

“We are alive and dead at the same time”: A Children’s Rights Normative Culture Analysis of Children’s Rights in Gaza

Authors: Marieke J. Hopman, Department of International Law, Maastricht University, the Netherlands. www.childrensrightsresearch.com / Marieke.hopman@maastrichtuniversity.nl (corresponding author), A. Abu Eqtaish (Child Rights Expert), Kristen E. Cheney (Independent Scholar) & G.A. Jama, Department of International Law, Maastricht University, the Netherlands.

Disclaimer

This document is a preprint. It represents a preliminary version of the research that has received feedback from a number of experts, but has not yet undergone peer review. The content may be revised or updated before publication in a scientific journal. Results and conclusions should therefore be interpreted with caution. The authors welcome any comments, remarks, or feedback from readers. To this purpose, please contact the corresponding author (Marieke.hopman@maastrichtuniversity.nl).

Abstract

This paper aims to understand the current children’s rights situation in Gaza, to analyse what current factors create and sustain this situation, and to present possible pathways for positive change. We apply the Children’s Rights Normative Culture (CRNC) model (Hopman et al. 2026) to a dataset including 88 research conversations in Gaza (76 children, 12 adults) and qualitative analysis of over 4000 textual sources.

The findings reveal the collapse of almost all conditions necessary for the realisation of children’s rights, including a lack of access to essential resources, the breakdown of societal structures in Gaza, and the dehumanisation of Gazan children in the Israeli CRNC. Together, these conditions have turned Gaza into a “torturing environment” for children. Lastly, the paper suggests pathways for positive change. These include the restoration of Gaza’s civilian infrastructure, requiring an end to all violence; child participation in decision-making around reconstruction; and awareness-raising in Israel.

1. Introduction: What this paper is (not) about

This paper is about children in Gaza. We aim to understand the current children’s rights situation in Gaza, to analyse what current factors create and sustain this situation, and to explore possible pathways for positive change. Given that children’s voices are largely absent in news and other reporting about the war in Gaza, we foreground the voices of children, based on 76 research conversations with children in Gaza, held in May-July and December 2025. To find factors creating and sustaining the current situation, we use the Children’s Rights Normative Culture (CRNC) model to analyse the societal structures around children in Gaza that ‘enable

or prevent the realisation of their rights, while simultaneously (re)defining the content and meaning of such rights' (Hopman et al., 2026, 5). We apply the model to our collected dataset, which—in addition to conversations with children—includes twelve conversations in Gaza with adults, and qualitative document analysis of over 4000 textual sources. Using this framework, we argue that Gaza has become a “torturing environment” (after Pérez-Sales, 2026, 7) for children because the conditions necessary for the realisation of children’s rights have collapsed, and this situation is being structurally sustained through interacting normative cultures—particularly the Israeli CRNC.

This is not a descriptive paper detailing the harms suffered by children in Gaza (for such analyses, see e.g. Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (2024); Wells et al. (2024)). Nor is it a legal or ethical evaluation seeking to judge the actions by various actors involved (e.g. Human Rights Watch, 2024; B'Tselem, 2025; Daniele, 2025; International Committee of Jurists, 2025) or a reflection on which historical factors have led to the current situation (e.g. Sorek, 2026). Instead, the paper focuses on the children’s rights situation in Gaza today, including the factors sustaining this situation - where we might find possibilities for change towards increased children’s rights protection.

We start with the CRNC theoretical model, then explain the methodology in considerable detail, since data on the war in Gaza is not evidently reliable due to widespread mis- and disinformation (e.g. Maad et al., 2024; Diker, 2025; Elmas et al., 2026). We then present our findings, starting with an analysis of the current children’s rights situation in Gaza as seen through the eyes of children. This is followed by an analysis of the CRNC in Gaza and in Israel, as related to children in Gaza, and an overall evaluation of the current children’s rights situation in Gaza. The paper ends with a conclusion and an exploration of entry points for positive change.

2. Theoretical Framework: Children’s Rights Normative Culture

This study utilizes the Children’s Rights Normative Culture (CRNC) model (Hopman et al., 2026). The model provides an explanatory framework that ‘allows researchers to map various factors relevant for children’s rights realisation, and offers a framework for understanding how normative structures shape the meaning and practices of children’s rights in context’ (ibid., 16). Among its various possible applications, we use the CRNC model to study the specific children’s rights situation of a particular subgroup of society (i.e. children in Gaza). Specifically, we use it to gain understanding of the complex normative structures around children in Gaza which enable or prevent the realisation of their rights, while simultaneously (re)defining the content and meaning of such rights (ibid., 5). According to the model, such structures—collectively referred to as “normative culture”—consist of three core elements:

- a) socio-legal norms, created by various social orders;
- b) the patterns of behaviour and attitudes that society members have towards these norms;
- c) the socio-legal position of society members. Norms are defined as ‘rules that state how people ought to behave’ (ibid., 5).

The CRNC is schematised in Figure 1:

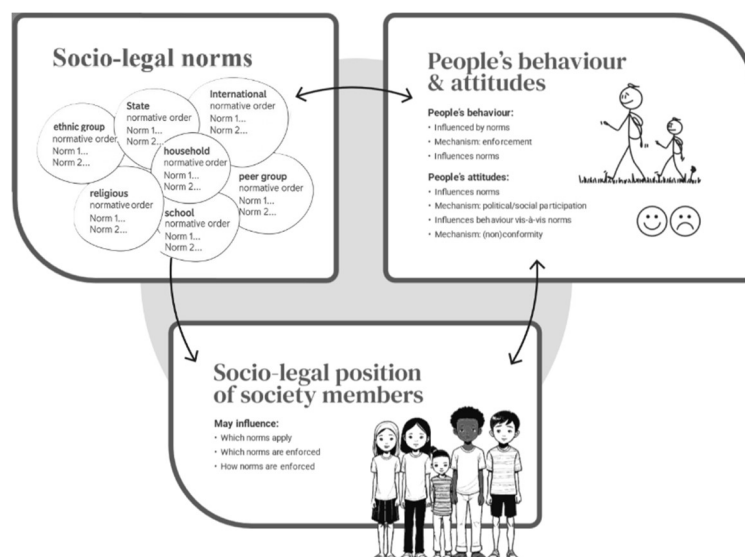


Figure 1. Schematised overview of CRNC.

The three core elements are interrelated, and the model supports an analysis not only of relevant normative factors, but also of ‘the dynamic interaction in societies between norms, attitudes, behaviours, and socio-legal positions’ (ibid., 7).

In this study, the starting point is the socio-legal position of “child in Gaza”. A first analysis of the situation of these children led us to believe that there are two main applicable adult-led CRNCs, which—rather than understanding both as part of one larger CRNC—we prefer to consider separately, since they are distinct and clashing: the Gazan CRNC and the Israeli CRNC. Both are described and analysed below (section 4).

3. Methodology: obtaining Gazan children’s views on their rights, and data on the CRNCs that dis/enable these rights)

Empirical data collection for this study followed a two-phased approach, whereby we first aimed to learn from children in Gaza about their children’s rights situation (phase 1). Phase 2 aimed to find data necessary to understanding the CRNCs that dis/enable children’s rights in Gaza.

3.1 Phase 1: conversations with children

We engaged with children in individual, qualitative conversations, set up as a combination of inquiry-based learning and Socratic dialogue (Hopman, 2021, chapter 4). In this methodology, the researcher and participant engage in a “micro-research” project. Together, they ‘pose questions, search for answers, test hypotheses, share ideas, reflect on the research process, and formulate (tentative) conclusions’ (ibid., 114). For our research conversations,¹ the main question was: “What is the children’s rights situation in Gaza?”

Data was collected by four experienced local researchers in Gaza—three men and one woman—trained in the prescribed methodology by Abu Eqtaish. They conducted 60

¹ Throughout the paper, we use “research conversations”, or “conversations”, rather than the more common term “interviews”, to emphasise the collaborative nature of these conversations rather than them being static Q&As.

conversations with children May-July 2025, and another 16 conversations after the October 2025 ceasefire agreement, in December 2025.²

3.1.1 Sample

The field researchers purposively identified participants through their established contacts across the Gaza Strip to ensure diversity in age, gender, geographic origin, and displacement experience. Inclusion criteria were: (1) being 12-17 years old; (2) residing in Gaza Strip; and (3) ability and willingness to express their thoughts. Participation was voluntary and based on informed consent from the child, and a parent or guardian for children aged 12-14.³

In total, 76 children (46F, 30M) engaged in research conversations. All participants had lived in Gaza since birth. At the time of the conversation, most lived in Gaza city (n=54), Khan Younis (n=13), Deir Albalah (n=6), or Beit Hanoun, Rafah, and Bureij (each n=1). Participants fell into varying age categories (Figure 2):

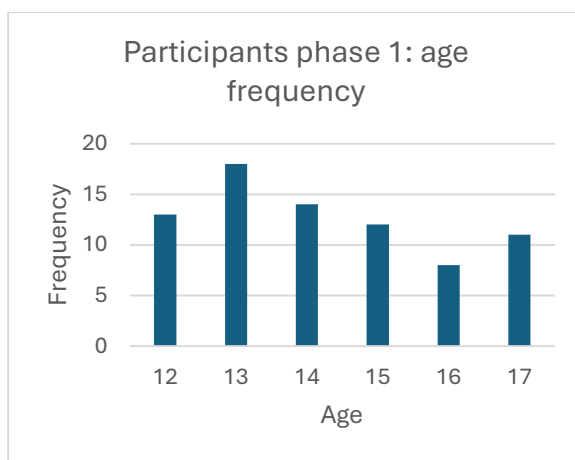


Figure 2. Age distribution of participants in phase 1.

All participants were living with some family members and were able-bodied. Consequently, our findings do not capture the views of certain groups who may face additional risk and vulnerabilities, such as orphaned or unaccompanied children, children with disabilities, and Palestinian children in Israeli military detention (see e.g. UNICEF, 2024; Save the Children, 2025; Shatali et al., 2025).

3.1.2 Ethics⁴

We explained the research's purpose to children in child-friendly language before asking for informed consent. We invited them to participate as co-researchers in the research conversation, explaining that they could always decide not to answer a certain question(s), or stop the conversation at any time. We explained the concept of “anonymity” and invited children to designate their own pseudonyms. If we felt that a child was not comfortable, we stopped the conversation. Afterwards, children were invited to share contact details—stored separately from

² In the findings section, whenever specific conversations are cited, nrs. 1-60 refer to the first group, and 63-89 to the second (see Annex I for an overview of all conversations).

³ This age limit was chosen because in the Palestinian context, children of ages 15 and up are considered sufficiently mature to consent to research activities independently from their parents.

⁴ The ethical protocol for this study builds on procedures described in Hopman and Smajić (2023) with minor adaptations for the Gaza context.

the conversation data—to be informed of the study’s outcomes. Lastly, we provided contact details for mental health support, if needed.

We collected and stored all data in line with the European Commission data protection (GDPR) legal requirements. We obtained permission for this study from the Maastricht University Ethics Review Committee Inner City Faculties (ERCIC), reference number: ERCIC_634_20_11_2024_Hopman.

3.1.3 Data recording, transcription, translation

We audio-recorded and transcribed phase 1 conversations with children either manually or using NoScribe (an automated transcription software), after which we manually checked and corrected all transcripts for accuracy. We translated pseudonymised transcripts to English using GenAI, and checked manually for accuracy.

3.1.4 Data analysis

Abu Eqtaish and Hopman analysed phase 1 data, cross-checking each other’s work. They coded and analysed data using MS Excel, according to two main themes: 1) main children’s rights issues; 2) socio-legal norms. For each theme, they included topics based on the data. Subsequently, they took the large dataset and regrouped the data into consolidated statement groups, adding “children’s rights to health” as a specific theme.

3.2 Phase 2: children’s rights normative cultures – adult perspectives

Our phase 1 analysis showed that while almost all children’s rights were structurally violated in Gaza, children felt that the most foundational right being violated was the right to health—understood in a broad sense to include rights to physical and mental health, life and development (see §4). Following the CRNC model, we subsequently sought to understand the relevant normative structures enabling these violations. We quickly concluded that two separate CRNCs were involved (Gazan and Israeli), and therefore engaged in different types of data collection for each of these CRNCs.

3.2.1 Gazan CRNC: data collection

To understand the Gazan CRNC in relation to the child’s right to health in Gaza, we interviewed 12 healthcare professionals working in Gaza (9M, 3F): 6 nurses, 2 paediatricians, 1 psychologist, 1 lab technician, 1 pharmacist and 1 radiologist. At the time of the interview, participants were living in Gaza City (n=7), Central Gaza (n=3), and Khan Younis (n=2). Using a semi-structured interview protocol, we asked about Gazan children’s rights to health in general, according to various socio-legal orders, and what would be needed for this right to be better protected during and after the war.

Ideally, we would also have interviewed Gazan local authorities, but due to war conditions, it proved too complicated. All Palestinian Authorities representatives whom we contacted in the West Bank indicated that they have no knowledge about the rights of children in Gaza.

3.2.2 Israeli CRNC: data collection

To understand the Israeli CRNC in relation to the child’s right to health in Gaza, we identified four socio-legal normative orders which we expected to produce influential norms for

children's rights in Gaza: the state, the military, the community, and Jewish religious leaders.⁵ Since we were unable to do field research in Israel—and being aware of disinformation on the conflict (Accorsi, 2024; Givon-Benjio et al., 2026)—we collected primary and secondary data from both English- and Hebrew-language sources, totalling 4173 textual sources (see table 1; for an overview of all data sources, see annex II).⁶

Source \ socio-legal order	Israeli state	Israeli military	Israeli community	Jewish Religious leaders
Academic books	5	1	1	-
Academic journal article / book chapter	16	5	8	10
Blog	2	2	1	-
Database	2 ⁷	1 ⁸	-	1 ⁹
Government documents (meeting minutes, press release, statement, report)	25	-	-	-
ICJ case documents	6	3	-	-
Legal documents	15	1	-	-
Media publication	37	20	819 ¹⁰	7
NGO report / press release / social media / podcast	9	2	1	-
UN documents (meeting summary, news, press release)	5	1	-	-
IDF publications (website, social media)	-	115 ¹¹	-	-
Testimonies by IDF soldiers	-	15 ¹²	-	-
Survey	-	-	11	-
Comments on news articles	-	-	3030	-
TOTAL	120	166	3869	18

⁵ We did not include Islamic religious leaders. Although 18.6% of the Israeli population are Muslim (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2026), we did not expect this group of the population to have a large influence on the children's rights situation in Gaza.

⁶ Most sources have some information on several socio-legal normative orders. However, they are generally mentioned only once in the overview, unless they were of key importance to the understanding of several normative orders.

⁷ Database of Israeli Incitement to Genocide (Law for Palestine, 2024); The Zionism Observer (no date).

⁸ Israeli Military Orders Database (The Applied Research Institute - Jerusalem (ARIJ), 2022).

⁹ Database of Israeli Incitement to Genocide (Law for Palestine, 2024)

¹⁰ This includes analysis of 805 news updates between afternoon edition April 3 2025 - morning edition January 25 2026 of Israeli news overview "Israeli News Highlights", a WhatsApp group.

¹¹ This includes analysis of 70 articles published on the IDF website, and 40 Youtube videos published on the IDF English and Hebrew Youtube channels (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciozLR3XqsI>, accessed 14 November 2025; <https://www.youtube.com/@idfonlineyt/videos>, accessed 14 November 2025).

¹² Database of anonymous testimonies of Israeli military, collected by NGO Breaking the Silence, searched for testimonies about Gaza since 7 Oct 2023: 15 entries (Breaking the Silence, 2024a).

Table 1. Overview of textual sources Israeli CRNC.

As part of the data collection on Israeli community views, we examined the comment sections of 7 online publications with content related to the children's rights situation in Gaza, aiming for a variety of online platforms and political viewpoints (see table 2):

Date	Title (English)	Title (Hebrew)	Platform	# Comm.
25 May 2025	Gorging while starving others: on the brink of a complete loss of basic human morality.	זוללים ומרעיבים: כפסע מאובדן מוחלט של מוסר בסיסי ואנושי	Facebook, post by Time Out Tel Aviv	59
31 May 2025	"Do you think it's okay to feel empathy for children in Gaza?"	אתם חושבים שזה בסדר להרגיש אמפתיה לילדים בעזה?	Stips forum (forum for Israeli youth)	103
18 July 2025	"I miss being full": without food, a home, or dreams, Gaza's children are trying to survive another day.	"אני מתגעגע להיות שבע": בלי אוכל, בית או חלומות, ילדי עזה מנסים לשרוד עוד יום	Haaretz news website	363
24 July 2025	"Walking corpses in Gaza": the horrific images seen around the world, and the testimonies of children dying from hunger.	"גופות מהלכות בעזה": תמונות הזוועה שרואים בעולם, והעדויות של ילדים שמתים מרעב	Ynet news website	906
4 Aug 2025	"Rabbi Ronen Shaulov responds to the video circulating online about the hunger in Gaza! #RabbiRonenShaulov"	הרב רונן שאולוב! על ברשת שרץ לסרטון מגיב שאולוב רונן הרב	Youtube (posted by Rabbi Ronen Shaulov official channel)	67
24 Aug 2025	"The British newspaper presented a sick child in Gaza as a victim of starvation — now the lie has been exposed."	העיתון הבריטי הציג ילד חולה בעזה כקורבן רעב- כעת נחשף השקר	Israel Hayom news website	49
6 Dec 2025	[no title, video, first text:] Due to the complete destruction that the Israeli genocidal attack caused to the infrastructure in the Gaza Strip, as well as to the sewage and drainage systems, the November rains flooded the displaced persons camps... Children were documented barefoot and dressed in summer clothing in the severe cold, due to the shortage of warm clothes.	[ללא כותרת, סרטון, טקסט ראשון] בשל ההרס המוחלט שגרמה המתקפה הג'נוסידיאלית הישראלית ברצועת עזה לתשתיות ומערכת הביוב, הגשמים שירדו במהלך חודש נובמבר הציפו את מתחמי העקורים.	Facebook, posted by B'Tselem	1483

Table 2. Overview of comment sections analysed.

Because there is no accepted academic standard for assessing the representativeness of comments on social media, and studies on this topic are inconclusive (e.g. Weber, 2014; Kalogeropoulos et al., 2017; Dobber and Hameleers, 2025; van der Linden et al., 2025), we only report on these findings insofar as they could be triangulated with other reliable sources (see more below).

3.2.3 Data analysis

We analysed all sources using qualitative document analysis informed by the CRNC model, coding for socio-legal norms, behaviour, attitudes, and statements related to specific socio-legal groups. For the large comments dataset, we used GenAI (ChatGPT v. 4.0) to support guided thematic analysis, informed by the CRNC model (see annex III for prompts used). We

triangulated data from various sources and only presented it if confirmed by various sources, of various backgrounds (i.e. not solely Israeli or Palestinian). At least two authors cross-checked findings and compared them to raw data. We shared preliminary research findings with 20 experts, including academics, children's rights professionals, and individuals with personal experience in Israel and Gaza, for feedback.

4. Findings: How Gaza became a 'torturing environment' for children

4.1 Gaza: 'no children's rights left'

The conversations with children show the complete deterioration of children's rights in Gaza. We started our conversations asking about the children's rights situation in Gaza, and nearly every child replied that there were none:

'There are no children's rights at all. They're destroyed.' (Interview 20)

'Children have no rights left. They lost their school, their teachers, the life they were supposed to have. Their lives should have been better than this, but the war came and destroyed us all—destroyed our homes and schools.' (Interview 6)

'All children lost everything. Friends, well-being, everything.' (Interview 42)

While various studies show that the humanitarian situation in Gaza was already concerning before Hamas' 7 October 2023 attack on Israel (e.g. Wells et al., 2024; Harghandiwal, 2025), children regularly speak about this period longingly. For example:

'We used to live in our house, study, and eat everything. We used to live in a home, now we live in a tent. We used to play and be happy, but not anymore.' (Interview 8)

'Now all we think about is finding food. Before the war, we dreamed of having a good life and studying like other children.' (Interview 73)

Since 7 October 2023, children's lives have been turned upside down, abruptly and completely. Almost nothing is left of their previous lives, including their houses, streets, clothes, toys, friends, family members, daily activities, access to food and clean water, schools and teachers, knowledge and skills learned at school.¹³

From a children's rights research perspective, the situation is an apt illustration of the common understanding that all children's rights are interrelated (e.g. Goonesekere, 2020). For example, one of the first things children mention is the lack of food. Food is unavailable, too expensive, insufficiently nutritious and/or unhealthy (e.g. spoiled, infested with worms or insects).

We don't have food or drink, nothing. The Israelis have closed the crossings and won't allow food to enter. Whenever food is supposed to come in, it gets stolen. Children have died from hunger. [...] There's no lentils, no flour, nothing. That really upset me. Before, we used to drink and say "thank God." Now there's nothing left to even thank

¹³ In interviews, children mention how the lack of education and learning materials has resulted in children becoming ignorant and forgetting knowledge and skills they used to possess, like reading and writing. Research indeed confirms that 'when children are kept out of school for extended periods, not only does learning grind to a halt, it also regresses.' (B'Tselem, 2025, 55)

God for. [...] Children in Gaza have become skeletons, just bones without flesh. If you find a child still alive, you just say thank God. (Interview 46)

We are supposed to eat more than one meal a day, but we only eat one meal, and we take turns going to the charity kitchen so they can give us lentils, and the amount is not large and not enough for us. Sometimes we don't eat so our younger siblings can eat, and my father can't provide money to buy lentils or anything to grind, so we are forced to knead from spoiled, worm-infested flour that we had from a long time ago. We make it with the lentils we get from the charity kitchen, and all of it has caused us many illnesses, me and my siblings. (Interview 81)

As these children show, the shortage of food has direct negative impact on children's physical health. Children describe dizziness, weakness, being upset and tired, stomach aches, fainting, and dying from hunger. But there are many more consequences. Because there is no food, children need to work, either to earn money to buy food, or to stand in line for hours at aid distribution points, then carry food home—amounting to harsh forms of child labour. Searching for food puts children in unsafe situations: people—including children—are killed at aid distribution points by Israeli military (see also International Committee of Jurists, 2025; Levy, 2025, 13), and since people are so hungry, they steal food from each other, sometimes using violence.¹⁴

Last night, flour was brought in through the Zikim crossing and dropped off in a far area at 2 a.m. I woke up to loud voices in the street—people were starving in northern Gaza. We hadn't eaten bread for a week. Around 3 or 4 a.m., I left with my brother and father. My father dropped us off at a point, and we continued on foot. [...] Someone told us there was flour inside a house. I entered with the crowd and begged for flour. Suddenly, they uncovered a pit filled with flour. Men went down to get it. I begged for some. It was crowded and hot. Someone tried to steal my flour. An old man claimed I was with him, to take my bag. My watch was stolen. Still, I managed to get seven kilos and shared it with three other young men who helped me carry it partway. Then I walked alone, with the bag on my shoulder and a metal rod in my hand to defend myself in case someone tried to rob me, because people carrying flour often get attacked. I carried that rod for protection. My brother got lost on the way, and I had to leave him behind to save the flour. It was more precious than gold to us. (Interview 12)

Many children in Gaza went to steal from aid trucks. Because they didn't find bread at home, they said: we'll go to the trucks and steal to eat. Some were run over, some were killed. (Interview 48)

Moreover, the lack of food has negative consequences for children's mental health:

Children cry constantly from hunger. My younger brother cries all the time because there's no milk. (Interview 11)

Children eat half a loaf of bread and are still hungry, crying. (Interview 39)

¹⁴ B'TSelem write that the situation is caused also by the fact that 'all public order enforcement agencies in Gaza, including police officers and commanders, as well as civil defense units, have been systematically targeted by Israeli forces throughout the months of fighting' (2025, 50).

Lastly, due to lack of food, children have no energy and are therefore unable to study, learn, or play.

The violation of the child's right to food (CRC art. 24(c), 27(3)) directly interrelates with other rights, namely the right to health (art. 24); life, survival and development (art. 6, 27); education (art. 28, 29); rest and leisure (art. 31); protection against harmful child labour and violence (art. 19, 32); and protection during armed conflict (art. 38). Similar examples can be given regarding the right to clean drinking water, clothing, safety/security and protection from violence, life, education, play, housing/shelter, physical and mental health(care). Overall, the phase 1 data regarding interrelated children's rights violations in Gaza can be visualised as in Figure 3:

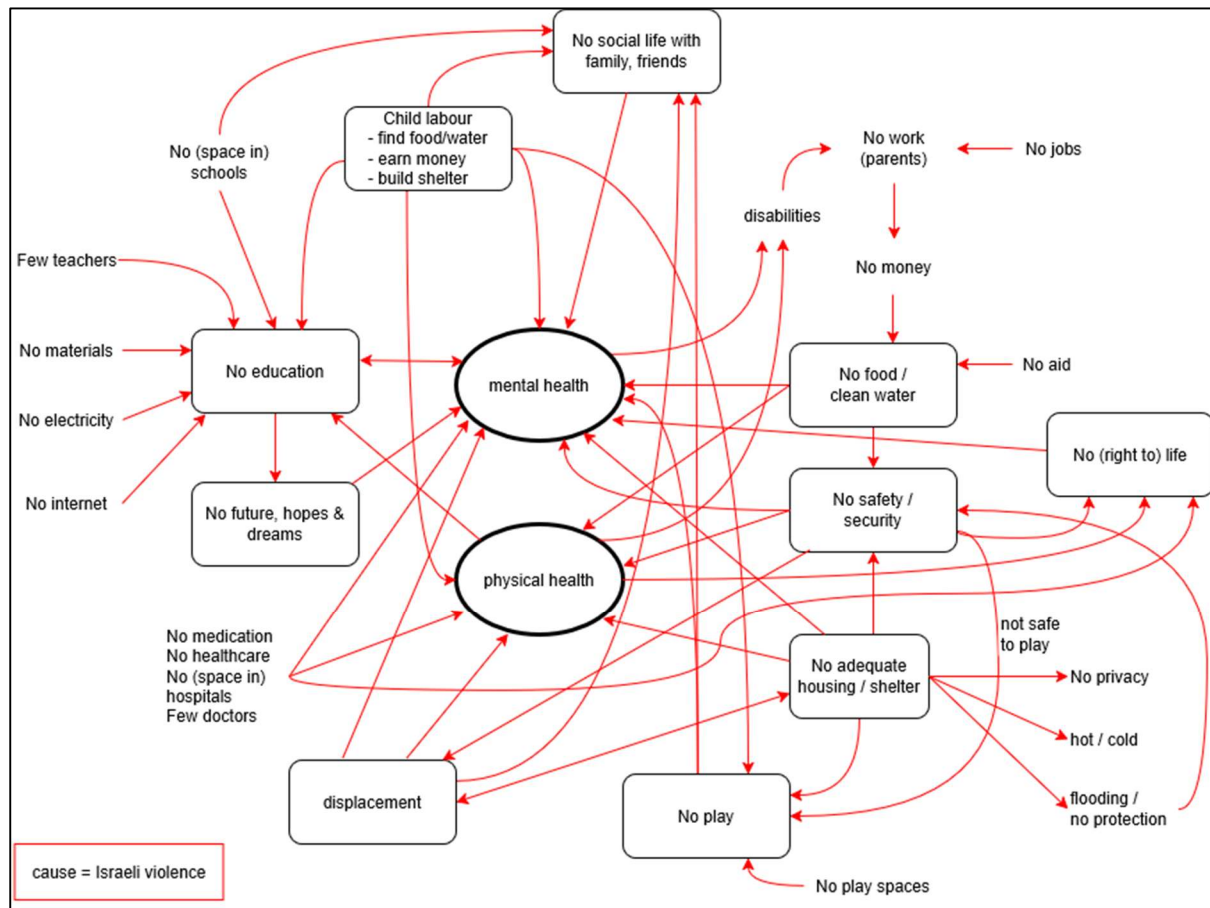


Figure 3. Overview of children's rights issues mentioned by children in Gaza and their interrelations.

In Figure 3, red lines represent negative relations between factors, most ultimately leading to negative consequences for children's mental and physical health. Conversely, it also shows how environmental factors will need to be radically improved in order to restore children's rights to health.

When comparing children's stories before and after the most recent ceasefire, there were only a few differences: first, in the post-ceasefire group, there is less mention of recent direct experiences of bombing, shooting and shelling—while the fear of such violence is shared between both groups. Second, while both groups report the same level of hunger and inability

to get food,¹⁵ the post-ceasefire group does not mention violence around food distribution sites. Third, lack of clothes is a prominent issue for the post-ceasefire group, while this was hardly mentioned by the pre-ceasefire group. Most likely, the latter is the consequence of the seasons (summer vs. winter), rather than change in circumstances. Lastly, in the post-ceasefire group, more children attend some form of school, even though they are negative about the quality, materials, teachers, and ability to study:

I'm telling you, when I go back to studying, I start remembering. For example, I remember my aunt by marriage. She was around my age. Maybe twenty. For example, when I sit to study, I remember how she used to teach me [...] and you get distracted completely [...] So then you lose the desire to study in the first place. What are you even supposed to study? It's not real studying like before. You feel the teacher just comes to throw information at you and leave, not like before when she would come and explain the lesson in detail [...]. (Interview 84)

I follow lessons through online education. We struggle a lot to get the internet and to charge mobile phones. Electricity is not available [...]. We walk long distances to charge phones and even longer distances to get the internet. In the end, it takes a very long time just to load a page with a single image, and the teacher does not explain it (Interview 79)

4.2 The CRNC in Gaza: The breakdown of social structures

The CRNC in Gaza (i.e. the normative social structures in Gaza that enable or prevent the realisation of children's rights) shows an almost complete breakdown of internal societal structure. Most or all societal orders of which children were members have collapsed. They particularly mention their family, friends, and school. For example:

My family has suffered a lot. My dad lost his job. My mom cries every day. We were torn apart—not just physically, but emotionally too. (Interview 2)

Before, we used to gather together, tell stories of the prophets, and my father would give us advice, and we cooperated with each other. But now in the tent we don't. At home we used to sit together at night, but now in the tent we come back tired and just go straight to sleep. (Interview 22)

By the time we finish everything, it's already sunset, and we're completely exhausted. I don't have the energy to sit or talk to anyone. Even if I want to talk to my friends or share what I went through that day, I can't—especially because they're far away now.' (Interview 83)

I lost about 50 percent of my friends [...] They were killed in the war. (Interview 4)

I should be in eighth grade, but I stopped at sixth. Who will give those years back to me? No one. Even my parents don't have time to teach us now—between water, firewood, and extreme heat. [...] [Children] should be socializing, developing friendships, learning to grow. But that's all gone. (Interview 49)

¹⁵ We also note that the post-ceasefire group refers to summer 2025 as “the famine”, suggesting that circumstances regarding access to food changed somewhat, even though they also emphasise that they have only one meal per day, only lentils and bread, and sometimes no food at all.

[Due to displacement] every part of the family is in a different area. We used to all gather, but now we're scattered. All my friends are far away in different areas. We live in a community where we don't know anyone, no acquaintances around us. Even with my siblings, our relationship isn't like before. We used to share opinions and talk about our daily experiences. Now our day is all about fetching water, cooking over fire, sweeping sand. No more shared thoughts or conversations with mom and dad or among us. Not even peace between us. (Interview 3)

On the whole, although the children we spoke to do live with others, they feel alone. Some children also mention the international community, by whom they feel abandoned or forgotten.

Adult healthcare workers similarly describe how, though children theoretically have a right to health, in practice, this right is not realised. Rights exist only on paper. Local authorities (including Hamas) are described as largely absent or lacking power. International organisations are said to provide some services and aid, but only insofar as this is allowed by Israel.¹⁶ Community solidarity has eroded, since everyone is trying to survive. Many families are physically, mentally, and economically unable to care for children.

'Society is powerless. One person has a sick child, another has a sick child—everyone is suffering from the same problem [...] They try, they do their best.' (Interview 66)

'[The community does very little for the child's right to health]. Everyone has their own struggles. Everyone is suffering in these exceptional circumstances. I believe we cannot force anyone to take on additional responsibilities.' (Interview 68)

For the participants, Israel is the dominant external authority shaping children's lives in Gaza. Both adults and children argue that they live under the control and authority of Israel, a hostile and violent occupying power that attacks, destroys, and blocks access to basic items necessary for survival (e.g. food, water, medication) at will.

4.3 The CRNC in Israel as related to children in Gaza

In Israel, the CRNC as relates to children in Gaza presents mainly as an interplay between the government, the military, and the community, with the former two frequently drawing on religion as justification for its actions.

4.3.1 *Israeli government*

The government leads the way both through the creation of formal legal norms which dictate how Israeli citizens and the Israeli military are expected to behave, as well as through the expression of norms in the public realm (e.g. in news media, on social media, through public speeches), see table 3:

Set of norms 1: human rights and international law	Set of norms 2: Security for Israel and collective punishment Gaza should be erased/destroyed.²⁰
---	--

¹⁶ Participants mainly use the term "the Occupation" to refer to Israel. For clarity and readability, we use "Israel" throughout this paper.

²⁰ E.g. "On 5 May [2025], one day after the Israeli cabinet adopted a plan to seize all of the Gaza Strip, members of the Israeli government publicly declared their intention to "entirely destroy" Gaza..." (International Committee of Jurists, 2025).

• No matter what Hamas did on 7 Oct 2023, Israel should act according to the laws of war. Civilian harm should be minimised.¹⁷ • Every human being is entitled to protection of his life, body and dignity.¹⁸ • People in need should receive necessary humanitarian aid.¹⁹	• All in Gaza, including children, should be expelled or killed.²¹ • No materials necessary for survival, inc. humanitarian aid, should enter Gaza.²²
--	--

Table 3. Two norms sets presented by Israeli government.

Both norm sets run in parallel, with only minimal connections. Certain authors (e.g. Viterbo, 2021) have argued that set 1 is commonly presented to the international community, paying lip-service to international law, while set 2 is presented internally and truly ruling Israeli action. Yet we believe that a more accurate understanding in this case is that most Israeli government actors believe that set 1 applies generally—and should apply generally—but not to Gaza(ns) after 7 October 2023. Although the dehumanisation of Palestinians in Israel, including children, has a long history (e.g. Shalhūb-Kīfūrkiyān, 2019; Tanous et al., 2022; Cabral, 2025; Sorek, 2026), since 7 October, such views have become the majority position among Israeli government authorities. Destroying Gaza and killing or expelling all Gazans is deemed necessary and just, because now all Gazans, including children, are seen by many as “evil” or “(future) terrorists”. Politicians—including Netanyahu—at times justify this position using Biblical references such as to Amalek, God’s command to retaliate for the annihilation of the Amalekites (ICJ, 2023, paras. 12, 21, 31; Lanard, 2023). Gazans are held collectively responsible for the 7 Oct Hamas attack, either because they are considered attackers, or because they are deemed to have supported it. Whenever, on exceptional occasions, one MP reminds other MPs that “a child is a child”, they are immediately attacked by their colleagues (Bronner, 2025; Mashiach, 2025).

¹⁷ E.g. on 23 November 2023, Prime Minister Netanyahu declared that: “Any civilian death is a tragedy. Any one. And to avoid them, what you do is first, you try to get the civilians out of harm’s way. And that’s exactly what we did.” (Public sitting held on Thursday 11 January 2024, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Donoghue presiding, in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), VERBATIM RECORD, para 47.)

¹⁸ Israel Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty (Israel: Basic Law of 1992, Human Dignity and Liberty, 1992).

¹⁹ E.g. after new policies banning certain international organisations from delivering aid in Gaza (Nov 2025), the Diaspora Affairs Ministry said: ‘Israel supports humanitarian activity – but will not allow hostile or terror-supporting entities to operate within its territory or the West Bank under humanitarian cove.’ (Hasson, 2025).

²¹ E.g. MP Ahmad Tibi describes a Knesset debate where he stated that ‘innocent, helpless children are being killed, not “terrorists” and not “human shields.” Children.’, which led the Knesset to be ‘in an uproar’. MP Michal Woldiger replied: “What is being done in Gaza, it’s a pity that worse isn’t done. There are no innocents. Yes, children should be killed. Because they serve as a human shield”.’ According to Tibi, writing in June 2025, only one Jewish MP (Yair Golan) had condemned the killing of children in Gaza (Tibi, 2025).

²² E.g. the March 2025 decision by the Israeli government “to suspend the flow of humanitarian aid into Gaza and to terminate the limited supply of electricity from Israel to Gaza” (Shany and Cohen, 2025).

The Israeli army

The Israeli army (IDF)—under the Israeli government’s authority, influenced by nationalist religious leaders²³—similarly holds two parallel sets of norms. On the IDF website under “our mission & our values”, it says that ‘an IDF soldier will recognize the critical importance of human life and behave in a safe and measured manner at all times’, and that its mission includes to ‘deliver humanitarian aid to people in crisis’ (Israel Defense Forces, no date); similarly, a ‘directive that binds all IDF forces’ is that ‘attacks will be solely directed towards military targets, while adhering to the principles of distinction, proportionality and the obligation taking precautions in attacks in order to reduce collateral damage’ (Israeli statement, ICJ, 2024a, paras. 43-44). At the same time, various policies require soldiers to kill civilians and to destroy civilian infrastructure in Gaza, such as:

1. Killing Hamas fighters while they are at home, together with their families and neighbours, using ‘crude but powerful bombs since smart bombs are too expensive’ (Gray, 2025, 87). The digital system designed for this purpose is allegedly called “Where’s Daddy” (Abraham, 2024; Spagat and Cockerill, 2024), an explicit reference to the children who are targeted by proxy.
2. The installation of “kill zones”, ‘areas with arbitrary boundaries—sometimes unclear even to the soldiers themselves—where permission [is] given to open fire at anyone seen within them’ (Kubovich, 2024; B’Tselem, 2025, 21; Jewish Currents, 2025)
3. The policy to disproportionately destroy civilian infrastructure, called “Dahiya Doctrine” (Gray, 2025, 60; Jewish Currents, 2025; UN Human Rights Council, 2025)
4. Using Gazans, including children, as human shields: at gunpoint, forcing them to walk ahead of an IDF soldier into houses or tunnels, to prevent the soldier getting killed by a boobytrap (the “mosquito protocol”) (Defense for Children International Palestine, 2024; Kubovich and Hauser Tov, 2024; Gray, 2025, 54; Jewish Currents, 2025; Schmitt and Hernandez, 2025)

These norms (set #2) and policies are clearly guiding military behaviour. At the beginning of the war, ‘Israel deployed 6,000 bombs per week [...] At least 200 times, it has deployed two-thousand-pound bombs [(‘some of the biggest and most destructive bombs available’)] in southern areas of Palestine designated as “safe” (ICJ, 2024b, paras. 26, 27, 29). By December 2025, at least 21,289 children had been killed in Gaza, not counting those whose bodies had not been found, nor who died due to the indirect effects of Israeli action (e.g. from starvation or lack of medical care) (Jamaluddine et al., 2025; UNICEF, 2026). Testimonies by soldiers describe the IDF destroying civilian infrastructure:

The more it keeps rolling [the war advances], it turns into, okay, now we’re occupying Gaza; we’re destroying all their houses so they have nowhere to return to. (Breaking the Silence, 2024c)

What happened in Ikhzaa, which I’d never seen before, is that you get a mission to clear up to the 800-meter line from [the] ‘hourglass’ (the border fence)—there must be no

²³ According to Sorek (2025, 17), ‘the Israeli military has undergone an accelerated process of “theocratization,” wherein external religious authorities have gained the ability to operate within the formal chain of command and alongside official military authorities, managing military affairs in tandem with the formal leadership.’

structures in Khirbat Ikhzaa. [...] after the conquest [stage], came the destruction-of-houses stage. [...] except for that UNRWA school and that small water facility—for everything else, the directive was ‘nothing left’. (Breaking the Silence, 2024b)

Such destruction includes houses, mosques, schools and universities, medical facilities, and IDP shelters (e.g. interviews 2, 13, 18, 22, 28, 46, 52, 60, 62, 71, 72, 74, 89; Breaking the Silence, 2024a; UN Human Rights Council, 2025). As a result, by July 2025, B’Tselem reported that ‘approximately 92% of all residential buildings and about 69% of all structures in the Gaza Strip have been destroyed or severely damaged’ (B’Tselem, 2025, 39; see also Scher and Hoek, 2025; Argov, 2026).

In addition, the military, together with the Coordinator of Activities in the Territories (COGAT, a military-political unit), is in charge of blocking, limiting, or allowing—depending on the period—humanitarian aid for Gaza. Although it has stated that ‘it is not limiting the entry of food, water, medical supplies and shelter items’ (Reuters, 2025; see also State of Israel Ministry of Defense Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories, 2025), numerous reports show otherwise (e.g. Bessell and O’Sullivan, 2025; Lukiv and Adams, 2025; Shany and Cohen, 2025).²⁴ This includes items used exclusively by children, such as vaccinations, baby formula, and UNICEF’s education and recreation kits (United Nations, 2025). International doctors working in Gaza explained to investigative journalists:

In Gaza, there is a shortage of nearly all medical supplies. That’s why doctors bring basic items with them. But often, everything is taken away—even baby formula. It has happened on multiple missions [...] The British plastic surgeon Sarmad Tamimi, who crossed into Gaza on June 24 [2025], had already been warned by colleagues about confiscations. But he was also aware of the starvation in Gaza and the devastating consequences for babies. "I took baby nutritional supplements out of their boxes and packed only the foil in my luggage," he says. "To the soldiers, I said I was taking them for myself." (Effting and Feenstra, 2025)

Lastly, the Israeli army plays an important role in managing information coming out of Gaza, and it is doing so in a manner that obscures harm to children, through such actions as killing Palestinian journalists, limiting or denying foreign journalists’ access, and censorship (Cohen, 2023; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2025; Matar, 2025; Reporters Without Borders, 2025). Occasionally, they provide information that legitimises targeting of children’s spaces such as schools (e.g. Israeli Defense Forces, 2025), or in videos that depict children as “future terrorists” (Figure 4, 5, and 6) (ל"צה עדכוני) (IDF Updates), 2024).

²⁴ Even the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that while IDF policy did not contain, as a rule, quantitative restrictions on aid, ‘it included other measures with a restrictive effect—e.g., crossing station working hour limits, convoy search operations, and bans on certain dual-use items’—even before March 2025 [when the Israeli government blocked all humanitarian aid into Gaza and terminated Gaza’s electricity supply] (Shany and Cohen, 2025).



Figure 4, 5 and 6. Figure 4 is a still from an IDF produced video showing Palestinian children in a tunnel with Hamas military. Figures 5 and 6 are stills from an IDF produced video showing Hamas providing military training to children. These videos were subsequently published by several Israeli mainstream media, such as Mekov, Channel 14, Maariv (Assis, 2024; Levi, 2024; Maariv Online, 2024).



4.3.3 Israeli community

The 7 Oct 2023 attack profoundly shocked the Israeli community. It ‘reignited deep-seated traumas of annihilation’ and caused ‘unprecedented levels of revengeful sentiment’ (Sorek, 2026, 270), resulting in many Israelis ‘completely losing the ability to recognise the humanity on the other side [in Gaza]’ (Fox 2025; see also Bartov, 2024). Our dataset indicates that Israeli Jews’ dominant view of Palestinians (at times ‘Gazans’ or ‘Arabs’) is indeed that they are evil, terrorists, non-human, and that there are no innocents in Gaza. We do not see obvious changes in these views between from October 2023 to December 2025.

For example, in a July 2024 survey, Israeli Jews rated the humanity of Palestinians on a scale from 0 to 100, 100 being the highest. The average score was 14 (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) and The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation at Tel Aviv University, 2024, 43).²⁵ A spring 2025 survey found that 64% of Israelis agreed to a large extent with the statement “there are no innocent people in Gaza” (Cohen, 2025). Violence against Gazan civilians is acceptable to many Israelis: 39% of Israeli Jews agree that when Israel operates in Gaza, it is ‘not especially important’ (21%) or ‘not at all important’ (18%) to avoid harming uninvolved civilians (The Jewish People Policy Institute, 2025); nearly half (47%) of Israeli Jews agreed that ‘when conquering an enemy city, the Israel Defense Forces should act as the Israelites did in Jericho under Joshua's command [alluding to Biblical justifications]—killing all its inhabitants’, and 82% supported the expulsion of Gaza residents (Hazkani and Sorek, 2025). Our dataset of social media comments as well as the literature consulted paint a similar picture.

When confronted with the suffering of children in Gaza, four recurring response patterns emerged from the comments dataset, with the first three categories appearing substantially more frequently than the last one:

1. Justification, either based on revenge (‘this is the price of 7 October’; ‘they brought it on themselves’; ‘they are all terrorists’; ‘they deserve it’), or on security/nationalist considerations (‘we must protect ourselves’; ‘this is what happens when you attack Israel’; ‘no mercy for those who threaten us’, ‘sad but necessary’, ‘that’s war’)
2. Denial (‘there is no hunger in Gaza’, ‘ Hamas propaganda’)
3. Displacement of responsibility (‘not our problem’; ‘ Hamas did this’; ‘go ask Hamas’)
4. Empathy towards children in Gaza (‘children are children’, ‘children are innocent’; ‘they must be protected’; ‘this is unacceptable’) (minority view)

Over the various comment sections replying to posts by institutions associated with various political positions (right/left/center), we found no clear differences regarding this pattern.

Of course, many Israelis are concerned about the suffering of children in Gaza: protesters demanded a ceasefire increased in 2025 (Levaton et al., 2025), although such calls were mainly focused on bringing back Israeli hostages. For example, Yehuda Cohen, who led one of the protests, said ‘the protest is not for ‘End the Occupation’ and not for Palestinian children, only for the hostages sitting in the tunnels in Gaza’ (Ziv, 2025). Similarly, a September 2025 survey found that 66% of Israelis believed the time had come to end the war. Among this group, however, only 5.9% (2.3% Jews, 17.5% Arabs) believed this should happen ‘in order to cease harming the residents of Gaza and begin reconstruction of the strip’ (The Israel Democracy Institute, 2025). In another 2025 survey, 60% of Israeli Jews found it ‘very important’ (33%) or ‘somewhat important’ (27%) that the IDF avoids harming innocent civilians in Gaza (The Jewish People Policy Institute, 2025).

Some activist groups such as Mothers Against Violence Israel (אימהות נגד אלימות) and The Daily File (הדף היומי) have addressed children rights in Gaza (Mothers Against Violence Israel, 2024; Schwartz and Peleg, 2025; Ziv, 2025; Argov, 2026). While expressing empathy for Gazans is

²⁵ ‘Just 2.7% give a score above 80 for Palestinians. 92% give a score of 50 or lower; and among those, 42% gave the lowest possible score (zero)’. This was ‘a mirror image of the Palestinian view of Israeli Jews’ (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) and The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation at Tel Aviv University, 2024, 43).

usually considered taboo in Israeli society, and those expressing such views are often labelled “traitors” and sometimes physically attacked (Fox and Saifi, 2025; Lidman 2025; also observed in the comment sections analysed), protesters in Tel Aviv holding the photos of Gazan children killed in the war received quite positive reactions (Schwartz and Peleg, 2025; Ziv, 2025).

One possible reason why there has been relatively little protest regarding harm done to children in Gaza is that much of the Israeli public has had limited exposure to this information. Our dataset suggests both a taboo on sharing information about Israeli human rights violations in Gaza, or the humanitarian situation in general; as well as disbelief or denial when confronted with such information (Bartov, 2024; Levy, 2024; Dudai, 2025; Gray, 2025, comment sections analysed). The media has played an important role in this regard, by not reporting on children’s rights violations in Gaza. Journalist Ido Cohen writes about the Israeli media as a ‘wartime propaganda arm’:

‘The media landscape is marked by endless forms of self-censorship. [...] There are no explicit instructions, but there's [...] no place for stories of Gazan victims in the news broadcasts,’ says a reporter for a leading new channel. ‘This is a surrender to the public mood, one that says that after such a great disaster, you shouldn't 'give the enemy an opportunity.' [...] There's fear of the public and its reaction, and fear of the politicians because everything is again becoming political, and 'the poison machine'—as the network of incendiary, right-wing commentators and broadcasters that supports Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and attacks his purported enemies—“is very intense” [...] The deaths of thousands of Palestinian children are entirely absent from the news and current affairs coverage (Cohen, 2023).

In the words of journalist Oren Persico (2025): ‘The Jewish public does not want to know, and the media does not think it is its job to report on it’. This media conduct seems to have been persistent throughout 2024 (Bartov, 2024, 68; Ronen, 2024; B'Tselem, 2025). In April 2025, Ziv still noted ‘the almost complete absence of images from Gaza in the Israeli media’ (Ziv, 2025). In May 2025, however, Rapoport wrote that ‘Israeli outlets have been showing more and more images from the Strip, usually framing them through the lens of “how the world views us.”’ (Rapoport, 2025). In September 2025, Lidman wrote that ‘some Israeli stations have begun to share graphic images of malnourished children and a few deeply reported stories about the difficulties of daily life for Palestinians’, calling this a ‘subtle shift’ (Lidman, 2025).

4.4 Gaza: a torturing environment for children

All the factors described above have turned Gaza into what Pérez-Sales calls a “torturing environment”: ‘a set of contextual elements, conditions, and practices that diminish, override, or obliterate the will and control of the victim, compromising the self’. Such an environment targets basic community and group needs such as survival, economic security, community identity and cohesion, knowledge and information, collective agency and trust (Pérez-Sales, 2026, 7, 25).

The war in Gaza has left children with such a torturing environment. Most children are currently living without privacy or space to play, in overcrowded shelters which are unsafe due to risk of collapse and flooding, and are not suitable for local weather conditions (heat, cold, and rain). They suffer from sustained and prolonged lack of food and clean water, and live in unhygienic conditions (among others because of the destruction of the sewage system). They

cannot sleep because of hunger, fear of war-related violence, nightmares, overcrowded living environment, and war-related sounds (e.g. drones, planes). They have been regularly forcibly displaced (children mention being displaced 8-18 times), often at short notice; supposed “safe zones” have been bombed or otherwise attacked; and their previous environments (houses, buildings, roads, fields) have largely been destroyed. They experience threatening encounters with Israeli military, who are shooting in the air or at people; tanks approaching; bombs exploding around them; family members, friends and others killed; they observe injured or killed people in the streets. Almost no medical or mental health treatment is available.

Consequently, while most children in Gaza are still alive, many describe themselves as mentally and emotionally destroyed.

We cannot handle what is happening (Interview 26)

Sometimes I wish for martyrdom [to die] after all the hardship we face. Our mental health is exhausted from the pressure, displacement, and difficulties (Interview 12)

We're sick of this life—we don't want to live this life anymore. We don't know how to live. We are alive and dead at the same time (Interview 3)

Children don't talk much, they sit alone. You feel a child has aged 20 years from hunger and suffering. Their spirits are destroyed; their smiles rarely appear. It's as if they cannot express themselves, cannot speak. [...] [they] sit with their head in their hands, thinking about the future, psychologically destroyed. Forced to move again and again because the army enters the area (Interview 17)

Children are psychologically destroyed, unable to think about their future (Interview 88)

The future isn't good at all. The pillar of the house is gone. Life without my mother is not good. She was the one managing the home and holding everything together (Interview 10)

5. Restoring a children's rights environment in Gaza

Today's Gaza bears almost no semblance of an environment where “children's rights” can be considered to have any meaning. This situation is not caused by any kind of natural disaster; it is a man-made deterioration of children's rights. The war has turned Gaza into a torturing environment for children, where their basic rights to positive growth and development has become virtually impossible. Children themselves indicate that they feel mentally destroyed, ‘alive and dead at the same time’.

With such devastation, hope for a better future seems almost unimaginable. Nevertheless, our findings do suggest some entry points for positive change.

First, the living environment and facilities necessary for survival, physical and mental health, and development for children need to be restored as soon as possible. This requires an end to all violence that affects children directly or indirectly, and a thorough restoration of civilian infrastructure in Gaza. The primary focus should be on food and water (not only humanitarian aid, but also the restoration of local capacity to produce food and clean water), housing,

education, physical and mental healthcare facilities (buildings, equipment, medication, professionals), and play spaces, thereby transforming Gaza into a healthy/ier environment for children.

Second, our research demonstrates that children in Gaza are capable of sharing and reflecting on their needs, and that they are eager and willing to do so. Children should therefore be invited to participate meaningfully in the decision-making processes regarding reconstruction of Gaza and future peacebuilding initiatives, in line with their right to express their views in all matters affecting them (CRC art. 12).

Third, our research shows that currently, the central obstacle to the restoration of children's rights in Gaza is the Israeli position. As shown, Israeli actions largely dictate the (lack of) children's rights in Gaza. Israel still controls everything that enters and exists Gaza, and continues to restrict international humanitarian aid (U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2026; World Health Organization, 2026). Moreover, Israel continues to conduct military strikes in Gaza (Al-Mughrabi et al., 2026; Borger, 2026; Tantesh et al., 2026), and experts warn that the war might fully restart (Borger, 2026; Knell and Abualouf, 2026). Our data suggests that no other actor currently exercises a comparable level of structural control over the children's rights situation in Gaza.

Nevertheless, as shown in our analysis of the Israeli CRNC (§4.3), recent developments may indicate emerging shifts in the Israeli community views of children in Gaza, with Israeli media increasingly showing the reality of the humanitarian situation. Our findings suggest that the Israeli position might change from within if the Israeli community, including members of the IDF, learn more, accept, and speak out about the devastating children's rights situation in Gaza today, as well as about Israel's role and responsibility in creating and sustaining this situation. Upcoming national elections (Segalov, 2026) may present an entry point for positive change.²⁶

6. Acknowledgements

This research has benefited greatly from the work, support, and/or feedback of a number of people. First and foremost, the local researchers in Gaza who held high quality research conversations in extremely challenging circumstances. Second, the research volunteers who contributed to the research on the Israeli CRNC: A.B.M. Ehsaan Khan, A. Friedrich, Sonia Sarker, and three anonymous contributors. Third, two students who helped with the translation of the transcripts. Lastly, all who proofread the paper and provided feedback.

²⁶ The international community could support this change, by supporting organisations who are already working towards this goal. Throughout our research, we found several, such as NGOs B'TSelem, Breaking the Silence, and Standing Together; media outlets that conduct critical investigative journalism, such as Haaretz and +972 Magazine; as well as local Palestinian journalists and researchers.

7. References

- Abraham, Y. 2024. "'Lavender': The AI machine directing Israel's bombing spree in Gaza." *+972 Magazine*, 3 April 2024, 2024. <https://www.972mag.com/lavender-ai-israeli-army-gaza>.
- Accorsi, A. 2024. "How Israel Mastered Information Warfare in Gaza." *Foreign Policy*, 11 March 2024, 2024. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/03/11/israel-gaza-hamas-netanyahu-warfare-misinformation/>.
- Al-Mughrabi, N., M. Lubell, and D.A. Alkas. 2026. "Israel steps up attacks on Gaza since Iran truce, as military says Hamas rearming." *Reuters*, 13 May 2026, 2026. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-steps-up-attacks-gaza-since-iran-truce-military-says-hamas-rearming-2026-05-13>.
- Argov, A.R. 15 May 2026 2026. *Data, January 1, 2026 – May 15, 2026 – The Gaza Strip*. (The Daily Files). <https://www.thedailyfile.org/post/data-january-1-2026-may-15-2026-the-gaza-strip>.
- Assis, Y.Z. 2024. "לחטוף חיילים ולירות בנשק: כך חמאס מחנך את הילדים ברצועת עזה." *Channel 14*, 3 January, 2024. <https://www.c14.co.il/article/897072>.
- B'Tselem. 2025. *Our Genocide*. https://www.btselem.org/publications/202507_our_genocide.
- Bartov, O. 2024. "As a former IDF soldier and historian of genocide, I was deeply disturbed by my recent visit to Israel." *The Guardian*, 13 August, 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/aug/13/israel-gaza-historian-omer-bartov>.
- Bessell, S., and C. O'Sullivan. "The failure to protect the rights and needs of children in Gaza", *Front Public Health* 2025 (13(<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2025.1708975>.
- Borger, J. 2026. "Board of Peace focus on Hamas risks return to war in Gaza, critics say." *The Guardian*, 23 May, 2026. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2026/may/23/board-of-peace-focus-on-hamas-risks-return-to-war-in-gaza-critics-say>.
- Breaking the Silence. 2024a. "Text testimonies." <https://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/>.
- . 2024b. "Text testimonies, catalog number: 302665, "The destruction-of-houses stage". 22 May. <https://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/testimonies/database/302665>.
- . 2024c. "Text testimonies, catalog number: 415293, "I'm scared that this represents me". <https://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/testimonies/database/415293>.
- Bronner, L. 2025. "A leader of the Israeli left is being vilified for criticizing the army's tactics in Gaza." *Le Monde*, 21 May, 2025. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/05/21/a-leader-of-the-israeli-left-is-being-vilified-for-criticizing-the-army-s-tactics-in-gaza_6741493_4.html.
- Cabral, Brian. "Entwined Complicities: Genocidal Geographies of the Youth Carceral State and Arrivals to Educational Abolitionism", *Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work* 2025 (3(2)), <https://apsw-ojs-uh.tdl.org/apsw/article/view/42>.
- Cohen, I.D. 2023. "How Israeli Media Became a Wartime Government Propaganda Arm." *Haaretz*, 25 December, 2023. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-12-25/ty-article-magazine/.premium/how-israeli-media-became-a-wartime-government-propaganda-arm/0000018c-a0d3-d957-a98f-aed3ea560000>.
- . 2025. "64% of Israelis See No Need for More Reporting on Gazans' Sufferings." *Haaretz*, 10 June, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-06-10/ty-article/.premium/64-of-israelis-see-no-need-for-more-reporting-on-gazans-sufferings/00000197-59e8-deed-a9bf-5def9d770000>.
- Committee to Protect Journalists, 16 October, 2025, "CPJ challenges Israel's ban on international media access to Gaza in Israeli Supreme Court,"

- <https://cpj.org/2025/10/cpj-challenges-israels-ban-on-international-media-access-to-gaza-in-israeli-supreme-court>.
- Daniele, L. 2025. "Infanticide in the Name of Proportionality: Gaza as a World Order Problem." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (blog). <https://gjia.georgetown.edu/human-rights-development/infanticide-in-the-name-of-proportionality-gaza-as-a-world-order-problem/>.
- Defense for Children International Palestine. November 2024. *Israeli forces use Palestinian children as human shields in Jabalia refugee camp*. <https://www.dci-palestine.org/israeli-forces-use-palestinian-children-as-human-shields-in-jabalia-refugee-camp>.
- Diker, D. 7 August 2025. *Weaponizing Starvation: Exposing Hamas's Food Warfare*. Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs. <https://jcfa.org/weaponizing-starvation-exposing-hamass-food-warfare/>.
- Dobber, Tom, and Michael Hameleers. "The social media comment section as an unruly public arena: how comment reading erodes trust in news media", *Electronic News* 2025 (19(1)), 3-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19312431241268011>.
- Dudai, R. 2025. "How Israelis turned atrocity denial into an art." *+972 Magazine*, 22 August, 2025. <https://www.972mag.com/israelis-atrocity-denial-gaza/>.
- Effting, M., and W. Feenstra. 2025. "What the wounds are telling us." *de Volkskrant*, 13 September, 2025. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/kijkverder/v/2025/gunshot-palestine-children-israel-war~v1819649/>.
- Elmas, Tuğrulcan, Filipi Nascimento Silva, Manita Pote, Priyanka Dey, Keng-Chi Chang, Jinyi Ye, Luca Luceri, Cody Buntain, Emilio Ferrara, and Alessandro Flammini. "Israel-Hamas War on X: A Case Study of Coordinated Campaigns and Information Integrity", *arXiv preprint arXiv:2604.10566* 2026 <https://arxiv.org/abs/2604.10566>.
- Fox, K. 2025. "'It starts at the top': Extremist views are all that many young Israelis have ever known." *CNN World*, 28 March, 2025. <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/03/28/middleeast/israel-young-people-extremist-views-intl-cmd>.
- Fox, K., and Z. Saifi. 2025. "'I would prefer this over killing children:' Why some Israeli teens are choosing jail over the army." *CNN*, 27 March 2025, 2025. <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/03/24/middleeast/israel-refuseniks-teens-military-intl-cmd>.
- Givon-Benjio, Nur, Yaniv Reingewertz, and Michael L. Gross. "Susceptibility to misinformation and propaganda during wartime: Evidence from the Israel-Gaza war", *Political Psychology* 2026 (47(3)), <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.70127>.
- Goonesekere, S. "The Interrelated and Interdependent Nature of Children's Rights", in J. Todres, S.M. King and M. Shani (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Rights Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- Gray, Chris Hables. *AI, sacred violence, and war—The case of Gaza*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2025).
- Harghandiwal, Beheshta. "Impact of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza on children's health: Evidence and recommendations for mitigation", *Global Public Health* 2025 (20(1)), 2495326. 10.1080/17441692.2025.2495326.
- Hasson, N. 2025. "'Under the Guise of Bureaucracy' Israel Blocks Humanitarian Groups From Delivering Essential Aid Despite Calm in Gaza." 4 November, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/gaza/2025-11-04/ty-article/.premium/israel-blocks-humanitarian-groups-from-delivering-essential-aid-despite-calm-in-gaza/0000019a-502b-db4c-a5fb-dbab609d0000>.

- Hazkani, S., and T. Sorek. 2025. "Yes to Transfer: 82% of Jewish Israelis Back Expelling Gazans." *Haaretz* (28 May 2025), 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-05-28/ty-article-magazine/.premium/yes-to-transfer-82-of-jewish-israelis-back-expelling-gazans/00000197-12a4-df22-a9d7-9ef6af930000>.
- Hopman, M.J. *Looking at law through children's eyes*. (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2021).
- Hopman, M.J., B. Fufa, D. Gemechu, and N. Jibat. "A coatrack for one's mind: proposing a new theoretical model for the study of children's rights in context [preprint]", *Zenodo* 2026 <https://zenodo.org/records/20433115>.
- Hopman, Marieke Janne, and Tajra Smajić. "Navigating conflicting normative orders: when violence isn't violence", *Legal Pluralism and Critical Social Analysis* 2023 (55(1)), 35-57.
- Human Rights Watch. 14 November 2024. "*Hopeless, Starving, and Besieged*": Israel's Forced Displacement of Palestinians in Gaza. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/11/14/hopeless-starving-and-besieged/israels-forced-displacement-palestinians-gaza>.
- ICJ. 2023. Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v Israel). International Court of Justice.
- . 2024a. Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), Verbatim Record, Public sitting held on Friday 12 January 2024. International Court of Justice.
- . 2024b. Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), Verbatim Record, Public sitting held on Thursday 11 January 2024. International Court of Justice.
- International Committee of Jurists, 2025, "Palestine/Israel: Israel must immediately stop its criminal forcible displacement in Gaza," <https://www.icj.org/palestine-israel-israel-must-immediately-stop-its-criminal-forcible-displacement-in-gaza/>.
- Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. 2026. "The Muslim Population in Israel – Data for Eid al-Adha 2026." Accessed 16 June. <https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/mediarelease/Pages/2026/%D7%94%D7%90%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%99%D7%94-%D7%94%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C-%D7%A0%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%9C%D7%A8%D7%92%D7%9C-%D7%97%D7%92-%D7%94%D7%A7%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%91%D7%9F-2026.aspx>.
- Israel Defense Forces. no date. "Our mission & our values." Accessed 14 November. <https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/our-mission-our-values/>.
- Israel: Basic Law of 1992, Human Dignity and Liberty. 1992. edited by National Legislative Bodies National Authorities.
- Israeli Defense Forces. 2025. "Gaza City: What Hamas Doesn't Want You to See." *Youtube*. 22 May. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciozLR3XqsI>.
- Jamaluddine, Zeina, Hanan Abukmail, Sarah Aly, Oona M. R. Campbell, and Francesco Checchi. "Traumatic injury mortality in the Gaza Strip from Oct 7, 2023, to June 30, 2024: a capture-recapture analysis", *The Lancet* 2025 (405(10477)), 469-477. 10.1016/S0140-6736(24)02678-3.
- Jewish Currents, "What the Soldiers Did in Gaza," 20 November, 2025, in *On the Nose*, <https://jewishcurrents.org/what-the-soldiers-did-in-gaza>.
- Kalogeropoulos, Antonis, Samuel Negredo, Ike Picone, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. "Who Shares and Comments on News?: A Cross-National Comparative Analysis of Online

- and Social Media Participation", *Social Media + Society* 2017 (3(4)), 2056305117735754. 10.1177/2056305117735754.
- Knell, Y., and R. Abualouf. 2026. "Fears of renewed Gaza war as Hamas disarmament talks stall." *BBC*, 7 May, 2026. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cd6p5l3n2q3o>.
- Kubovich, Y. 2024. "'No Civilians. Everyone's a Terrorist': IDF Soldiers Expose Arbitrary Killings and Rampant Lawlessness in Gaza's Netzarim Corridor." *Haaretz*, 18 December, 2024. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2024-12-18/ty-article-magazine/.premium/idf-soldiers-expose-arbitrary-killings-and-rampant-lawlessness-in-gazas-netzarim-corridor/00000193-da7f-de86-a9f3-fefff2e50000>.
- Kubovich, Y., and M. Hauser Tov. 2024. "Haaretz Investigation: Israeli Army Uses Palestinian Civilians to Inspect Potentially Booby-trapped Tunnels in Gaza." *Haaretz*, 13 August, 2024. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2024-08-13/ty-article-magazine/.premium/idf-uses-gazan-civilians-as-human-shields-to-inspect-potentially-booby-trapped-tunnels/00000191-4c84-d7fd-a7f5-7db6b99e0000>.
- Lanard, N. 2023. "The Dangerous History Behind Netanyahu's Amalek Rhetoric." *Mother Jones*, 3 November, 2023. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2023/11/benjamin-netanyahu-amalek-israel-palestine-gaza-saul-samuel-old-testament/>.
- Law for Palestine. 2024. "Database of Israeli Incitement to Genocide." <https://law4palestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Database-of-Israeli-Incitement-to-Genocide-including-after-ICJ-order-27th-February-2024-.pdf>.
- Levaton, S., E. Fabian, and T. Staff. 2025. "250 IDF intel reservists sign letter calling to end war; PM: 'noisy anarchists'." *The Times of Israel*, 11 April, 2025. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-intel-reservists-sign-letter-calling-to-end-war-pm-noisy-anarchists/>.
- Levi, S. 2024. "'מחונכים לשנאת ישראל ויהודים': צה"ל חשף בתקשורת הזרה איך חמאס משתמש בילדים." *Mako*, 3 January, 2024. <https://www.mako.co.il/pzm-soldiers/Article-570906eb3cfcc81026.htm>.
- Levy, G. 2024. "Gaza's Reality Has Been Hidden From the Israeli Public." *DAWN* (blog). 6 May. <https://dawnmena.org/gazas-reality-has-been-hidden-from-the-israeli-public/>.
- Levy, Yagil. "Dehumanization of Disregard: The Case of Gaza", *Middle East Policy* 2025 (32(3)), 3-15.
- Lidman, M. 2025. "After largely ignoring suffering in Gaza, Israeli media start to report on Palestinian hardships." *Associated Press*, 7 September, 2025. <https://apnews.com/article/israel-palestinians-hamas-war-media-famine-0825cf0144dc665de47457b672c648bb>.
- Lukiv, J., and P. Adams. 2025. "Israel blocks entry of all humanitarian aid into Gaza." *BBC*, 2 March, 2025. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c9q4w99je78o>.
- Maad, A., W. Audureau, and S. Forey. 2024. "'40 beheaded babies': Deconstructing the rumor at the heart of the information battle between Israel and Hamas." *Le Monde*, 3 April, 2024. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/les-decodeurs/article/2024/04/03/40-beheaded-babies-the-itinerary-of-a-rumor-at-the-heart-of-the-information-battle-between-israel-and-hamas_6667274_8.html.
- Maariv Online. 2024. "מחונכים לשנאת ישראל: ילדים בעזה לומדים לחטוף חיילים | צפו בתיעוד." *Maariv*, 3 January, 2024. <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/military/article-1064977>.
- Mashiach, I. 2025. "'The Knesset Symbolizes Everything I've Fought Against. I Don't Want to Be There. I Want to Fight It'." *Haaretz*, 8 November, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-11-08/ty-article-magazine/.highlight/the-knesset-embodies-all-ive-fought-against-the-system-cant-be-dismantled-from-within/0000019a-61da-d22e-a39b-6dfa38210000>.

- Matar, H. 2025. "Breaking new records, Israel sees unprecedented spike in media censorship." +972 Magazine, 2 May, 2025. <https://www.972mag.com/israeli-military-censor-media-2024>.
- Mothers Against Violence Israel. 2024. "עזה כראי לנפש: כך המלחמה כילתה את אנושיותנו." 21 December 2024.
- Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR), and The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation at Tel Aviv University. 12 September 2024. *Palestinian-Israeli Pulse: A Joint Poll - Poll Summary Report*. https://pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/Summary%20Report_%20English_Joint%20Poll%2012%20Sept%202024.pdf.
- Palestinian Centre for Human Rights. 31 December 2024. *Generation Wiped Out: Gaza's Children in the Crosshairs of Genocide*. <https://pchrgaza.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Generation-Wiped-Out.pdf>.
- Pérez-Sales, P. *Torturing Environments: Psychological, Clinical and Legal Dimensions*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2026).
- Persico, O. 2025. "לא רוצים לראות." העין השביעית, 24 July, 2025. <https://www.the7eye.org.il/558445>.
- Rapoport, M. 2025. "For more Israelis, calling out war crimes is no longer taboo." +972 Magazine, 29 May, 2025. <https://www.972mag.com/israelis-war-crimes-gaza-taboo/>.
- Reporters Without Borders. 2025. "Gaza: RSF, CPJ and over 200 media outlets call for opening the Strip to foreign journalists and protecting Palestinian reporters." <https://rsf.org/en/gaza-rsf-cpj-and-over-130-media-outlets-call-opening-strip-foreign-journalists-and-protecting>.
- Reuters. 2025. "UNICEF Says Israel Blocking One Million Syringes Needed to Vaccinate Gaza Children." *Haaretz*, 11 November, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/gaza/2025-11-11/ty-article/unicef-says-israel-blocking-one-million-syringes-needed-to-vaccinate-gaza-children/0000019a-730f-d1ab-a3fa-7fdf6b440000>.
- Ronen, M. 2024. "זה הכל כסף." העין השביעית, 3 June, 2024. <https://www.the7eye.org.il/520643>.
- Save the Children. September 2025. *"Tortured": The escalating abuse of Palestinian children in Israeli military detention (Policy Brief)*. https://www.savethechildren.nl/sites/nl/files/2026-04/Child_Detention_Policy_Brief_SaveTheChildren.pdf.
- Scher, Corey, and Jamon Van Den Hoek. "Active InSAR monitoring of building damage in Gaza during the Israel-Hamas War", *arXiv preprint arXiv:2506.14730* 2025 <https://arxiv.org/abs/2506.14730>.
- Schmitt, M.N., and A. Hernandez. 2025. "'Active' Human Shielding and the Law of Armed Conflict." *Articles of War* (blog), *Lieber Institute, West Point*. <https://lieber.westpoint.edu/active-human-shielding-law-armed-conflict/>.
- Schwartz, R., and R. Peleg. 2025. "It Looks Like a Memorial Day Ceremony: The Israelis Protesting With Photos of Dead Gazan Children." *Haaretz*, 9 June, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-06-09/ty-article-magazine/premium/like-a-memorial-day-ceremony-the-israelis-protesting-with-photos-of-dead-gazan-children/00000197-5575-ddae-a1ff-5f77290c0000>.
- Segalov, M. 2026. "Friday briefing: As Israel's coalition collapses, can its prime minister hang on to power?" *The Guardian*, 22 May, 2026. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2026/may/22/friday-briefing-as-israels-coalition-collapses-can-its-prime-minister-hang-on-to-power>.
- Shalhūb-Kīfūrkiyān, Nādirah. *Incarcerated childhood and the politics of unchilding*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

- Shany, Y., and A. Cohen. 2025. "Limited Protection: Israel's High Court of Justice Rejection of Gaza Humanitarian Aid Petition." *The Israel Democracy Institute*. 21 May. <https://en.idi.org.il/articles/58933>.
- Shatali, Ala, Fatima Rashid, Ilham Lubbad, Joanne Potterton, Bart Geilen, Sanah Ali, and Abu Sidhane. "Meeting the rehabilitation needs of children with debilitating injuries and disability in Gaza", *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal* 2025 (31(4)), 219-225.
- Sorek, Tamir. "Mainstreaming a Genocidal Imagination in Israeli Society: Settler-Colonialism, Settler Anxiety, and Biblical Cues", *Journal of Genocide Research* 2026 (28(2)), 248-271. 10.1080/14623528.2025.2456321.
- Spagat, M., and M. Cockerill. 27 November 2024. *The OHCHR Report on Gaza: insights, flaws, and the 'Where's Daddy?' programme*. (Action on Armed Violence (AOAV)). <https://aoav.org.uk/2024/the-ohchr-report-on-gaza-insights-flaws-and-the-wheres-daddy-programme>.
- State of Israel Ministry of Defense Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories. 22 August 2025. *COGAT Humanitarian Efforts in the Gaza Strip – Response to recent IPC publication/August 2025*. <https://govextra.gov.il/media/sftjds2/cogat-humanitarian-efforts-in-the-gaza-strip-response-to-recent-ipc-publication-august-2025.pdf>.
- Tanous, Osama, Bram Wispelwey, and Rania Muhareb. "Beyond statelessness:'unchilding'and the health of Palestinian children in Jerusalem", *Statelessness & Citizenship Review* 2022 (4(1)), 88-112.
- Tantesh, S., L. Tondo, and E. Graham-Harrison. 2026. "Deadly Israeli attacks worsen Gaza's water shortage crisis." *The Guardian*, 27 April, 2026. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2026/apr/27/israeli-attacks-gaza-clean-water-shortage-crisis-disease-palestine>.
- The Applied Research Institute - Jerusalem (ARIJ). 2022. "Israeli Military Orders in the Occupied Palestinian Territory." <http://orders.arij.org/>.
- The Israel Democracy Institute. September 2025. *Survey on the Second Anniversary of the War (Israeli Voice Index – September 2025)*. <https://en.idi.org.il/media/29092/israeli-voice-index-september-2025-second-anniversary-of-the-war-eng-data.pdf>.
- The Jewish People Policy Institute. June 2025 2025. *JJPI Israeli Society Index*. <https://jppi.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/June-25-Israeli-Society-Index-.pdf>.
- The Zionism Observer. no date. The Zionism Observer.
- Tibi, A. 2025. "Opinion: Israel, Stop Killing Children in Gaza." *Haaretz*, 2 June, 2025. <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/2025-06-02/ty-article-opinion/.premium/israel-stop-killing-children-in-gaza/00000197-31d4-da41-a9f7-3dd494a10000>.
- U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 15 May 2026. *Humanitarian Situation Report | 15 May 2026*. <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/humanitarian-situation-report-15-may-2026>.
- UN Human Rights Council. 2025. *Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel, Human Rights Council*. A/HRC/59/26.
- UNICEF, 2 February 2024, 2024, "Stories of loss and grief: At least 17,000 children are estimated to be unaccompanied or separated from their parents in the Gaza Strip," <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/stories-loss-and-grief-least-17000-children-are-estimated-be-unaccompanied-or>.
- . 2026. *State of Palestine: Humanitarian Situation Report No. 46, 1 January to 31 December 2025*. <https://www.unicef.org/documents/state-palestine-humanitarian-situation-report-no-46-end-year-31-december-2025>.

- United Nations, 11 November 2025, 2025, "UN Geneva Press Briefing - 11 November 2025," <https://www.unognewsroom.org/teleprompter/en/2905/un-geneva-press-briefing-11-november-2025/8702>.
- van der Linden, Liesje CA, Cedric Waterschoot, Ernst van den Hemel, Florian A Kunneman, Antal PJ van den Bosch, and Emiel J Krahmer. "Who Are the Online Commenters? A Large-Scale Representative Survey to Explore the Identity and Motivation of Online News Commenters in Comparison to Non-Commenters", *Social Science Computer Review* 2025 (First published online December 29, 2025(<https://doi.org/10.1177/08944393251410596>).
- Viterbo, Hedi. *Problematizing law, rights, and childhood in Israel/Palestine*. Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- Weber, Patrick. "Discussions in the comments section: Factors influencing participation and interactivity in online newspapers' reader comments", *New Media & Society* 2014 (16(6)), 941-957. 10.1177/1461444813495165.
- Wells, Karen, Susana Cortés-Morales, James Esson, Deirdre Horgan, Fikile Nxumalo, Ann Phoenix, Pauliina Rautio, and Rachel Rosen. "Israel's war on Gaza and the violation of children's rights", *Children's Geographies* 2024 (22(2)), 197-200. 10.1080/14733285.2024.2316752.
- World Health Organization. 3 February 2026 2026. *Occupied Palestinian territory: WHO Health Emergency Appeal 2026*. <https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/occupied-palestinian-territory--who-health-emergency-appeal-2026>.
- Ziv, O. 2025. "תמונות הילדים העזתים המתים סודקות קצת את חומת האטימות" ("The images of the dead Gazan children crack the wall of indifference a little.")." *Mekomit*, 29 April 2025, 2025. <https://www.mekomit.co.il/%d7%aa%d7%9e%d7%95%d7%a0%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%94%d7%99%d7%9c%d7%93%d7%99%d7%9d-%d7%94%d7%a2%d7%96%d7%aa%d7%99%d7%9d-%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%aa%d7%99%d7%9d-%d7%a1%d7%95%d7%93%d7%a7%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%a7%d7%a6%d7%aa/>.
- ל"ל עדכוני צה"ל (IDF Updates). 2024. "ילדים במתקן אימון של החמאס המדמה מנהרה | את"צ". *Youtube*. 22 May. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhDWHEJdH3g&t=2s>.

Annex I: Overview of research conversations

Nr	Role	Age	Gender	Place of Birth	Place of Residence	Date (2025)
1	child	12	M	Deir AlBalah	Deir AlBalah	22-May
2	child	15	F	Deir AlBalah	Deir AlBalah	26-May
3	child	14	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	2-Jun
4	child	17	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	2-Jun
5	child	17	M	Beit Lahia	Beit Hanoun	2-Jun
6	child	12	F	Beit Lahia	Gaza city	1-Jun
7	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	1-Jun
8	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	1-Jun
9	child	12	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	2-Jun
10	child	12	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	31-May
11	child	16	M	Rafah	Rafah	14-Jun
12	child	16	F	Jabalia	Gaza city	12-Jun
13	child	16	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	15-Jun
14	child	16	F	Beit Hanoun	Deir AlBalah	15-Jun
15	child	12	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	1-Jun
16	child	14	M	Rafah	Khan Younis	17-Jun
17	child	17	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	14-Jun
18	child	12	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
19	child	12	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Jun
20	child	15	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	11-Jun
21	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	16-Jun
22	child	12	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	16-Jun
23	child	12	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	14-Jun
24	child	15	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Jun
25	child	15	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	9-Jun
26	child	14	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	12-Jun
27	child	14	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	9-Jun
28	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	2-Jun
29	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	31-mei
30	child	14	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	31-mei
31	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
32	child	14	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	24-Jun
33	child	14	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
34	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	20-Jun
35	child	14	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	20-Jun
36	child	16	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
37	child	17	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
38	child	14	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
39	child	15	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Jun
40	child	14	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
41	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
42	child	16	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
43	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Jun

44	child	15	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Jun
45	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Jun
46	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Jun
47	child	17	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
48	child	15	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	19-Jun
49	child	14	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	20-Jun
50	child	13	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	18-Jun
51	child	16	M	Khan Younis	Khan Younis	19-Jun
52	child	16	F	Jabalya	Gaza city	26-Jun
53	child	15	F	Jabalya	Gaza city	26-Jun
54	child	17	F	Deir AL-Balah	Deir AL-Balah	26-Jun
55	child	17	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	23-Jun
56	child	12	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	24-Jun
57	child	17	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	22-Jun
58	child	17	F	Deir AL-Balah	Deir AL-Balah	2-Jul
59	child	14	F	Gaza city	Deir AL-Balah	2-Jul
60	child	14	F	Braij	Braij	7-Jul
61	health professional	38	M	Gaza city	Central Gaza	26-Oct
62	health professional	34	M	Central Gaza	Central Gaza	27-Oct
63	health professional	28	F	Central Gaza	Central Gaza	6-Nov-26
64	health professional	40	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	30-Oct
65	health professional	26	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	27-Oct
66	health professional	25	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	27-Oct
67	health professional	27	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	28-Oct
68	health professional	28	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	29-Oct
69	health professional	30	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	26-Oct
70	health professional	33	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	26-Oct
71	health professional	43	M	Khan Younis	Khan Younis	29-Oct
72	health professional	52	M	Rafah	Khan Younis	7-Nov-26
73	child	15	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Dec
74	child	14	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Dec
75	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Dec
76	child	13	M	Gaza city	Gaza city	9-Dec
77	child	12	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	10-Dec
79	child	13	M	Rafah	Khan Younis	15-Dec
80	child	13	M	Rafah	Khan Younis	16-Dec
81	child	15	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	16-Dec
82	child	12	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	17-Dec
83	child	17	F	Rafah	Khan Younis	18-Dec
84	child	15	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Dec

85	child	15	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Dec
86	child	17	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	16-Dec
87	child	12	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Dec
88	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Dec
89	child	13	F	Gaza city	Gaza city	18-Dec

Annex II: Overview of data sources Israeli CRNC

Israeli state

NR	Source	Type of source	Publisher	Date
1	Gray - AI, Sacred Violence, and War - the case of Gaza	Academic book	Palgrave MacMillan	2025
2	Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2019). <i>Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding</i> . Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.	Academic book	Cambridge University Press.	2019
3	Spitka, T. (2023). <i>National and International Civilian Protection Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict</i> , Palgrave MacMillan.	Academic book	Palgrave MacMillan	2023
4	Viterbo, H. (2012). <i>The Age of Conflict: Rethinking Childhood, Law, and Age Through the Israeli-Palestinian Case</i> . Law and childhood studies. M. D. A. Freeman. Oxford, Oxford University Press.	Academic book	Oxford University press	2012
5	Viterbo, H. (2021). <i>Problematizing Law, Rights, and Childhood in Israel/Palestine</i> . Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.	Academic book	Cambridge University Press	2021
6	Ben-Arieh, A., et al. (2006). "Generational, Ethnic, and National Differences in Attitudes Toward the Rights of Children in Israel and Palestine."	Academic journal article	American Journal of Orthopsychiatry	2006
7	Ben-Youssef, N. and C. W. Rasmussen (2025). "The Children Are Always Ours: Palestinian Freedom, Abolitionist Social Relations, and Collective Safety." <i>Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work</i> 3(2).	Academic journal article	Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work	2025
8	Bessell, S. and C. O'Sullivan (2025). "The failure to protect the rights and needs of children in Gaza." <i>Frontiers in Public Health</i> 13: 1708975. https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/public-health/articles/10.3389/fpubh.2025.1708975/full	Academic journal article	<i>Frontiers in Public Health</i>	12-Jan-26
9	Blume Oeur, F. and D. Varga (2024). "Colonialism, Racism, and Childhoods: Introduction." <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> 0(0): 00027642241268546.	Academic journal article	American Behavioral Scientist	2024
10	Cabral, B. (2025). "Entwined Complicities: Genocidal Geographies of the Youth Carceral State and Arrivals to Educational Abolitionism." <i>Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work</i> 3(2).	Academic journal article	Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work	2025
11	Chaney, P. (2022). "Civil Society Perspectives on Children's Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Analysis of Universal Periodic Review Discourse 2013–2018." <i>The International Journal of Children's Rights</i> 30(1): 7–40.	Academic journal article	The International Journal of Children's Rights	2022
12	Chaney, P. (2022). Civil Society Perspectives on Children's Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Analysis of Universal Periodic Review Discourse 2013–2018. <i>The International Journal of Children's Rights</i> , 30(1), 7–40. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-30010003	Academic journal article	international journal of children's rights	14-Feb-22
13	Daniele, L. (2025) <i>Infanticide in the Name of Proportionality: Gaza as a World Order Problem</i> . Georgetown Journal of International Affairs. 26 September.	Academic journal article	Georgetown Journal of International Affairs	26-Sep-25
14	el-Solh, S., et al. (2025). "Torture and health worker complicity in Israeli detention sites." <i>BMJ</i> 391: r2347.	Academic journal article	BMJ	2025

15	Hamamra, B. and E. Shehab (2025). "Unchilding Gaza: Forced Child Labor, Economic Collapse, and the Systematic Denial of Children's Rights During Genocide." <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> : 1–13.	Academic journal article	Journal of Human Trafficking	2025
16	Malhotra, R. S. and N. El-Shaarawi (2025). "'We want to live as other children live': Palestinian children's resistance to genocide as 'fighting for life'." <i>Gender, Place & Culture</i> 32(10): 1477–1490.	Academic journal article	Gender, Place & Culture	2025
17	McDoom, O. S. (2024). "Expert Commentary, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, and the Question of Genocide: Prosemitic Bias within a Scholarly Community?" <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> : 1–9.	Academic journal article	Journal of Genocide Research	2024
18	Nasie, M., et al. (2021). "Ethno-political socialization of young children in societies involved in intractable conflict: The case of Israel." <i>Journal of Social Issues</i> 77(4): 1257–1281.	Academic journal article	Journal of Social Issues	2021
19	Sorek, T. (2026) Mainstreaming a Genocidal Imagination in Israeli Society: Settler-Colonialism, Settler Anxiety, and Biblical Cues	academic journal article	Journal of Genocide Research	
20	Tanous, O., et al. (2022). "Beyond statelessness: 'Unchilding' and the health of Palestinian children in Jerusalem." <i>Statelessness & Citizenship Review</i> 4(1): 88–112.	Academic journal article	Statelessness & Citizenship Review	2022
21	Vertommen, S. (2017). "From the pergonal project to Kadimastem: A genealogy of Israel's reproductive-industrial complex." <i>BioSocieties</i> 12(2): 282–306.	Academic journal article	BioSocieties	2017
22	Wahab, S. and R. Bhuyan (2025). "Palestine as a Compass for Social Work." <i>Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work</i> 3(2).	Academic journal article	Abolitionist Perspectives in Social Work	2025
23	American Jewish Committee (2023) What Is Known About Israeli Hostages taken by Hamas	Blog	AJC	1-Sep-24
24	Uthmani, N. (2026) Israel's Death Penalty Law and the Collapse of International Protection for Children.	Blog	Bella Caledonia	31-Mar-26
25	Database of Israeli Incitement to Genocide - 11 relevant entries	Database	Law for Palestine	
26	The Zionism Observer	Database	Zionism Observer	
27	IDF orphans demand recognition without age limit: "There is no cut-off point for orphans"	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	21-Jul-24
28	Labor and Welfare Committee debates welfare system's handling of rights of crime victims; MK Touma Sliman: Crime organizations used to have red lines	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	26-Jan-25
29	Minutes from the 250th Session of the Twenty-Fifth Knesset	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	28-Jan-25
30	Second session of the 25th Knesset	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	16-Oct-23
31	The Constitution Committee approved for second and third readings the bill that would allow for the sentencing of terrorists under the age of 14	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	8-Jul-24
32	The Labor and Welfare Committee began discussing a bill to deny child benefits to parents of a child who is in prison for an act of terrorism	Government meeting minutes	Knesset	5-Mar-24

33	"We are in the midst of a social catastrophe" warned MK Orli-Levi Abekasis (Likud Beitenu), Speaker of the Committee for the Rights of Children	Government press release	Knesset	16-Oct-13
34	1,165 Arab citizens murdered since 2000; Internal Affairs Committee chairman: "State's basic duty is to protect every citizen"	Government press release	Knesset	29-Jun-16
35	During stormy Knesset session, MK Zoabi says 'he who places a siege on Gaza is a terrorist'; Minister Levin: 'If you had any integrity you would give up your Israeli citizenship'	Government press release	Knesset	22-Jun-17
36	Knesset Speaker to President of Parliament of the Democratic Republic of Congo: "There is no hunger in Gaza - except among our hostages in the tunnels; whoever wants humanitarian aid - let them release the hostages"	Government press release	Knesset	2-May-25
37	MK Levi-Abekasis: Child begging phenomenon "appalling"	Government press release	Knesset	8-Jan-14
38	Opposition Leader, MK Yair Lapid, in a speech in the Knesset plenary session in honor of Argentine President Javier Milei	Government press release	Knesset	11-Jun-25
39	PM Netanyahu's Speech at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Conference	Government press release	Israeli Prime Minister's Office	27-May-25
40	Special Committee on Young Israelis Chair MK Lazimi: "Society must strive for a diplomatic arrangement that will bring development, peace, normalization, prosperity, and welfare"	Government press release	Knesset	21-Jul-25
41	The Committee on the Rights of the Child marked International Day for the Rights of the Child	Government press release	Knesset	19-Nov-24
42	The Council of Europe condemns Israel over the humanitarian situation in Gaza; Knesset members also succeeded in getting Hamas to condemn it [I think it should read "...in getting CoE to condemn Hamas"]	Government press release	Knesset	28-Jan-25
43	We must make a clear, unflinching point. Whoever kills a child, or physically and emotionally abuses a child - they should know that they will never see the light of day from outside the walls of prison."	Government press release	Knesset	17-Oct-13
44	A collection of documents in the field of the activities of the Committee on Children's Rights in the first half of the 25th Knesset	Government publication	Knesset	20-Feb-25
45	"Aid to Gaza: Misleading Claims vs Facts"	Government report	COGAT (Israel)	15-Dec-25
46	COGAT's Response to the IPC Report	Government report	COGAT (Israel)	19-Dec-25
47	Reply to CRC List of Issues	Government report	Ministry of Justice (Israel)	24-Aug
48	"PM Netanyahu's Address to US Congress"	Government statement	Prime Minister's Office (Israel)	25-Jul-24
49	"PM Netanyahu's Speech at UN General Assembly"	Government statement	Prime Minister's Office (Israel)	28-Sep-24
50	"President Herzog Interviewed on BFMTV"	Government statement	Government of Israel	26-Oct-23

51	“Statement by PM Netanyahu”	Government statement	Prime Minister’s Office (Israel)	30-Dec-23
52	OBSERVATIONS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ON THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA’S “URGENT REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL MEASURES UNDER ARTICLE 75(1) OF THE RULES OF COURT” DATED 12 FEBRUARY 2024	ICJ case: arguments Israel	ICJ	15-Feb-24
53	OBSERVATIONS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ON THE REQUEST FILED BY THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA ON 6 MARCH 2024 FOR THE INDICATION OF ADDITIONAL PROVISIONAL MEASURES AND/OR THE MODIFICATION OF MEASURES PREVIOUSLY INDICATED	ICJ case: arguments Israel	ICJ	15-Mar-24
54	APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE IN THE GAZA STRIP (SOUTH AFRICA v. ISRAEL)	ICJ case: arguments SA	ICJ	29-Dec-23
55	<i>Public sitting held on Friday 17 May 2024, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Salam presiding, in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), VERBATIM RECORD</i>	ICJ case: verbatim record	ICJ	17-May-24
56	Public sitting held on Thursday 11 January 2024, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, President Donoghue presiding, in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), VERBATIM RECORD	ICJ case: verbatim record	ICJ	11-Jan-24
57	<i>Public sitting held on Thursday 16 May 2024, at 3 p.m., at the Peace Palace, President Salam presiding, in the case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)</i>	ICJ case: verbatim record	ICJ	16-May-24
58	Animated banner at the bottom of the Knesset home page 10 Nov 2025	Knesset home page banner	Knesset	10-Nov-25
59	Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty (1992)	Legal document	State of Israel	
60	Basic Law: The Government (2001)	Legal document	State of Israel	
61	Basic Law: The Military (1976)	Legal document	State of Israel	
62	Committee on the Rights of the Child, "Concluding Observations," CRC/C/ISR/CO/5-6, para. 52(a)	Legal document	UN	16-Sep-24
63	Counter-Terrorism Law (2016)	Legal document	State of Israel	
64	Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)	Legal document	State of Israel	
65	Detention of Unlawful Combatants Law, 5762-2002	Legal document	State of Israel	
66	Emergency Powers (Detentions) Law (1979)	Legal document	State of Israel	
67	Knesset, "Approved in Final Readings: Prohibition on UNRWA's Activity within the Sovereign Territory of the State of Israel," October 28, 2024, accessed February 12, 2026, Approved in final readings: Prohibition on UNRWA's activity within the sovereign territory of the State of Israel	Legal document	Knesset	28-Oct-24
68	Legal Capacity and Guardianship Law (1962)	Legal document	State of Israel	
69	Military Justice Law (1955)	Legal document	State of Israel	
70	National Health Insurance Law (1994)	Legal document	State of Israel	

71	Recent November 2024 Knesset law allowing imprisonment of Palestinian minors under 14 for “terror-related” crimes	Legal document	State of Israel	
72	Youth (Care and Supervision) Law (1960)	Legal document	State of Israel	
73	Youth Law (Trial, Punishment and Modes of Treatment) (1971)	Legal document	State of Israel	
74	“Far-right ministers call to ‘resettle’ Gaza’s Palestinians, build settlements in Strip”	Media publication	Times of Israel	1-Jan-24
75	“IDF Database Suggests 83% Civilians”	Media publication	+972 Magazine	21-Aug-25
76	“Israel’s War on Gaza Is Deliberately Targeting Children”	Media publication	The Conversation	2-Dec-25
77	“Israeli Government and Hamas Agree to Hostage Deal”	Media publication	NBC News	22-Nov-23
78	“Israeli President Says There Are No Innocent Civilians In Gaza”	Media publication	HuffPost	13-Oct-23
79	“Netanyahu’s References to Violent Biblical Passages Raise Alarm Among Critics”	Media publication	NPR	7-Nov-23
80	A leader of the Israeli left is being vilified for criticizing the army’s tactics in Gaza	Media publication	Le Monde	21-May-25
81	After a decade in the Knesset, Arab Israeli lawmaker Aida Touma-Sliman says she can no longer serve in a place that ‘embodies oppression, silencing and Jewish supremacy’ – and she doesn’t hide her anger toward Israel’s so-called liberal camp	Media publication	Haaretz	8-Nov-25
82	Ayelett Shani - How Israeli Civics Textbooks Laid the Groundwork for the Judicial Coup	Media publication	Haaretz	26-Aug-23
83	Borger & Tantesh (2025) "No family, no stability, no social fabric: the anguish of Gaza’s wounded orphans"	Media publication	The Guardian	10-Oct-25
84	Donnison & Clarke-Billings (2025) Israel cuts off electricity supply to Gaza, minister says	Media publication	BBC News	9-Mar-25
85	Emanuel Fabian, “IDF believes 70,000 Gazans killed in war, as claimed by Hamas; civilian-combatant ratio unclear”	Media publication	Times of Israel	29-Jan-26
86	For a Moment, Gazans Had Hope the War Would End. Now They Feel They’ve Been Abandoned - Jack Koury	Media publication	Haaretz	16-Jul-24
87	Gray-Donald (2025) "Police Involvement With Pro-Israel Charity Raises Concerns"	Media publication	The Maple	16-Sep-25
88	How Israeli Media Became a Wartime Government Propaganda Arm - ido david cohen	Media publication	Haaretz	25-Dec-23
89	Hume & News Agencies (2025) "Israel’s parliament advances bill to annex occupied West Bank"	Media publication	AlJazeera	22-Oct-25
90	Israeli minister Ben-Gvir says army can shoot women, children in Gaza.	Media publication	The New Arab	13-Feb-24

91	Israeli opposition leader criticises killing 'children as a hobby'	Media publication	AlJazeera	20-May-25
92	Jacob Magid, "US slams 'irresponsible' calls by Smotrich and Ben Gvir for emigration of Gazans"	Media publication	Times of Israel	3-Jan-24
93	Jeremy Bowen, "Israel-Gaza Briefing: Obstacles to Peace Seem Larger Than Ever After Six Months of War"	Media publication	BBC News	7-Apr-24
94	Jonathan Ofir - Israeli Politician Says "Children of Gaza Have Brought This Upon Themselves"	Media publication	Mondoweiss	18-Oct-23
95	Kashti (2025) "Israel Has Crossed Into Authoritarianism,' Says Leading Expert on the Decline of Democracy"	Media publication	Haaretz	30-Oct-25
96	Lazar Berman, "Netanyahu: Ratio of Hamas combatants to Gazan civilians killed in ongoing war is about 1:1"	Media publication	Times of Israel	13-May-24
97	Lukiv & Adams (2025) Israel has blocked the entry of all humanitarian aid into Gaza as it demands Hamas agree to a US plan for a ceasefire extension.	Media publication	BBC News	2-Mar-25
98	Mallory Moench, "Nearly 70% of Gaza war dead verified by UN are women and children"	Media publication	BBC News	8-Nov-24
99	McClusky & Greene "Israel military says 2 civilians killed for every Hamas militant is a 'tremendously positive' ratio given combat challenges"	Media publication	CNN	5-Dec-23
100	Netanyahu Delays Evacuation of Sick, Wounded Children From Gaza to UAE After Golan Attack - Jonathan Liz	Media publication	Haaretz	28-Jul-24
101	Netanyahu didn't tell Ben Gvir, Smotrich about Gaza aid boost, IDF 'humanitarian pauses'	Media publication	Times of Israel	28-Jul-25
102	Nick Dole, "What Israel's President Isaac Herzog has said about Gaza, and why he won't be arrested in Australia"	Media publication	ABC News	5-Feb-26
103	Nir Hasson, "Knesset Debate Reveals Not Everyone Thinks Starving Gazan Children Is a Bad Thing"	Media publication	Haaretz	10-May-25
104	Opinion Israel, Stop Killing Children in Gaza - Ahmad Tibi	Media publication	Haaretz	2-Jun-25
105	Ron Kampeas, "Netanyahu Rejects Claim 'Amalek' Quote Was Genocidal"	Media publication	Jewish Telegraphic Agency	16-Jan-24
106	UN Adds Israel, Hamas to 'Blacklist' of Countries That Harm Children in Conflict Zones Amid Gaza War - Amir Tibon	Media publication	Haaretz	7-Jun-24
107	'Under the Guise of Bureaucracy' - Israel Blocks Humanitarian Groups From Delivering Essential Aid Despite Calm in Gaza	Media publication	Haaretz	4-Nov-25
108	UNICEF Says Israel Blocking One Million Syringes Needed to Vaccinate Gaza Children	Media publication	Reuters	11-Nov-25
109	WAFA (2025) "Israel's Knesset to vote today on bill to annex the occupied West Bank"	Media publication	WAFA	22-Oct-25
110	'You Can't Fake That': How Images of Gaza's Hungry Children Finally Got Trump's Attention	Media publication	Haaretz	30-Jul-25

111	"'Unchilded' from birth: UN expert calls for decisive protection of Palestinian children under Israeli rule"	NGO press release	OHCHR	24-Oct-23
112	A year of tears: 12 months of war on children	NGO report	UNICEF	7-Oct-24
113	Children are Direct Victims of Genocide in the Gaza Strip, PCHR Confirms	NGO report	PCHR	31-Dec-24
114	GAZA STRIP: Famine confirmed in Gaza Governorate, projected to expand	NGO report	IPC	25-Aug
115	Israel: Unlawful Gaza Blockade Deadly for Children	NGO report	Human Rights Watch	18-Oct-23
116	Israeli Laws: An Instrument of Oppression and Persecution	NGO report	Addameer	
117	Palestine/Israel: Israel must immediately stop its criminal forcible displacement in Gaza	NGO report	ICJ	30-Jun-25
118	Palestinian children in Israeli military detention report increasingly violent conditions	NGO report	Save the Children	29-Feb-24
119	Shany, Y. & Cohen, A. (2025) "Limited protection: Israel's High Court of Justice Rejection of Gaza Humanitarian Aid Petition"	NGO report	The Israel Democracy Institute	2-Apr-25
120	State of Palestine Humanitarian Situation Report No. 46 (End of Year), 31 December 2025	NGO report	UNICEF	31-Dec-25
121	Committee on the Rights of the Child concluded its review of the combined fifth and sixth periodic report of Israel	Press release	UN	4-Sep-24
122	Defense for Children International - Palestine (@DCIPalestine), "GAZA UPDATE: More than 1,000 Palestinian children in Gaza have been killed by Israeli attacks. Additional children are unaccounted for and missing under the rubble of destroyed buildings, indicating the true death toll is much higher. Our Oct 16 report: https://t.co/gRv7fQ4cut ," X (formerly Twitter),	Social media publication (X)	DCIP	16-Oct-23
123	"Meeting Summary CRC Review Israel"	UN meeting summary	OHCHR	4-Sep-24
124	UN News, "Israel's New Laws Banning UNRWA Already Taking Effect," October 29, 2024, accessed February 12, 2026, Israel's new laws banning UNRWA already taking effect UN News	UN News	UN News	29-Oct-24
125	"With stoppage of humanitarian aid deliveries into the Gaza Strip, UNICEF warns of severe consequences for children and families in desperate need"	UN press release	UNICEF	3-Mar-25
126	"Message for the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People"	UN press release	United Nations	22-Nov-24
127	Israel has committed genocide in the Gaza Strip, UN Commission finds	UN press release	OHCHR	16-Sep-25

Israeli military

NR	Specific source	type of source	Publisher	date
1	Grassiani, E. (2023). Instrumental Morality Under a Gaze: Israeli Soldiers' Reasoning on Doing 'Good'. In E.-H. Kramer, & T. Molendijk (Eds.), <i>Violence in Extreme Conditions: Ethical Challenges in Military Practice</i> (pp. 59-72). Springer.	Academic book	Springer	2023
2	Gray - AI, Sacred Violence, and War - the case of Gaza	Academic book	Palgrave MacMillan	2025
3	<i>Eshel Y, Kimhi S, Marciano H, Adini B. Ethnic origin of Israeli Jews and psychological responses to the extreme stress of the ongoing war with Hamas in Gaza. Front Psychol. 2024;15:1403132.</i>	Academic journal article	Front Psychol.	2024
4	Hazan-Liran B, Walter O. Mediating role of social support in relations between psychological capital and subjective well-being among IDF soldiers during conflict: insights from the 2023 Gaza war. <i>Isr J Health Policy Res.</i> 2025 Aug 21;14(1):51. doi: 10.1186/s13584-025-00713-4. PMID: 40835960; PMCID: PMC12369248.	Academic journal article	Isr J Health Policy Res.	2025
5	Levy Y. Dehumanization of Disregard: The Case of Gaza. <i>Middle East Policy</i> , 32 (3), 2025; 3–15.	Academic journal article	Middle East Policy	2025
6	Orbach et al. (2025) "Debunking the Genocide Allegations: A Reexamination of the Israel-Hamas War from October 7, 2023 to June 1, 2025" THE BEGIN-SADAT CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, <i>Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 213</i>	Academic journal article	Mideast Security and Policy Studies	2025
7	"Active" Human Shielding and the Law of Armed Conflict	Blog	Liber Institute West Point	14-May-25
8	Inquiry ChatGPT mental health Israeli soldiers	ChatGPT	OpenAI	
9	The applied research institute – Jerusalem / society: Israeli orders database	Database		
10	APPLICATION INSTITUTING PROCEEDINGS containing a REQUEST FOR THE INDICATION OF PROVISIONAL MEASURES	ICJ case documents	ICJ	2023
11	Verbatim record 1 Public sitting held on Thursday 11 January 2024, at 10 a.m., at the Peace Palace, - VERBATIM record	ICJ case documents	ICJ	2024
12	Verbatim record 2024 II	ICJ case documents	ICJ	2024
13	"Gaza city: what Hamas doesn't want you to see"	IDF youtube channel	IDF	Aug-24
14	Basic Law: The Military (1976)	legal document		
15	"what the wounds tell us"	Media publication	Volkskrant	13-Sep-25
16	"the first livestreamed genocide" Al Jazeera, April 2025	Media publication	AlJazeera	Apr-25

17	250 IDF intel reservists sign letter calling to end war; PM: 'noisy anarchists'	Media publication	The Times of Israel	11-Apr-25
18	How Do You Convince a Soldier to Return to the Battlefield? An Interview With the IDF's Outgoing Mental Health Chief	Media publication	Haaretz	Mar-24
20	'I Saw the Bodies of Children': Moral Injury and Mental Strain Breaking IDF Soldiers	Media publication	Haaretz	16-Sep-25
21	Kubovich, Y. (2024) "'No Civilians. Everyone's a Terrorist': IDF Soldiers Expose Arbitrary Killings and Rampant Lawlessness in Gaza's Netzarim Corridor:., Haaretz 17 Dec 2024	Media publication	Haaretz	17-Dec-24
22	Netzarim corridor	Media publication	Haaretz	18-Dec-24
23	Paul Rogers, Israel's use of disproportionate force is a long-established tactic – with a clear aim	Media publication	The Guardian	5-Dec-23
24	The Guardian: As a former IDF soldier and historian of genocide, I was deeply disturbed by my recent visit to Israel	Media publication	The Guardian	Aug-24
25	Amassing troops' own clips from Gaza, anti-Israel activists are keeping heat on soldiers	Media publication	Times of Israel	10-Apr-25
26	What Troops Experience When They Commit Acts That Conflict With Their Moral Code	Media publication	Haaretz	Jan-25
27	Ziv, O. (2024) 'I'm bored, so I shoot': The Israeli army's approval of free-for-all violence in Gaza https://www.972mag.com/israeli-soldiers-gaza-firing-regulations/	Media publication	972magazine	8-Jul-24
28	דגנית חשבה שיש לה התקף חדרה, ואז קיבלה אבחנה: פציעה מוסרית	Media publication	Haaretz	2-Jan-25
29	"The prison is inside me"	NGO report	Defence for Children International - Palestine	13-Nov-25
30	B'TSelem report "Our genocide" (2025)	NGO report	B'Tselem	2025
31	Jewish Currents, "on the nose" podcast, episode "what the soldiers did in Gaza", interview with director Breaking the Silence	Podcast	Jewish Currents	20-Nov-25
32	Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel, Human Rights Council , A/HRC/59/26	UN report	UN Human Rights Council	6-May-25
33	IDF "our mission" https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/our-mission-our-values/ , accessed 14 november 2025	Website	IDF	Nov-25
34	IDF website articles (updates etc, 70 articles)	Website	IDF	Nov-25
35	IDF website on Israel-Hamas war	Website	IDF	Nov-25

Breaking the Silence dataset: testimonies of Israeli military (anonymous). Method: selected those about Gaza since Oct 2023 (15 entries)

NR	Testimony	Period
36	1.1.1	Jan-Feb 2024
37	1.1.2	2024
38	1.1.3	Dec 2023-Jan 2024
39	1.1.4	Nov-23
40	1.1.5	Oct-Nov 2023
41	1.1.6	2024
42	1.1.7	2024
43	1.1.8	Dec 2023 – Jan 2024
44	1.1.9	Oct-nov 2023
45	1.1.10	2023
46	1.1.11	2023
47	1.1.12	2023
48	1.1.13	Aug-24
49	1.1.14	2024
50	1.1.15	2024

Religious leaders

N R	Specific source	type of source	Publisher	date
1	Smadja, M.-L., et al. (2022). "'Side by side': Comparing how Israeli secular and religious mothers read a story about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to young children." <i>Infant and Child Development</i> 31(4): e2319	Academic journal article	Infant and Child Development	7/14/1905
2	Moore, D. and S. Aweiss (2002). "Hatred of 'Others' Among Jewish, Arab, and Palestinian Students in Israel." <i>Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy</i> 2(1): 151–172.	Academic journal article	Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy	6/24/1905
3	Khoury-Kassabri, M., et al. (2006). "Adolescents' approach toward children rights: Comparison between Jewish and Palestinian children from Israel and the Palestinian Authority." <i>Children and Youth Services Review</i> 28(9): 1060–1073.	Academic journal article	Children and Youth Services Review	6/28/1905
4	Komesaroff, P. A. and J. Z. Kenner (2025). "Is this Judaism? The Question of the Consistency of Israeli Policy and Actions in Gaza with Jewish Thought and Ethics. Part 2: Evidence, Analysis and Conclusions." <i>Journal of Bioethical Inquiry</i> 22(3): 751–766.	Academic journal article	Journal of Bioethical Inquiry	7/17/1905
5	Sorek, T. (2025). "Mainstreaming a Genocidal Imagination in Israeli Society: Settler-Colonialism, Settler Anxiety, and Biblical Cues." <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> : 1–24.	Academic journal article	Journal of Genocide Research	7/17/1905

6	Tamir Sorek (2026) Mainstreaming a Genocidal Imagination in Israeli Society: Settler-Colonialism, Settler Anxiety, and Biblical Cues	Academic journal article	Journal of Genocide Research	2/6/2026
7	Khoury-Kassabri, M. and A. Ben-Arieh (2008). "Adolescents' Approach toward Children's Rights: Comparison among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Children in Jerusalem." Journal of Social Issues 64(4): 881–901.	Academic journal article	Journal of Social Issues	6/30/1905
8	Ben Porat, G. and D. Filc (2022). "Remember to be Jewish: Religious Populism in Israel." Politics and Religion 15(1): 61–84.	Academic journal article	Politics and Religion	7/14/1905
9	Inbari, M. and K. M. Bumin (2024). "Israeli Jewish Attitudes toward Core Religious Beliefs in God, the Election of Israel, Eschatology, and the Temple Mount—Statistical Analysis." Religions 15(9): 1076.	Academic journal article	Religions	7/16/1905
10	Freedman, M. (2019). "Fighting from the Pulpit: Religious Leaders and Violent Conflict in Israel." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 63(10): 2262–2288	Academic journal article	The Journal of Conflict Resolution	7/11/1905
11	Database of Israeli incitement - 23/10/2023 Yaron Reuven	database entry		
12	database of Israeli incitement - 30/10/2023 Rabbis Religious leaders	database entry		
13	database of Israeli incitement - 01/11/2023 Oury Amos Cherki Rabbi:	database entry		
14	Database of Israeli incitement- 03/11/2023 Avishai Levy	database entry		
15	Database of Israeli incitement- 03/11/2023 Avishai Levy	database entry		
16	Database of Israeli incitement- 14/11/2023 Rabbi Shmuel Eliyah	database entry		
17	Database of Israeli incitement- 19/12/2023 Rabbi David BenPorat	database entry		
18	Database of Israeli incitement- 30/01/2024 Chai Ben Hamo,	database entry		
19	Jewish rabbi encourages killing Gazans, even children	Media publication	Anadolu Ajansı	3/9/2024
20	Israeli rabbi defends killing of civilians in Gaza	Media publication	Azon Global	12/13/2024
21	What is the Yiddish Orthodox press saying about October 7 and the war in Gaza?	Media publication	K.	4/4/2024
22	Opinion If Israelis and Jews Don't Act Now, We're Complicit: Here's How to Stop Gaza's Starvation	Media publication - opinion piece	Haaretz	7/30/2025
23	Opinion Zionist Values Cannot Coexist With Gaza's Children Starving to Death at Israel's Hands	Media publication - opinion piece	Haaretz	9/3/2025
24	What Are the Jewish Values Underlying the Call for a Ceasefire in Gaza?	Media publication - opinion piece		2/27/2024
25	Israeli rabbi calls for starvation and death of Gaza's children	Media publication - video	MiddleEastEye	8/3/2025 (remarks made 28 july 2025)
26	Rabbi Ronen Shaulov responds to a video circulating online about the famine in Gaza! #HerbronShaulov	Youtube video	Youtube - channel הרב רונן שאולוב	8/4/2024

Israeli Community

NR	Specific source	Type of source	Publisher	date	NR entries
1	Gray - AI, Sacred Violence, and War - the case of Gaza	Academic book	Palgrave MacMillan	2025	
2	Adamczyk, A. (2025). Neutralization and Violence in Gaza: How Jewish College Students in the United States and Israel Justify and Contest Military Engagement. <i>Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World</i> , 11	Academic journal article		2025	
3	Bjertness, Espen, Marius Slåtto Bjertness, Cecilie Bjertness Nyquist, Marika Kromberg, Khamis Elessi, and Lars Lien. "Save the Remaining People of Gaza—Save the Children." <i>The Lancet</i> 402, no. 10417 (2023): 2072–2073.	Academic journal article	Lancet	7/15/1905	
4	Levy Y. Dehumanization of Disregard: The Case of Gaza. <i>Middle East Policy</i> , 32 (3), 2025; 3–15.	Academic journal article	Middle East Policy	2025	
5	Rachamim, L., Aloni, R., Mualem-Taylor, H. et al. "Children of War": Examining the Associations between War Exposure, Maternal PTSD, and Continuous Traumatic Stress on Israeli Children's PTSD. <i>Res Child Adolesc Psychopathol</i> 53, 1047–1059 (2025).	Academic journal article	Res Child Adolesc Psychopathol	2025	
6	Rum Y, Milsthen E, Zedan HF and Gal T (2026) Children's rights and needs during war: the case of adolescents in Israel. <i>Front. Psychol.</i> 17:1719621. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2026.1719621	Academic journal article	Israel. Front. Psychol	2026	
7	Zedan, Heba F., and Tali Gal. "Co-Researching with Palestinian Children and Youth: Rights-Based Knowledge Creation during Wartime." <i>International Journal of Qualitative Methods</i> 24 (2025): 1–15.	Academic journal article	International Journal of Qualitative Methods	2025	
8	Mainstreaming a Genocidal Imagination in Israeli Society: Settler-Colonialism, Settler Anxiety, and Biblical Cues	Academic journal article	journal of genocide research	6-Feb-26	
9	Scheindlin, D. (2024, 29 August). <i>Dahlia Scheindlin on Israeli Opinion</i> [Interview]. Center for Strategic and International Studies.	Blog	Center for Strategic and International Studies	29-Aug-24	
10	WA community Israeli News Highlights - searchterm child - Dataset 1: afternoon april 3 2025 - morning edition January 25 2026 (805 news updates, 89 news items mention "child")	Media publication	Israeli News Highlights		89
11	WA community Israeli News Highlights - searchterm health - Dataset 1: afternoon april 3 2025 - morning edition January 25 2026 ((805 news updates, 107 news items mention "health"))	Media publication	Israeli News Highlights		107
12	Avraham, Y. (2023). "The only way out is to open Gaza to the world, not close it". <i>Local Call</i> .	Media publication	Mekomit	31-Oct-23	

13	Audeh, R. (2023). It's not shocking to see Israeli children celebrate the Gaza genocide. <i>Al Jazeera</i> . 13 Dec.	Media publication	Al Jazeera	13-Dec-23	
14	Ghannoushi, S. (2025). Why Israel is waging war on Palestinian children. <i>Middle East Eye</i> . 25 March.	Media publication	Middle East Eye	25-Mar-25	
15	Fox, K., & Saifi, Z. (2025). 'I would prefer this over killing children:' Why some Israeli teens are choosing jail over the army.	Media publication	CNN World	24-Mar-25	
16	Fox, K. (2025). 'It starts at the top': Extremist views are all that many young Israelis have ever known. <i>CNN World</i> . 28 March.	Media publication	CNN World	28-Mar-25	
17	Ziv, O. (2025). The photos of dead Gazan children are cracking the wall of impermanence a little. <i>Local Call</i> .	Media publication	Mekomit	29-Apr-25	
18	Rapoport, M. (2025). For more Israelis, calling out war crimes is no longer taboo. +972 Magazine. May 29. Retrieved 5 April 2026 from https://www.972mag.com/israelis-war-crimes-gaza-taboo/	Media publication	[[+972 magazine	29-May-25	
19	Yes to Transfer: 82% of Jewish Israelis Back Expelling Gazans	Media publication	Haaretz	28-May-25	
20	That Alarming Poll Showing 82% of Israelis Back Gazans' Expulsion? It's Wrong	Media publication	Haaretz	4-Jun-25	
21	Bartov, O. (2024) As a former IDF soldier and historian of genocide, I was deeply disturbed by my recent visit to Israel, <i>The Guardian</i> 13 August 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/aug/13/israel-gaza-historian-omer-bartov?utm_source=chatgpt.com	Media publication	The guardian	13-Aug-24	
22	Sheizaf, N. (2024). Israelis' view of Gaza, especially their blindness. <i>Medium</i> . 17 January. Retrieved 9 April 2026, from https://thepalestineproject.medium.com/a-new-edited-collection-examines-israelis-view-of-gaza-especially-their-blindness-4f28d272cc23	NGO publication	The Palsetine Project	17-Jan-24	
23	The israel democracy institute - sept 2025 – Survey on the Second Anniversary of the War (Israeli voice index) (1000 respondents)	Survey		Sep-25	1000
24	Israeli voice index – July 2025 (753 respondents)	Survey		Jul-25	753
25	Pew research center - June 2025, "Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace" (998 respondents)	Survey		Jun-25	998
26	Pew research center – Israeli views of the Israel-Hamas war, May 2024 (1001 respondents)	Survey		May-24	1001
27	The Palestine/Israel Pulse, a Joint Poll: Press Release- July 2024 (900 respondents)	Survey		Jul-24	900

28	Findings from a recent survey among Arab and Jewish students 810 respondents (ממצאים מסקר עכשווי בקרב סטודנטיות וסטודנטים ערבים ויהודים) ---	Survey	aChord	Oct-25	810
29	JJPI Israeli society Index	Survey	JJPI	Jun-25	746
30	“Findings of the National Security Survey: February 2026”	Survey	the Institute for National Security Studies	2-Mar-26	
31	1.7 Police and Domestic Security in Israeli Public Opinion in 2025	Survey	The Israel Democracy Institute. 26 November 2025. , accessed 13 May 2026.	26-Nov-25	
32	Jewish Currents, "on the nose" podcast, episode "what the soldiers did in Gaza", interview with director Breaking the Silence	podcast	Jewish Currents	20-Nov-25	
33	Arnaout, Abdel Raouf, and Mohammad Sio. “64% of Israelis Believe There Are ‘No Innocents’ in Gaza: Poll.”	media publication	Anadolu Agency	11-Jun-25	

Comment sections

	<i>Before ceasefire</i>				
34	Dataset: 906 comments in comment section July 2025 article “walking corpses in Gaza”	Dataset: comment section	Ynet	Jul-25	906
35	Dataset: 363 comments in comment section, July 2025 article	Dataset: comment section	Haaretz	18-Jul-25	363
36	Dataset: 67 comments to youtube video "הרב רונן שאולוב מגיב לסרטון שרץ ברשת על" "הרב רונן שאולוב! #הרעב בעזה (Rabbi Ronen Shaulov reageert op een video die online circuleert over de hongersnood in Gaza! #Rabbi Ronen Sjaulov")	Dataset: comment section	Youtube, הרב רונן שאולוב (Rabbi Ronen Shaulov)	4-Aug-25	67
37	Dataset: 59 comments on FB post with article about protest at food festival for hungry children in Gaza	Dataset: comment section	Facebook, Time Out Tel Aviv	25/5/2025	59
38	Dataset: 49 comments on article	Dataset: comment section	Israel Hayom	8/24/2025	49
39	Dataset: 103 replies to Q on forum	Dataset: comment section	Stips	5/31/2025	103
	<i>After ceasefire</i>				
40	Dataset: 1483 comments on FB article + Video (no title)	Dataset: comment section	Facebook, B'T Seleem	12/6/2025	1483

Annex III: Prompts used to analyse dataset of comment sections

Per set of comment sections (see overview §3.2.2), we entered the following prompts into ChatGPT v. 4.0:

1. [short description of source, indication that the file is a comment section, file with comments attached] “analyse this dataset and present the overall views of commentators”
2. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all norms expressed by commentators in relation to children in Gaza using a table, and indicate how often a certain norm is expressed by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
3. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all norms expressed by commentators in relation to children in Gaza, clustered according to normative order from which they are indicated to originate from by commentators, using a table. A normative order is defined as “norm-creating socio-legal orders, e.g. state or military or religion”. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
4. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all attitudes commentators expressed towards norms mentioned on children in Gaza using a table, and indicate how often a certain attitude towards a norm is expressed by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
5. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all attitudes commentators expressed towards relevant normative orders mentioned, using a table, and indicate how often a certain attitude towards a normative order is expressed by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
6. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all behaviours mentioned by commentators in relation to children in Gaza and who engages in these behaviours using a table, and indicate how many times a certain behaviour is mentioned by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
7. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all views mentioned by commentators on the behaviours they mention in relation to children in Gaza using a table, and indicate how many times a certain view towards a behaviour is mentioned by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
8. Using the original dataset, present an overview of all socio-legal groups mentioned by commentators and indicate specifically the views expressed by commentators towards these groups using a table. In the table, indicate how often a certain view on a specific socio-legal group is mentioned by different commentators. Sort the table according to most # comments - fewest # comments.
9. Using the original dataset, analyse the dataset using the CRNC model (paper attached)