestinian camps and joining Palestinian communities.". The implementation of the Minister of Labor's decision also motivated many refugees to migrate, in addition to the government's contribution to granting some immigration brokers that facilities to displace the largest possible number of refugees. Osama confirmed this by saying: *"When the minister's issued the final decision, the institutions fired Palestinians from their jobs without prior warning*

*and without issuing work permits. This pushed the workers to search for emigration opportunities without understanding travel risks. Moreover, this was done by the encouragement of brokers that actively facilitated Palestinians to move to European countries or any other shelter. This caused the displacement of hundreds of Palestinians"*.

The movement contributed in creating a kind of support and sympathy from the Lebanese people for the Palestinian refugees. This is what made the Lebanese people unite with the refugees who have lived with them for many years. The Lebanese people supported the refugees in their demonstrations against the decision of the Minister of Labor to obtain all their civil and human rights. As Mona said: *"The Lebanese people as individuals have supported the movement and stood with the Palestinians. The only party that explicitly protested against the minister of Labor decision is the Nasserite Popular Organization party located in Sidon"*. Some tweets confirmed that the Palestinian refugees thanked the Lebanese people for their support in the demonstrations to achieve their demands, as the tweet NO. A118: *"Congratulations to the Palestinian refugees for their success in stopping the minister of Labor's unjust decision against them. Clearly this would not have been possible without the support of the honourable and loyal Lebanese nation*".

**4.4 The Success of Social Media in Combating Official Media Channels**

After labelling the data collected from Twitter, 26% of tweets discussed the position of the Lebanese media and the Lebanese government regarding the reality of the refugee protests, 240 tweets argued how media blacked out the suffering of refugees in the camps and cancelled their contribution to the Lebanese economy, 38 tweets enticed the Lebanese people to support the decision of the Minister of Labor, and 37 tweets indicates how some Lebanese officials support refugees to obtain their human rights.

With the aim of encouraging the Lebanese people to support the Lebanese Minister of Labor decision. The tweets confirmed with the interviewees' data to explain how the Minister of Labor put forth the people and stimulated them to get jobs if the decision was implemented against the Palestinian refugees. Tweet No. V20 mentioned one of his statements, which states: *"The Minister of Labor stated: since the launch of the plan and more job*

*opportunities available. Over 1400 jobs have been taken by Lebanese people"*. Ahmed confirmed this by saying: *"The Lebanese objections resulted in the statement of the Minister of Labor's decision, which aimed to create a prejudice state, this formed a minority group against the Palestinians right to work"*. Other tweets showed refugees denouncing the Minister of Labor's decision and deceptive promises because the jobs held by refugees do not satisfy the Lebanese people. Most refugees hold low-level jobs and get low salaries. This was clear in tweet NO. A242 which states: *"The Minister states that 1,500 jobs have become available to the Lebanese after the implemented procedures. Can someone tell me who was employed and how? Note: there are no Palestinian or Syrian in any governmental institution. If it's meant by delivery job opportunities available with a salary of less than $500, that many Lebanese people will not take the job"*.

Some of the Lebanese media has attacked Palestinian refugees. It described the Palestinian as a thief, a criminal, and a threat to security and safety as Salam confirmed: *"It is unfortunate the way Lebanese TV stations describe Palestinians in Lebanon as thieves and terrorists, although they have committed the least criminal cases in Lebanon over the years"*. Also, it is important to mention that most of the Lebanese media channels are affiliated with political parties. In addition to the lack of Palestinian media in Lebanon to reflect the reality of the lives of Palestinian refugees, the image of refugees in Lebanon was distorted by some biased Lebanese media. As Salam continued, *"The Palestinian Liberation Organization did not have a media platform to spread the truth and reality. Instead, the Palestinians living in Lebanon are being manipulated and distorted by the Lebanese media. In addition to not reflecting their economic, social, and academic contributions"*.

With its racism, the some of the Lebanese media facilitated in concealing the contributions done by Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and ignoring their accomplishments at all levels. This was clear in tweet NO. A224, which states: *"As the Palestinians consume Lebanese products and spend their money in Lebanon, why doesn't the media highlight their contribution to Lebanon's economy? Also, why doesn't the media emphasize their accomplishments for Lebanon?"*.

The Lebanese government also holds the refugees as the cause of the budget deficit and the absence of development in the country. Marginalized by the fact that the Palestinians in Lebanon are long-term refugees with successive generations, and what they earn in Lebanon they spend on consumption in Lebanon. As tweet No. D21 states: ***"The Lebanese budget is void of any economic plan. However, you can't blame the Palestinians and Syrians and hold them accountable for not being able to rise from a country saturated with fraud, corruption, and following the quota system"***.

As a cause for optimism, some Lebanese officials have realized the importance for implementing the Minister of Labor's decision against Palestinian refugees and promised to make decisions that do not deprive the rights of the Palestinian refugees. Including what was reported by the news media (Al Mayadeen ,2020): ***"Prime Minister Saad Hariri praised the position of Parliament president Nabih Berri who stated the decision towards Palestinian workers is terminated and the regulations will be in retrospective from the ministry of Labor current actions. Hariri announced the Prime Minister will take the adequate decision to follow in the same direction as Berri specifies"***.

As a result of the meetings of the Palestinian leaders with the Lebanese government, the Lebanese president demonstrated the goodwill and his promises not to take any unjustified decision against the refugees as mentioned in one of the news: ***"Palestinian sources confirmed that Hariri made a promise to Palestinian leaders that met with him in order to restore matters to their previous state. He announces actions to take in order to cancel measures against Palestinians"*** (Al Mayadeen ,2020)***.*** The social media played a vital role in conveying the protests of the people following an actual shift in political decisions (Arab reform initiative, 2021).

That news delighted the hearts of the refugees because their efforts were not in vain. This was reflected in some tweets that praised the position of the House of Representatives as it is clear in tweet NO. A225 ***"The Lebanese Parliament announced the cancellation of the Minister of Labor's unjust decision against Palestinian refugee workers and sellers in Lebanon"***, and tweet NO. A140 ***"Greetings to representative Jamil Al-Sayed's position towards the Minister of labors decision against Palestinian employment".***

4.5 Official Efforts

The collected data from twitter showed that, 3.4% of tweets revealed the role of the Palestinian government supporting the movement. It showed the Palestinian government's role of discussing the consequences of the Minister of Labor's decisions with the Lebanese government, demanding a decent life for refugees in Lebanon, and how the Palestinian people solidarity with the refugees by protesting and donating.

The fourth aggregate dimension focuses on the role of the Palestinian government to support the movement. Through the tweets and interviews data, it seems that Palestinian government supported the refugee's movement against the implementation of the decision of the Lebanese Labor Minister through three levels.

First of all, Khaled, one of the consultants in Lebanon and one of the officials of the Centre for Human Development explained how the role of the Palestinian-Lebanese Dialogue Committee has emerged to improve the lives of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in the long term. He expressed: ***"As a result of the Minister of Labor's persecution measures against Palestinian workers, the Lebanese -Palestinian Dialogue Committee constructed an agreement with the Lebanese forces called a vision of rights and duties for the Palestinians in Lebanon"***. Also, tweet NO. A64 and A246 revealed how the Palestinian People's Congress clarified the reality of the difficult circumstances in which refugees live in the camps in coordination with Lebanese personalities, the tweet states that: ***"A delegation from the Popular Conference for Palestinians abroad organized a series of meetings with a number of Lebanese influencers due to the ongoing chaos in the Palestinian camps for a second week consecutively"***, in addition to organizing field visits to the camps, where tweet states: ***"A delegate from the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad visited Burj Al Barajneh camp for Palestinian refugees in Beirut on Monday to review their conditions inside the camp and to confirm the conference's position in rejecting the Ministry of Labor's decision"***.

Second, the news agencies had covered the discussions that were held to discuss the implications of implementing the decision of the Lebanese Labor Minister against the Palestinian refugees. Some articles on the Al-Jazeera website showed political meetings and discussion, including ***"The Palestinian Ambassador in Beirut Ashraf Dabour stated that he discussed with Lebanese officials that the minister's recent procedures for implementing the labor law and the aspects that affect Palestinian refugees in Lebanese territories"*** (Al-Jazeera, 2019). The tweets also corresponded with the previous data from news sites, where some of these tweets contained parts of these statements like tweet NO. A66, which states: ***"A delegation from the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad met with the Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri at the Grand Serail or Government Palace in Beirut to study the outcomes of the Ministry of Labor's decision and the need to end the crisis in order to preserve the dignity of the Palestinian refugees"***.

Third, the role was not limited to the Palestinian government and political parties, also the Palestinian people solidarity with the refugees by protesting and donating as tweet NO. A166 states: ***"This Friday all Gaza mosques set aside time during prayer to collect donations for our loved ones and our people in the diaspora camps in Lebanon as part of their support in facing the Lebanese Minister of Labor decision for being one of the main supporters of the deal of the century"***.

Salam, as a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon, was pleased with the solidarity of the Palestinians with each other inside Palestine and in the diaspora by saying: ***"When a Palestinian in Lebanon attempts to communicate with a Palestinian from their homeland, this triggers an incentive to expand networks geographically, because the injustice a Palestinian face in Lebanon will trigger Palestinians no matter their location from Gaza, the 48 lands to the West Bank"***. This explains the important role of social media to expand refugees' networks with their allies.

## 4.6 Online Solidarity

Data collected from interviews and Twitter showed the position of the Lebanese people towards the movement of Palestinian refugees, the majority of the Lebanese people demonstrated against the violation of the human and civil rights of the Palestinian refugees,

and they declared a general strike because of the disruption of their economic life, which are greatly affected by the Palestinian refugees. On the other hand, a wave of hate speech against the refugees appeared.

After labelling all the tweets, 14.5 % of tweets (total 174) reflected the attitude of the Lebanese people towards the movement of Palestinian refugees, out of 62 tweets showed a wave of hate speech against refugees. On the other hand, 112 tweets reflect how Lebanese people demonstrated and refused to violate the human and civil rights of Palestinian refugees, and the rest of tweets called for general strike due to the disruption of economic life and the recession of goods because the Palestinian refugee is an essential element in the production and consumption of goods.

A wave of Lebanese supportive feelings appeared on Twitter to support the Palestinian refugee. According to tweet NO. C35, the Lebanese people realized the particularity of the Palestinian refugee in this country, as someone who was born and lived and contributed to the Lebanese economy. It states: *"I am a Lebanese and the Palestinian is my brother, and the same way a Palestinian is spending his money in Lebanon he has the right to work, make money, and earn a living in Lebanon"*. Tweet NO. C48 also showed the Lebanese people's neutrality, believing that the Palestinians will not violate the law if they are treated fairly. As stated: *"Using foreign workers as a boost to gain more points in national championships is a façade. The Lebanese that lived with the Palestinians through good and bad times, do not want job opportunities to deprive the Palestinians of their livelihood but to give them their rights and ask them to oblige to the rules, and then they will comply without a doubt"*.

These feelings were reflected in the form of demonstrations coordinated between Palestinian and Lebanese youth. Ahmed, one of the movement's coordinators, showed the youth's success in coordinating a mass demonstration outside the camps for the first time and this demonstration showed the support of the people of Sidon and their association with Palestinian refugees. He said: *"An idea was created in coordination with all the camps to demonstrate in the city of Sidon with the support of the representative Osama Saad, it gathered more than 120 thousand Lebanese and Palestinian people. The Lebanese supported the Palestinians with one of the largest demonstrations in 20 years".* It is worth

mentioning that Osama Saad is the head of the Nasserite Popular Organization and Osama Saad is the head of the Nasserite Popular Organization and MP in the Lebanese Parliament in the Lebanese Parliament.

The Lebanese people also called for a general strike in support of Palestinian refugees, because the camps are the economic source for the cities around them. Refugees are the backbone of economic life to the areas surrounding their camps. Most of the workers in these cities are refugees, and the highest consumption rates of these cities 'products belong to them. So, their continued migration will negatively affect the economic life in these cities. Mona confirmed this by saying: ***"Ain Al Hilweh" is the largest camp in Lebanon, with the highest number of demonstrations, it's thriving economically in the city of Sidon. Disrupting it with a strike will cause business disruption and economic depression, therefore the people of Sidon demonstrated in solidarity with the Palestinian refugees, and promised that they will not allow the labor law to be implemented"***. And on Twitter, the tweets also clarified the role of merchants in supporting the movement in support of Palestinian refugees. Tweet NO. A139 states: ***"Sidon dealers call on all institutions, companies, and shops for a strike on Saturday in the city of Sidon, we hope that all of Lebanon will stick with us, due to the injustice and suffering faced by the Palestinians"***.

On the other hand, a wave of hate speech and anti-Palestinian rhetoric has emerged. Salam sees that what helped this wave to emerge is the racist expressions of the Minister of Labor against the Palestinian refugee, and his promises to the Lebanese workers to obtain better jobs if the refugees are excluded from their jobs. She said: ***"Because of the biases from the Minister of Labors decision, a minority group was formed to oppose the Palestinians right to work"***. But this does not reflect reality because depriving the Palestinians of their work will not constitute vacancies for Lebanese youth, as Mona said: ***"Lebanese workers refuse to work in refugee camps, restaurants and hotels. On the other hand, Palestinian and Syrian workers accept working for lower wages compared to the wages of Lebanese workers, and therefore employers prefer Palestinian and Syrian workers"***.

This hate speech was reflected through racist media channels that did not play any role in defending the Palestinian refugees and did not reflect the tragic reality of their lives as tweet

NO. A168 states: ***"Racism or hate speech against Palestinians and the LBCI channel goes back to the isolationist forces"***. The isolationist forces stipulate that most Lebanese argue that the camps are "a source of instability, a hideout for criminals, a resort for militias, and a warehouse for weapons" at best, or a "threat to the state" at worst (Stel, 2014). This hate speech also caused Palestinians to be attacked on Twitter and held responsible for the electricity outages and bad public services, as stated in Tweet No. A251: ***"Hey Palestinians, let the minister prevent you from working, in that way we can have a nuclear reactor in Lebanon and 24-24 electricity and solve the waste crisis and the Lebanese per capita income will rise to $5000"***.

## 4.7 Social Media Empowerment of Palestinian

After a month and a half of continuous protests, the demonstrations continued and the movement met a comprehensive expansion on several levels. First, demonstrations against the Minister of Labor's decision ended, but the movement resulted in the Palestinian awareness of their right to live a decent life, as Khaled said: ***"The Palestinian party also prepared a debate regarding the refugee rights as a visionary with the aim of developing and filling any gap in order to approve as governing laws to officiate the Lebanese relationship with the Palestinian refugee community"***. Also, Salam outlined the important role of social media in confronting the implementation of the unjustified Labor Minister's decision against the refugees. She said: ***"The law was not implemented as planned, due to these measures the protests expanded to social media".*** The trend toward social media spread the movement and mobilized the world to notice their suffering, thus halting the implementation of the decision.

However, there are still concerns about the application of this unjustified decision in the future, as some tweets indicated, tweet No A135 states: ***"Yesterday it became evident that the Minister of Labour speech in the house of Representatives was just a brief to ease the tension in the camps, it's clear that the law is still active"***. Sarah indicated that there is no strict follow-up to ensure the progress of the decision, saying: ***"Many institutions and***

*companies requested work permits and many shops closed but there is no strict follow-up to ensure the progress of the decision"*.

Some tweets show the importance of solving the problem from its roots, if the implementation of the current Minister of Labor's decision is retracted, which guarantees that it will not be applied in the future. As Tweet NO. A202 explained: *"The working permit law is still effective as long as the amendment made in 2010 regarding Palestinian refugee employment is not cancelled. And if this government retreats dozens of ministers may appear in the future who may re-implement the law. Be cautious of any evasion of your demands"*.

Second, it is worth noting that the movement has met a wide echo on a global level, the global responses to the movement were reflected in the form of demonstrations in many countries, as shown in Tweet No. A199 which states: *"In Europe, the first demonstration will start on Friday in Copenhagen in front of the Lebanese embassy, Saturday in Malmo-Sweden, Sunday in Amsterdam, and Monday in London in solidarity with the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon"*.

The young people have used social media to draw the world's attention on the issue of Palestinian refugees and reflect the reality of their living with pictures and videos, which are not published on TV channels as Khaled and Salam explained. Khaled said: *"Due to media censorship laws in most of the countries where Palestinians are living, social media has become a major communications tool in the community to express the Palestinians suffering through the expansion of activists in this field and with others around the globe"*. Salam agreed with Khaled in addition to stressing the importance of the role of youth in expanding the range of mobility. She said: *"Palestinian youth contributed in delivering and communicating their struggles to the world in various languages on social media"*.

Third, the movement of Palestinian refugees affected the hearts of Lebanese youth, as they realized their ability to claim their rights and change unjustified laws. The Lebanese uprising on October 17, 2019, demonstrates the impact of the Palestinian refugee's movement on the Lebanese people, as they rose up against their government and demonstrated in the streets

away from rulers, parties, and sects. Ahmad said: ***"The Lebanese demonstrations started when the Lebanese protested against their government. Many young Lebanese admitted that the movement motivated and influenced them to demonstrate on October 17, as the refugee who has nothing protests, so what prevents the Lebanese from doing so"***. And Mona agreed with him saying: ***"The Palestinians empowered and motivated the Lebanese uprising for what has been done inside and outside the camps, which made them rebel against the political parties and policies out of their sectors and the bid of their rulers"***.

Fourth, refugees did not realize some of the benefits of the movement, as the movement contributed to the expansion of their relationships and networks through social media, which led to the interdependence of the camps with each other.

The benefit of expanding social media networks was demonstrated by the COVID 19 crisis, as refugees came together side by side to overcome this crisis. This was evident in what Ahmed said: ***"This movement established the foundations for a thriving future. If the movement did not happen, the assistance between the camps in order to expand relations with the people during this global pandemic of Covid-19 would not have been possible"***.

**CHAPTER FIVE: Concluding Remarks, Recommendations and Limitations**

5. Introduction

The purpose of this research is to analyze social media content in case of Palestinian refugees' employment in Lebanon and to reflect how they can use social media to acquire and disseminate information in time of crises. This study explores how activists in Lebanon utilize social media to express their employment situations and work rights, in addition to better understanding Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues. Based on the analysis conveyed, and according to the study, social media is the most powerful resource available to refugees for collecting information, organizing movements, disseminating objections, and demanding their rights. The use of social media is regulated, relationships are formed, and actors are used optimally so that the world is aware of what is happening with them.

5.1 Main concluding remarks and findings

The present thesis was designed to determine how do central actors, such as core activists, use social media to acquire and disseminate information, power, and solidarity generated by online social ties, which previous researchers lack to highlight (see Harris, 2019; Cheung & Phillimore 2014), this thesis has found that social media mobilization reflect workers' work rights and conditions, and activists could organize, mobilize, and act within online environments. For example, activists can use WhatsApp to build relationships and social capital, and hashtags can be used to organize their movement on social media. Also, this research has shown that activists in Lebanon utilized social media, in times of crisis, to express their employment situations and work rights, under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers. The findings of Alencar (2018) agree with the conclusion of this study about the importance of social media to build both bonding and bridging social capital for refugees. Also, this study agrees with Marlowe (2020) in the point of the importance of social media on the integration of refugees at times of rapid political change.

In addition, the importance of the current study was to determine how activists in Lebanon utilized social media, in times of crisis, to express their employment situations and work rights, under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers. A major role played by social media was in the representation of refugees' reality in Lebanon, particularly the oppression and persecution suffered by them, which forced employers to close their shops for reasons related to their refugee status.

This present study corresponds with multiple previous works of the literature which showed the bad working conditions that refugees suffered (Chaaban et al., 2010; El-Natour and Yassine, 2007; Suleiman, 2006). Furthermore, the most emerge from this study is that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon suffer from strict working conditions in Lebanon under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers which declaim Palestinian refugees specifically. It was found in this research how Palestinian refugees in Lebanon demanded their civil and political rights through social media platforms, which the researcher considers as the novelty of this research.

The last major finding in this thesis was to better understand Arabic social media data in relation to refugee issues. Since the main purpose is to better understand the Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues in order to explore the reality of the image reflected by social media activists in Lebanon expressing the employment situation and work rights, under the political and economic policies against foreign laborers, the researcher dealt with Arabic social media data on the topic of the research. Whereas the researcher used hashtag logic to access the main hashtag of the movement and then pull all tweets in Arabic that fall under this hashtag. Then the researcher completed his work by including several hashtags supporting the main hashtag that relate to the movement. In order to reach logical conclusions, the researcher collected sufficient data, in order to purify it according to the origins of the Arabic language, to divide it into groups by topic, to translate it into English, and to examine it within the context of the research objectives.

Many previous studies recommended the importance of creating platforms to analyze the content of social media sites. Because of the rich information they contain which helps to understand and study reality in many areas of life (see Hansen, 2011; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Scott and Carrington; 2012). From this point, this study improved a mechanism to better understand Arabic social media data in relation to refugee's issues. In addition, the researcher clarified how social media content and dynamics could be organized among marginalized communities, who lack many resources, to express their opinion through the online Arabic language.

## 5.2 Methodological and Practical Implications

### 5.2.1 Methodological Implications

This thesis contains an extensive and in-depth analysis on the topic of social media and their impact on refugees and marginalized groups, highlighting the limitations of the resources available to these groups, social media is becoming an important subject of investigation.

This research has shown that social media has become increasingly relevant to organisations, researchers, NGOs, and any field interested in studying the situation of refugees and marginalized groups around the world.

Utilizing social media have increased the ability of social media actors to mobilize collective action based on affiliations and common interests and to publish and disseminate information about themselves and their organizational actions, products, and services.

In summary, this thesis investigates how researchers can collect and download social media data, how they could group and categorize data in order to analyze the situations. In particular, the way they can apply to examine the impact of the problem in several contexts.

### 5.2.2 Implications for Policymakers and Practitioners

Overall, this study strengthens the idea that understanding social media content in times of crisis for marginalized groups is very important, especially Arabic ethnography. The researcher proposes that this study which analyzed social media mobilization in time of crisis for Palestinian employment in Lebanon will be a model for studying the conditions of refugees and marginalized groups worldwide and in any time. The results of this research provide insights for various parties, including the Ministry of Labor, Labor Affairs, human rights institutions, NGOs, refugees institutions, in addition to any party concerned with improving the political and economic situation of refugees in the world . Not only on the situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, but for all refugees around the world and for all marginalized and vulnerable groups that need to shed light on them. Because the social media platforms are their only window to convey their voice to the world.

### 5.3 Limitations

The research was limited by many limitations specifically at the methodological level, the most important of which are:

- According to Twitter API policies, historical old tweets, such as the targeted data, cannot be downloaded.
- Due to recall bias when asking respondents about events that happened in the past, participants will recall information in accordance with their own outcome status.
- Transcribing data from colloquial Arabic requires a great deal of effort in order to ensure that meaning is not lost, which is sometimes difficult for researchers.
- It is difficult to generalize this study to refugees in different geographical areas or to any other marginalized group, because every society differs in its policy in dealing with these groups. Therefore, their demands and suffering will be different and need to be studied from other aspects.

## 5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

In this section, the researcher offers several recommendations that are relevant to the Ministry of Labor, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Labor Affairs, human rights institutions, NGOs, refugees institutions, in addition to academic, researcher, social media platforms, social media actors and refugees worldwide.

- Developing softwares to download social media content and makes it available for researchers in various fields.
- Social media platforms administrators should make it easier for researchers to gather data quickly and easily and ease data restrictions.
- Before conducting social media research, researchers should understand and study the limitations of accessing social media platforms data.
- The researcher suggests the important of improving a software to facilitate the analysis of the content of social networking sites.
- The researcher followed the method of thematic analysis of collected data and qualitative research to ensure the validity of the information. And in order to better understand the target community, the researcher recommends that future researchers have to adopt more methodologies, such as living within the target group, furthermore, other sources of data besides social media data should also be considered.
- The necessity of educating refugees and marginalized groups on the importance of the role of social media in conveying their suffering to the world.
- The necessity of organizing communities on social media and building a wide network of relationships.
- The researcher recommends the importance of mobilizing and protesting through social media because of its active role in upsetting the scales.
- The researcher recommends institutions and human rights organizations to study the political, economic and psychological situation of refugees in all countries.
- Governments must be activated in following up on refugee issues and reducing their suffering.

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Appendices:

*Table 4 Tweets and Interviews Data*

| Aggregate Dimensions | 2nd Order Themes | Illustration 1st order data from respondents' quotes |
|---|---|---|
| **Deal of the Century** | **Working Conditions of Foreigners in Lebanon.** | "Lebanese workers refuse to work in refugee camps, restaurants and hotels. On the other hand, Palestinian and Syrian workers accept work for lower wages compared to the wages of Lebanese workers, and therefore employers prefer Palestinian and Syrian workers." |
| | | "Employers commit fraud and take advantage of Palestinians that need to work. Employers benefit from the labor of illegally hired Palestinians. A hired Palestinian doctor will get a nurse's salary even though they are performing the job they were hired for as a doctor." |
| | | "Palestinian nurses were rejected for employment and refugee nurses were prevented from working in hospitals. Even if they did choose or were able to work, they are paid less and without guarantees or insurance." |
| | | "The closure or condemnation of a vegetable store by the Public Prosecution office in Al-Anan Street belongs to a Palestinian Ahmed Nazem from Burj Al-Barajneh camp. Due to the decision imposed by the Minister of Labor Kamil Abu Suleiman, Palestinians in Lebanon are unable to even own a vegetable stand." |
| | | "The Palestinians pay taxes the same as Lebanese people, but do not receive any guarantees, end of service benefits and no health insurance". |
| | | "In distressing situations with no hope, there are still hundreds of young men and women of university graduates and diploma holders, who are discriminated against and are not able to receive any work opportunities because of their |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | | | refugee status." |
| | | | "Palestinian refugees are subjected to constant harassment from the Lebanese state caused by the new decision by the Minister of Labor. The law is to impose additional restrictions on the refugees that prevent them from practicing many jobs, in addition to the previous restrictions that are also inhumane humanity." |
| | | 'Right to Return' Excuse | "Palestinians are protesting in Lebanon against the right to own property. They fear this will cause Palestinians to forget the right to return to their home and this movement resulted in a hashtag "my property doesn't prevent my right to return". |
| | | | "The Lebanese sectarian system and the economic political system made decisions to give citizenships based on capital gains and wealth of Palestinians. Whereas Christians were given Lebanese citizenship with the aim of diffusing the Palestinian issue and pushing Palestinian refugees to leave Lebanon to seek a better life in other countries such as the Gulf. This was done in order to make Palestinians forfeit the right to return. This brought awareness to the people and was communicated through demonstrations in the summer of 2019." |
| | | | "Palestinians demand all civil rights and to practice all professions and the right to own property in all countries of the world except Lebanon under the pretext of the right of return. Palestinians do not need anyone to remind them of their right to return. It is undeniably sacred and they will not give up their right to return even if they own the world." |
| | | Protests against the Minister of Labor Law to Object against | "Refugees do not want to be displaced or resettled, they only want to eat and live in dignity. However, all decisions taken lead to the starvation of the refugees in order for them to |

| | the Deal of the Century and the Refusal of Resettlement | submit themselves to the Deal of the Century." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "The number of refugees recorded by the UNRWA does not equate to half of the actual existing number. The prevention of immigration and broker facilities contradicts the aim of granting citizenships without political rights for refugees in exchange for debt relief from Lebanon. whereas 60 billion dollars were allocated within the deal of the century, this is in exchange for the settling of refugees without political rights in Lebanon." |
| | | "Refugees are being pressured until they accept to be resettled." |
| | | "The campaign launched by Minister of Labor Kamil Abu Suleiman to combat illegal foreign workers triggered a surge of protests when it affected Palestinian workers. The leaders of the Palestinian factions described as serving the Deal of the Century." |
| | The Special Case of Palestinian Refugee's from other foreigners | "It was necessary to take into account the succession of generations and give specificity to the refugee situation, which no longer makes sense for the word refugee now for successive generations, which is treated as alienation." |
| | | "After the implementation of Minister of Labor law, foreigners are allowed to own property except for Palestinians, it states: (it is not permitted for any person who has a nationality issued by an unrecognized country, or conflicting ownership with the principle of refusing to settle). As this law is discriminatory and intended towards Palestinians. However, this law does not mention Palestinians directly but it is aimed towards them." |
| | | "A refugee and a foreigner cannot be compared with each other. The rights or restrictions of a foreigner cannot be imposed to a refugee. We, refugees, are forced to flee our |

| | | homes and reject resettlement and demand the right to return to our nation. Work permits are imposed to workers for jobs that Lebanese people will not perform or if they do not have the necessary skills and competencies to perform the job. This decision results in unfair and racist actions." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Treating Palestinian workers in Lebanon in the same as foreign workers are making matters worse. A refugee has no nation to go back to and the doors of the world are all closed to them. They live, breathe, and spend money in Lebanon. Therefore, depriving a refugee of work will be the start of a social revolution." |
| | **Lebanese Laws Imposed to Expel Palestinian Refugee's from Lebanon** | "Lebanese laws are detrimental towards Palestinian refugess. As a Palestinian would consider to immigrate to any other place and consider it paradise as compared to living under the Lebanese conditions." |
| | | "Sudden inspection procedures have been implemented on foreign workers that do not have work permits as well as causing pressure on institutions to expose their workers and charge them fines for violating the labor law. This resulted in many Palestinian refugees to live in confinement and under restrictions which led them to flee and immigrate." |
| | | "Palestinians must search for a new place other than staying forever in Lebanon. As Palestinians were forced to settle in Lebanon, they will take the first opportunity they have to emigrate away from the desolation in camps." |
| | | "Such decisions have no goals other than to pressure the Palestinian refugees to push them to either migrate or accept resettlement, in ways that are compatible with the deal of the century." |
| | | "Today hundreds of Palestinian refugees demonstrated in front of the Canadian embassy in Beirut, seeking to emigrate |

| | | from Lebanon." |
|---|---|---|
| **The Prevailing Emotions Among Palestinian Refugees Amidst the Uprising in Refugee Camps** | **Camp's uprising Against the Minister of Labors decision** | "Crowds started to rally on social media and then moved on to reality, as social media replaced the loud speakers of protests to be the voice of the people, which persuaded them to unite." |
| | | "Demonstrations started in the Rashidieh camp South of Lebanon to oppose against the decision imposed by the Lebanese Minister of Labor against the rights of Palestinians". |
| | | "Massive protestors in the North Tower in Lebanon rejected the decision by the Lebanese Minister of Labor against the rights of the Palestinians." |
| | **The Parties Unite to get their Rights** | "Many protests occurred at the camp level far from the factions and parties. As Hamas and Fatah attempted to unite with each other despite their differences either through escalation or negotiations." |
| | | "The Palestinians rebelled against political parties and existing policies to unify their votes and obtain their rights." |
| | | "Racist people need to know that when the people of "Ain al Hilweh" get upset with each other it is instigated by a third party, men show their actions when the situation becomes tough, when faced with an opportunity they stand together against segregation and racism and unite together under the word Palestine." |
| | **The Refusal use Weapons in the Camps and the desire for civil revolution** | "The refugees through social media communicated and agreed with each other to reject racism towards the Lebanese, and to refuse to use weapons during demonstration." |
| | | "Objection towards the Lebanese decision must not lead to insulting and demeaning the Lebanese people, we do not want to offend the supporters that have stood with |

| | | Palestinians through thick and thin. Lebanese are against the decision, and in general, they support our cause." |
|---|---|---|
| | **Belief in the Right to live with Dignity** | "Lebanese policies aspire to practice the other's theory on the Palestinians by narrowing on the camps and building walls around them to keep them secluded and to remain exploited politically and economically." |
| | | In Burj Al Barajneh camp the electricity networks are very poor, among the worst in the world, more than 100 people died of electrocution, 80% of them children within a year." |
| | | "Our civil rights are a red line and they are not a favor from anyone and these rights will not be an entry point to resettlement, the Palestinian refugee will still demand to return, Palestine is our country instead of all the world, we need to let this idea to get to our Lebanese brothers against the dark and racist voices." |
| | | "Our aim is to achieve civil and humanitarian rights without offending the Lebanese nation or the army." |
| | **The Difference between a Refugee and a Foreigner** | "A Syrian and a foreigner can own property in Lebanon. This does not make sense as this notion contradicts the Palestinians right to return." |
| | | "A refugee and a foreigner cannot be compared with each other. The regulations imposed on foreigners cannot be imposed on refugees. We are forced to be refugees we reject to be displaced and demand the right to return to our land." |
| | **Feeling Racism Against Religion "Muslim, Christian"** | "Lebanon's Christian community sees a Palestinian as a Muslim, the Shiite community sees him as a Sunni, and the Sunni community does not value them at all." |
| | | "Why is a Palestinian Christian and an Armenian gets citizenship? " |
| | **Resorting to Emigration in Order to Live in** | "Lebanese laws are detrimental to Palestinian refugees. Palestinians consider any place to live better as compared to |

| | Dignity | the humiliation and degradation they experience in Lebanon." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Yes, to Palestinian humanitarian asylum from Lebanon, open the doors of emigration for Palestinians." |
| | Unity with the Lebanese Nation | "There has become a conviction among many of the Lebanese that led to their retreat on their opposition against the Palestinians." |
| | | "One nation, free of racism to be united in the future." |
| The Lebanese Media and the Government's Inaccurate Portrayal of Refugee Protests | Persuading the Lebanese People to Support the Minister of Labors Decision | "The official implementation of laws and administrative decisions continued to negatively discriminate against the nationality of the person. This created continuous limitations for the livelihood of refugees. Furthermore, these actions of racism among groups present within the Lebanese authority are working against the Palestinian presence." |
| | | "Targeting Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is a disgraceful expression of racism from a revolting political stance, no more no less." |
| | | "The Minister of Labor stated: since the launch of the plan and more job opportunities available. Over 1400 jobs have been taken by Lebanese people." |
| | Advertisements Concealing the truth of the Refugees Status in the Camps and their Contributions to the Lebanese Economy | "The attempt to break Palestinians will and silence and our civil and human rights demands will not succeed, and the threats will not intimidate us." |
| | | "The media fails to transmit the refugee's hardships and struggles. Instead, they manipulate the truth and only show the thefts and crimes that happen. They link Palestinians with crimes and distort their reputation to air it on their TV channels." |
| | | "TV channels are trying to depict the civil rights demands as the purpose of resettlement, even though that is not the main issue." |

| | Official Support | "Prime Minister Saad Hariri praised the position of Parliament president Nabih Berri who stated the decision towards Palestinian workers is terminated and the regulations will be in retrospective from the ministry of labor current actions. Hariri announced the Prime Minister will take the adequate decision to follow in the same direction as Berri specifies." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Palestinian sources confirmed that Hariri made a promise to Palestinian leaders that met with him in order to restore matters to their previous state. He announces actions to take in order to cancel measures against Palestinians." |
| | | "Greetings to representative Jamil Al-Sayed's position towards the Minister of labors decision against Palestinian employment. " |
| Support from Officials and People | Discussing the Consequences of the Minister of Labor's Decision with the Lebanese Government | "The Palestinian economic trade union political meeting in Beirut confirmed that Palestinian workers are not foreigners but rather a refugee residing forcibly in Lebanese territories " |
| | | "A delegation from the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad met with the Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri at the Grand Serail or Government Palace in Beirut to study the outcomes of the Ministry of Labors decision and the need to end the crisis in order to preserve the dignity of the Palestinian refugees." |
| | Demanding a Dignified life for Refugees in Lebanon | "The crucial role of the Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue committee was to be responsible for the relationship between the Palestinian and the Lebanese in Lebanon, it's an institution affiliated with the Lebanese Prime Minister." |
| | | "Deputy Secretary-General of Hezbollah Shaikh Naim Qassem stated: I assure Palestinians in Lebanon that we will do all the efforts in our power to defend their livelihood." |

| | Acts of Solidarity from Palestinians towards Refugees through Protests and Donations | "When a Palestinian in Lebanon attempts to communicate with a Palestinian from their homeland, this triggers an incentive to expand networks geographically, because the injustice a Palestinian face in Lebanon will trigger Palestinians no matter their location from Gaza, the 48 lands to the West Bank." |
| | | "This Friday all Gaza mosques set aside time during prayer to collect donations for our loved ones and our people in the diaspora camps in Lebanon as part of their support in facing the Lebanese Minister of Labor decision for being one of the main supporters of the deal of the century." |
| The Position of Lebanese Nationals Towards Palestinian Refugees Movement | Demonstrations to Reject the Violation of Human and Civil Rights of Refugees | "The large crowd in the city of Sidon is a result of its proximity to Ain Al Hilweh camp and its history with the presence of unified beliefs that are embedded within the people of the camp. " |
| | | "The Islamic Group in the city of Sidon calls for a national protest tomorrow after the Friday prayers in Al Shuhadaa Square, in objection against the decision of the Lebanese Ministry of Labor against the Palestinians right to work." |
| | | "The Palestinians are a red line not to be crossed in Lebanon as they are our brothers and we have to give them their civil rights." |
| | | "Stand in solidarity with the Palestinian movement in the Central of "Beqa'a" to reject the Ministry of Labor's decision against the rights of Palestinian refugees." |
| | General Strike to Resume Palestinian Refugees as Active Members | "The Lebanese government is contradictory towards the refugees. They want the refugees to be displaced and on the other side, they want them to stay in Lebanon. The reason for this is because the Lebanese government benefits from |

| | in the Economic Flow in Production and Consumption | Palestinians economically. In terms of employment, there is a large number of qualified employees in companies in addition to Palestinian investments contributing to the economy because of the Palestinians abroad sending their families help." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Strike in all Palestinian camps in Lebanon to protest against the Ministry of Labor's decision and on Friday the 2nd "Day of Anger" for the marches that will start after the Friday prayer." |
| | Hate Speech Against Palestinian Refugees | "There is a surge of racism from the middle and upper class of the Lebanese people that refuse to hear foreign or different accents in restaurants and hotels, so they post videos asking for their dismissal from public places." |
| | | "Well, Lebanese civil or international organizations do not consider this talk against the Palestinian refugee a form of hate speech and ethnic cleansing?" |
| | | "Racism or hate speech against Palestinians and the LBCI channel goes back to the isolationist origins." |
| The Consequences of the Political Movement | Social Media Limitations | "The movement has ended, but it still exists from time to time with follow up meetings and demands, but in reality, as a protest, it has ended." |
| | | "Many institutions and companies requested work permits and many shops closed but there is no strict follow-up to ensure the progress of the decision." |
| | | "What is this confusion about? First, the prime minister and the speaker of parliament say that the decision is canceled and then the minister of labor says it will continue but with facilities. We were satisfied with the initial decision but then angered again after knowing the decision will still be active." |
| | Social Media Effects | "The movement helped show the true image behind the suffering the refugee's face to the point in which it reached |

| | | international media stations and showed the world that the refugees are marginalized, deprived of their rights, and discriminated against." |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Ziad Al Aloul told Al Mayadeen channel: we are continuing our movement and are communicating with all power, official and national forces in Lebanon in order to preserve the rights of Palestinian refugees in camps, and this is our role as Palestinians living abroad." |
| | | "In Europe, the first demonstration will start on Friday in Copenhagen in front of the Lebanese embassy, Saturday in Malmo- Sweden, Sunday in Amsterdam, and Monday in London in solidarity with the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon." |
| | **Breaking Fear** | "The situation was headed towards triggering a socio-economic explosion that would later erupt in the hands of the Lebanese, and are currently still suffering from the consequences." |
| | | "The Lebanese demonstrations started when the Lebanese protested against their government. Many young Lebanese admitted that the movement motivated and influenced them to demonstrate on October 17, as the refugee who has nothing protests, so what prevents the Lebanese from doing so." |
| | | "The Palestinians empowered and motivated the Lebanese uprising for what has been done inside and outside the camps, which made them rebel against the political parties and policies out of their sectors and the bid of their rulers." |
| | **The Effect of Social Mobility for Organizing Other Activities During the** | "This movement established the foundations for a thriving future. If the movement did not happen, the assistance between the camps in order to expand relations with the people during this global pandemic of Covid-19 would not |

| | Global Pandemic Covid-19 | have been possible." |
|---|---|---|