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**Online Activism. Social Media and Socio-Political
Activism by Young Women in Saudi Arabia**

A PhD thesis submitted to Universidade Católica Portuguesa
to obtain a PhD Degree in Communication Studies

By

Rola Khalid Yousef

Faculty of Human Sciences

May 2024



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Acknowledgment

All praise be to God, who gave me the inspiration to pursue further study and made it possible for me to finish my research and earn a PhD in communication studies. I could not have accomplished this without his direction and support.

Throughout the past few years, I have embarked on a gratifying and demanding personal journey to finish my thesis. It is rarely simple to relocate to a new nation with one's family; therefore, I consider myself very fortunate to have had the support of many genuinely wonderful individuals along the journey.

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Abstract

In most democratic countries around the world, ordinary citizens in general and young women in particular have access to different avenues to participate and demand social and political changes and rights. However, in Saudi Arabia, access to and participation in social and political activism were and are still highly limited and restricted, especially for women. Therefore, the emergence of “online activism,” which was aided and facilitated by new communication technologies and social media platforms, offered Saudi women enormous potential for democratic exchange, to pressurize state institutions, foster political participation, and foster social change. In this regard, young Saudi women are establishing their own virtual communities and advocacy campaigns in the online sphere in order to fight for their political and social rights and the right to participate, as we witnessed in the Twitter campaign against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia.

In line with the volatile political and social situations and the authoritative environment in Saudi Arabia and based on 3500 tweets and six semi-structured interviews, this thesis explores young Saudi women's participation, activism, and usage of social media platforms to demand political and social change. In particular, it investigates the context of Saudi Arabia and its effect on Saudi women's online engagement and activism on social and political issues and the rise of the phenomenon of Saudi online feminism.

This research shows that social media platforms were a potential tool for women's activism and played an unprecedented role in paving the way for Saudi young women's participation in socio-political issues in general and activism against the male guardianship system in particular despite the several obstacles that had to be dealt with within the country's authoritarian context.

The anti-male guardianship campaign's internet observation revealed that there was no set model of communication that was adhered to. The communication was informal and approachable, but because every participant made their own posts independently, it was challenging to standardize the messaging. However, the message is intended to reach men, women, and society at large, as well as political and religious organizations.

Finally, this study demonstrates that Twitter, in particular, and social media in general were particularly useful tools for women living in challenging social, political, and economic contexts. By addressing the obstacles and constraints that feminism movements face and exposing the limitations and repression that the Saudi government and the general public impose on internet activism in general and women's activism in particular, this study also sheds light on another crucial fact that contradicts the first.

Keywords: Online Activism, Social Media, Feminism Movements, Saudi Arabia, Gender Equality, Twitter, Male Guardianship System.

Resumo

Na maioria dos países democráticos do mundo, os cidadãos comuns, em geral, e as mulheres jovens, em particular, têm acesso a diferentes vias para participar e exigir mudanças e direitos sociais e políticos. Contudo, na Arábia Saudita, o acesso e a participação no activismo social e político foram, e ainda são, altamente limitados e restritos, especialmente para as mulheres. Portanto, o surgimento do “activismo online”, que foi auxiliado e facilitado pelas novas tecnologias de comunicação e plataformas de redes sociais, ofereceu às mulheres sauditas um enorme potencial para o intercâmbio democrático, para pressionarem as instituições estatais, promoverem a participação política e promoverem a mudança social. Neste sentido, as jovens sauditas estão a estabelecer as suas próprias comunidades virtuais e campanhas de defesa na esfera online, a fim de lutarem pelos seus direitos políticos e sociais e pelo direito de participação, como testemunhámos na campanha do Twitter contra o sistema de tutela masculina na Arábia Saudita.

Em linha com as situações políticas e sociais voláteis e o ambiente autoritário na Arábia Saudita, com base em 3.500 tweets e seis entrevistas semiestruturadas, esta tese explora a participação, o activismo e o uso de plataformas de media social por jovens mulheres sauditas, para exigirem mudanças políticas e sociais. Em particular, investiga o contexto da Arábia Saudita e o seu efeito no envolvimento e activismo online das mulheres sauditas, em questões sociais e políticas, e na ascensão do fenómeno do feminismo online saudita.

Esta pesquisa mostra que as plataformas de media social foram uma ferramenta potencial para o activismo das mulheres e desempenharam um papel, sem precedentes, na preparação do caminho para a participação das jovens mulheres sauditas em questões sociopolíticas, em geral, e no activismo contra o sistema de tutela masculino, em particular, apesar dos vários obstáculos que tiveram de ser enfrentados no contexto autoritário do país.

A observação da campanha de tutela anti-masculina na Internet revelou que não havia um modelo definido de comunicação que fosse respeitado. A comunicação foi informal e acessível, mas como cada participante fazia as suas próprias publicações de forma independente, foi um desafio padronizar as mensagens. Contudo, a mensagem pretende chegar aos homens, às mulheres e à sociedade em geral, bem como às organizações políticas e religiosas.

Finalmente, este estudo demonstra que o Twitter, em particular, e as redes sociais, em geral, foram ferramentas particularmente úteis para mulheres que vivem em contextos sociais, políticos e económicos desafiantes. Ao abordar os obstáculos e restrições que os movimentos feministas enfrentam e ao expor as limitações e a repressão que o governo saudita e o público em geral impõem ao activismo na Internet, em geral, e ao activismo das mulheres, em particular, este estudo também lança luz sobre outro facto crucial que contradiz o primeiro.

Palavras-chave: Activismo Online, Redes Sociais, Movimentos Feministas, Arábia Saudita, Igualdade de Género, Twitter, Sistema de Tutela Masculina.

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Introduction

This research sets out to examine the social and political implications of social media platforms on young women online participation and activism within the restrictive and authoritarian context of Saudi Arabia that lacks democracy, freedom of expression and equal rights. The research aims to understand activist and participants perspectives on the online and offline challenges for women participation in social and political activism. Through analyzing Saudi women participation in the anti-male guardianship twitter campaign and women produced and shared discourse on twitter, this research seeks to understand and assess hashtag activism features and how it was used by Saudi women to fight against the gender inequality practices, advocate for their rights and to investigate the factors challenging women activism in Saudi Arabia.

The male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia is a real dilemma for Saudi women and it interferes in many aspects of women's life. This system gives broad control to men over women lives, this control can be held from birth till death. All Saudi women have a male guardian who can be the father, the husband or the brother and even the son. This system gives men the power to make critical decisions to word women on their behalf. Male guardianship is not a single law or set of laws, it is a whole system that is seen as the biggest impediment for women's rights in Saudi Arabia. This system requires adult women to obtain their male guardian permission for work, travel, study, marriage, custody and even the access of healthcare entities. As a result, this impacted women rights for building a life, a career a family and a path. (HRWO 2016).

As a result, it is critical to investigate the relationship and impact of political and social content on social media platforms, as well as how these platforms are transforming into the new Arab public sphere in the face of the restrictive political, religious and social environment. For this, this research I will look into the political and social content disseminated by young Saudi women during their participation in the Anti-male Guardianship campaign on Twitter in 2016.

Research Objectives

The rise of online activism over offline activism in the Middle East has been influenced by many factors, namely the region's critical political and social situation since the Arab Spring, the development of communication technologies, and the reliance of many activist movements on the internet and new media channels because of their easy accessibility and ability to coordinate demonstrations and mobilize participants (Leih and Roeder-Tzellos 2015). As a result of these new technologies and social media platforms, ordinary citizens in the Middle East were able to experience a new culture, forming new levels of consciousness, and becoming highly engaged in various political and social issues in the cyberspace, forming a whole new experience that overcame the traditional political system and authorities (Bayat 2017). One of these new online activism experiences was women's activism against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia.

I approach the research from both a personal and scientific standpoint. Personally, my goal is to broaden my academic background and knowledge base in a variety of scientific areas, such as religious and political communication, online activism, cyber communities, feminist activism, and Middle Eastern studies. Scientifically, I aim to contribute and highlight the role of young women in activism in general and online activism in specific, passing by the Arab uprising and the anti-male guardianship campaign that occurred in Saudi Arabia in 2016.

There is almost universal agreement that social media has greatly aided in the spread of information, the improvement of communication networks, the expansion of the concept and practice of freedom of expression, and that the social and political contents disseminated on social media platforms in restricted countries such as Saudi Arabia have a significant impact on supporting individuals' political and social participation and freedom of expression through the internet (Gerbaudo 2012).

However, other scholars, express concern about how social media platforms are becoming a platform for disseminating and consuming disinformation and fake content: "social media is a growing concern, particularly given the ease of access to such sources and the lack of awareness of the existence of such false information." (Shu et al. 2020). Furthermore, I agree with Fenton (2012:142) when she states that "individual particularities and political desire alone, even if they are articulated together and facilitated by new communication technologies, will not reclaim and rebuild the institution necessary to reveal and sustain a new political order." In

fact, social media platforms were not created to achieve liberal objectives, and the freedom of expression and participation found in communication platforms is insufficient to achieve democracy by itself.

Therefore, to understand this complicated relationship surrounding online feminist activism and to find the answers to the research questions, the theoretical framework for this research will focus on three pillars: first, online activism; second, the religious, political, and communications environment in the Middle East; and third, women's activism in Saudi Arabia, while emphasizing the role of young women in online activism. Furthermore, an in-depth analysis of socio-political content posted on “Twitter” by Saudi young women will be conducted. The tweets produced by the young women activists and participants in the Anti-Male Guardianship campaign will constitute our object of analysis (discussed in the research methodology section) and will represent various values, experiences, and communication goals, which will have an impact on their political and social discourse and participation.

Research Questions

The influence of these social media platforms and online communities in achieving their social and political objectives varies depending on the country's cultural, social, and political climate, all of which place constraints on the practice of online activism and feminism. To fulfill the research objectives, and based on the conducted theoretical review and my personal observation as a researcher from the same region, the research questions that this study will answer are the following:

- Q1: How do young Saudi women perceive the impact of online activism against the male guardianship system in achieving social and political changes in Saudi Arabia?
- Q2: To what extent Twitter advocacy features helped Saudi women express dissent against the male guardianship system and gender inequality to obtain more social and political rights through the online public sphere?
- Q3: What types of socio-political contents were used against the Male Guardianship system (assertive, persuasive, educative)?
- Q4: What are the challenges and limitations feminism movements are facing in the online public sphere in Saudi Arabia?

Research Motivation

In most democratic countries around the world, ordinary citizens have a level of freedom that allows them to participate and engage in political and social issues. However, in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia (the focus of this study), political and social participation, as well as freedom of expression, remain severely restricted specially for women. Two main events triggered my interest in exploring in more depth the phenomenon of online activism and online feminism in the Middle East, which are: the Arab spring uprising in 2011 and the anti-male guardianship Twitter campaign in 2016.

In the Middle East, social media platforms challenged the restricted political environment and controlled traditional media outlets and have become the primary means of social and political participation, an accessible source of information that offers enormous potential for social and political exchange and intercultural communication, representing a broader definition for the phenomenon of "online activism." Therefore, such technologies and platforms were adopted by activists and users to avoid restricted communication and traditional media outlets and enable them to report to the world what was going on the ground.

In most cases, online activism via blogs, Facebook, Twitter, or other social media platforms has enabled citizens to participate in a social networking exercise and to engage in a public sphere that would otherwise be inaccessible to them due to severe repression (Salanova 2012). Howard (2011:145) summarized this relationship by claiming that information and communication technologies have become a fundamental foundation for activists seeking regime change—"the use of new media to advance a cause that is difficult to advance offline." In terms of democratic exchange and political participation, a survey by the Pew Research Centre (2019) found that political and social activists rely on the internet, technological apps and tools, and social media platforms to raise awareness, organize movements, recruit activists, and encourage participation in other social and political initiatives, as the internet is an open source for freedom of expression and freedom of speech.

In Arab societies and specifically in Saudi Arabia, where equality between men and women is rejected in all aspects of life (including political and religious participation), the title "activist" is an undefined term. Due to male dominance in Arab society, women's voices are limited. If a female activist wishes to break into the male-dominated field of activism, her choice will be questioned, and she will be told that the political field is not for her and that she should only

focus on social and entertainment topics. If she violates these expectations, her activism will be called into question, and she will be viewed as a disloyal and subversive agent, as if there is an implicit acknowledgement that her involvement in politics is a radical act (Serberny 2015).

In line with the volatile political and social situations in the Middle East, social media platforms allowed and enabled young women to express their social and political views and demands. “The online sphere, therefore, becomes a “gateway” through which Middle Eastern women can access the public space, make their voices heard, and advocate for their rights as equal citizens” (Tazi 2020:58).

As a consequence, young women in Saudi Arabia used social media platforms and hashtag activism to challenge the offline and traditional public sphere and establish their own virtual communities and advocacy campaigns in order to fight for political and social rights as well as, most importantly, the right to participate. Among these campaigns were women's right to drive and anti-male guardianship system. Although Saudi women tried to organize some offline demonstrations in specific areas of Saudi Arabia, such as the eastern province, these attempts were immediately suppressed by the government, which, as a result, enhanced the resort to the online sphere to participate and discuss political and social issues and strengthened the phenomenon of online activism.

Interestingly, what triggered my interest in searching for the phenomenon of the Saudi feminism movement and the utilization of new communication technologies and social media platforms were many factors, among them Saudi Arabia being a young nation and women making up almost 50% of the population, the mass adaptation of social media by the youth segment, the absence of women rights organizations, and the introduced 2030 vision, which brings major changes in the Saudi economic structure and therefore has an impact on the social and political structure as well. Among these changes are the 2017 royal decree that allows women to drive and the 2019 royal decree that eases the restrictions imposed on Saudi women due to the male guardianship system.

In light of this, I contend that online activism and hashtag activism in Saudi Arabia have increased women's participation, increased social belonging, and strengthened their potential as influencers in a variety of issues and fields related to their societies. This argument is supported by authors such as Mourtada and Salem (2011) and De Vriese (2012), who see women's use of new communication technologies as an attempt to produce political and social

change. I felt it was vital to study young Saudi women's activism on social media platforms, which became a source of personal and social power in these women's lives.

Significance of the Study

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is seeing an extraordinary rise in the number of people using social media platforms. These online activities are occurring alongside fundamental changes in social, economic, and political aspects in Saudi Arabia. A review of the available literature suggests that there is a significant knowledge gap in light of these developments. The linguistic barrier that keeps academics from addressing this difficult setting and the constrictive political and social environment of Saudi Arabia may be the cause of this study and inquiry gap. Therefore, this study will fill this information gap and provide a fresh perspective on how social media platforms affect women's activism within the Saudi Arabian context. Furthermore,

- Some of the most hotly debated topics in Saudi Arabia's online public realm are those that concern women. The majority of these issues, like the male guardianship system I'm looking into for my study, have political, social, and religious components. As a result, this particular Twitter campaign, started and supported by Saudi women, will open the door to a thorough examination of Saudi feminism movements and the ways in which Twitter features were utilized and contributed significantly to the growth of socio-political content and activism.
- Ultimately, a review of the literature on Saudi Arabian women's activism against the male guardianship system showed that it made little progress in explaining the communication strategy of Saudi feminism. Nonetheless, this study was able to thoroughly examine the internet material and categorize it into three communication strategies: Assertive Political Communication Strategy, Persuasive Religious Communication Strategy and Educative Social Communication Strategy.

Thesis Structure

Theoretical Framework Section

The objective of this section is to examine the theoretical literature that currently exists addressing the crucial role that social media platforms play in the online social and political activity of young Saudi women. The theoretical framework section consists of three chapters. This section begins with chapter One, which carries the title “Online activism in the Middle East.”. The notion of online activism will be covered in this chapter, along with an examination of technology advancement and its impact on the emergence of virtual communities and social and political changes via the lenses of social movement, collective action, and technological determinism theories. Additionally, by tackling the idea of Orientalism in the digital arena, this chapter will analyze the issues of online activism within the modern Middle Eastern setting and how activism in the region has changed from the offline to the online realm. The second theoretical framework chapter carries the title “Religion, Politics and Communication Systems in the Middle East.”. This chapter will concentrate on social and political communication in the Middle East and how closely it is linked to religion, which has an impact on practically every facet of social and political life. The public sphere theory will be discussed in this chapter, particularly as it relates to Islam. Since women make up the majority of the study's subjects, this chapter will discuss women's participation in political and social activity in the Middle East. The third theoretical framework chapter carries the title “Women Activism in Saudi Arabia.”. This chapter will discuss women's activism in Saudi Arabia. The governmental, religious, and media systems of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will be covered in more detail in this chapter. This chapter will also discuss the feminist movement among Saudi women in general, both historically and currently, as well as their activism against the social and political constraints imposed by the male guardianship system.

Research Design and Methodology Section

The objectives, questions, research paradigms and design, data collection process, data collection methods, and the rationale behind selecting the methods will all be covered in detail in this chapter. Additionally, the data analysis procedure and methods will be thoroughly discussed, along with the ethical considerations that surrounded and challenged this research journey.

Research Findings Section

This section will lay out the research findings derived from tweets and interviews data analysis. Three different themes emerged from the thematic analysis and will be presented in three different chapters, which are chapters five, six, and seven. Chapter Five carries the title “Contextual Factors Influencing and Challenging the Online Feminism Movement in Saudi Arabia Against the Male Guardianship System.”. As the title implies, this chapter will go into great length on the study findings from the semi-structured interviews and online observation data that were gathered, which emphasized the many aspects that influenced women's activism against Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system. The aforementioned variables, which may be categorized into culture, religion, traditions, and the economic-political environment, significantly influenced the views, lives, and activist behaviors of young women in Saudi Arabia. Chapter Six carries the title “Social Media Impact and Contribution to Young Saudi Women's Activism.”. This chapter will discuss additional critical findings and emerging themes from the data analysis in an effort to determine whether social media is a platform for people in general to network and freely share their concerns and opinions, or if it is a tool used by authoritarian regimes to control people's engagement and activism. These emerging themes were divided into two sections: the first affirms that social media platforms are potential tools for women's activism and focuses on the benefits and contributions of these platforms to women's activism in Saudi Arabia; the second section discusses the challenges, oppression, and restriction practices imposed on social media platforms, particularly Twitter, and how these practices affect women's activism against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia. Chapter Seven is the last chapter of the research findings and carries the title “The Contemporary Saudi Feminism Movement's Organizational Structure and Communication Strategy.”. This chapter will discuss and examine the issues that have evolved in relation to Saudi Arabia's modern feminist movement, paying particular attention to its communication strategy and organizational structure during their 2016 Twitter activism against the country's male guardianship system. This results chapter aims to close a gap in the literature concerning Saudi feminist movements in general and the communication approach employed during this campaign in particular.

Concluding Remarks Section

The study will be concluded in the last section, which will also contain recommendations for future research, a discussion of the study's limitations, and some personal opinions and remarks on the research.

1 Chapter One: Online Activism in the Middle East

This chapter focuses on the concept of online activism. The first section looks at the role of technology and social media platforms in the formation of virtual communities as well as social and political transformations, addressing technological determinism, collective action, and social movement theories. The second section concentrates on the transformation of activism in the Arab world from offline to online, with a special emphasis on the young generation and women. It spans from the event of the Arab Spring in 2011 to the hashtag movement in Saudi Arabia in 2016. Finally, the third section discusses the unique characteristics, contributions, and challenges of online activism within the contemporary context of the Middle East by addressing the concept of Orientalism in the digital sphere and explaining how communication technologies and social media platforms are used either as a tool for freedom of expression or a tool for repression of speech and surveillance in the Arab region.

1.1 The Concept of Online Activism

Activism is a very broad and ambiguous term. According to Yang (2016), historically, activism was the political action that was once referred to as "revolution," but it now includes non-revolutionary actions, community action, and campaigning to bring about social and political change. The term "online activism" is a broad one too. Joyce (2010) defined it as a type of political participation via fixed and mobile tools with internet access. Other scholars, however, define online activism from a broader perspective and claim that any use of online media to achieve any political or social goal should be considered online activism (Gerbaudo 2012).

Another concept that has emerged and is gaining traction in recent years is "Data Activism," which, according to Milan (2017:196), "is the new frontier and refers to activism that focuses on the influence of massive data collected on citizens in both political engagement and daily life". The author suggests that this represents the other part of the tale of activism, which is the online activism performed by governments to influence citizens 'political and social perceptions and engagements. On the other hand, Trere and Kaun (2021:195) argue that many other words are used to either represent the same term or intersect with it, such as cyberactivism (Carty and Onyett 2006), net activism (Meikle 2010), internet activism (Earl et al. 2010), social media activism (Miller 2015), mobile activism (Cullum 2010), and digital activism (Hands 2011). I contend that this shift in terminology is strongly linked to and influenced by

technological advancement, which has greatly improved and expanded over time. This argument is supported by Trere and Kaun (2021), as they claim that initially, the concept was associated with early forms of technology—and this was named "webactivism"—while the development of communication and mobile technologies led to the emergence of the terms "social media activism" and "mobile activism."

The internet and new communication technologies are transforming our methods of gathering information and communicating, and this transformation is heavily influenced by technological advancement. According to Bimber (2002:123), "in information terms, use of the internet clearly has the potential to influence the capacity of ordinary citizens and resource-poor social or political groups to gain information and expertise by vastly increasing the range of information that is freely available to internet users on virtually any subject imaginable."

Cyberspace spawned new styles of representation and interaction that included many social and political aspects. As defined by Gibson (1996:174), "cyberspace" is "the name of a real non-space world, which is characterized by the ability for the virtual presence of, and interaction between, people through icons, waypoints, and artificial realities." New communication technologies and social media platforms have allowed for a new style of social interaction and communication, which has affected the nature of the human experience. It enabled a more efficient, fast, and cost-effective communication tool to be available to the general public; new technologies influence how we think, live, and communicate; and a new culture is emerging that needs to be studied (Bell 2001). However, the virtual and physical worlds are inextricably linked, and one cannot deny the interplay between them. Technologies can be viewed as an entity that has an impact on human life and society, but we cannot ignore the role of the human agent in this technological revolution; humans are producing, using, inventing, and interpreting the phenomenon of technology and the internet in various ways (Bell 2001).

The advancement of social media and communication technologies is astounding. The continued growth in the use of these platforms is also impressive. In 2011, Facebook became the second-most popular website after Google, and it did so in a very short period of time. Users are meeting virtually, discussing relevant topics, exchanging information, and forming groups and communities with common interests and goals (Curran et al. 2012). More than half of the total population (58.4 percent) uses social media platforms, with a daily average usage of nearly two and a half hours, and 23 percent of time spent on the internet is used to browse

on social media platforms, namely Facebook, which is the most popular social media platform, with 2.89 billion active daily users in 2022 (Statista 2022).

Social media platforms are responsible for breaking down the barriers and restrictions imposed by the traditional and state public spheres. This is done by establishing more private and free communication spheres, giving users more power to demonstrate private concerns in a more public presence, as well as the ability to monitor and evaluate the realm of traditional political institutions (Curran et al. 2012; Wajcman 2004). This dimension of social media's role in social and political engagement is best described by Fenton (2012:143), who considers that "social media are not first and foremost about social good or political engagement: their primary function is expressive, and, as such, they are best understood in terms of their potential for articulating the (often contradictory) dynamics of the political environment rather than recasting or regenerating the structures that uphold them."

The debate on the relationship between the internet and activism has both supporters and detractors. Juris and Vegh (2003) argue that the internet facilitates the process of activism, enhances tactics, and disseminates information. Other scholars, such as Diani (2000) and Polat (2005), argue that trust is the main element that maintains action and that trust cannot be easily established through online interactions. Furthermore, many researchers believe that new communication technologies can assist and contribute to social and political change, but only with the help of other factors and forces; in short, the internet and communication technologies are not the inevitable cause for online political and social activism and change (McCaughery and Ayres 2003).

This rise of online political activism as a result of technological advancement, which can represent one of the activities carried out in cyberspace, has been incorporated into the debate over the effectiveness of online and offline activism and its ability to achieve political and social objectives. In this regard, Eaton (2013) argues that in the case of the Arab Spring, new information technologies demonstrated their ability to mobilize and inspire members of online communities to initiate and participate in online political activism, overcoming authoritarian regime restrictions and sharing their goals and achievements with the international community. Vegh's (2003:71) definition of internet activism supports Eaton's argument, stating that "internet activism is a politically motivated movement relying on the internet using strategies that are either internet-enhanced or internet-based."

Within the context of the Middle East, new communication technologies and social media platforms proved their role in social and political activism. Online engagement and activism are as prevalent in the Middle East as they are on a global scale. The Tunisian protests, which took place in 2010, were initiated through Facebook, and similarly, the Egyptian uprising in early 2011, more precisely the date of January 25, was set through the Facebook platform: "People in the region are organically developing their own model of e-democracy." "They may go online to express their voice as citizens by way of criticizing the government, occupying virtual spaces, and performing e-strikes and e-demonstrations" (Herrera and Sakr 2014:2).

1.2 Communication Technologies and Sociopolitical Change

I acknowledge the utopian perspective of technology and how the internet and communication technologies helped to reduce and limit the global gap by promoting new social and political initiatives and providing unending, unlimited free resources of information that assisted people to perform their duties and advocate for their rights regardless of time and space (Trere and Kaun 2021). This expansion of communication technologies is becoming the most powerful force in social change, as it is able to promote various individualistic and social values such as gender equality, freedom of expression, and social justice, which explains how and why communication technologies enabled the rise of virtual activist communities and online participation (Greenfield 2019).

However, I should also address the dystopian perspective of the internet, which did not succeed in supporting democracy, political change, and enhancing economies, especially in regions that are under authoritarian control. "The internet itself is not constituted solely by its technology but also by the way it is funded and organized, by the way it is designed, imagined, and used, and by the way it is regulated and controlled" (Curran et al. 2012:178). Furthermore, prior to this massive development in technology, most communication was in person, which strengthened bonds and intimacy and promoted implicit social control, as opposed to today, when communication is largely mediated by technology and there has been a decrease in interpersonal social interactions in the digital era, which means that communication is becoming depersonalized and less intimate (Polizzi 2021).

In 2021, the total world population comprised 7.87 billion people, with 60.9 percent (4.80 billion) being internet users and 56.8 percent (4.48 billion) being active social media users (Data Portal 2021).

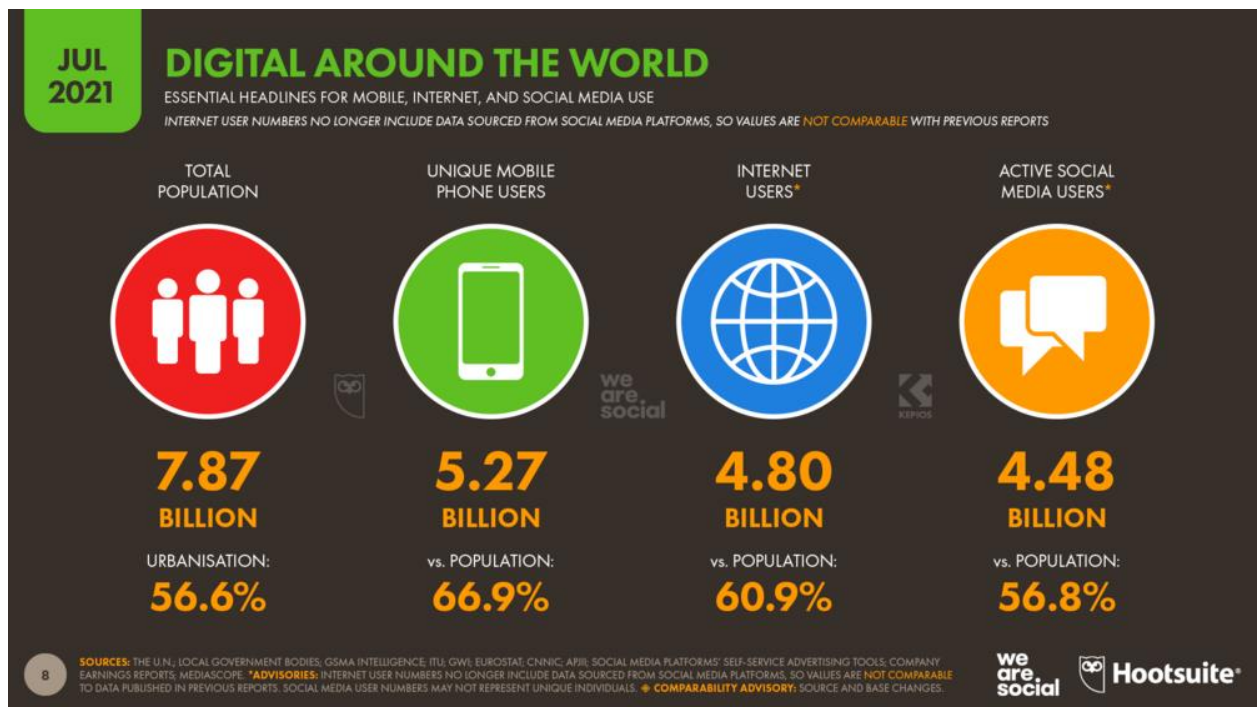


Figure 1:1 Digital Around the World (Source: Data Portal 2021)

The figures of the internet and active social media users show how these have fundamentally changed human interactions, communications practices, and enhanced strategies for social and political communication. McLuhan's (1976:19) famous statement "the medium is the message" emphasizes how the use of new communication media influences the receiver's mind and shapes his behavior, and that this reflects how these technologies and platforms have a significant impact on social structure and cultural values.

With regards to technology's effect on social and political changes, I address the theory of "technological determinism" discussed by Smith and Marx (1994), which claims that new technologies have a direct effect on social change. With reference to this claim, I argue here that social media networks have a deterministic role in creating social and political changes, as we witnessed with the Arab Spring movements of 2011. The theory of technological determinism has two versions, as will be explained. The first is known as the "hard view," and it emphasizes how new communication and media technology directly affects society, its culture, attitudes, and opinions. This view revolves around the direct effect of new technologies on generations and societies (McLuhan 1976). By contrast, the second version of the theory, called the "soft view," reflects a degree of flexibility by claiming there are other potential variables that need to be considered alongside the new technologies. In other words, this view considers that it is impossible to isolate a single cause for any social process or change and

prove that it is the primary determinant (Chandler 1995). Therefore, to achieve the research objectives, this study will adopt a soft view of technological determinism. I aim to explore the other factors that contributed to social movement developments in the Middle East region, and more specifically, in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Information and communication technologies and social media platforms, from a utopian perspective and democratic sphere, have been powerful forces and free public spheres that have huge effects in shaping and changing people's beliefs, attitudes, and social structures; they improve the concept of gender equality and members' perceptions of themselves and others. Fenton (2012:124) highlights that some authors claim that "these social networking sites are also claimed to break down the barriers between traditional public and private spheres of communication, putting power into the hands of the user and thereby giving the details of private concerns a public presence and enabling the public domain of the official political and institutional realm to be more easily monitored by the private citizen." This argument is supported by Castells' (2009) research, which shows that social media platforms represent a powerful and influential communication tool that has been strengthened by the public in order to serve the public; they support strangers' connectivity and communication on the basis of mutual interests, beliefs, political views, and actions; and this represents the positive collaboration and use of social media networks and platforms to achieve interpersonal and mass communication.

The academic debate on the Internet and communication technology is expanding. There is a more critical viewpoint on the role and interference of communication technologies and social media platforms in our daily lives; this viewpoint focuses on the exploitation of personal data available online to achieve more economic and political objectives and targets. "This approach emphasizes political and economic concerns, reminding us that the internet does not transcend global capitalism but is deeply involved with it by virtue of the cooperation interests it supports and the discourse of capitalism and neoliberalism in which the people who use it are drenched" (Fenton 2012:124). Sherry Turkle, who has been exploring how communication technologies permeate our lives and the damage it causes in our psychological front, social lives, culture, and the effect of the digital world on our behavior, family life, and relationships, is one of the main voices who follows the dystopian approach when it comes to the effect of technology on our social life. "Technology catalyzes changes not only in what we do but in how we think" (Turkle 1984:362).

As we continue moving from in-person communication to technologically mediated communication, we should not lose signs of social closeness. The new generation "grows up in a more isolated manner due to constantly being "wired" to their smart devices instead of physically spending time with friends" (Greenfield 2019:12). The disengagement of the new generation from state politics, the ongoing technological and communicational developments, and the shift in political interests in the modern era all had a significant impact on politics; as a result, new developed political interests, beliefs, and online communities and networks became global, without borders or restrictions, and suitable for the internet and cyberspace (Bimber 1998).

Digital social and political movements represent a new type of flexible activism and engagement through new digital public spheres, and they improve our perception and interpretation of modern political and social change mechanisms (Benkler 2006). The political transformation facilitated by technology, as well as the conditions required for democracy to function, must be considered and investigated. In this regard, the less constrained and less constitutional form of politics piqued the interest of younger and newer generations, where political engagement is becoming a daily routine, but this engagement did not reach the level required to effect change in political policies and decisions. This online political engagement is a "shift to a more fluid, issue-based group politics with less institutional coherence." (Bimber 1998:135). This argument is supported by Fenton (2012:169), as she states that "networks are not democratic institutions; they do not apportion membership or citizenship; they do not conform to legislative models of governance or a representative model of election."

1.3 Online Activism in Virtual Communities

From the time of alphabets to the time of the internet, the nature of communities and their associated communication styles have evolved. These words and symbols on the digital screen have the potential to form a virtual community made up of strangers. The perception in the 1990s was that the use of the internet to communicate was limited to a small number of special geeks, but it was demonstrated that ordinary people were able to overcome digital screens and adapt new ways of communicating that had a significant impact on their lives (Rheingold 1993). Since its inception, the internet has been about networking—not just networks of wires and hubs, but networks of people. Protests, too, are always about networks, usually networks of people who share a common interest or concern and come together—whether in physical or virtual spaces. "No wonder, then, that the Internet has been a useful site for social activism of

many forms" (McCaughery and Ayres 2003:25). With the help of the internet and modern technologies, cyberspace became the space and home for millions of people to meet, discuss, work, redefine, and share information. Communication on the internet has the potential to unite thousands of strangers into communities (Rheingold 1999).

Defining the concept of a virtual community is a complex task. Rheingold (1993: 5) has defined it as "social aggregations that emerge from the Internet when enough people carry on public discussions long enough and with sufficient human feelings to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace," while Kardash (2003:41) defines it as "a group of people who communicate with each other via electronic media such as the internet [...] They have common interests, and their geographical location, physical location, physical interaction, or ethnic origin do not limit the formation of the community." Both definitions emphasize that building and developing virtual communities implies that these communities are fictitious and supported by internet infrastructure, with cyberspace facilitating various types of communications regardless of physical and geographical bonds and restrictions.

Kardaras (2003) describes a "virtual community" as a group of people who communicate with each other via electronic media such as the internet. They have common interests, and their geographical location, physical location, physical interaction, or ethnic origin do not limit the formation of communities. Additionally, the development of the internet has allowed virtual communities to become important platforms to discuss politics and economics, acting as the main source for different types of information. The strength of these online communities is their ability to share the message with all of their members with just one click, which represents the concept of mass communication in online communities (Castells 2009, 2012).

Many scholars have published work in recent years that focuses on the relationship between social media networks in contemporary societies and activism, emphasizing the role of social media platforms in political movements, protests, and collective actions (Alcantara 2018; Castells 2012; Diani 2000; Melucci 1996). Manuel Castells' (2012) work on society, activism, and social movements has received widespread acclaim. For him, networks have developed a new free structure of communication, connection, and source distribution among people and groups regardless of geographical limitations and old, restricted boundaries. What activates these groups are basic humanistic emotions such as hope, fear, enthusiasm, and a willingness to succeed and achieve on social and political levels. Furthermore, Castells argues that "trust" is an important factor that has contributed to the rise of online communities. This "trust" in a

well-known source of information leads to the acceptance of various types of information from that source.

Inspired by his theory of "communication power" Castells (2009:302) states that "these wireless communication networks and networks of trust evolve into a network of resistance, which prompts mobilization against an identified target." In his book, *The Rise of the Network Society*, (2009), he argues that one of the most significant effects of the rise of network societies is that politics has abandoned its formal institutions, traditional structure, and leadership styles and has instead allied with the new network society, which has a significant impact on social and organizational structure and power relationships. Castells challenges the belief that the state has total control over society, particularly when it comes to the state's ability to control and mobilize information. He illustrates this change by highlighting the shift of political and social power from states to a network society that results from the increased power of networks and mass communication. He uses the Arab Spring event of 2011 as a representation of this change in the balance of power. This argument is supported by Fenton (2012), who states that social media networks have the ability to break down barriers between traditional and private communication spheres, giving users and ordinary citizens more power to monitor and hold political institutions accountable.

The internet and virtual activist communities played a significant role in the emergence of social and political movements and protests in the Middle East. According to Garrette (2006), the Internet will continue to play a significant role in the success or failure of globalization protests and demonstrations, with groups using the Internet to identify and publicize targets, solicit and encourage support, organize and communicate information and instructions, recruit and raise funds, and promote various individual and collective aims and actions. In contrast, others, such as Aelst and Walgrave (2001) and Van Donk and Foederer (2001), question the role of virtual activist communities, particularly if they can replace face-to-face demonstrations and social movements in a real-life, practical manner. Morozov (2013), on the other hand, is skeptical of the internet's and technology's impact on society and how it has contributed to the liberation of oppressed citizens and the spread of democratic practices. He claims that the openness and ease of access to the internet strengthened oppressive and authoritarian governments by allowing them to conduct data monitoring and surveillance practices.

The debate over virtual communities and real communities has been heated, with arguments ranging from how virtual space enchants communities to those who argue that virtual

communities harm real communities by removing them from real life (Diani 2000). "Some of these groups are both large and well developed, but critics argue that these groups do not constitute real communities." The critics suggest that something is missing that makes these communities "pale substitutes for more traditional face-to-face communities" (Bell 2001:97). The debate continues over whether these communities and platforms ought to be considered a true conduit for freedom of speech or broadcast misinformation, violence, and hate (Lyon 2017).

Anderson (1991) differs from Castells (2009) in his analysis of previously discussed imagined communities, claiming that virtual communities are not entirely imaginary and have a strong connection to the physical and real worlds. Furthermore, the shared identity among members and participants of virtual networks through a common language and communication medium contributes to and maintains nationalism, which helps to strengthen states' economic and political power. Etzioni and Etzioni (1999) conclude through their exploratory research that both online and offline activist strategies need to be combined to achieve successful results. We must equate the importance and efficiency of communication technology with its effect on users. I argue that the virtual and physical worlds are highly connected, and we cannot deny the interplay between them. Thus, technologies can be considered an entity that has effects on human life and societies, while, on the other hand, we cannot ignore people's agency in this technological revolution. People are variously producing, using, inventing, and interpreting the phenomena of technology and the internet.

1.4 The Theory of Collective Action and Social Media Movements in the Internet Age

Melucci (1996: 20) defines collective action as "a set of social practices involving a number of individuals and groups at the same time, implying a social field of relationships and the capacity of the people involved in making sense of what they are doing." This definition focuses on three key elements and aspects of collective action. First, it emphasizes the mutual and shared characteristics of collective action, as well as the possibilities and flexibility to find and structure other sets of patterns and overcome geographical, cultural, and temporal barriers. Second, it emphasizes the social relationships between individuals and groups. Third, it emphasizes the process by which participants perform and justify their actions (Melucci 1996).

Human civilization was constantly changing and being influenced by new social, cultural, and technological developments, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century with the

development of the internet. "The Internet creates a new, information-age atmosphere: networks, connections, peer-to-peer communication, increased complexity, and higher information flow velocity" (Castells 2001:15). These technological advancements led to the emergence of new representations, social practices, and cultural connections. As a result, ongoing advances in information and communication technology are critical.

"There are several factors that explain the Internet's profound importance in all fields of human activity, such as its use of public technologies, its decentralized nature, and the anarchistic culture that has existed since its inception" (Alcantara 2018: 229). The Internet is a new mode of communication that has resulted in the creation of a new global and social space. Millions of people from various social, cultural, political, and economic contexts are brought together within this virtual space, forming a new type of social exchange that affects a large portion of the global population, both directly and indirectly, and is generating new modes of sociability as well as, most importantly, new identity patterns (Castells 2001). In this context, social communities and networks have emerged that share practices, values, and alternative international perspectives that are diametrically opposed to network society's short, limited, and commercial vision. The Internet is being transformed into a socially complex space as a result of this vision (Alcantara 2018).

"Understanding the implications of organizational patterns, exchanging information systems, values and beliefs, discourses, the collective construction of identity, and ethical and cultural dimensions may contribute to gaining insight into conflicts and preoccupations at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a century with a social environment characterized by complexity" (Alcantara 2018:229). Identity construction emerges as an intriguing dimension in this complex social and technological network. Identity in network society is the result of a reflexive process of construction by social actors and is no longer limited by religious belief, race, nation, social class, or place of residence. Individuals face numerous choices and make conscious decisions about who they are and what they pretend to be; this identity construction process has a social context and should be understood in the context of a key concept: the pattern of collective action. New social movements use the internet to create cultural laboratories and alternative cultural codes, as well as to challenge symbolic power (Alcantara 2018).

According to Buechler (2000: 3), "around the 1970s, the concept of collective action was primarily discussed as a subset of the concept of collective behaviors, with these collective actions emerging as a result of an increase in grievances caused by changes in social systems."

Furthermore, in the 1970s and 1980s, collective actions and social movements were primarily examined through the lens of "resource mobilization theory," which holds that collective actions and social movements base their strategies on rational and available sources, with these actions and movements always restricted and limited to available financial and personal resources such as time, money, and people (Kerbo 1982).

The problem with "resource mobilization theory" is that it focuses on organizational and physical sources while ignoring a very important factor within the phenomenon of collective action and social movements: individual dimensions and characteristics such as social connections, constructing meaning, private and mutual emotions, and individual backgrounds, all of which contribute to the development and strengthening of actions and movements. As a result, this theory cannot explain how and why collective actions and social movements are launched (Melucci 1996). Alternatively, to address the limitations of the "resource mobilization theory," a new theory, the "new social movement theory," was developed with the goal of analyzing and explaining the sociological and psychological dimensions such as culture and ideology, as well as answering questions about how social interests are developed within groups to initiate collective actions despite organizational and financial constraints. The "new social movement theory" asserts that actions are inextricably linked with group-specific sets of values, beliefs, and symbols. The process of constructing meaning and interpreting situations, as well as the role of group members in this, is another important aspect of collective action and social movement (Johnston et al. 1994). As a result, and with the goal of understanding this process of construction and interpretation, I will examine the concepts of "collective identity" and "frame alignment."

The concept of collective identity was successful in explaining how collective actions begin, which is due to group members' efforts to integrate this introduced identity framework into their daily life practices and beliefs, group members' ability to share a fixed definition and meaning, and group members' abilities to negotiate and interact both internally and externally (Klandermans 1991). The "shared definition," which refers to the standard definition of reality and group members' ability to define what is wrong and right, is an important component that serves as the foundation of the collective identity concept. These concrete and clear definitions assist group members in linking and sharing their individual-defined beliefs with the group-defined beliefs, resulting in stronger connections between members and their group (Melucci 1996).

The frame alignment concepts as described by Snow et al. (1986:464) refer to "the linkage of interpretative orientations and people's movement groups," such as some set of personal interests, values, and beliefs and group activities, goals, and ideology. "Frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation." Individuals must agree with the group interpretation of a specific phenomenon to ensure individual participation and action formation. New social movements are distinguished by their global objectives and reach, in the sense that specific interests for specific localized groups within specific geographical zones aspire to include a larger zone and different cultures and societies. Automation and technological advancement have had a significant impact on social movements, particularly with the transition from an industrially productive society to a more informational and culturally productive society (Alcantara 2018).

In light of the previous discussion on theories related to the concepts of collective action and social movements and in accordance with the thesis's goal of addressing online activism, the following subchapter will concentrate on the internet's contribution to and role in collective action and social movements.

In relation to the resource mobilization theory, which focuses on the organizational and financial resources required to initiate collective action, many researchers, including Castells (2001) and Alcantara (2018), argue that the availability of the internet, communication technology infrastructures, and communication tools are critical to supporting collective actions and social movements. Furthermore, the internet and cyberspace became a testing ground for social and political experiments, actions, and movements, resulting in the creation of a network society that became a new role model with its own distinct characteristics.

However, in order for collective actions and social movements to reap the greatest benefits from the internet and communication technologies, they must ensure access to these tools for the organization and participants, as well as the time and money required to support their actions, movements, and objectives (Alcantara 2018).

In this dynamic and changing world, the internet is becoming an essential component as a structure, medium, and tool for communication that supports collective actions and social movements. The internet is redefining cyberspace mobilization and reaffirming the central components of collective actions, which revolve around coordinating actions and movements (Alcantara 2018). Furthermore, the internet is evolving into a new media and communication

medium that challenges the traditional media paradigm of one-way communication from sender to receiver with no control over the type of information or when or how it is received. The internet, in many ways, challenged this because it does not distinguish between news receivers and senders and because it enables social movements to maximize their audience reach and share information more quickly and freely with developed communication technologies (Slevin 2000).

Diani (2000) claims that it is difficult to develop collective identity on the internet if the organization and movement have complicated and less interesting issues and causes. However, organizations can overcome this issue and develop collective actions and online networks if they have a common cause that is accepted by society members and participants, as such causes require less trust and minimal physical (face-to-face) interaction. Diani's (2000) argument is supported by the previously discussed frame alignment concept proposed by Snow et al. (1986), which focuses on the link, mutually beneficial relationship, and supportive relationship between the organization or movement and participants' beliefs and goals that contribute to the development of the collective identity. This relationship is supported by the internet, which as a communication tool eases the demonstration of mutual mobilization causes and allows participants to support the same through a free form of discussion of their societies, cultures, and life experiences. The concept of collective identity is not limited to the internet space, but it is linked to modernity, which has allowed for a new understanding and defining of social space and cultural aspects. Modernity has challenged the previous perception that identity is fixed and limited to existing conditions; however, identity formation in the modern age is flexible, changeable, and relative to different societal conditions (Snow et al. 1986).

1.5 Arab Societies - from Offline to Online Activism

This subsection will center on the notion of online activism, with a special emphasis on Saudi Arabia and the Middle East as a whole. This study aims to examine the impact of new media technologies on Arab societies and the transition from offline to online activism. A particular emphasis will be placed on the major social and political event that drove this transformation, with a particular emphasis on women and the younger generation.

The contribution of the internet and communication technology to online activism can best be seen in the Middle East, particularly during and after the Arab Spring movements, where the expansion of online activists' roles and goals has irritated authoritarian regimes in the region,

who have tried to limit and control this expansion, which will have a severe impact on the region's political and social movements, as well as online activism (Milan 2017). Furthermore, new technologies and media technologies in particular created a change in audiences' and activists' nature and characters and strengthened their connections with global trends and movements. This seems to lead to a scenario that was predicted by McQuail (1997:24) who claimed that "audiences will become more and more fragmented and will lose their national, local, or cultural identity."

The Middle East region is a sociopolitical hotspot, with massive mobilization movements taking place both offline and online, ranging from the 2009 Green Movements in Iran to the Arab Spring in 2010, the ongoing crises in Syria that began in 2011, protests in Turkey in 2012, and the ongoing war in Yemen that began in 2015. All of these events have compelled ordinary citizens to protest and challenge authoritarian governments both offline and online in the physical and virtual spheres (Dwonch 2021). The mass protests in Egypt in January and February 2011 were led and organized by virtual activist communities. This reflects the relationship between technology and activism. As may be expected with any technology-enabled phenomenon, the patterns of activists' online behaviors shifted with developments in technology (Eaton 2013). Additionally, the huge developments in internet technology in the region allowed virtual communities to become important platforms for practicing online activism by discussing politics and economics, acting as the main source for different types of information.

A huge debate has developed on the role of new communication technologies and their influence on social and political movements in the Middle East. The role of these new technologies and platforms as communication tools and their effectiveness for activism against state regimes has its supporters and detractors. In Egypt, for example, the younger generations affected by the revolution in Tunisia dedicated their time and effort to establish and organize massive protests using social media platforms, and they succeeded in removing the Egyptian president from power (Eaton 2013; Ben Moussa 2013). With these new communication technologies, women and men in the Middle East can freely communicate online and address issues that concern them, seek solutions and information, and, moreover, create and be involved in communities and groups with similar interests. This distinguishes cyberspace from physical space, as people in cyberspace have the ability to explore more contents and sources that satisfy

their various needs and interests, and over time, this has resulted in cyberspace becoming more diverse (Livingstone 2003).

Online activism in the Arab world has challenged traditional media outlets, particularly government media outlets, in terms of free and transparent news efficiency, great influence on the ruling class, policy leaders, opinion makers, news agendas, and the ability to influence and reach larger audiences (Milan 2017). The rise of online activism and activists who serve as role models for a new generation of young Arabs who are inspired by their bravery has raised concerns about regulations or proposed regulations that are interpreted as limiting freedom of expression, restricting activism, and penalizing activists. Arab activists participate in academic panels, engage with college students, give interviews, answer emails, and appear on talk shows. They are rarely anonymous, and those who are usually well-known people (Bayat 2017).

Online activists have often taken on sensitive subjects that the mainstream media has avoided. Professionals in the media realized that they were confronted with activists who were reshaping the Arab media scene. This became a challenge they could not ignore, and they thus began incorporating the information made available online by activists into their own coverage, chasing the same stories, interviewing activists, and inviting them to their talk shows (Ben Moussa 2013). One notable example are the activists who revealed online a sexual harassment incident in downtown Cairo in 2006 during a public holiday; the story was not covered by government media channels for several days, but the Associated Press and satellite television channels picked it up on the blogs and witness testimonies. It then became a topic of discussion in the media, universities, and other gatherings; feminists organized protests, and citizens were outraged; finally, the story, broken by a few activists, was forced onto the national agenda (El-Tahawy 2011).

The impact has continued: the media, ordinary citizens, religious figures, and Parliament have championed Egyptian women's rights in relation to commonly practiced harassment. What began as an online blog entry about an important social issue has quickly become a significant topic, leading to serious action. El-Tahawy (2011) contends that this example demonstrates online activism's influence on the media, the government, and how the public can amplify its impact on broader circles. In recent years, internet-based activism has influenced and supplemented media during many peak political times in the region.

1.5.1 Arab Spring as a Representation for Online Activism

The brutal murder of Khalid Saeed by Egyptian police sparked the creation of the first online activism community page on Facebook, "We Are All Khalid Saeed," which mobilized anti-regime protests demanding freedom and justice. This Facebook page was "the country's largest and most active online human-rights activist group," according to Giglio (2011: 2). Khamis and Vaughn (2011:8) state that "the use of new technologies this time helped to spread the word out about this planned protest, to ensure a popular base of support for it, and, thus, to assure those organizing the January 25 protest that there will be enough numbers of people supporting them."

During the Arab Spring, virtual activist communities played an important role at the early stages when bloggers, activists, and Facebook groups provided reports and information on the progress of the revolution, announced meeting points and times, and organized demonstrations, which reflects the role of online activism. Della Porta and Mosca (2005) back up this claim with research on the internet's collective role in social activism, which includes empowering social movement functions, organizing activism structures, strengthening involvements in direct intervention in politics, influencing the identity development process, and spreading information.

Online activists' contributions to the Arab Spring movements have been able to influence public opinion during this politically volatile period, motivate for social change, compete with traditional media, receive Western attention, and mobilize dissidents. As a result, a number of state security officials have confronted them both directly and indirectly, recognizing their vulnerability. Bloggers, journalists, and activists are all concerned about the future and safety of the region's traditional and new media channels, and they are concerned about government intimidation tactics used to control and limit their freedom and contribution to their societies (Morozov 2013).

The Arab uprising in the Middle East region in 2011 was a clear example of this relationship between the internet, social media platforms, and revolution, leading to the naming of these uprisings as "twitter revolutions" and "Facebook uprisings". It clarified the role of these social media platforms in documenting and spreading information (Eaton 2013). Taking Egypt as an example to demonstrate the internet penetration in the region during the revolution, El Said (2013:1) claimed that "the number of internet users in Egypt prior to January 25 was 21.2

million users, increased by almost 9% after this date to reach 23.1 million in two months, and the time Egyptians users spent online was doubled from 900 to 1800 minutes per month after January 25." This reflects how, since the Arab Spring event, digital usage and adaptation by the young generation have witnessed a remarkable increase. Smartphone and data service penetration are among the highest in the world, and "youth represent the majority of social media users in the Arab World: as of June 2013, the percentage of total users between the ages of 16 and 34 was 77%." Also, in May 2014, the percentage of total Facebook users between 15 and 29 years old reached 67% (MBRSG 2014)

1.5.2 New Arab Digital Generation and Online Activism

What is the relationship between communication technologies, social media platforms, and the new generation? The internet, in particular, enabled the new generation to be connected locally and globally in a variety of ways. However, this relationship is best described by emphasizing youth's ability for quick adaptation to new communication technologies, devices, and trends, how this young generation expresses themselves through technologies such as music and digital games (Cloonan and Street 1998), and finally how youth benefit from this friendly and easy-to-use space to create and express themselves (Greenaway 2001).

The means of modern technology and the growth witnessed by the various and varied social media platforms in the world and the Middle East in particular played a pivotal, positive, and influential role as they brought about an effective change in the behaviors and perceptions of the younger generation after a long slumber during which their spirit was characterized by negativity, dependence, and indifference, to a state of movement characterized by revolutionary attitudes (Ayish 2018). A study by Internet World Stats (2021) revealed that the total population in the Middle East is 265,587,661 million, Internet users are 199,845,130 million (75.2% of the population), and Facebook users are 145,441,200 million (almost 73% of internet users). These figures reflect how the Arab digital generation is learning to overcome the traditional role of being a recipient of the pre-prepared set of information presented by the government's political, educational, and media-controlled institutions. With the assistance of the internet and digital tools, they learned how to be producers, influences, and activists and to build their virtual identity and values (Miller 2015).

The Middle East region's youth population accounts for 35% of the total population; however, this segment is the most affected by social, political, and economic issues. The region's youth

unemployment rates are among the highest in the world, at 25%, but the situation is even worse in military and war conflict zones such as Palestine and Syria, where youth unemployment rates can reach 70% (Herrera and Sakr 2014). "The economic situation is much more insidious; it has resulted in a situation in which youth are the new poor, despite the fact that they are a highly educated and tech-savvy population" (Herrera and Sakr 2014:3). As a result, this important technologically educated segment of society was able to overcome system constraints and find a new way of participating in political activism and engagement through virtual space and virtual communities.

The virtual communication tools are not a weak and frail means for the region's youth to challenge the political and social systems; rather, they are the same tools used for business, learning, socializing, doing politics, and planning social movements (Herrera and Sakr 2014). With their abilities to use new communication technologies and their familiarity with cyberspace, youth were able to bring more freedom and a broader scope in the media environment (Mohamed et al. 2021).

After decades of associating the image of the Middle East's young generation with limited abilities, compelling them to disconnect from reality, avoid dealing with public affairs, and limit their use of modern technology to entertainment and useless communication, the situation changed with the Arab Spring revolution. The young generation refuted these accusations by showing a true and positive role in the revolution, showing how they used their technological abilities and skills in achieving their dreams, and triumphing for themselves by breaking the chains of tyranny to establish the principles of freedom and democracy. They used these new technologies to build a bridge to cross to the free world, which was achieved with their strong revolutionary spirit (Ayish 2018).

After adopting and embracing the internet-based technology of blogs, early Arab bloggers chose to write in English. The 2003 Iraq war served as a starting point for several bloggers to depict the situation, with daily reports on the war (Sifry 2006). Because they knew they had an audience, several of these early bloggers and activists addressed sensitive political, human rights, social, and economic issues. They discovered that their blogs could be a valuable source of information, a supplement to traditional media, a vehicle for lobbying and networking with like-minded citizens, and, in some cases, capable of drawing the attention of the international community to a cause (Levinson 2005). They didn't have the same resources or standards as professional journalists, but they shared the global activism culture's values of outspokenness,

humor, intellectual honesty, and openness to different viewpoints, as did other "citizen-blog reporters" around the world (Domingo and Heinonen 2008).

As the technology for writing in Arabic improved and became more widely available, a flood of Arabic-language activists arose, allowing them to reach a larger, more domestic audience. Authorities were irritated by the strength of some of these activists, leading to a crackdown and outrage among academics and activists over the lack of protection for those who freely use this technology (HRinfo 2006).

The relation between the new communication technologies and the young generation during the event of the Arab spring was best described by Ardic (2012:22), who stated that "these ICTs have been effective only to the extent that there was a group of actors capable of making effective use of them: the urban youth." This generation, armed with their phones or laptops, contributed to the revolution by sharing images and updating statuses to broadcast to the whole world their demands and actions to seek social and political changes (Ayish 2018).

1.5.3 Women's Online Activism and Identity Formation in the Cyberspace

For many years, women have been present in the phenomenon of "cyberspace" and "cyberactivism" for various reasons, including establishing presence, establishing identity, and maintaining relationships. They were able to overcome various restrictions, particularly in isolated regions, express themselves, and seize social, economic, and political opportunities that would not have been possible without the internet and communication technologies (Radsch and Khamis 2013).

In general, communication technologies are a valuable force in shaping and changing people's beliefs, attitudes, and social structure. It enhances the concept of gender equality and members' perceptions towards themselves and others: "The pursuit of gender equality has a role in the cyberculture in its ongoing construction by women and men from different places of the world, who are communicating their ideas, thoughts and sharing their experiences" (Gomez-Diago 2012:4). This reflects how new communication technologies are used by women to increase awareness about the restrictions they face in their societies and by their governments and demonstrates how these technologies have helped women to shed light on their presence and their needs, strengthen their sense of social belonging, encourage participation, shape identities, and influence people's online and offline activities (Mourtada and Salem 2011). In relation to

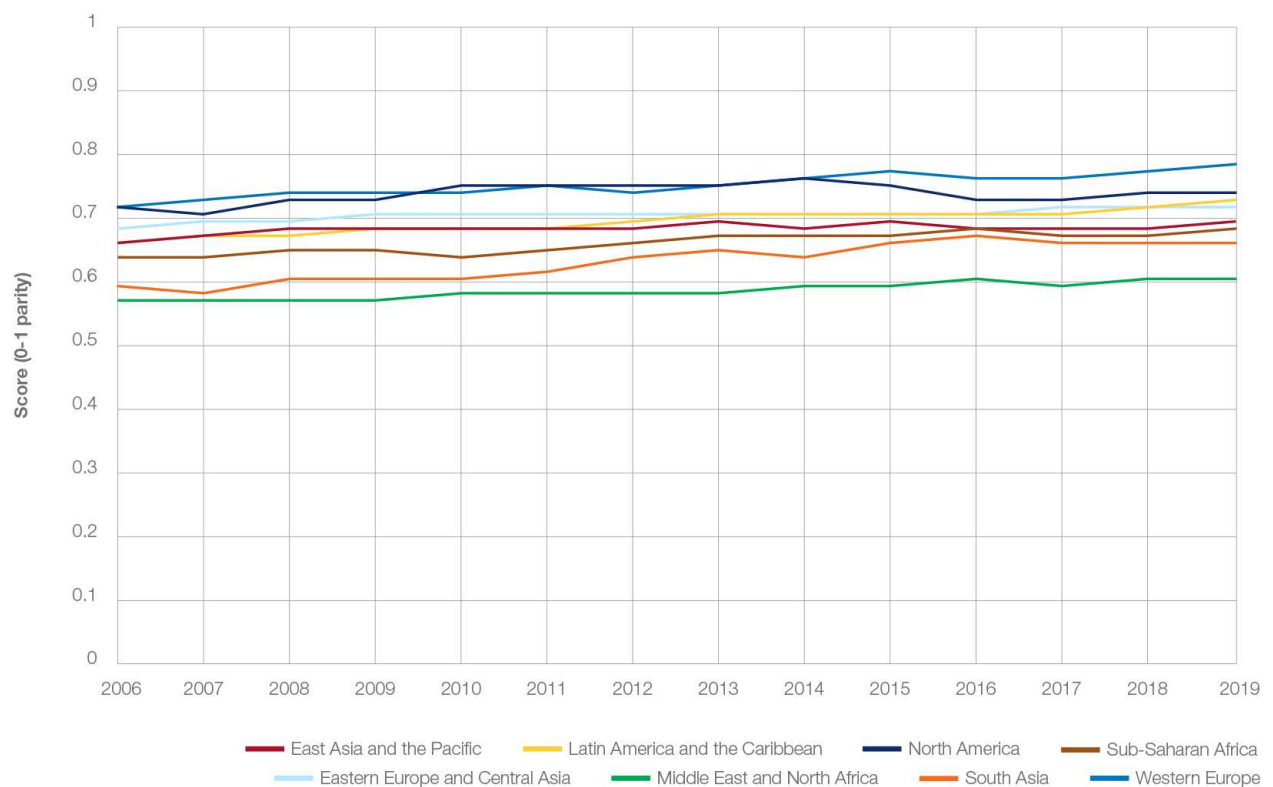
this, two studies related to women's online activism are worth mentioning: one conducted to investigate the presence of women on social media platforms, which revealed that women are using social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Fliker more than men (Pew Internet Institute 2000), and empirical research conducted in 2006 by the "Open Net Initiative" about internet content filtering practices. The later study found that women's rights were one of the main subjects exposed to internet filtering (Deilbert et al. 2008).

Social media platforms, as defined by Boyd and Ellison (2007:2), are online services that allow "users to create semi-private or public profiles and navigate other users' profiles, thus building a network with users with whom they share some common link." This definition is appropriate when discussing the relationship between Arab women and social media platforms, especially in societies that exclude and underrepresent women in the public sphere. Social media encouraged and enabled women to create their own private virtual sphere, allowed them to speak up, represent themselves, and strengthen their connections nationally and internationally, enhanced their legal and political participation, promoted female empowerment, enabled greater freedom of expression, and encouraged women to bypass religious, social, and familial restrictions imposed on them (Ayish 2018; Radsch & Khamis 2013).

Many authors have examined the relationship between social media platforms and women's activism in the Middle East, including Mourtada and Salem (2011), De Vriese (2012), and Goehring (2019). They view women's use of social media platforms to effect sociopolitical change and engage in revolutionary activities positively. Furthermore, they contend that the Arab Spring was an excellent demonstration of women's critical role in the process of revolution and that the event allowed women to express, participate, and prove their existence.

As a result, Arab women played a significant and visible role in the Arab Spring movements, with hundreds of thousands protesting in Tunis, Bahrain, Egypt, Yemen, and many other countries, overcoming traditional stereotypical gender roles, representing themselves and others, and many of them becoming idol models for other women and men. Similar to the above, these iconic women activists' examples include "Tawakul Korman," a human rights activist from Yemen who won the Nobel Peace Prize. She was the first Yemini, the first Arabic female, and the second Muslim female to win this prize. Another examples are "Asma Mahfouz," an activist blogger and YouTuber from Egypt who was called the bravest girl during the uprising, "Ayat El Gomizi" from Bahrain, one of the youngest female activists in the region, "Malala Yousafzai" from Afghanistan, who won the Nobel Peace Prize after she almost lost

her life in order to obtain education rights for women, and "Lina Ben Mhenn," a well-known online female activist from Tunis (Khamis2017). The aforementioned comprise a representative sample of Arab feminists who work hard to improve their communities. "Young women played prominent, inspirational roles and pioneered forms of cyber activism in the midst of this wave of the uprising, thanks to their passion for change and mastering of new communication tools" (Khamis 2011:883).



Sources

World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Index, 2020.

Notes

Population-weighted averages, including the 107 economies featured throughout all the 2006-2020 editions of the Global gender Gap Index.

Figure 1:2 Gender Gap Report (Source: World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Index, 2020).

Even through the fact that the 2011 movements for women's rights were dubbed the "Spring and Awakening Movements," the Middle East continues to rank near the bottom of the gender gap report in terms of economic and political participation and empowerment, as illustrated in Figure 1:2. (World Economic Forum 2020). As previously discussed, current impediments to

women's online activism in the Middle East include religious, political, and social restrictions; however, the changes taking place and being experienced in Arab societies are optimistic, with young Arab women actively using social media platforms to express their identity, opinions, and participation in order to close the gender gap they face in their societies (Ayish 2018).

The unique character of social media platforms and new communication technologies as self-expression and reflection platforms offers users, in particular women in restricted societies in the Middle East, the opportunity to freely develop and express their identities "This online existence is becoming a greater part of our identity, whether we like it or not. As a society, we try to understand this new space of being and becoming" (Kim 2015:154). Therefore, it is important to demonstrate the concept of "identity" and the structure that is used to create and shape identities. In her research, Goehring (2019) explores that who we are, what we choose to be, and what others see in us are important inputs in shaping social relationships. Furthermore, the spaces where these social relationships are constructed and shaped are equally important and help to understand our identities. This argument is supported by Hogg and Abrams (1988:2), who defined "identity" as "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and of how they relate to others." (1995).

In relation to this, it is important to highlight a more accurate definition of "identity" developed by Deng (1995:1). He claimed that identity "describes the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture." This definition is more suitable to explain how social media platforms and new communication technologies allowed the formation of new identities and new virtual communities that shared similar aspects and overcame any differences.

Hall (1989) identified two approaches to the construction of identity. In the "first traditional approach," he claims that identity is given by culture to its members and that these identities are fixed and unchangeable, and that this identity is shaped by other members. In the "second approach," he claims that the subject's identity is developed with our social life experiences; it is not stable, has an inconsistent formation, and is constructed through a lifetime. "Identity" is not the same as personality; we can be defined by our personalities but known by our needs; thus, the identity definition process evolves around my personal perception and the perceptions of others, and it is constantly in relation to internal and external factors.

There has been a noticeable change in women's identity in the Middle East. These changes are a coalition of modernity and tradition. According to Karimi (2014: 3) "cyberspace is one of the major elements responsible for identity change today, as in women's lives in Iran." Cyberspace's high connectivity and flexibility helped women create their own virtual identity, breaking the barrier of fear and punishment. This approach is supported by Giddens (2008), who claimed that this is a good development and a mostly comprehensive process of democratization; contemporary consumerism culture has given people numerous opportunities to create and shape their own identities, which they may now do in a growing number of original and varied ways.

New media and new technologies have made it easier to understand gender power relationships in societies. By examining their research on human identities and bodies, Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour highlight that "the ability to influence others and be impacted by them makes up the body, not an inert substance." Such affectivity represents "the power to act, and therefore the notion of agency, without which a body would not have any agency" (Kim 2020: 2). More than the influence of traditions, the concept of "agency" is highly correlated with personal experiences and interpersonal interactions (Gordon-Roth 2020). I contend that the internet and new communication technologies have helped women in the region overcome social norms, and we are currently witnessing a new wave of "cyberfeminism" movements. Women's private virtual communities are thriving, and they are distinguished by being more robust, outspoken, widespread, and serving as a platform for advocacy campaigns.

Online activism communities and practices on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook offer women in the Middle East a unique way of self-identifying in the online sphere in a more freely expressed manner. Goehring (2019:21) states that "social media platforms provide Muslim women a uniquely public avenue to engage critically with identity negotiation." Her research demonstrated that by discussing personal matters on these public forums, women are expanding the definition of their identities and freely expressing what they think of themselves, what they think of others who belong to the same group, and most importantly, what others think of them. Furthermore, social media platforms encouraged them to overcome the dominance of political discourse and forge social media platforms to serve their activism goals.

1.5.4 Hashtag Activism in Saudi Arabia

Social media platforms are proving to be very useful for mobilization and collective action in the Middle East, particularly during and after the Arab Spring movements. Twitter was one of the main social media platforms used in Tunisia and Egypt to facilitate protest coordination and organization, as well as information sharing internally and externally. Twitter connectivity and availability allow activists to freely share and spread information, overcoming authoritarian regimes' restrictions on free speech and online censorship practices, particularly in the Middle East (Lotan et al. 2011).

The intense demonstrations that Egypt and Tunisia witnessed in 2011, whether on the ground or via social media platforms, particularly Twitter, were motivated by a number of factors, including poor economic conditions, a high unemployment rate, corruption, and a lack of participation and political freedom, which resulted in the overthrow of both the Tunisian and Egyptian presidents and served as a warning to other authoritarian regimes about the power of social media. "Both revolutions featured prominent use of social media, by activists organizing the demonstrations and by those disseminating or discussing news of the events locally and globally" (Lotan et al 2011:1377).

Although other social platforms are used for online social and political participation and discourse in the region, this research will focus on Twitter and #activism, which is described as "when activists draw attention to a specific cause by using a metadata tag, such as #activism" (Crandall and Cunningham 2016:17). Hashtag activism on Twitter is distinguished by its ability and ease of use to support online activism, particularly political participation, and to support and coordinate demonstrations more than other social media platforms such as Facebook, where most accounts are open for everyone to participate. On Twitter, "Users can both read tweets by users they follow and have access to general discussions through key word searches known as #hashtags" (Comunello & Anzera 2012:466).

These distinctive Twitter features have resulted in a flexible, interesting, and accessible online platform and self-mass communication space environment that does not necessitate special permission or acceptance from various Twitter accounts, thereby strengthening online engagement and participation (Crandall and Cunningham 2016). This access and practice for mass self-communication was best described as mass self-communication, as it "provides the

technological platform for the construction of the autonomy of the social actor, whether individual or collective, [and] this is why governments fear the Internet" (Castells 2012:7).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the most important Islamic country and the birthplace of Islam. As a result, the state considers the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* to be the sources of legislation. In particular, the 1980s saw a wave of religious extremism in the Kingdom, resulting in the complete separation of males and females as well as the closure of the country. In part because of the Western influence, this was one of the reasons for the emergence of voices urging political and social change (Al-Rasheed 2013). As a result, society was divided into two groups: those who wanted to follow an Islamic state inspired by the one built by the prophet, and those who wanted to see a fundamental change in the structure of the monarchy, primarily the social and political life, and who advocated for free elections, freedom of speech, greater minorities' and women's rights, and gender equality (Moaddell 2021).

Despite the wave of unease that prevailed in society as a result of political, social, and economic conditions and, most importantly, as a result of the wave of change that affected many Arab countries beginning in the spring of 2011 in what became known as the Arab Spring, the Kingdom was able to avoid the emergence of violent protests or revolutions. However, on the other hand, there was an online opposition activity from university-educated and technical youth calling for political and social change (Al-Rasheed 2013).

As shown in Figure 1:3, the total population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as of January 2021 is 35.08 million, of which 33.58 million are internet users, accounting for 95.7 percent of the total population. What is significant here is the number of social media users, which accounts for 79 percent of the total population. Furthermore, Twitter is a leading social media platform in Saudi Arabia, accounting for 40% of Twitter users in the region and with 14 million active Twitter users as of 2020 (Slide Share 2021).

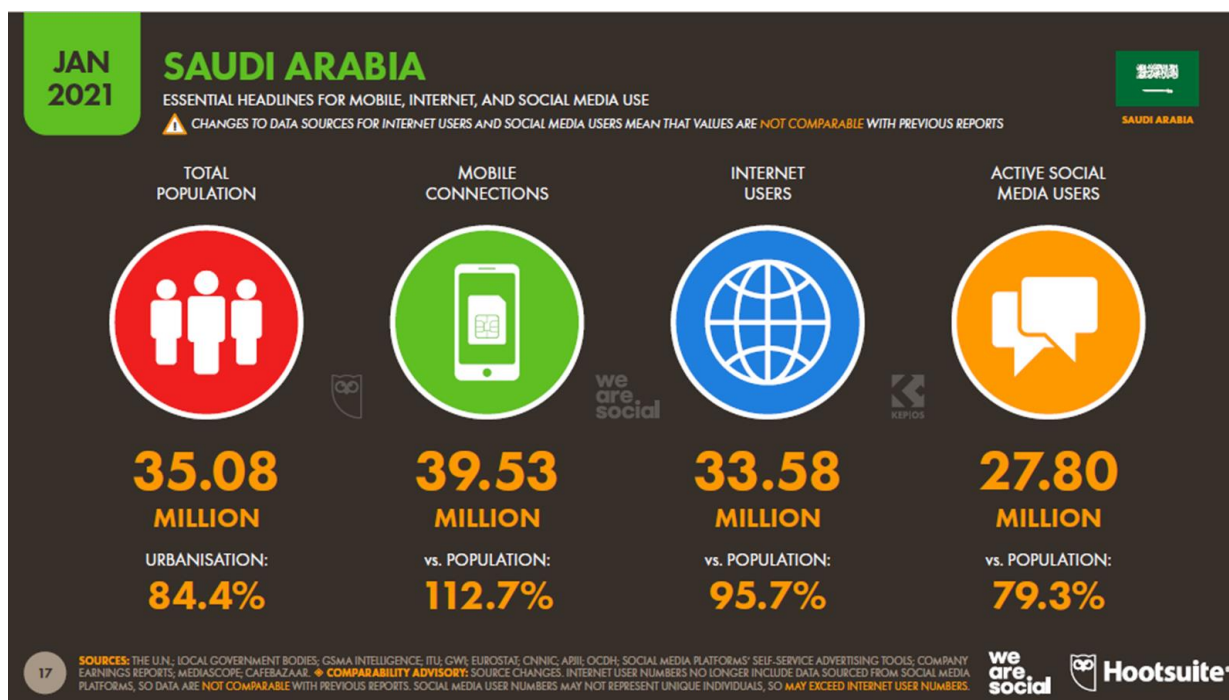


Figure 1:3 Mobile, Internet and Social Media Use in Saudi Arabia (Source: Slide Share 2021).

"Hashtag activism functions in ways that are beautiful, thought-provoking, and useful. In this view, hashtag activism raises awareness by circulating enduring slogans like "Black Lives Matter," which emerged as a response to the lack of justice for black victims of police shootings. "These slogans invite interested individuals to learn about the issue and be part of solutions" (Crandall and Cunningham 2016:19). Similarly, with the anti-male guardianship hashtag activism in 2016, Saudi women used Twitter's activism features and hashtag activism to defend and restore the rights that had been taken away from them under the guardianship system (Thorsen and Sreedharan, 2019).

The anti-male guardianship campaign began in 2016, with personal tweets from women's rights activist Aziza Al-Yousef, and has since grown to become one of the most effective online movements and activism to end this system (HROW 2016). Despite the fact that street demonstrations and protests are completely prohibited in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the government has a less strict attitude toward activism via social media platforms, which is why women's rights activists in Saudi Arabia have been successful. "#IamMyOwnGuardian trended almost every day for more than a year. After the first day, protesters drew attention to the length of their campaign by updating the hashtag daily with the cumulative day number. On Day 302 of the campaign (4 May 2017), King Salman issued a royal decree revising male guardianship

rules, allowing women to receive all services without the approval of a male guardian (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019:3).

Twitter and hashtag activism in Saudi Arabia claimed to facilitate and promote free communication between the government and ordinary citizens. Furthermore, it is responsible for establishing a new mode of communication between ordinary women and activists and men in such a closed and restricted society as Saudi Arabia. Although cross-gender communication is not a novel concept in Saudi Arabia, it has traditionally been limited to private settings and has stringent guidelines. However, during the recent women's rights movements, such communication was carried out on a platform that was not only public but also worldwide, and it swap into a fiercely public environment in both the offline and online domains (Al Nahedh and Al Sheikh 2018).

Hashtag activism created a very unique online sphere in which men and women could freely communicate, overcoming the traditions and social constraints that prevented women from participating in social and political discussions and decision-making. The anti-male guardianship campaign was able to continue for more than a year and, as a result, succeeded in achieving a royal decree towards minimizing and eliminating Saudi Arabia's guardianship systems; another successful twitter campaign was the #womenrightstodrive campaign, which led to the removal of the ban on Saudi women's right to drive; all of this success was achieved as a result of the unique nature of twitter and hashtag activism (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019).

1.5.5 Gulf Crises- Weaponization of Social Media Platforms and Digital Propaganda

The Middle East region has always been an environment full of hostilities and political, social, and economic competition, especially in light of the linguistic, religious, and cultural interdependence that these dictatorial regimes realized might be the reason for their destruction. Non-democratic ruling regimes have recognized the importance of the media, particularly social media platforms, in influencing their people, regulating information freedom, and limiting foreign influence and intense regional competition (Byman 2022). This relationship between the media, dictatorial regimes, conspiracy theories, and propaganda in the Middle East has a long history, for example during the Arab Israeli War, the Suez Canal Crisis, the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Arab Spring, and the recent Gulf Crisis in 2017 (Jones 2019).

The 2017 Gulf crises included Qatar on one side and the quarter that included the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Egypt on the other side and aimed to weaken and bring down each side with the use of social media platforms, which emerged as an effective media and propaganda tool as we witnessed the exploitation of these social media platforms, especially Twitter, in order to spread misinformation and shape perceptions (Jones 2019). Propaganda, which is "the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist," was used to hide the facts, limit transparency and the democratic public sphere, and reconstruct the contents to serve the propagandist agenda (Jowet and O'Donnel 2015: 7).

This dispute evolved to include massive media skirmishes via cyberspace, which were the largest in the region, as well as massive smear campaigns that included the countries involved in the dispute and countries allied to the two sides of the dispute, such as Iran, Turkey, Yemen, and Libya, and this is due to the ability of social networking sites, particularly Twitter, to spread information and bypass any borders (Jones 2019). This digital media war, dubbed "the weaponization of social media" by Jones (2019), was not limited to the geographical borders of the Middle East but rather exceeded them, as Iran established an electronic network and a network of fake accounts that spread false and misleading information in its electronic war against both Israel and the United States of America. Individually and in a smaller circle, we witnessed Arab countries targeting political opponents and activists and tarnishing their reputations through social media, in what can be described as heavy shooting, but via the Internet, "the Internet and social networking sites (SNS) in the Gulf have become spaces of contestation for governments, political parties, individuals, and civil society groups alike" (Jones 2019:1392).

Authoritarian governments and their institutions in the region used electronic media propaganda and persuasion strategies that included several tactics and communication strategies aimed at increasing the impact and spreading fear among the target audience "While propaganda's ultimate goal is to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist, persuasion aims to impact people's perception of reality in a way that will not only benefit the sender but also those who actually receive the message" (Ribeiro and Schwarzenegger 2022:2). However, this propaganda tactic includes the creation of fake news sites, tampering with and distorting the content of legitimate sites, creating fake accounts and personalities, as well as spreading and promoting campaigns and news in support of them,

which leads to continuous electronic harassment and abuse of the regime, critics, and distorting their image among their followers, as happened with opposition journalist Adnan Khashoggi (Jones 2021).

In addition to what has already been mentioned, I must mention another method used in the electronic media war during the Gulf crisis, which is hacking private accounts and leaking information, as we saw with the hacking of the e-mail of the UAE ambassador in the United States of America several days before the division and tension in relations between Qatar and the UAE, as well as the seizure of some sensitive information and its sharing with traditional and global electronic media (Jones 2021). Governments in the region rely on foreign companies specializing in spreading misinformation to achieve their goals in electronic media propaganda, such as identifying messages and content that should be disseminated and amplified and creating lists of names targeted by threats, insults, and distortions (Jones 2021).

In his research on the role of social networking sites, especially Twitter, in the recent Gulf crisis, Jones (2019:1409) emphasized that "During the Gulf crises, Twitter was heavily utilized as a tool for the delivery of misinformation by propagandists—misinformation that largely reflected the views of the Quarter." He refers to this as the "weaponization of social media" and the "hidden relationships and agreements" between the social media corporations and the authoritarian regimes that are well known for their violation of human rights: "The presence of large volumes of bots in the Gulf raises questions about particular forms of propaganda and whether the presence of bots is facilitated by opaque and bespoke agreements enacted between SNS companies and specific governments for the pursuit of either profit or propaganda" (Jones 2019:1410).

1.6 Digital Orientalism in the Digital Age

This subchapter will concentrate on the distinctive features of the digital sphere in the Middle East context. It will draw attention to the other aspects of the internet and emerging communication technologies, as well as the major technology and social media corporations' double standards when it comes to how ordinary people and governments in the Middle East utilize these platforms. While these digital companies defend free speech and user rights in the West, they collaborate with authoritarian governments in the Middle East to carry out extensive internet monitoring, turning this domain into a weapon against free speech and democracy. Therefore, the new idea of "digital orientalism," which draws heavily from the idea

of classical orientalism, focuses on these technological companies double standards and how Middle Eastern social and political movements used the internet to combat them.

Consequently, this subchapter will first go into great detail about Edward Said's concept of orientalism and how it applies to the modern digital sphere. It will then discuss the online surveillance practices and oppression that large technological corporations facilitate for authoritarian governments in the Middle East. Finally, it will discuss how Islamic feminism movements use the online sphere to promote their ideologies, correct misconceptions about Muslim women and their movements, and overcome restrictions.

The orientalist discourse in European literature, combined with that of Western media corporations, attempted to portray middle eastern societies as violent, barbaric, inferior to the western, and more recently, "terrorists," particularly after the 9/11 attacks. These narratives and media images succeeded in widening the divide between the West and the East, deepening the concept of orientalism discussed and described by Edward Said as "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, and ruling over it. In short, orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 2003:3). As a result, this viewpoint legalized any type of intervention and governance from the West towards the East and viewed the East's cultural heritage, images, and symbols as anti-western (Gezgin et al. 2021).

The term "orientalism" dates back to the 16th century as a result of Western countries', especially Europe's, intense interest in the Eastern world, particularly the Arabic and Islamic territories, and the desire to build a new country in the East in the Western style (Gezgin et al. 2021). In the modern era, and with the help of radio, television, movies, digital games, and most importantly online media, information about the East, primarily the Middle East, was presented and disseminated using the same standardized templates that serve a specific purpose (Said 2003). Related to this digital dimension of orientalism, it is important to clarify first that the traditional term "West" is modified now to include Europe and the new international empire "America". Second, the term "East" is defined differently by both, as the Americans consider Japan and China the "Far East" and consider them their main economic and technological competitors. Third, the USA's technological dominance: while traditional orientalism is transforming into digital orientalism, this concept refers to orientalism with a more American

perspective. Therefore, talking about digital orientalism should not be mentioned without mentioning the USA and its technology race (Gezgin et al. 2021).

This relationship between the West and the East has been described and framed by the concept of power and control in complex and intertwined ways throughout history, as demonstrated by the development of new communication technologies and social media platforms: "After Said's conceptualization of Orientalism, the relationship between the East and the West has been redefined according to power and power relations" (Gezgin et al. 2021: 7). Instead of reaching out to others and promoting the values of humanity, equality, and solidarity with oppressed peoples, the theory of Orientalism has been replaced by the concept of globalization, in which great powers and countries continue to seek weaknesses in the East through social, political, and economic initiatives, imposing appropriate laws and policies to control and restrict them in order to achieve their goals and serve their agendas (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021).

In this regard, with major corporations seizing control of social networking and communication sites, as well as security coordination on a political and economic level between big corporations and governments, we are witnessing a new form of orientalism known as "digital orientalism," where "the stereotypical and discrimination lens through which the Western nation views the Middle East and North Africa region is the same framework that defines the policies and actions" (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021: 69). This notion of digital orientalism is supported by Gezgin et al. (2021: 7), as he states that "digital orientalism is the face of a more insidious and indirect hegemony compared to the traditional supremacy."

In his book *Orientalism*, Edward discussed how America and Western countries, with their political policies and agendas, influenced the media corporations in shaping the image and building specific stereotypes of Islam and Middle Eastern countries. Similarly, with the emergence of social media platforms and new communication technologies, they followed the same path and played the same role as traditional media outlets in building and maintaining the same stereotypes: "In today's new digital orientalism, the media narratives of Said's era have been adopted by the new gatekeepers of news and information and incorporated into the community guidelines of social media platforms" (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021: 72).

With Facebook's suspected role in inciting anti-Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar in 2018, many scholars claim that Facebook was responsible for and involved in these scandals through Facebook and other platforms' content moderation practices and policies (Mozur 2018). Based

on this, I argue that the idea of orientalism and the inferiority complex surrounding Muslims and Easterners are connected to the genocide that occurred against the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. I contend that hate speech on social media platforms, particularly Facebook, led to the genocide in Myanmar and that Facebook should be held accountable for its complicity in this atrocity. This is partly because of the company's disregard for hiring Burmese content moderators. Although Myanmar was a market ripe for user abuse and profit, content moderators came at a cost, and the country was not considered vital enough for investment by Facebook. This argument is supported by social media platforms reactions and practices towards the Russian invasion. While these platforms did not invest in content moderation in the case of Myanmar and against the Muslim minority, they made sure to control and moderate the online content produced by the Russian against Ukraine "Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, companies providing social media and messaging services have taken a wide array of steps to counter harmful disinformation, to label or block state-sponsored or state-affiliated media, and to introduce extra safety measures." (Human Rights Watch 2022)

These content moderation practices on social media platforms harmed political and social activists and movements in the Middle East. As a result, users, organizations, and even events put pressure on the relevant management of these platforms to review, if not change, these policies. I witnessed how Facebook responded to the request of the dictatorial Egyptian government by restricting and removing the Facebook page "We are all Khaled Saeed" from its platform during the early stages of the Egyptian revolution in 2011, but as a result of pressure from activists and page administration, Facebook succumbed to their demand and revived the page (York 2021).

The intensive work of Alimardani and Elsawah (2021) on platform bias and content moderation resulted in the identification of five types of online bias in the Middle East. The first is the removal of pro-democratic content from social media platforms, such as tweets, pages, and posts, which has impacted online political activism movements in the region. Second, account restriction and suspension under the guise of violating platform policies and what these platforms describe as terrorist, extremist, and hateful content were responsible for YouTube removing thousands of videos documenting war crimes in Syria. Third, users of social media platforms in the Middle East face a double standard issue, as their use is limited and restricted during political crises or elections, as happened in Tunisia during the 2019 presidential elections, where political activists residing in Tunisia were unable to monitor the election

campaign published online while residents outside the country were able to do so and know the target audience for the campaign. Fourth, activists face discrimination and unfair practices in relation to content published from the Middle East; these contents are subject to review by a management team that does not belong to or take into account the special characteristics of the Middle East, including linguistic, religious, cultural, and social aspects. Fifth, when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, activists have noticed restrictions on the dissemination of pro-Palestine content, as well as a decrease in the number of views and reach.

As previously discussed, social media platforms are widely used globally and in the Middle East region, with Facebook and Twitter being the most popular, followed by Instagram and WhatsApp, and are used by citizens as a platform for social and political activism in an environment lacking democracy, freedom of speech, and equality (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021).

In this regard, it is critical to demonstrate the same through the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with the Israeli violation in Jerusalem and the war against Gaza, and on social media platforms, systematic discrimination reached a peak and drew worldwide attention in 2021 and 2023 “while users who want to support Israel can do so easily, those who take a pro-Palestinian stance find their accounts banned, censored, or reduced visibility” (Selvi 2023:1). Activists documented these racist practices they faced online and labeled it “digital apartheid,” which falls under the broader framework of “digital orientalism.” “The discrimination and failures inherent in digital orientalism must be recognized as part of the growing strains of our online world” (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021: 72).

Policies on social media that apply a double standard when it comes to content moderation and the fight for free speech can best be explained by Twitter reactions and dealing with two different countries, the United States and Donald Trump on one side and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Mohammed Bin Salman on the other. On January 8, 2021, Twitter decided to permanently suspend the accounts of Donald Trump, some of his prominent supporters, and government officials in order to prevent him from inciting violence and spreading misinformation. Many saw this decision as a violation of the first amendment to the United States Constitution, which guarantees freedom of expression and speech (Scapolo 2021). The focus here will not be on the legitimacy of Twitter's decision in relation to the American constitution, but on how Twitter expresses double standards when dealing with presidents or official governments who violate international human rights laws, restrict freedom of speech,

impose the most severe penalties on their opponents, and use the Twitter platform to spy on political and social activists who use Twitter as a platform to peacefully express their opinions and demands, "The fact that Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey has met MBS twice, even after Twitter was compromised by spies acting on behalf of well-connected Saudi entities, has made observers suspicious about whether such tolerance is intentional" (Jones 2021: 56).

In response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Facebook and Instagram users in that country were granted temporary permission to incite violence against the Russian armed forces. This action serves as a significant illustration of the idea of digital orientalism. Though these grave breaches by the Russian and Syrian armed forces have been documented and amount to crimes against humanity, no such strategy has been proclaimed for Syria, where the Russian military has been fighting alongside the Syrian military since 2015 (Human Rights Watch 2022).

Social media companies have a unique approach to handling online discourse, especially the one produced in the Middle East. For instance, Facebook is less careful about keeping an eye on (dis)information in the Middle East because they think doing so would not result in negative publicity against the company. Even senior Facebook employees have strongly criticized the way Facebook prioritized certain nations when it came to repression and disinformation campaigns, mainly the US, western Europe, and their own foreign policy foes like Russia and Iran. Some Facebook employees claim that Facebook senior management believed that the world outside of the US and Europe was essentially like the Wild West (Wong 2021).

1.6.1 Online Surveillance and Repression Practices as a Boundary of Free Speech – A Weapon Against Democracy

Social media platforms represented a qualitative leap in the lives of Arab activists as well as other users around the world, particularly people eager for freedom of speech, who were looking at them through screens but unable to interact with them, theorize about them, or mobilize for their implementation until the winds of the Arab revolutions blew. The interaction of Arab activists with their issues gradually peaked during the Arab Spring in 2011, and the Israeli aggression on Gaza in 2014, 2021 and 2023. They were inspired by what the big social media companies claimed, as these sites were created to be used as a tool for democratic practices and freedom of speech and expression. However, during, for example, the latest clashes in the neighborhood of Sheik Jarrah in East Jerusalem, Palestinian activists and many other Arab activists were experiencing shadow bans, posting, and sharing restrictions imposed

by social media corporations, which represent an explicit violation of freedom of speech (Alimardani and Elsayah 2021).

Political activism makes extensive use of the internet and social media platforms. To maintain control over its citizens, the government, in return, imposes censorship and monitoring practices on media outlets, political movements, and activists. Eaton (2013) emphasizes in this context that the internet provides a diverse range of information, insights, and viewpoints from a variety of sources and that the internet promotes public dialogue, debate, and political activism. In contrast, Jones (2019:1392), in his research on the control of authoritarian regimes on the internet and social media sites, states that "emerging research finds that governments have developed techniques and contracted Western expertise to use the internet to locate, intimidate, and target critics of their regimes." The Facebook-CA data political scandal represents a clear example of surveillance in the online sphere and a new dimension for studies related to surveillance and the internet. As claimed by Bauman and Lyon (2013), the internet is a surveillance space that is inherently fluid and liquid.

The belief prevalent in the early days of the Arab Spring was that the internet could be used to enhance freedom and democracy and that authoritarian political regimes could at best prevent people from using it or restrict how citizens used it, but no one predicted that these dictatorship governments in the Middle East would use the internet as a tool for surveillance and repression, as it is now (Lyon 2017). This represents how the internet and major social media corporations are playing a dual role. On the one hand, they promote these platforms as a space for freedom of speech, but at the same time, they cooperate with authoritarian regimes and ease the practices that transfer these platforms into a space for surveillance operations and repressions.

Surveillance is simply defined by the Cambridge Dictionary, as "the careful watching of a person or place, especially by the police or army, because of a crime that has occurred or is expected" (Cambridge Dictionary 2021); this definition of surveillance represents the traditional and limited dimension of surveillance practices prior to technological developments. In contrast, Jones (2013:74) has proposed a more intensive definition that represents the broad dimension of mass surveillance; he defines surveillance as "the process by which organizations and governments observe individuals or groups of individuals [...]" "It is an asymmetric process that affords power to the observer but not the observed and is therefore a process by which the surveiller asserts his domination over the surveilled."

In times of pandemics and social and political instability, it becomes natural for authoritarian regimes to abuse their power and practice surveillance on those who oppose them and do not emulate their path; in the Middle East, we experienced the same in Egypt, Syria, and Bahrain (Jones 2013). In accordance with Jones' definition of surveillance and the social and political instability in the region, particularly after 2011, the author argues that the culture and practices of online surveillance and repression in the Middle East escalated in a dramatic way with the assistance of the big technological corporations, and the limited state surveillance practices had expanded to cover everyone and represent the new concept of mass surveillance.

In the Middle East, secret services are at the heart of the state of surveillance, and it has gone through a period of ups and downs. These intelligence agencies are positioned as protectors of the regimes, not the societies; their position appeared at the forefront after the attacks of September 11 and the Arab Spring, when they offered their services to the major powers in their war on terror. This strategic period contributed to strengthening the security grip on society and public freedoms (Timep 2019). The Human Rights Commission (2011) claims that September 11th signaled the start of an extensive and worldwide surveillance program against Arabs and Muslims; these programs were not restricted to US territory as a direct target of the attacks but rather took place all over the world. Following the assault, some surveillance practices—like individual profiling and suspicion-less monitoring of political and religious groups—have been used in the name of national security.

In the context of the Arab Spring, information and communication technologies represent two sides of the same coin; on one side, they contributed to the development of online activism and social movements; they were used to mobilize and organize activism, document the activities, and expand the discussion and activism agenda on political changes and social justice; on the other side, they were the same field and the same technologies that facilitated and deepened the culture of surveillance and online oppression practices in the region (Jones 2013). The author argues that the Arab Spring and the unstable political and social situation in the Middle East should not justify the implementation of online mass surveillance and censorship practices in societies that already lack democracy, freedom of speech, and liberty. These restrictions, monitoring, and spying practices on the internet negatively affected the principles of democracy, freedom of expression, and political justice. "New technologies have been leveraged to pursue competing objectives, ranging from the promotion of social justice and democracy to the enactment of control, surveillance, and repression" (Jones 2019:1392).

Social media companies have the authority to impose content restrictions and monitoring in many legal areas. despite the fact that their regulations specify that they refuse "improper" requests, and that content removal occurs when it infringes on either local laws or platform restrictions. When it comes to handling content related to the 2023 Israeli war against Gaza, social media companies have demonstrated its double standards and orientalist approach of portraying the west as "superior" and the east as "inferior." A disproportionate amount of effort was directed towards Palestine-related content, while the official Israeli narrative—which is as violent as it gets—was given more leeway because Facebook and Instagram believe it to be from official sources, including the Israeli military (Selvi 2023).

However, what is lawful need not be right. Governments all around the globe have enacted a plethora of new regulations controlling speech on the internet in the last few years. Nevertheless, social media platforms in countries where freedom of expression is restricted are faced with the option of either supporting repression or missing out on rich markets “Particularly during the Arab Spring upheaval, social media corporations such as Facebook and Twitter have long sought to present themselves as the forefront of revolutionary movements. However, to state that they have played a significant role in the counter-revolutions would be more correct” (Guesmi, 2021).

Under the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, online surveillance and monitoring technologies have seen a huge boom since the Arab Spring event in 2011. The debate about surveillance is always linked with the political situation, and the practices of the authoritarian regimes of prohibiting other political parties from participating in the administration of the state, thus surveilling their activities and their members, concentrated most of these actions on what these governments named the "bad people," which includes religious leaders and advocates, activists, and journalists (Jones 2019).

While countries practice different levels of restrictions on the freedom of expression and implementation of surveillance practices, the judgments of authoritarian regimes such as that in Egypt are harsher in their application. It is currently more dangerous to criticize the government in Egypt than at any time in the country’s recent history. "Egyptians living under President al-Sisi are treated as criminals simply for peacefully expressing their opinions," as claimed by Najia Bounaim, Amnesty International’s North Africa Campaigns Director (Amnesty 2018). Furthermore, hundreds of Egyptian political activists and journalists are

currently in jail. Egyptian criminal courts have sentenced hundreds of people to death in cases stemming from alleged political violence (ABC 2018).

The rapid advancement of technology has influenced the development of surveillance technologies and devices. According to Timep Organization (2019), authoritarian regimes across the MENA region, in order to preserve their thrones and restrict their opponents such as political and social activists and journalists, sought to acquire these various technologies, such as spyware, and establish internet monitoring and communication intercepting centers that aimed to control the flow of information and communication on the internet. The fact that technology developed in nations that purport to uphold democracy and the right to free speech is being utilized by authoritarian governments to stifle that same freedom of expression is what stops us here and forces us to consider this seriously. For example, Saudi Arabia had used Israeli spyware technology to monitor and spy on the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was killed by the Saudi authorities (Jones 2019:1392). Furthermore, the UAE has partnered with Israeli spyware technologies to spy on UAE citizens and residents, including Ahmad Mansoor, a human rights and political activist who was arrested in the United Arab Emirates for criticizing emirate rulers. A year after his release, the activists discovered that he was under surveillance by the government intelligence services through his digital devices. This example of surveillance practices is not limited to the United Arab Emirates, but it is becoming a general practice adopted by the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East (Marczak and Scott-Railton 2016).

I argue that the killing of the Saudi political activist Jamal Khashoggi has several dimensions. First, how are political activists punished by dictatorial regimes that work to lure and entrap them? Second, how were the intelligence services able to monitor and know the smallest details of the crime? that includes the names and photos of the assassination group, the movement of the group throughout the day of the assassination, knowing the details of the arrival and departure of the implementers to and from Istanbul airport, and the movement of the number of cars belonging to the consulate. In this regard, and according to Al Jazeera (2018), Jamal Khashoggi entered his country's consulate in Istanbul at noon on October 2 and did not come out alive. It took the Turks two days to complete listening to the taped recordings of the consulate and realize the truth of what happened: that Jamal Khashoggi was killed inside the consulate building, in the same wing as the Consul General, and that he was brutally murdered, and his body dismembered. Reflecting on the killing of Jamal Khashoggi, the author argues

that in the Middle East, the activities of intelligence services represent the term "surveillance state," whereas the intensive use of advanced surveillance technologies and the detailed collected data represent the newer term "surveillance society," both of which Lyon (2017) discussed.

Post-Arab Spring, some countries like Egypt passed new legislation that enables mass censorship and media blocking. The government's speech rules and control tactics on social media remain a source of worry (Jones 2013). Censorship will be applied to these platforms as governments accuse these websites of supporting terrorism, extremism and spreading fake news. In Egypt "the list of blocked websites includes 116 media and press websites, 394 VPN and proxy service providers, 15 human rights websites, 11 cultural websites, 17 chatting websites, 27 political opposition websites, 8 blogs and blog hosts, 12 multi-media sharing websites" (Human Rights Watch 2020).

Surveillance practices are nothing new; the governments, with the assistance of big corporations and new technologies, can monitor what we do, where we go, and who we meet to get insights into our political activities and views. The fact that these surveillance methods invade our lives and expose our beliefs, emotions, and behaviors in an unprecedented manner is what's new. As stated by Harari (2020), the consequences of surveillance technology are severe and have the potential to create even more repressive regimes than those we are currently witnessing in the Middle East. Maybe this is how things really are in the Middle East. Jones (2023: para 19) summarize this relationship between authoritarian regimes and big technological corporations and how this relation contributes to massive surveillance and repression in the online and states that:

Authoritarian regimes across the world and US-based Big Tech converge in transnational repression through a combination of content control, surveillance and data collection. Driven by profits, Big Tech platforms often selectively moderate content, amplifying certain narratives while suppressing others based on corporate interests or geopolitical alignments. These tech giants, with their vast reach and influence, exceed or complement the power of states, enabling a broader scope for repression.

Another instance of this dubious collaboration between social media companies and authoritarian regimes in the Middle East occurred in 2023 during the Turkish presidential

election, when the owner of Twitter (X) agreed to let the Turkish government surveil and suspend certain accounts. Even though it is considered taboo in the West and a direct act of violence against freedom of speech and expression, it is a legitimate practice in the authoritarian Middle East. Elon Musk justified this crime by saying that restricting a small number of accounts was preferable to the platform being taken down in Turkey in the weeks leading up to an election (Potts and Yi 2022).

Governments in the region have realized the advantages of social networking sites, especially the Arab revolutionary digital public sphere, which Badr (2022: 225) called authoritarian learning and defined as "the power holders' having learned and updated their communicative strategies to absorb, respond, and defuse the revolutionary potential in the digital public sphere." This authoritarian learning term evolves around the process of publishing and controlling information, the media campaigns' low cost, ease of access, and use, in addition to the spread of their use among the ordinary population. Therefore, Arab governments adopted these sites as a means to influence their audiences and manipulated the protection barriers of social media companies, taking advantage of the weak application of these companies' policies in an environment outside their English language and their focus on achieving financial profit before ensuring safety and information quality (Badr 2022). It is important to note here the ability of social networking sites to reach and target; for example, Twitter is the most popular media platform among Saudi Arabia's political class and elite. Thus, these political systems are able to target, reach, and persuade a specific group of people by targeting them with messages and information allocated to them (Byman 2022).

In this regard, I argue that in the West, where there is some transparency, democracy, and mutual understanding between governments and social media outlets, there is some cooperation to limit the spread of these misleading campaigns to public opinion, but what we see in the Middle East contradicts the goals and vision of social media companies in achieving democracy, freedom of expression, and user protection. Here comes the credibility of social media companies, which must treat the East and the West equally and independently, as well as be committed to protecting the accounts of users and opponents in the Middle Eastern environment, particularly non-English-speaking users, and limiting the dissemination of misleading information. By forging partnerships or caving into the demands of the authoritarian governments in the Middle East, these large corporations are turning into a weapon and a platform for these regimes, shaping the discourse locally and globally and bolstering digital

oppression and surveillance. Thus, this will impede people's ability to speak and express themselves freely.

In order to illustrate the double standards that social media platforms have when it comes to the East and the West, as well as their double standards when it comes to digital repressions, Google's advertising policy forbids political advertising on its platforms. However, Google broke this policy and permitted Israel to publish political advertisements that targeted and repressed Amnesty International in retaliation for the organization's subsequent publication of a report detailing Israel's apartheid practices against the Palestinians. Twitter also forbids political advertising, yet it allows political propaganda to be uploaded online in favor of authoritarian regimes such as Saudi Arabia that violate human rights via harsh surveillance and repression practices on Twitter (Jones 2023).

1.6.2 Islamic Cyber Feminism Movements

Discussing Islamic women's movements from a Western perspective was always a mistake as it underestimated the influence of Islam, the culture and the state role on these movements and ignored the real experience and struggle of these women in their unique circumstances. These Muslim women have always been portrayed in the West as the sad eyes behind the burqas, preventing the West from understanding that the issue and focus is not the burqas, but the struggle of women movements and organizations to identify and achieve women's rights (Tazi and Oumlil 2020). While secular Muslim feminism movements were inspired by the first wave of liberal feminism and adopted a more oriented western approach towards Muslim women's rights, such as democracy, secular nationalists, Islamic modernists, and human rights, emancipating women from religion and the patriarchal system, the Islamic feminism movements use the Qur'an as their central source to articulate a singular or predominately religiously oriented discourse (Dalaman 2021).

It was a fundamental strategy and the Islamic feminism movement's highest priority to fight and correct the western-oriented perspective and narratives about Muslim women, their rights, and their problems in Muslim communities. From an Orientalist approach, the term "Muslim woman" refers to all woman and does not take into account any religious, Islamic or secular differences between these women. While this approach might be acceptable from a cultural and gender perspective, it doesn't explain or justify the differences between women who prioritize religion and apply its teachings and principles throughout their lives and women who

rather follow a secular lifestyle and existence (Dalaman 2021). Thus, it is important to define and analyze the term Muslim woman. From a Western perspective, it refers to all women who live in Muslim societies, ignoring the fact that some women adapt Islam as an essential part of their lives and identities, referring to them as "pious women," while others adopt a more secular lifestyle and set of beliefs despite living in the same Islamic society, referring to them as "secular women." Furthermore, the pious woman, "Islamic feminists," works to establish a link and discourse between Islam and feminism, whereas the secular woman, "Muslim Secular Feminists," believes in the mainstream feminism movement's values and adopts a naive perspective that argues the incompatibility of Islam and feminism (Dalaman 2021).

At the same time as they did in the West, feminist ideologies and movements emerged in the Middle East, particularly in Turkey, Egypt, and Iran. According to Dalaman (2021: 78), "the first wave of feminism in the west was shaped once women realized that they were part of the oppressed group; while in Islamic geography, the determinism factors were nation-states, nationalism, and rationalism, which struggled at the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s." Apart from that, the first wave of feminism movements in the west were established by the middle and working classes who aimed to acquire their equal rights in education and payments, whereas in the east it was established by upper-class and well-educated women who were mostly influenced by the movement in the west and similarly started questioning their rights. Unsurprisingly, women's magazines played a role in disseminating women's voices and served as a medium for them to express their concerns, issues, and disagreements with existing religious and social systems and norms (Caha 2011).

The first wave of women's feminism movements in the West were successful, and women gained some of their rights; however, they continued to establish the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, focusing on how women are marginalized and on new issues and topics such as abortion, harassment, and oppression. The second wave of feminism movements in the West and black feminism movements in the United States affected feminism movements in Islamic geography 15 years later, and notions of Islamic feminism were discussed in most Islamic countries in the region in the 1980s and 1990s (Dalaman 2021).

The notion of Islamic feminism can be described as "a women-centered reinterpretation of major Islamic sources such as the *Quran* and the *Hadith*." "Islamic feminism was influenced by existentialist philosophy and the postmodern approach coming from the west" (Dalman 2021:79). One major factor that aided the emergence and spread of Islamic feminism

movements during the 1980s and 1990s was the male-dominated system and male-dominated interpretation of the main sources of Islamic laws, the *Quran* and *Hadith*, which influenced and interfered in every aspect of women and family issues. Most Islamic feminist discourse during the same period focused on how Islam should be interpreted from a female perspective, taking into account women's issues, with the goal of bringing women's issues and points of view out of the shadows and eliminating male dominance (Sancar 2016). This new feminist discourse that suggests the interpretation of the sources of the Islamic laws argues that the principle of inequality taught and exemplified in the *Quran* was customized for the male-dominant culture in Arab countries before Islam; therefore, they defend that the *Quran* must be reread and reinterpreted from this perspective (Tohidi 2003).

Following that, the third wave of women's movement in the Middle East which is the Islamic feminism movement emerged effectively in the 1990s and began to take a more profound and philosophical path, addressing concepts such as privilege checking, intersectionality, post-colonialism, critical race theory, and sex-positive feminism (Abu Lughod 2020). "During this period, Arabo-Muslim postcolonial feminists have actively drawn from theories of intersectionality to denounce the narrative of powerlessness and submissiveness that is usually ascribed to Arab and Muslim women because of their double-minority status: as members of the racialized Arab minority vis-à-vis the white dominant majority and as the female minority of a male-dominated Arab community" (Tazi and Oumlil 2020: 48).

A main difference between the secular Western and Eastern feminism movement and the Islamic feminism movement is that the second one is dominated by religious morals and established by educated religious women whose main concern was to protect their Islamic identity. Although these two movements intersect in many aspects in their journey to achieve equal social rights and share modern values, they are not seen as one movement. "Secular feminism in the Islamic world served its purpose by cleaning the path for women's rights in politics and societies, but the conjecture that this movement traveled from the west to the east is rejected, and this conviction is an outcome of the Orientalism perspective, and that the premise of this thought was not determined" (Dalman 2021: 82).

With the technological developments, women's rights movements embraced the internet and new communication technologies as they developed and expanded, using them to further their goals. As a result, the feminist movement moved online and gave rise to the phenomenon of cyberfeminism, a term that is defined by Daniels (2009:102) as "the innovative ways women

are using digital technologies to re-engineer their lives". In light of that, I contend that communication technologies bolstered Muslim women's capacity to impact a variety of societal concerns and domains, improved their social inclusion, and encouraged their engagement (Mourtada and Salem 2011).

Furthermore, Karimi (2014) and Khamis (2017) demonstrate in their research that "cyberfeminism" practices were adopted rapidly and effectively by Islamic feminists in the region, as an indication of their appreciation for technology and its contribution in shaping women's identities and highlighting the issues that contribute to women's empowerment. Thus, in the Middle East, women adapted rapidly to new communication technologies and were able to overcome their cognitive beliefs about the structure and restrictions of the environment they belong to. More importantly, women were able to act and represent themselves and other women in their environment, and this can be an embodiment of the notion of "agency," which evolves around the ability of individuals, particularly women, to make free choices and act independently for themselves, with others, and for others Khamis (2017). However, there are numerous factors that influence and limit these choices, acts, and decisions, such as gender, traditions, religion, beliefs, social structure, and so on (Barker 2005).

This phenomenon of "cyberfeminism" in the Middle East enabled and encouraged women to bypass religious, social, familial restrictions imposed on them and the western view that they have been portrayed in; this is substantiated by Radsch and Khamis (2013: 884) as they claimed that "in "cyberactivism," men don't get in physical contact with women, so a lot of women are in "cyberactivism" because their fathers say he would not want his daughter to go to a demonstration, but if she is anonymously online then no one is going to object to that". Digital connectivity helped Islamic feminists in the Middle East use the online public sphere to campaign for their rights and combat the western narratives. This is a clear explanation of the notion of counter publics, which falls into two types. "Those with "inward-oriented goals" or those with "outward-oriented goals," the inward-oriented debaters mainly focus on creating a safe communicative space where people can invent their own alternative identities and share their needs and interests. The outward-oriented groups, however, target the mainstream public sphere by "breaking up and shifting consensus structures within dominant publics" and "engaging with wider audiences." The latter groups strive to engage with "mainstream audiences" (Toepfl and Piwoni 2017: 4).

As mentioned earlier, this cyber feminism movement's emergence was called the "fourth wave of feminism," which according to Tazi and Oumlil (2020: 48) "finds its origins in the new Web 2.0 technologies, which give users the power to shape their own contents, and is characterized by a mass of tech-savvy and young feminists who harness the power of the internet and the information and communication technologies to advocate for social justice and gender equality." Furthermore, the Arab Spring uprising and social media platforms enabled Islamic activists and feminists to express their social and political views and demands without fear via the online public sphere. This happened as a result of social media platforms' abilities in mobilization, documentation, and publicizing. "The online sphere, therefore, becomes a "gateway" through which Middle Eastern women can access the public space, make their voices heard, and advocate for their rights as equal citizens" (Tazi 2020: 58).

In relation to this, digital developments, the Middle East's geopolitical and social context, and the western-oriented view of Muslim women aided the spread of Islamic cyberfeminism movements not only in the Middle East region but all over the world. The internet and new communication technologies aided these movements in overcoming authoritarian and male-dominated regimes and corrected the oriented narratives about Muslim women. These Islamic cyberfeminism movements are considered the fourth and new wave of feminism movements "Cyberfeminism has emerged as one of the largest innovations in feminism in the last 50 years that harnesses the power of online media platforms to discuss, uplifts, and activate gender equality and social justice" (Tazi and Oumlil 2020:48).

I would like to stress here that Islamic cyber feminism movements reflect another aspect of the term "digital orientalism" that I discussed earlier, in the sense that new communication technologies and social media platforms have enabled Muslim women activists to correct the Western view of Muslim women, spread Islamic feminism movements, advocate for Muslim women's rights and presence, and develop a stronger identity for themselves in the online sphere. Islamic feminists' and Islamic feminism movements appearances in the public spheres were minimized and restricted in Middle Eastern societies, and it was underestimated, misunderstood, and misinterpreted by the west, so they turned to social media platforms to create their own private communities and virtual spheres that were designed according to their beliefs and demands and that strengthened their connections internationally but, more importantly, nationally (Ayish 2018; Radsch & Khamis 2013).

Stereotypes rather than actual understanding characterize the majority of Western perceptions of women, Islamist feminist movements, and, more broadly, of women and Islam. According to the widely held Western perspective, Muslim women are oppressed by a plethora of cultural and religious norms of behavior and live in harsh patriarchal civilizations. The veil and the harem are reoccurring themes in orientalist literature that represent Muslim women's erotica and subjugation, respectively, and have long been symbols of the west's obsession (Al Ghamdi 2020). Consequently, there have been numerous global online Muslim feminism initiatives. Examples include MuslimaMeans, which aims to promote the diverse and vibrant art and voices of Muslim women worldwide, and #lifeofMuslimfeminist, which defends Muslim women's rights to wear the hijab and educate others about it.

Muslim women have been greatly impacted by social media platforms. For example, it has had an impact on how people view the Islamic head covering, with social media marketing and promotion making Muslim women wearing hijabs more visible. Social media also supports and aids Muslim women who are becoming more religious in their identity transformation by offering a different and encouraging atmosphere and helping them make decisions based on recently embraced Islamic regulations. The social internet has also made it possible for female ulama to share Islamic educational resources, compete as religious orators, and display their identities. Most importantly and in relation to the concept of digital orientalism, Muslim women are using social media platforms to refute orientalist stories and alter how they are portrayed visually (Islam 2019).

2 Chapter Two: Religion, Politics and Communication Systems in the Middle East

This second chapter focuses on social and political communication in the Middle East and its close relationship with religion, which interferes in almost all aspects of political and social life. The chapter starts by discussing the phenomenon of political communication, to later address the theory of the public sphere, especially the public sphere in an Islamic context, and analyze the region's social, religious, and political institutions, political and religious liberties, and diversity under authoritarian governments. As women are the primary subject of this study, a subchapter is also dedicated to comprehending their involvement in regional social and political activism, discussing the interplay between gender, communication, and political activism in the context of political Islam.

2.1 Political Communication and Media Systems in the Middle East

Political communication is a field that arose in the interwar period as a result of the war situation and propaganda. Initially, political communication focused on the war news and updates and the persuasive war propaganda used by the belligerents. After the end of World War II, due to the availability of stable political institutions in Western countries, political communication started to focus on campaigning and on the election process. From the 1960s up until the 1980s, it focused on the revolutionary ideas and activism that were spreading due to the invention and spread of television. From the 1990s on, with the invention and spread of the internet, and social media platforms, which are characterized by their wide reach and interactivity, political communication expanded to include online political activism, political marketing, and political campaigning (Arackal 2015).

The above reflects how the phenomenon of political communication has struggled to find a clear and fixed definition because the components of the term are diverse and constantly changing, as evidenced by the following different definitions that have been proposed: Chaffee (1975) defines political communication in a straightforward and simple way as the role of communication in the political process; Meadow (1980) defines it instead as the interchange of signs and messages between political players, institutions, entities, the general public, and news media outlets that are the product of or have impacts and consequences on the political systems. Denton and Woodward (1990:14) developed a more comprehensive definition as “pure discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenues), official authority (who is

given the power to make legal, legislative and executive decision), and official sanctions (what the state rewards or punishes)". Furthermore, McQuail (1992:472) defines political communication as "all the processes of information (including facts, opinions, beliefs, etc.), transmission, and exchange engaged in by participants in the course of institutionalized political activities".

In this study I will follow McQuail's (1992) definition since it is a comprehensive one that reflects the communication process and messages, "including facts, opinions, and beliefs," and as it strongly reflects the power of communication technologies and social media platforms as exchange tools used to achieve social and political change and does not limit the practice of political communication to politicians. Furthermore, McQuail's (1992) definition reflects the modern era in that it goes beyond organizational political communication and discussion to cover the interpersonal side in the offline and online public spheres, which can include ordinary citizens' discussions, activists' and journalists' special interviews, and information sources.

The study of political and religious communication in the Middle East is in transition, but it is still mostly focused on Western norms that were affected by capitalism and liberal democracy theory. Sreberny (2008) contends that in order to adequately account for the unique political and social context of the Middle East region which is characterized by semi-authoritarian and authoritarian regimes, political communication research methods and the definition of political communication itself need to be expanded and not solely based on Western experiences. Aside from Western values, what grounds the requests for a particular study of communication research for the Middle East region is that the concept of the Middle East is ambiguous and poorly defined; it is a European construct that encompasses different religions, cultures, and ethnicities, and includes the Middle East and North Africa, connecting Arab countries from Morocco to Iraq and sometimes including Turkey and Iran. Furthermore, the majority of Western studies on the Middle East focus on specific countries such as Egypt and Tunisia, as well as specific cities such as Cairo and Beirut, with complete disregard for rural areas and audience studies (Sreberny 2008).

To comprehend the gradients of politics and communication studies and their categorization and connections, Faris (2013) conducted extensive review of political communication research and studies in and about the Middle East. His research included: propaganda studies that were related to the 1960 and 1970 armed conflicts, which were followed by decades of content analysis that concentrated on international media and news flows; the emergence of free Arab

media satellites, particularly Al Jazeera in 1996, as a new political communication actor; altered media structures and systems in the region; increased interest in mass communication and its role in democratizing and transnationalizing religious and political public spheres; and more recently, the Arab Spring movements in 2010 and 2011 that also increased interest in political communication and social movement studies.

The traditional press and broadcast media in the Middle East, are completely under the control of authoritarian regimes, which imposes severe censorship and surveillance practices on the production and writings of journalists and activists, have posed a threat to the freedom of religious, political, and social expression and speech. As a result, journalism and activism in the region have developed unique professional values that are distinct from those in the West. However, the emergence of Arab satellite channels and new communication technology transformed this situation, converting the formerly opaque and tightly controlled public sphere into one that was more open and allowed for more political and social mobilization (Leihns and Roeder-Tzallós 2015).

New communication technologies and social media platforms influenced political communication and participation significantly, resulting in the formation of a new political sphere. Prior to the Arab Spring events, activists could rely on digital media to counter government propaganda and the control of traditional media outlets. With the development of new social media platforms, this new medium became a free sphere for political communication and collective identity building. New social media platforms were very effective in increasing political participation, political mobilization, and coordinating demonstrations through various online practices such as tweeting messages, promoting posts on Facebook, and uploading videos on YouTube. Political campaigning, political advertising, political public relations, political agenda setting, and the creation of a new political public sphere are all aspects of the phenomenon of political communication "What we are witnessing is political communication coming full circle with social media: focus was initially on personal grassroots contacts, then it shifted to mass media, and it is now returning to a one-on-one trust model in the digital age" (Arackal 2015: 13).

The relationship between media systems and politics is complex. The first newspaper in the region, published in French in 1798, was followed by many newspapers in Arabic, but their circulation was initially limited to the elite and educated families. By the 1950s, most Arab countries had achieved independence, and the media, particularly newspapers, served as a

useful tool for the government in rallying support for its political, social, and national goals. In his detailed analysis of the media systems and freedom of expression in the Middle East during the 1990s, Rugh (2004: 25–26) classifies and categorizes the same into 4 interesting types: (1) *mobilization*, as in prewar Iraq and Syria; (2) *loyalty*, as in Saudi Arabia and Palestine; (3) *diversity*, as in Lebanon and Morocco; and (4) *transitional*, as in Egypt and Yemen. Furthermore, Rugh's (2004:25-26) analysis states that "journalists do enjoy different degrees of freedom of expression; these are highest in the diverse and lowest in the mobilization systems, but they are constricted by different kinds of censorship in all four categories."

As previously stated, newspapers and journalists were under government control and had a special agenda imposed on them that focuses on pan-Arabism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and national identity and unity and these media outlets served as governments mouthpiece. However, under pressure from some political parties and from some Western diplomats, population growth, and better economic standing, some Middle Eastern governments such as Egypt and Lebanon allowed limited number of political parties to have their own private newspaper, but these political newspapers suffered from restrictions on free speech imposed by government monitoring and checking systems, as well as financing political parties' agendas and interests (Rugh 2004).

Another fact about political, religious, and social communication in the Middle East is that, despite the government's public declaration of freedom of expression and speech, as well as support for civil rights, the same remained a declaration with no action taken to implement, guarantee, or protect it. In contrast, the main task of most information ministries was to censor and control journalists, activists, and media outlets, using panel codes and vague words and notions such as "defamation" To threaten and limit any freedom of expression initiatives, governments use high fines, prison, harassment, and murder as punishments justified by violations of national security, religious, and social values, resulting in audience loss of trust and any critical attitude toward the media system and media outlets in the region (Leihs and Roeder-Tzallós 2015).

According to Leihs and Roeder-Tzallós (2015), a new player began challenging the government's monopoly on national media: foreign-funded news services such as BBC Arabia and Qatari-funded TV channel Al Jazeera, which challenged authoritarian regimes' control and restrictions on freedom of speech, forcing them to face public criticism and take responsibility for their actions, adapting Western-style political talk shows and creating a new political

discourse. This new culture forced national media outlets to change their traditional limited social and political discourse, but the main impact of Al Jazeera was its role during the 2010 and 2011 Arab uprisings, as activists believed the channel played a significant role in political mobilization, particularly in Egypt.

As stated earlier, the evolution of political and social communication discourse and actions in the region has been facilitated by the emergence of social media platforms, which have contributed to collective action and mobilization in the region. It started in Egypt in 2008, when a small group of activists called for a strike through a Facebook page; another example is the protests in Iran in 2009 against presidential elections, which were started on Twitter by Iranian activists, and later the Arab Spring demonstration in 2011 (Faris 2013). New communication technologies and social media platforms did play a significant role in shifting political communication from the offline restricted sphere to the online, and interactive sphere. "When the winds of digital media blew on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) in the early 1990s, some scholars championed both satellite television and the Web as game changers, able to effect profound transitions in the region's socio-political, economic, and cultural conditions" (Ayish 2018:66). On the other hand, many other scholars call for more research and investigations on communication technologies' relation to political change, confirming that new communication technologies are fundamental infrastructure to achieve political and regime change, but they are not exclusive to achieving this change (Howard 2011; Rinke and Order 2011).

2.1.1 Political Islam and Reformation

This section will discuss the reformation and development of Islamic political thought, which has been inextricably linked with the political and geographical expansion of Islam for 14 centuries. Not only has the expansion of Islam affected political thought, but it has also influenced and led to a consistent change on social and cultural levels, all of which falls within an Islamic framework emanating from the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. When discussing political ideas in Islam, we must go beyond the government, state, and politics to cover and analyze the term "acceptable behavior" for both the ruler and the ruled. "Islamic political thoughts cannot be measured by Western criteria and standards of political theory. It must be understood from within its own traditions" (Bowering 2015:4).

Since the establishment of the first Islamic state in Medina by Prophet Mohammed in 622, the development of Islamic political thought and systems has gone through various periodic and critical stages. The period from 1800 to the present was the most difficult in this political development because it was affected by the decline of Islamic glory as well as Western military and cultural colonialism and the call for renewal. In this regard, the Islamic political system encountered difficulties in maintaining its identity on the one hand while also rejecting Western political theories and systems on the other. This resulted in the emergence of numerous new political movements, including secular movements calling for change and renewal, such as nationalism and socialism, as well as extremist fundamentalism movements, which resulted in the hardliners' victory in the Iranian elections in 1979 and the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001 (Bowering 2015).

The term renewal and reform has permeated the depths of political Islam. It refers to reforming a specific issue or law in order to create a new law that is more modern and relevant to reality “whether the renewal and reform is aimed at the collective or individual or both, the discourse of revival and reform addresses stability and change, the mutable and immutable in Muslims thought” (Moosa and Tareen 2015: 202). Reform and renewal in Islam and Islamic countries undergo a creative and dynamic treatment in order to achieve change and modernity, but in general it remains based on the revelation of the *Qur'an*, Islam's envoy, the Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him), and the various principles that he brought, particularly rhetorical, political, and spiritual principles, as well as political circumstances and accompanying social and economic changes (Moosa and Tareen 2015).

This shift in Islamic political thought in the modern era was influenced by a number of factors, the most important of which were Western colonialism, the nation-state, printing, and freedom of expression, which introduced secular politics in the region. "In the 19th century, secular thought among Muslims was further reinforced by European influence, which shaped the belief that a constitutional government was not only superior to an absolutist monarchy but also necessary for economic development" (Moaddel 2021:17). This belief and call for a more secular political system and political modernity were supported by the leaders of the Islamic movements and the rise of the nationalist movements, who saw this as an acceptable substitute to the existing rule of monarchs, the Othman Empire, and colonists. As a result, more modern and more authoritative states were the political outcome of nationalism against colonialism and monarchies, but these developments did not lead to the rise of the inclusive and transparent

system of liberal democracy that had been anticipated, rather, they produced a secular state in certain ways while still being authoritative and interventionist in others. These new secular states wanted to eliminate the role of Islam and religious parties in the political, legal, and social systems; moderate education; and support women's involvement in social life "Thus, the state began initiating cultural programs to promote secular institutions, endorse national over religious identity, and institute laws that ran contrary to the sharia" (Moaddel 2021:17).

These secular changes in the Middle East's political and social systems were perceived as a direct threat to Islam practices and its traditions, leading to the rise of fundamentalist and extremist Islamic movements in the region, most notably in the secular states Egypt, Iran, and Turkey, in the early twenty-first century, which transitioned from being secular authoritarian states to religious authoritative states by the end of the century. "The authoritarianism of the secular state under the personal dictatorship of a single individual prompted, in turn, a disciplinarian conception of God whose forces must be mobilized to counter the all-encompassing power of the ruling dictator. As a result, oppositional politics was channeled through religion, expanding the resources and influences of Islamic fundamentalism in society" (Moaddel 2021:18).

Extremist Islamic movements began in the 1970s; simultaneously, extremist actions and ideology were a natural process not only in Islam and the Middle East but also in Christianity and Judaism (Marsden 1980). Concurrently, in the United States, in the 1970s, we saw the return of fundamentalism with the existence of more than 250 Christian television channels and more than 1600 radio stations, and in Judaism, we saw the emergence of fundamentalist movements after the Arab-Israeli War happened in 1967 and 1973. The emergence of these movements in all three contexts aimed to reshape the religious discourse and influence the political agenda, but what distinguished the Islamic fundamentalism movement in the Islamic world was the presence of many strong social and political factors that led to the emergence of many Islamic parties and movements that contributed to the revival of religion in society after a long period of secular movements' rule (Lustick 1988).

The modern Middle Eastern political-religious struggle that took place between the establishment of an Islamic state in Iran in 1979 and the fall of extremist religious political regimes in Iraq and Syria in 2017, had a significant impact on Arab societies, both politically and religiously (Khatib 2015). This was a difficult period in the region's political and religious transformation, as society faced violence, religious fanaticism, oppression, and injustice

against women in a number of countries, including Iran and Saudi Arabia. In addition to bloody extremist Islamic movements in Egypt and Algeria and heinous sectarian violence in Lebanon and Iraq, all of these Middle Eastern countries were subject to authoritarian political regimes that imposed a severe burden on society, the people, and the institutions; therefore, we witnessed the revolution movements of the Arab Spring that hit the region in 2011 (Cesari 2014).

As a result of this fundamentalist ideology and the absence of democracy in the region, liberal movements arose calling for political, social, and even religious reforms and innovations, such as the Green Movement in Iran in 2009, which aimed to put pressure on the Iranian authoritarian regime, and the Arab Spring movements in 2011, which resulted in the removal of dictatorial rule in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen. We also witnessed other demonstrations and protests in Saudi Arabia, which is the focus of this study; these protests were more peaceful and focused on religious and social reforms, particularly women's rights (Bayat 2013). In general, these movements mostly failed except for small minor changes that do not represent what were the demands of the people. In Egypt, the dream of democracy ended quickly with the removal of the elected president Mohamed Morsi and the seizure of power by the army leader El Sisi, which left Egypt in a most terrible dictatorship; the removal of Ali Abdullah Saleh from the presidency of Yemen plunged the country into a bitter sectarian conflict; the assassination of Muammar Qaddafi plunged Libya into a conflict between armed factions, while peaceful demonstrations in Syria resulted in the relocation of over 500,000 Syrians to neighboring and European nations (Moaddel 2021).

The relationship between religion and politics has always been interdependent, especially in the Middle East. This interdependence and overlap are evident in the three democratic elections that took place in Tunisia in 2011, Egypt in 2012, and Morocco in 2011, where religious parties won with a large majority, reflecting religion's effective presence, strong membership in society, and respected leadership. During the Arab Spring, Islamist parties were constantly active, providing various social services and support at a time during which the government was unable to control and respond to people's social and political demands (Khatib 2015).

The role and image of these Islamist parties in the Middle East, specifically in Egypt, was described by Zaman (2011:1), who claimed: "The Islamic parties thus had the right formula: brand awareness (long-established parties and well-known leaders), legitimacy and popularity (a history of opposition to dictators and providing social services to the masses), and finally

resources (both financial and human resources that could be mobilized)." This argument is supported by Thomas (2005:2), for whom "The Islamic Revolution is one of the most vivid examples of how the impact of culture and religion was ignored or marginalized in the study of international relations. According to modernization theory – the dominant framework for understanding the politics of developing countries – secularization was an inevitable part of modernization. The saliency of religion in social and political life was supposed to decline with economic progress and modernization."

This clearly demonstrates that the relationship between Islam and the Middle Eastern political system is not obsolete.; rather, it is an ongoing relationship. People across the region were optimistic about a new phase in the political system that would achieve democracy and protect political freedom of speech during the Arab Spring, but after a decade, this optimism had faded. For example, in Egypt, the dream of democracy was dashed when President Al Sisi deposed the elected government of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2013, and more recently, in Tunis, we saw how democracy devolved into dictatorship when Tunisian President Kais Saied suspended the parliament. The democratic systems in Lebanon and Iraq are also on the verge of collapsing (Lynch 2016). People in the Middle East prefer a democratic and fair political system over dictatorships and authoritarian systems, this dream and objective will be difficult to accomplish in a region that lacks democratic entities such as independent and free media, transparent election systems, and independent court laws (Moaddel 2021).

2.1.2 Political and Religious Freedom – from Traditional to Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes

Political thought in the Middle East can be described as being bilingual: on one hand, the political system tries to reflect the Western version of politics with features such as freedom, democracy, and equal rights; on the other hand, it still follows the traditional political system that is built on the Islamic heritage spanning more than 1400 years with its main principles being the prophet, imamate, doing the right thing, and forbidding the taboos (Crone 2015). However, what distinguishes contemporary political systems from traditional Islamic political ideas is that the former emphasizes freedoms and equality, whereas the latter emphasizes authority and duties "In this period, law and order and the agreeable forms of life that they make possible were precious goods that could not be taken for granted. How to maintain political unity, social stability, and collective welfare were more urgent problems than protecting the interests of minorities and individuals" (Crone 2015:238).

Muslims believed that Islam brought with it Islamic traditions aimed at liberating them and all humanity from the rule of tribes and kings. As the Islamic state grew in power and the Islamic caliphate became more powerful, new imperial rulings emerged and rulers became kings. Muslims opposed and resisted the imperial power and its ruler, and this can be considered early political activism in Islam. Early Islamic thinkers agreed that it was important to obey the ruler, even if he was oppressive, because his ability to guide and keep the community together was more important. However, in the 11th and 12th centuries, this belief changed, and it became a duty to depose the wrongful caliph, but there were no clear criteria, institutions, parliaments, or special councils to do so (Kadi and Shahin 2015).

With the exception of the taxation system and the conflict between the ruler and the Islamic scholars who were focused on implementing Islamic traditions and laws, the caliphate's tyranny was not widely criticized, "but the schooling, education, training, funding, loans, healthcare, and the running of local affairs were then in the hands of family, neighbors, friends, religious scholars, and local notables, with only intermittent attention by the government at best and none at all" (Crone 2015:245). Comparing the previously highlighted old Islamic state system to a more modern Islamic or secular state system that exists today reveals that, while these modern states provide a clearer state system and greater security, they intervene more in people's lives through communication and surveillance technologies, transforming tyrant rulers into dictators and authoritarian rulers, and imposing restrictions on freedom of speech and political and social participation (Bowering 2015).

The majority of Middle Eastern governmental and social structures are now rooted in and constructed on religious regulations that meddle in almost every aspect of life, making religious freedom nearly impossible. Similarly, no religious freedom can be discussed in Islam because Islamic laws and Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) created a unique community of believers who became the strongest pillar that tightens all Islamic communities regardless of geographical state, and this community of believers did not accept or leave room for unbelievers (Bowering 2015).

Discussing "religious freedom" is not an option in Islam or the Islamic world, and the term itself was not known or used until people learned about it from the west. Religious freedom is an offensive term in the Islamic world, as it contradicts the obligation to the creator. That is not to say that every member of the Islamic territories must convert to Islam; rather, Islam has protected the rights of non-Muslims, primarily Jews and Christians, to practice their religions

under Islamic sovereignty "This was a right granted to communities, not to individuals... Entry into the Muslim community was open to all, but membership was closed, so that once people had become Muslims, they were not allowed to convert to another religion at all" (Crone 2015:246). A Muslim who abandons Islam and converts to another religion may face death or be forced to flee the Islamic world. However, religious freedom views can be discussed privately by like-minded thinkers to a certain extent, and it is the authority's responsibility to ensure that society obeys Islamic laws in public, but it could not control the individual's salvation or the private relationship between the individual and their God "Freedom lies essentially in privacy. The public sphere was where public norms had to be maintained, where there might be a censor or private persons fulfilling the duty of commanding right and forbidding wrong. But their right to intrude into private homes was strictly limited" (Crone 2015:247).

Arab and Islamic countries have theoretically supported global human rights initiatives, but at different levels. For example, in 1948, Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while Saudi Arabia did not, arguing that the declaration did not take into account the cultural and religious differences between Arab, Islamic, and Western countries (International Religious Freedom 2022). To avoid this conflict between Islamic traditions and universal concepts of individual freedoms and rights, and as a gesture of sharing global concepts of political and religious freedom, the Cairo Declaration on "Human Rights in Islam" was issued in 1990 and received the support of 45 Organization of Islamic Cooperation member states (Wilson Centre 2013).

As a result, there are some differences between universal and Middle Eastern human rights practices. For example, Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that every individual has "the right to freedom of religion, as well as the right to freely change religion and the freedom to demonstrate the practice of rituals," which is considered absolute freedom of man, while Article 10 of the Cairo Declaration states that "using coercion against a person or exploiting his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or atheism is prohibited" (Wilson Center 2013).

Despite all the international initiatives for religious freedom, the participation and interaction of countries in the Middle East in these initiatives and laws varies by country. For example, in Egypt, while the Constitutional Declaration issued in March 2011 and the new constitution ratified in December 2011 emphasize religious freedom, some provisions of the constitution,

laws, government policies, and practices limit this freedom (Wilson Centre 2013). The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia neither recognized nor protected religious freedom. The Sunni community constitutes the vast majority in Saudi Arabia, which is based on Sharia derived from the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*, and thus the vast majority of the kingdom's laws are based on Sharia, ignoring other religious minorities. The situation is similar in Kuwait and other Gulf countries where Sharia (Islamic law) is the primary source of legislation and Islam is the state religion, and the constitution emphasizes religious freedom, but the government does not always enforce it through laws and other policies (International religious freedom 2022). In the cases of Iraq and Lebanon, religious freedom is protected by their respective constitutions and other laws. The Lebanese constitution clearly states that all citizens have equal rights and duties without regard for race or religion, but it also works to establish a balance of power between the major religious groups (Moaddel 2021). Despite all these initiatives and adaptations to international laws and practices, the Middle East and North Africa continue to have the world's highest restrictions on religious freedom (Pew Research Center 2019).

The right to free speech, expression, and information in the Middle East is guaranteed by many articles issued by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the same is inspired and supported by International and Human Rights Law, but authoritarian governments in the region, particularly after the Arab Spring movements, implemented significant restrictions on these rights under what is known as cybercrime. "Nevertheless, the past decade has been marked by a proliferation of legislation across the MENA region that restricts and even criminalizes legitimate expression, association, and assembly, and privacy in digital space" (Shaheed and Greenacre 2021: 8).

The internet and digital communication technologies were viewed as tools and spaces for democratization, but they soon became a tool for surveillance and control. The cyber laws resulted in widespread censorship and blocking of news media and human rights organization websites, as well as restrictions on religious and political freedom of expression both offline and online, particularly when organizing protests, political reform initiatives, and criticizing government institutions and traditions, these cyber laws were according to Shaheed and Greenacre (2021: 9) "regularly used to stifle political and cultural dialogue online and offline, protect religious institutions and symbols from insult or offence," and were "regularly used to stifle political and cultural dialogue online and offline, protect religious institutions and

symbols from insult or offence at the expense of the freedom of religion or beliefs and freedom of expression of actual right holders”

2.1.3 Religiosity Diversity and Social Change Post the Arab Spring

The three Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), which account for nearly half of the world's population today, originated in the Middle East region, making religion a central phenomenon in the course of social and political events. From the civilizations of ancient Iraq and the civilization of Pharaonic Egypt to the civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean, we find that religion occupies a central position, not as an original part that enjoys relative independence from the course of the real event but as an organic agent whose components interact with the course of events in a way that it is impossible to separate what is religious from what is not (Tamimi 2013). Religion was transferred into an institution used in political and social affairs and to achieve specific individual goals. As a result, kings and leaders manipulated religious teachings to further their own political and personal objectives (Tamimi 2013). Due to this exploitation and politicization of religion to achieve individual goals and authoritarian ambitions, the relationship of religion to politics has undergone a radical change. To put an end to this exploitation, intellectual and armed revolutions arose in Europe, resulting in the emergence of the Western liberal school, which established a secular civil state that separated religion from politics (Esposito and Shahin 2013).

In the Middle East, religion and politics were always intertwined. The first Islamic state's ruler derived its laws from the *Quraan* and *Sunnah*; those laws and texts are what Muslims inherited in order to lead their nation after the Prophet; mosques are considered the first institution in which the state and politics were practiced, and serious political or social issues were discussed (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009). Islam has become comprehensive, with no room for separating religion and politics, as evidenced by the experiences of three major Islamic movements: the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Group in Pakistan, and the Khomeini movement in Iran, where Islam is viewed as a related entity with no room for differentiation between religion and politics or religion and the state (Tamimi 2013).

Following the 2011 movements that hit the region, social change, political instability, and geopolitical conflicts had a serious impact on religious beliefs and the tight relationship between religion and politics in the Middle East, which I refer to as political Islam: “ These developments have unmistakably challenged political Islam and Islamism movements,

affecting their ideological tenets, their views regarding relationships between religion and politics, their political practices and most of all their popularity” (Meddeb et al 2017:3). All of these changes and challenges are responsible for changing the region's relationship between politics and religion. This relationship was influenced by changes in the trajectories of political Islam and religious movements, as well as the geopolitical confrontation that necessitated negotiating the relationship between religion and the state. This aided the rise of new forms of religiosity and social change, as evidenced by the increasing number of modern religious, female preachers, e-preaching, massive youth participation in new social Islamic activism and Islamic charity initiatives, and new religious practices such as halal dating, burkini, and so on, all of which aim to combine Islamic traditions with modern lifestyles (Jung et al. 2014).

According to Meddeb et al. (2017:5), these new religious and social notions and practices have two means: "On an individual level, it enables social mobility, self-fulfillment, and well-being for the newly educated and practicing middle classes who, unlike traditional people, are looking to combine Islamic values with modern lifestyles; while on a collective level, it contributes to the construction of a conservative society by means of individual piety and not through the establishment of an Islamic state." Furthermore, these new practices were not limited to religious traditional education and preaching but included music such as Islamic rap, consumption such as the burkini, and leisure such as alcohol-free hotels, which all represented the shift from the Islamic-oriented understanding and interpretation of the world to the post-Islamist modern and new views and practices. "This shift explains why charismatic preachers without formal Islamic religious training successfully promote a "faith and fun" religiosity and can compete with the supreme guide of the Muslim brotherhood or with the sheikhs of Al-Azhar" (Jung et al. 2014: 120)

Furthermore, the internet, satellite TV, and new communication technologies led to the move from the classic-Islamist religiosity stage to a more modern-Islamist religiosity stage by enabling casual religious preachers to address issues of concern to young generations through their technological environment and with modern religious discourse that emphasizes piety rather than classical religious discourse and politicized Islamism that emphasizes duties and punishments while ignoring their political views and beliefs. (Haenni and Holtrop 2002). This modern-Islamist religiosity era demonstrates how religion believers gain the ability to shape their own beliefs and interpretation of religious practices and show less respect for traditional political and religious authorities, which is regarded as a significant sign of secularization. This

new stage was heavily influenced by the region's social and demographic changes. Youth, in particular, have advanced technological skills and are better educated than their parents; females have recently gained a greater presence and rights in terms of education and employment, and they represent the majority group in society, as population figures for youth under 24 years old show that they account for half of the total population in the Middle East region (Keulertz 2016).

The emergence of new Islamic fundamentalism movements confronted this post-Islamist movement; both movements, the fundamentalism and post Islamist, shared the same goal of purifying societies of customs and cultures alien to the Islamic society; thus, the fundamentalism movement believed that religion could be used to prevent westernization and purify societies (Roy 2004). However, post-Islamist religiosity saw that it was fundamental to strictly adhere to the *Quran* and religious principles and rejected cultural features such as art and music:

Neo-fundamentalism seeks to reconstruct imagined Islamic roots in order to rebuild the community from within. In a sense, it formulates a new identity for people who feel themselves to be oppressed, marginalized, and victims of injustice. This focus on norms, combined with the dissociation between culture and religion and globalization, explains the capacity of neo-fundamentalism to expand beyond the MENA region and into Western societies (Meddeb et al. 2017:7).

However, this post-Islamist religiosity and social changes encouraged religious diversity and the formation of individual religious spheres and popular social spheres that challenged the state, the traditional Islamic political thoughts, the traditional social systems, and the state's traditional religious establishment. Thus, “the co-optation of the religious establishment is no longer an effective way to rebuild the legitimacy of the regimes in the region. Furthermore, individualization of religion has gone hand in hand with the formation of a broader religious market, in which religious establishments are less able to compete and influence people’s beliefs” (Meddeb et al 2017:7).

Another critical challenge for state power was the emergence of more active social movements that called for fundamental social changes and their enormous activity and ability to create and guide mobilization to pressure authorities to comply with popular demands, achieve social changes, engage in political campaigning, and most importantly, engage in cultural production.

What characterizes social movements is their involvement in ongoing change and the continued development of new social and cultural values, relations, behaviors, and networks (Bayat 2010).

2.2 The Theory of the Public Sphere

This subchapter will focus on one of the main theories that frames this research, which is Habermas' (1989) Public Sphere Theory which will assist in understanding the developments in social media platforms to represent a new public sphere, exploring the religious, political, and social discourse facilitation in the online sphere, and understanding the role of these platforms in developing a new Islamic public sphere. Habermas' (1989) Public Sphere Theory drew a lot of attention and debate among researchers, and despite the criticism it received, it is still useful and recognized, which is why it is important to address it in this research "thinking about how wider social and cultural issues are addressed, and for trying to make sense of how agreement about what is acceptable in a culture is reached" (McKee 2005:6). Therefore, it is critical to demonstrate the theory of the public sphere in a comprehensive manner, as this study focuses on the anti-male guardianship online activism campaign that occurred in 2016 and 2017, where social media platforms, primarily Twitter, established themselves as spheres for public discussion and effective communication tools to share political and religious messages sent and shared locally and internationally.

I must acknowledge that many authors have discussed the theory of the public sphere, including McKee (2005), Gunaratne (2006), Curran (1997), and Fraser (1992); however, for this study, I will focus on the work of Habermas (1989), which will assist and enrich our understanding of the efficiency of this public sphere, particularly the online sphere, in a special and restricted context such as Saudi Arabia. I applied this theory to shed light on the anti-male guardianship online campaign and to see how it affected the feminism movement and the community in general in terms of accepting or rejecting specific political, religious, and social discourse and objectives.

The term "public sphere" consists of two things. 1) *the public*, defined as "an institution with recognized common goals and at least informal leadership, it is organized and made effective by means of representatives who, as guardians of customers, legislators, executives, judges, etc., care for its special interests by methods intended to regulate the conjoint actions of

individuals and groups" (Salvatore and Eickelman 2006:7), and 2) *the sphere*, the environment where the public needs to be active and function in it (Gunaratne 2006).

Habermas was one of the first to speak about the concept of the "public sphere" in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, which was first published in 1962. In this book Habermas (1989: xi) defined the public sphere as "a sphere between civil society and the state, in which critical public discussion of matters of general interest took place", also he associated the concept of the public sphere with a select group of private people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, dubbed the "bourgeois public sphere." Furthermore, Habermas describes the functionality of the bourgeois public sphere during this period, stating that "they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant spheres of commodity exchange and social labor." (Habermas 1989: 27).

Furthermore, Habermas's intensive research on the notion of the public sphere emphasizes the importance of separating the public and the private spheres, and he justifies this by claiming that the model of the bourgeois public sphere discussed earlier consists of private and selected people that form the *public* and who aim to serve and represent the society in front of the state, but at the same time they are part of a smaller and exclusive private sphere that focuses on private and personal goals . As a result, "the ideal public sphere for Habermas was the one where public life—what he called the systems world, the external world—would have no impact on our private lives—the lifeworld. This lifeworld is the space of organic humanity, where people develop their personalities, their identities, and their opinions without state intervention" (McKee 2005:51).

Members of the bourgeois public sphere used to gather in coffee shops and salons to rationally discuss and debate various social concerns and issues, and these debates covered many subjects such as politics and economics, with the main goal of reaching a collective agreement on the specific issue discussed " Certainly the coffee house cultural discourse became the new form of bourgeois representation but did not, however, represent the concerns or thought of the entire public at large. Rather, it remained a rather small and relatively exclusive selection of mostly men, with mostly middle to upper class" (Habermas 1989:37). However, Habermas claimed that this was not the ideal audience and participant model for the public sphere because it consisted of a "fragmented adolescent population instead of a homogeneous one; 'from

Habermas' perspective, homogeneity within the public sphere would help reach a consensus on the issues being discussed." (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:25).

Beside the homogeneity of the public sphere members, another important aspect needs to be considered: "communicative action," which is the process of communicating in a specific language in order to reach a mutual understanding on a specific matter and convert this understanding and agreement into actions (Habermas 1989). During this process, it is important that participants set aside their personal and subjective beliefs and views and follow a rational path: "We can argumentatively agree on what is in the general interest only if every participant adopts an impartial standpoint from which his or her own particular interests count for no more nor less than those of any other participants" (McCarthy 1992: 60). According to Habermas, the initial bourgeois public realm members were able to transfer their rational debates into actions armed by their deliberative power through face-to-face debates and interactions and the small print media sources available at that time (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009). Furthermore Habermas (1989:7) reports that:

The public realm existed not as a sphere of interaction and debate but merely of representation: aristocracy and nobility played out the symbolic dramas of majesty and highness before their subjects. To talk of a public realm is even misleading insofar as 'publicness', as a statue attribute or performative mode, was more significant than spatial location.

Other authors had thoughts and debates about the public sphere; for example, Curran (1997:29) defined the public sphere as "the space between government and society in which private individuals exercise formal and informal control over the state: formal control through government elections and informal control through public opinion pressure." This perception is supported by Eisenstadt (2002:141), who underlined that the public realm is intertwined with the government and private spheres but leans more toward the private, explaining this relation between the government and private public spheres as "it expands and shrinks according to the constitution and strength of those sectors of society that are not part of the rulership."

The development of print media in the 18th century, particularly newspapers and journals, aided in the expansion of the notion of the bourgeois public sphere and the participation of other members of society, particularly the literate, who were able to critically express their opinions and views more freely with the support of this new media environment and outlets.

"The bourgeoisie public, which was a "reading public," became the abstract counterpart of public authority and came into awareness of itself as the latter's opponent, that is, as the public of the now emerging public sphere of civil society" (Warner 2002:47).

It is possible to assume that the ideal public sphere should be built on two pillars: universality—the right for all to have access to the public sphere—and equality—the right for all to have free and unrestricted participation and discussion. What is interesting is that Habermas had some critical views towards the right of equality; he did not deny the right for all to have free access and free participation, but he called to keep outside the public sphere their culture and identity “ in order for everybody to be equal in public debate, they must leave their differences at the door and agree to all speak the same language” (McKee 2005: 145). This justifies Habermas' earlier argument on the homogeneity of the group and why he considered the bourgeois public sphere an ideal example as it consisted of educated white men who shared the same culture and identities. Furthermore, although the concept of the public sphere was inherited from face-to-face interactions and discussions in the bourgeois public sphere, what is more important than the physical space is the "presence of shared social spaces that encourage rational-critical deliberation that is focused on matters of common concern to the participants" (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009: 26).

Mass media, modernism, and commercialization ruined the ideal bourgeois public sphere and the beneficial rational and critical deliberation:

With the arrival of new media [radio and television] the form of communication as such has changed; they have had an impact, therefore, more penetrating (in the strict sense of the word) than was ever possible for the press. Under the pressure of the “Don't talk back!” the conduct of the public assumes a different form. In comparison with printed communications the programs sent by the new media curtail the reactions of their recipients in a peculiar way. They draw the eyes and ears of the public under their spell but at the same time, by taking away its distance, place it under “tutelage,” which is to say they deprive it of the opportunity to say something and to disagree. The critical discussion of the reading public tends to give way to “exchanges about tastes and preferences” between consumers – even the talk about what is consumed, “the examination of tastes,” becomes part of consumption itself (Habermas 1989: 171).

The existing media environment, which lacked quality and accurate political information, reduced citizens' ability and opportunity to participate, and focused on the personal and private

lives of political actors rather than rational and transparent coverage of their political strategies and objectives, all contributed to this distortion and turned the public sphere into an advertising arena whose sole goal is to achieve profits and discourage rational debates. This argument is supported by Thompson (1990: 113) as he states that “the public sphere turns the latter into a theatre and turns politics into a managed show in which leaders and parties routinely seek the acclamatory assent of a depoliticized population”.

This Internet and new digital environment are not conducive to generating intellectual critical thinking where the best and most reasonable voice reaches the audience; rather, it empowers public relations firms to shape the political agenda and manage public opinion in the scene where the loudest voice, albeit not the best and most intellectual, is heard. According to Roberts and Crossley (2004: 5–6), mass media, modernism, and commercialization have all had an impact on the relationship between the people and the government and states that “the relationship of the individual to the state has increasingly become one of client or consumer of services, rather than citizen. Individuals have become increasingly dependent upon the state, losing the independence that is central in the citizen role. Public opinion is no more the ultimate authority”. Furthermore Habermas (2006:423) summarizes his perception towards the relation between the internet and the public spheres:

The Internet has certainly reactivated the grassroots of an egalitarian public of writers and readers. However, computer-mediated communication in the web can claim unequivocal democratic merits only for a special context: It can undermine the censorship of authoritarian regimes that try to control and repress public opinion. In the context of liberal regimes, the rise of millions of fragmented chat rooms across the world tend instead to lead to the fragmentation of large but politically focused mass audiences into a huge number of isolated issue publics. Within established national public spheres, the online debates of web users only promote political communication, when news groups crystallize around the focal points of the quality press, for example, national newspapers and political magazines.

Although the media has been blamed for the disintegration of citizens' intellectual and influential participation in the public sphere, Habermas is optimistic that with new communication technologies and infrastructure, the online public sphere can include a larger segment of the audience, overcoming geographical barriers, and providing equal access to unlimited sources of information that can enhance critical thinking to evaluate the government's

action. With these technologies, individuals could form public opinion through the process of exchanging views and opinions on social life matters such as political concerns; this process helps develop a rational-critical debate where the focus on emotions and emotive language is minimized and maximized based on the rationality of the content (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009).

Many people have criticized Habermas' concept of the bourgeois public sphere. It has been critiqued by Gunaratne (2006) and McCarthy (1992) from several aspects, among them the issue of consensus, public rational debate, and acts that can be limited by postindustrial period cultures' various ideas and conventions, as well as individuals' interpretations of their own needs and interests. According to Goode (2005:8), the concept of equality must also be addressed , highlighting that the access to the bourgeois public sphere was not guaranteed to all and was limited to groups of wealthy and literate individuals “illiteracy and poverty excluded much of the rural and the property-less urban populations, and the literate that was energizing the bourgeois specifically addressed the bourgeoisie in both form and contents”.

Other criticisms of Habermas' concept of the bourgeois public sphere emphasize that the sphere should include different segments of society, even if these segments have different points of view, backgrounds, and social classes (Schudson 1997), and another critical issue was the dominance of men and the exclusion of others, particularly women, from participating in the public sphere, which prompted a call for a more comprehensive public sphere that can accommodate a diverse range of perspectives (Fraser 1992). Other criticism focused on Habermas' argument about the mass media in general and electronic media in particular, emphasizing how it discourages intellectual debates while ignoring how electronic media enhance interactive discussion and reach a wider audience than the limited print media “Inseparable from the public sphere since its early conceptualization, the media are central to the public debate, both in its more traditional forms as through new modalities enhanced by digital technologies. The transformation of the mass media paradigm introduces clear changes in terms of media practices and in the role of citizens / consumers / producers” (Sousa et al. 2013)

The criticism of the notion of the public sphere continues to include what is called the "Eurocentric bias" which has its roots in Western Europe during the seventeenth century and derived its meaning from the Enlightenment values of modernity that characterized that era (Gunaratne 2006:96). This Eurocentric notion calls for ignoring cultural bonds in non-western

societies and includes the ambiguity of distinguishing between what can be discussed in the public sphere and the private spheres, such as family, which cannot be separated from the public sphere, and what is also important to mention in the neglect of religion as a subject of public discussion:

"Another aspect related to Habermas' notion of the public sphere that cannot be applied to nonwestern cultures, especially Islamic cultures, is the total neglect of religion as a possible factor in public deliberations" (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009: 32).

The concept of the public sphere has dominated a large portion of contemporary literature in fields like political science, cultural studies, communication sciences, and the sociology of new media, despite its challenging conceptual framework and intricate structure (Sousa et al. 2013). As a result, Habermas' conception of the public sphere has endured as a foundational idea in scientific analyses of the circumstances surrounding democratic society's operation as well as the work of the media in advancing discussion and alternative confrontation.

2.3 The Public Sphere in an Islamic Context

The concept of the public sphere can also be used to explain the changes that have taken place in the Middle East. During the 1960s and 1970s, a movement and a public sphere to reform Islam emerged and continued until the present time, characterized by the development of the internet and digital media, which contributed to the rise of new Islamic public spheres; this Islamic public sphere was dubbed "public Islam," and it was rich in intellectual debates and practices, as well as the diversity of its participants. This Islamic public sphere or public Islam witnessed the involvement and the effect of Islam in shaping ideas, ideologies, and practices related to civil and social life that represent the Muslim community and also envision political Islam within local and global contexts; furthermore, these participants get involved in intellectual and critical debates about different critical issues related to the Muslim community and achieve what Habermas called consensus, which within this Islamic sphere is called the common good:

Although the nature and substance of these discussions are different from those adopted in the west, the definition of the "common good" and the requirements and principles that are needed to achieve it converge with the Western understanding of such a concept (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009: 32).

However, if the Habermas's concept of public sphere can be applied to the Islamic context in relation to the achievement of the notion of consensus and equality, it is not compatible with it in two main aspects. The first is that Islam is not just a religion; it is a way of life, and hence most, if not all, aspects of this life can be discussed in the Islamic public sphere. This means that the distinction and separation between the private and the public spheres discussed by Habermas can't be achieved in the Islamic public sphere (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009). Secondly, Habermas' notion about homogeneity among the group members, which he argued was important to facilitate the process of achieving consensus, is not valid in the Islamic public sphere, which permits all members the right to participate in the deliberation to achieve the common good regardless of their social, ideological, economic, and political backgrounds (Salvatore and Eickelman 2006). What is more interesting about the Islamic public sphere is that it recognizes legitimate rights for freedom of speech and freedom of discussion, as the *Qura'an* and Islam religion urge the principle of *shura* (consultation), which emphasizes the right of discussion, speech and participation. The principle of *shura* (which emphasizes the rights of all members to discuss and participate) is incompatible with Habermas' public sphere (which limits this right to selected members), and this represents the inclusiveness of the Islamic public sphere, which I believe is the main difference between the two, the Islamic sphere and Habermas' sphere:

The meaning of *shura* is the solidarity in society based on the principle of free consultation and genuine dialogue, reflecting equality in thinking and expression of opinion (Abu-Nimer 2006: 159).

As highlighted earlier, participants in the Islamic public sphere should reach the common good through intellectual and critical debate, which represents the notion of consensus discussed earlier by Habermas; in this regard and according to El-Nawawy and Khamis (2009:33) consensus in the Islamic public sphere "supports a collaborative and consensus-building process rather than authoritative, competitive, or confrontational procedures for dealing with differences." Another important aspect of the Islamic public sphere is that Muslim participants use various engagement tactics to analyze and assess issues in rational and reflexive ways. This intellectual and critical debate, whether formal or informal, is inspired and supported by religious authority that emanates from Islam's two main sources, the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*, both of which have heavily influenced the formation of the Islamic identity. Therefore, "the articulation and expression of authoritative knowledge in Islam can take place through both

formal and informal networks that form the Islamic public spheres” (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:34). Furthermore, in order to have religious authority, participants must have extensive religious training and expert knowledge of the two main sources of religion mentioned above.

To better understand the construction of the Islamic public sphere, it is wise to discuss four main concepts that constitute it: *maslaha* (common good), *shura* (consultative council), *ijtihad* (reasoning), and *ijma* (consensus). According to Hourani (1993), when there is a clear law and text in the *Qur'an* or *Hadith* about a certain topic, it is simple to point to this valid text to justify the same conclusion regarding a specific issue. However, when this is not the case and there is no clear answer or law regarding a specific issue, it is the role and responsibility of those who have the proper religious knowledge and training to perform *ijtihad* by inducing the law from the original text and source by using their intellectual thinking and sticking to a strict religious analogy:

When the results of this process earned the general acceptance or consensus of the wisest and learned people in the community, they earned the power and an authority no less binding than that of *Qura'an* and *Hadith* (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:34).

What is more critical in understanding the construction of the Islamic public sphere is to define and explain how the *ijma* (consensus) can be reached, validated, transferred into actions, and evaluated, which gave the opportunity for a number of legitimate and acceptable systems and schools (*madhabs*) to arise in Islam that represented the methodological foundation for the Islamic law (Hourani 1993).

These different Islamic schools, mainly the four Islamic schools in the Sunni sect which are *Abu Hanifa*, *Anas*, *Al Shafi'i*, and *Ibn Hanbal* arose to solve the new issues that popped up naturally as a result of the expansion of Islamic territories and the passage of time and did not have a clear and straight-forward guidance or solution in Islamic law. According to the *Qura'an* and *Hadith*, "it is important to bear in mind that each of these four Islamic schools of thought also had a different view on the degree of *ijtihad* that can be tolerated and how the concept of *ijma* can be best defined and how it can be arrived at" (El-Nawawi and Khamis 2009:35).

The first school, named after its founder Abu Hanifa, was the first to introduce a new concept in reasoning (*ijtihad*), which is analogy, with the goal of looking beyond the literal meaning of Islamic sources, the *Qura'an* and *Hadith*. In *Anas*, who disagreed with Abu Hanifa and

advocated for the preservation of the original text, founded the second school. The third school was founded by Al Shafi'i, who focused on expanding the concept of consensus beyond Mecca and Medina jurists to include all decisions and agreements reached by competent authorities, and the fourth authoritative school in Islam is named after its founder, Ibn Hanbal, who disagreed with the concept of reasoning analogy and permitted rational interpretation of the *Qur'an*. These four imams had a great influence on the interpretation of the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* and the development of Islamic laws: "After the death of Ibn Hanbal, the gate of *ijtihad* was considered closed among the Sunnis, and all the jurists were instructed to follow one of these four orthodox schools" (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:35).

Another important aspect in understanding the dynamics of the Islamic public sphere is the relation between the ruler and the ruled, the guidance that controls this relationship, and the support and obedience offered by the ruled to the ruler. This relation is best described by Ismael and Ismael (1985:12) as "The Khalafah, which is the highest authority in the state, is based on consultation (*shura*), choice (*ikhtiyar*), contract (*aqid*), and allegiance (*bay'a*), and never on heredity". What raises criticism in this relationship between the ruler and the ruled in the contemporary context of Islam is the disappearance of the principle of consultation (*shura*) which "in the context of the traditional Islamic political practice did not represent a device of convenience for the ruler in order to perfect decision making, it was in fact a vehicle for political participation. The prophet and his immediate successors used to consult with their followers specifically to ensure that they were on board with major policy decisions" (El-Affendi 2006: 235). The challenges confronting the Islamic public sphere grew more complex, particularly the principle of the *shura*, which lacks a clear definition or criterion for implementation, as well as the criteria for selecting its members and ruler, as well as maintaining a democratic relationship between the ruler and the ruled "with the expansion of the Islamic community and the establishment of a stretching Islamic empire, which brought a wide gap between the ruler and the ruled, and therefore the increasing distance between the ruler and the community made the problem of the public interests a central concerns issues" (Ismael and Ismael 1985:12).

2.4 The New Islamic Public Sphere in the New Media Environment

Mass communication such as satellite television, and digital media in various forms, such as social media, have had a significant impact on the expression of the importance of religion and its authority in the Islamic public sphere. These new forms of media facilitate deliberation,

change discourse style, reconstruct religious thoughts and actions, take them to a new unlimited and less strict level, and provide the ground for effective, free, and widespread religious debates, expressions, and discussions that are no longer limited to religious schools and worship places (Eickelman and Anderson 1999).

Although various forms of new digital media have developed a new Islamic public sphere by facilitating free communications and expressions and the production and dissemination of religious discourse and messages, it is important to note that these new media and communication technologies will not succeed in empowering the new Islamic public sphere on their own. New religious intellectuals, who are young, non-conversional, educated, from various educational backgrounds such as medical, engineering, and law, and who intellectually used the new Islamic public sphere and new media technologies to challenge the role of the conservative, private, outdated, and traditional religious rules interpretation committee Al Ulama, have contributed to the emergence of the new Islamic public sphere. These new religious intellectuals of authoritative legal and moral consensus represent a new segment of educated persons that competes with the traditional religious scholars formally trained in Islamic jurisprudence and play a new role in the interpretation of religious concepts (Eickelman and Anderson 1999).

Furthermore, these new religious intellectuals are seeking religious authority, competing and challenging the power and control of religiously trained ulama. This competition which takes place in the new Islamic public sphere with the assistance of new communication technologies has result in one of two outcomes: first, an increase in conflict between the traditional ulama and the new religious intellectuals and the separation and polarization of each party; or second, religious authority contenders intellectually integrate, accept, and accommodate each other (Eickelman and Piscatori 2004).

Beside what has been discussed above, new media technologies and forms have contributed to the development of what Mandaville (2002) called "media Islam." What he means with this term is the new media's ability to reach different mass audiences regardless of any time or space limitations or restrictions. The new generation is an important new media audience that feels disconnected from traditional ulama due to the complexity of Islamic rule interpretation, the traditional ulama's inability to understand this new generation's needs, and a lack of adaptation to the new generation's new requirements, "Many of those young Muslims may not attend religious sermons at mosques regularly, but they spend hours using the new media satellite

televisions or surfing the internet, where several of those nontraditional intellectuals have their websites” (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:48).

As a result, the new religious intellectuals were able to break down barriers between the younger generation and the traditional ulama, comprehend their needs, act in their favor, and, most importantly, create and promote religious dialogue that takes the needs and mentalities of the younger generation into account “No longer it is the turbaned Azharite [scholars from Al-Azhar] the trade-mark of the Muslim image; Islam is now available in far more accessible format, open to everyone” (Reza Sheikholeslami 2006: 55).

The role of new media in fostering and supporting new religious intellectuals to develop a new modern Islamic discourse, a new Islamic public sphere, and redefine the Islamic faith in a modern way and through a new environment that encourages participation and performance to redefine Muslims' religious identity that respects and maintains the connection with the past while adapting a new and modern style is referred to as the "objectification of Islam" by Eickelman and Piscatori (2004: 69). The objectification of Islam as described by (Roy 2004:151) is " a natural progression of the disintegration of the conventional Islamic power structure and deterioration of Islam, the dilution of the pristine culture, where religion was embedded in a given culture and society; the absence of legitimate authorities who could define the norms of Islam, coupled with crisis of the transmission of knowledge; and the impossibility of any form of legal, social or cultural coercion”

This so-called objectification of Islam that took place in the new media context can have two contradictory directions: on the one hand, it can democratize religious deliberation and encourage intellectual debate and participation, or it can lead to more confusion about Islam and its role in this modern environment and cause an authority crisis between the traditional ulama and the new intellectual scholars who lack proper religious knowledge and training (Roy 2004). However, it is important to note that this strong public presence of religion in general and Islam in particular represents a new form of Islamic revival that runs counter to what many modernist and secular scholars have argued and believed about religion in general and Islam's decline in the modern era. (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009).

2.5 The Islamic Revival in the New Public Sphere

As previously criticized, Habermas' theory of the public sphere ignored the role and importance of religion in both the private and public spheres; this omission was inspired by the European

Enlightenment era and modernity theories, which believed that there should be total separation between the state and religion, considered secularism to be the synonym of modernity, and predicted that religion would disappear from the public sphere because it restricts and does not keep pace with the concept of modernity (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009).

Many scholars have criticized and challenged both the theory of the bourgeois public sphere and the theory of modernity, including Casanova (1994:6), who argued that "religion abandons its assigned place in the private sphere and enters the undifferentiated public sphere of civil society and takes part in the ongoing process of contestation, discursive legitimation, and redrawing of the boundaries." What Casanova is pointing out here is that religion should not be overlooked; it can be constructive and supportive of modernity if it is integrated into the public sphere of civil societies. He supported his point by citing religious movements in general, as well as the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, which overthrew and replaced the secular and modern regime, as examples of the rise of religion and religious movements in the public sphere. Furthermore, Casanova (1994: 234) stated that "the revival of religious movements is a sign of the expansion. Religious traditions are now confronting differentiated secular spheres, challenging them with their own obscurantist, ideological, and inauthentic claims". Casanova's argument is supported by Thompson (1995), who believes that religious tradition did not weaken the modern system and its civil society and that religion in general is highly involved in people's daily lives and provides them with a sense of stability and belonging to the same community that shares a similar identity.

In contrast, opponents of religion, particularly of Islam, claim that traditional religions belong to the past, are not flexible enough to be compatible with modernity, do not fit in the new modern social and political systems, and that technology will weaken religious faith. Lerner (1963:405) was one of those opponents of Islam and supporters of modernity who claimed that Middle Eastern countries, the majority of which are Islamic, should abandon Islam and its traditions and follow the modern Western system in order to achieve progress and argued that Middle Eastern countries should choose one of two choices: "Mecca [as a symbol for religion since Mecca is the holiest place for Muslims and the site of the annual Muslim pilgrimage] or mechanization [as a symbol for Western modernity]." In my opinion, this reflects the concept of Orientalism discussed in Chapter One, the separation between the West and the East, and how the West perceives and imagines the East as threatening, traditional, and undeveloped.

The debates on Islam and its relationship with Western modernity continue to flow. Eickelman and Piscatori (2004) argue that Western secular theorists' presumption that religion, tradition, and modernity can't work together is invalid and that a relationship exists between religion, economic development, and modernity trends. Thompson (1995:93) notes that Muslims can adapt to modernity's trends while keeping their religious traditions and believing:

To view the renewal of religious belief as merely a defensive reaction to the process of modernization is to fail to see that there are certain aspects of tradition which are neither eliminated nor made redundant by this process—aspects which provide a foothold for the continued cultivation of religious and other forms of belief in the modern world.

Wilkins (2004) expands on the debate over Western secular theories, arguing that the uniqueness of Middle Eastern religion, cultures, traditions, and norms should not be overlooked in the process of adapting to Western modernity. Mandaville (2001:65) draws attention to the fact that there is no clear definition for 'modernity', and although it is always discussed in a Western context, it should not be limited and exclusive to one context and should be defined in a way that it fits in other contexts and for other cultures "to construct an Islamic modernity, one which retains modern features but elaborates them without reference to or conjunction with Western political theory, a modernity divorced from the West".

Ouis (2002) backs Mandaville's arguments about the west's criticism of traditions and their limitations in dissolving in the Western modernity environment by claiming that good traditions can be reconstructed to fit in the new modern cultures, which she refers to as "invented traditions." Furthermore, Ouis (2002) continued the debates and discussed what she called "Islamization," in the sense that adopting Western values goes through a cultural and religious filtering process. Arguing that Muslims are willing to adopt Western initiatives related to technology and science while avoiding secular Western values that contrast Islamic values and traditions, Quis (2002:315) concludes that "this strategy would resolve the paradoxes between traditions and modernity as it creates a discourse of coalition between the traditional and modern discourse".

The concept of "invented traditions" was adopted by many religious scholars and reformers to justify the calls and initiatives for a more developed Islamic society that are inspired by the old Islamic golden era "it is becoming obvious today that the traditional Islamic message, which originated in the heart of the Arabian desert during the "Golden Age" more than fifteen

centuries ago, has not weakened or disappeared, but it has acquired further strength and attracted more followers through its appearance in the new media” (El- Nawawy and Khamis 2009:51-52). Furthermore, new media technologies did not marginalize Islam's traditions as was argued by Western secular theories; rather, new media technologies were adopted to fit Islam's ideology, support the Islamic context, and spread Islamic values, overcoming any space, time, and freedom of speech restrictions. What I can see here is that the main two components of the debate, which are technology as a representation of modernity and Islamic traditions, did work together:

If technology is one aspect of modernity, then the fact that media technologies operate in an Islamic context has two implications: that Islam is not opposed to modernity and that modernity can exist alongside religious traditions in a nonwestern environment (El-Nawawy and Khamis 2009: 52).

Muslims today have learned to use technology to access Islamic materials, such as translations and interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith in various languages, to interact with other students and religious scholars, and to find answers to their questions about Islam no matter where they are or when. The internet and communication technologies are having a significant impact on Muslim lifestyles. All of this is a result of communication technology's capacity to make Islamic literature widely available, propagate Islam around the globe, and dispel non-Muslims' misconceptions about Islam.

2.6 Gender and Socio-Political Communication

Ordinary citizens in any modern nation have a collection of civil, social, and political rights and responsibilities that control and identify the nation-citizen relationship; the different roles, rights, and social meanings attributed to either men or women by society or nation define the term "gender" (Moghdam and Senftova 2005). All humans should be given equal rights, opportunities, and empowerments in order to achieve gender equality; however, it is notable that women in most, if not all, regions of the world have struggled to obtain these rights and to have an equal position in their societies due to outdated traditions, lack of governmental support, and restrictions on women's freedom of speech and political participation: “Often it has been the traditional patriarchal system that has held women back, in others it has been the lack of support from their government” (Sinha 2014:32).

Women have fought for their rights and recognition throughout history, particularly on the social and political levels; however, in the modern context, with modernization trends and communication technologies, gender relations and equality have been discussed more publicly, broadly, and internationally. The 1996 International Conference on Women's Issues in Beijing was a significant initiative for women's rights. The conference declared that women's rights are a serious international issue and requested the international community to take serious and effective action against gender discrimination and to improve women's status in many areas, such as political participation, education, and violence against them (Sinha 2014). Although many participants in women's rights conferences argue that it is nearly impossible to see an immediate improvement in this issue because half of the world's women do not have equal rights as men and this discrimination and inequality is deeply rooted in religious and social dimensions, they acknowledged that the Beijing conference, in particular, succeeded in raising awareness and achieving consensus on this critical issue (Moghdam and Senftova 2005).

As a consequence, the purpose of this subchapter is to discuss historical and contemporary women's political and social rights and involvement in the Middle East, which is significantly influenced by traditions, male superiority standards, and poor government backing. Historically, to delve deeper into the implications of religion on women's rights in general and women's political participation in particular; and, more recently, women's engagement with social and political changes in the region, as well as gender relations and inequality issues.

2.6.1 Role of Gender in Islamic Political Thought

Gender roles, particularly women's have evolved over time in Islamic political thought. Women's roles, and their salvations were mentioned explicitly and in reference to their male relatives in the *Qur'an*, such as Eve, the wife of Adam, the wives of Noah, Sarah, the wife of Abraham, the wives of the prophet Mohamed, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, who has a chapter that bears her name in the *Qur'an*. What is worth mentioning here is the story of the queen of Sheba, "Saba," who represents a woman with modern thought and political leadership style. Her political leadership was characterized in the *Qur'an* by being powerful, engaging in diplomatic negotiations, wise, and using a consultative system (Chaudhry 2015).

Although the preceding examples of women can be interpreted to demonstrate how the *Quran* and Islamic principles are supportive of women and challenge traditional gender norms, insisting on spiritual equality between men and women, other stories and concepts confirm

male supremacy, such as polygamy, women's testimony, women's inheritance rights, and many others where such concepts are used by male religious scholars to limit women's political participation and involvement in the public spheres "Another complex set of verses, which have become politicized in contemporary Muslim thought, revolve around the seclusion of women and the appropriate attire when they are in public spaces" (Chaudhry 2015: 264). These verses instructed the prophet Muhammad's (peace be upon him) wives and female followers to stay at home, speak to men through a screen, and, most importantly, to cover their bodies and wear veils. However, these verses did not specify what exactly women needed to wear, leaving room for debate on what exactly to cover, which was also affected by social, cultural, and economic factors (Chaudhry 2010).

The prophet Muhammad's wives are clear and early examples of Muslim women's political and communication participation before and during the early time of the Islamic call in Mecca and the Islamic state in Medina. His first wife Khadija was heavily involved in what I can call today's political campaign and supported him socially, economically, politically, and emotionally. Aisha, the prophet's youngest wife, was highly involved intellectually in politics and social affairs, particularly after the prophet's death, and was a main reference of knowledge that contributed to the constitution of the second source of Islam's principles, *Hadith* literature, which reflects her important role in the political-religious communication field. What is worth mentioning about Aisha and her political leadership is that in one important incident in the history of Islam, she personally led an army of 3000 soldiers during the conflict that happened with the early righteous caliphs (Bauer 2010). Aside from the prophet's wives, many other Muslim women were involved in political participation, battlefield participation, transmission of the *Qur'anic* text and *Hadith*, and even giving the prophet the obeying oath, which is a significant practice that reflects gender equality in Islam "Even though the words of the oath highlight the gendered responsibilities of women, it is nevertheless significant that women were required to state their independent fealty to Muhammad and the community of believers" (Chaudhry 2015:265).

Mosques in the early Islamic state were considered equivalent to the political parliament, political administration, and a community and judicial center in the contemporary state, and women's political participation and leadership in the mosque were contested; some caliphs, such as Umar, minimized their participation, implemented gender segregation in the mosques, and called women to minimize their visits and presence, while other caliphs, such as Othman,

removed this genre of barriers (Chaudhry 2010). However, despite all this contestation, women continued to participate and challenge any restrictions "Despite Umar's general attitude of discouraging women from participating in the mosque, women still played a public and political role during his reign" (Chaudhry 2015:266).

The colonial vision and projects to emancipate women in the region had a significant impact on Muslim women's relationship and political participation in the modern period, leading to the emergence of feminism movements and organizations in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that aimed to promote women's identity, presence, and political participation. However, there was always a tension between the westernization and authentic embodiment of women; for example, in Afghanistan, the Taliban portray and treat women according to the so-called authentic version of Islam that focuses on purity, while the United States portrays their treatment of women as a violation of human rights and cites Muslim countries' practices against women as an indicator of backwardness (Chaudhry 2010). These practices against women do vary from one country to the next. While Saudi Arabia and Iran implement restrictions on women's rights and political participation, others support women's involvement in politics. Egypt witnessed the election of the first female member of the Egyptian parliament in 1957. Female presidents and female prime ministers were elected in many Islamic countries, such as Indonesia and Bangladesh. These examples do not represent an egalitarian approach in the field of gender equality and gender discourse, and the path is long to form strong female religious and political power and leadership (Roded 2008).

It is important to note that while Islam in its early days and its true followers were supportive of women's participation in political, educational, and social levels, to the extent of considering the prophet Mohammed's wife Aisha as a religious and political intellectual reference, I see in the contemporary Islamic context some countries and governments who deny women's rights in education and political participation in the name of Islam and its principles and force them to wear a specific body and head veil, as seen in Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia went even further by inventing what is known as the male guardianship system, which denies women's basic rights, freedom of choice, and independence when it comes to marriage, education, travel, medication, and so on. This leaves the issue of women's rights unresolved, creating a need for a fundamental shift in state policies and social consciousness.

In essence, the male guardianship concept of women was not supposed to infringe on her political and social rights or diminish her humanity or self-esteem. The guardianship concept

from a religious perspective encourages the male guardian to make decisions based on the needs of his family for care, protection, and spending. In any event, it was not, as I see today, a paradigm by which the man controlled the woman, and where his opinion became tyrannical and authoritarian, and he interfered in his wife's affairs, such as interfering with her faith, worship, and desire for education or marriage, or interfering with her private financial behavior; Islam did not command the Muslim woman to blindly obey the man, but rather gave her the right to obey him in what is right; and you violate him if he commands a sin and he disobeys it (Alsahafi 2019). This male guardianship system which is a legal system and traditional custom in Saudi Arabia that shapes and controls the gender relationship will be discussed in depth in chapter Three.

2.6.2 Women Engagement in Social and Political Changes in the MENA Region

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region consists of 22 countries that share a number of complex issues such as political, social, economic, and cultural challenges, but what is more important and relevant to this study are human rights issue in general, and women's rights in particular. Early gender equality initiatives in the region can be traced back to the 19th century and focused on women's equal rights to education. These initiatives were extended in the 20th century to call for more rights in social and political participation and developments. Although Arab women did not have any formal political position in the 20th century, they were informally participating in political activism and the struggle for freedom and independence, as witnessed in the 1919 women's demonstrations against the British occupation in Egypt and the women's activism against the military and dictatorship regimes in Sudan in 1964 and 1985. Other examples include the Algerian and Palestinian women's long histories of struggle against the occupations of France and Israel, respectively (ESCWA 2005).

This informal participation of women, as well as the independence of most Arab countries by the 1970s, inspired governments to prioritize women in their efforts to achieve successful political and social change; thus, these governments intended to support and participate in international initiatives for women's rights, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing international conference on women's issues. The 1990s saw the emergence of a new concept known as the "Gender Approach," which inspired governments to develop and implement strategies to improve women's rights and incorporate them into national policies:

In response to that, policies focusing on gender equality, especially with regards to women's rights, were formulated, and national strategies aiming to empower women and address issues for the advancement of Arab women's role in politics, economics, and social development were developed (Al-Maaitah et al. 2014:18).

As a result, the region has seen an increase in international and national initiatives, such as the Arab Women Organization (AWO), to advocate for women's rights, promote gender equality, encourage political and social participation, and change laws and constitutions to empower women, all of which have changed women's roles and participation from informal and passive to formal and active (Al-Maaitah et al. 2014). However, in order for women to achieve their rights and gender equality, they must be involved in decision-making authority, which can be achieved through political and social participation in public and professional organizations. This was never an easy journey; it was always and continues to be challenged by various factors, and it was never stable; there was always progress and drawbacks.

For the first time at the 2004 Arab summit, Arab leaders discussed and acknowledged the importance of women's empowerment and full participation in decision-making trajectories as a key factor in achieving political reformation and economic development in the region. In Tunisia and Morocco, for example, progressive economic policies were developed to integrate women into the labor market, and as an important part of economic and social changes and nation-building, other countries such as Palestine and Egypt invested in women's institutions and developed special ministries for women's issues to achieve gender equality. "The formulated councils or ministries have the responsibilities of planning, recommending policies and legislation, monitoring and co-ordinating activities for various women issues, as well as preparing the national reports for the UN" (Al-Maaitah et al. 2014:19).

Some countries, such as Egypt and Jordan, have achieved women's political participation by designating reserved seats for them in political parties and parliaments; however, the majority of countries in the region, as previously discussed, have failed to meet the Beijing Conference's recommended target for women participation in decision-making and parliaments. Although Arab women are still underrepresented in parliaments, the number of those involved in political systems and parliamentary elections is increasing. Women gained the right to run for office in Kuwait in 2005 and succeeded in breaking through the parliament, with four women winning over competing fellow men and winning the elections; in 2013, Saudi Arabia allowed women to participate in parliamentary elections for the first time; such incidents sparked public and

widespread debate on women's political role and encouraged countries to include women in their economic and social agendas (Olimat 2011). The desired level of women political participation and gender equality has not yet been achieved and varies from country to country; this variation is influenced by women's education, cultural values, gender norms, and a lack of supportive environments in such an unstable region, particularly following the Arab Spring movements (Al-Maaitah et al. 2014).

Globally, women's rights and political participation rights face many challenges, including cultural and religious restrictions, lack of experience, corrupted political and election systems, and gender discrimination. Similarly, Arab women's journey to achieve equal rights and equal recognition faces many difficulties and challenges, including male political dominance, cultural and social challenges, legal discrimination, a lack of effective institutional implementations, skepticism, and a lack of effective institutional implementations:

Arab women face various challenges including socio-cultural factors, the stereotyped image of women, women's low self-confidence, lack of co-ordination among women's organizations, effectiveness and efficiency of women's empowerment programmes, shortcomings in the institutional and legal frameworks, practices of political parties and election process, and skepticism about the agenda for women empowerment and related strategies (Al- Maaitah et al 2014:26).

Two things are highly important in building nations and achieving democracy, which are human rights that cover both men and women rights, and full political participation; hence, there is no political democracy and no social and economic development that can be achieved without the participation of women in building nations and societies, and for women to be able to participate completely in political and social life, they need to see their rights recognized. What is noticeable in general in the world and in particular in the Middle East is that political authority, participation, and political institutions are controlled by men; Therefore, discrimination against women is a struggle for democracy and socio-economic development without women's rights. Women's political participation and contribution were highly noticeable during the Arab Spring movements and in support of the democratization process; however, this participation did not get any recognition and was marginalized from the political process after the movements, with political power remaining in the hands of men (Ebadi 2012).

2.6.3 Gender Equality Struggle in the Middle East

Women throughout the region played an important historical role in resisting external occupation and dictatorship regimes, prior and during the Arab Spring 2011 movements. Across the region, I witnessed Arab women political participating in demonstrations in public spaces as participants, organizers, or leaders, side by side with men, regardless of the different degrees of women's political and social participation. On January 18, 2011, Asma Mahfouz, an Egyptian blogger, used the Facebook platform to call and organize a protest against the Mubarak regime. The following day, Tawakul Karman, a Yemeni journalist, followed Mahfouz's lead and called for a protest against the corrupted regime and in solidarity with the Tunisian uprising. From Morocco to Iran, and from Syria to Yemen, women of various backgrounds, including journalists, ordinary citizens, bloggers, activists, and students, were advocating for democracy, social justice, gender equality, and freedom of speech, as well as informing the international community about what was going on and what their demands were in order to gain international support (Tazi and Oumlil 2020).

However, women's rights and gender equality demands were the first to be dropped and neglected in the Middle East's contemporary resistance history, as we saw in Algeria in 1962 and Yemen in 1960, as when independence was gained, discrimination and segregation of women in social and political life increased; similarly, this happened in Libya after the fall of the Al Qazafi regime, reinforcing discrimination policies against women. Political parties and parliamentary seats are controlled by men in Egypt after Mubarak's ouster and in Tunis after Bin Ali's ouster (FIDH 2013). Furthermore, participating in demonstration in support for women right and gender equality exposed women to various forms of violence, including arrest, beating, killing, and even sexual harassment and rape by the occupiers, the dictatorial regimes or their supporters (Khamis 2014).

Women's movements advocating for gender equality in the Middle East face opposition on multiple fronts and counter-movements. The religious establishment, as well as religious and political conservatives, are among those who oppose full gender equality, citing a religious interpretation of the principle of gender equality, which was interpreted as the need for complementary, rather than equal, roles for men and women, despite the fact that Islam's teachings were unequivocal about the equality of all human races, with no distinction between men and women (Bowering 2015).

The Islamic faith affirms and stipulates that there is no discrimination except through piety and good deeds, thereby affirming and specifying the principle of human equality between men and women. In terms of rights, Islam equated men and women and prohibited oppression or violations of women's material or moral rights. This gender equality movements embraces family laws based on religious principles that emphasize men's superiority over women and limit women's roles to caring for their husbands and children; these principles are found in most religions, not just Islam. As a result, the majority of women's movements and activists in the region are working to reform these laws and ensure equal rights within Muslim families (Derichs and Fennert 2014).

As a result of women's movements and activists' ongoing efforts and advocacy for gender equality in the region, male supremacy norms in some countries are weakening, while support for gender equality is growing in others. There is still resistance to achieving equality at home, and there is still discrimination against women in the labor market, but when it comes to education, the majority believes that men and women should have equal rights:

Middle Easterners no longer believe that higher education should be prioritized for men over women; the numbers who believe that men make better political leaders than women are falling; the picture on the labor market is more nuanced; and at home, fewer believe that a wife must always obey her husband (Moaddel 2021:30–31).

The importance of achieving gender equality and securing women's rights is critical to the establishment and maintenance of a liberal and democratic system in the Middle East. This issue has been the subject of ongoing debates and clashes between various sectors of society, including secular parties, politicians, intellectual leaders, and reformers on the one hand, and traditionalists and religious fundamentalists on the other. Another significant contributor to gender inequality is cultural ideology and values that emphasize male superiority, resulting in a kind of formal power and discrimination over women:

While serious attempts have been made to enact policies to uplift the social status of women in the 20th century, the decline of the secular state and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism have slowed, or reserved, this process in some countries, further contributing to the deterioration of conditions for women in the region (Moaddel 2021:31).

I have seen that significant national and worldwide efforts have been made in recent years to advance gender equality and the position of women. I saw legislation, programs, projects, and tactics in the Middle East area that attempted to empower women and promote and enhance gender equality practices. As a result, women have been granted more privileges in the workplace, in school, and in politics. However, critics point out that these state-controlled programs lack long-term governmental and public commitments and were created only to manage and improve the state's reputation on the national and, most crucially, international stages. Women still have a long way to go before they can overcome societal and cultural barriers to equal rights.

3 Chapter Three: Women Activism in Saudi Arabia

This chapter will go into greater detail about the study's geographical zone - the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - the case of the male guardianship system, Saudi women's activism history in general, and their activism through social media platforms in particular. Furthermore, this chapter will investigate Saudi women's feminism movements that are influenced and shaped by the contemporary Saudi context, the changing state-society relationship, and the time when we are witnessing a massive generational transition.

3.1 Saudi Arabia: Political, Religious and Media Systems

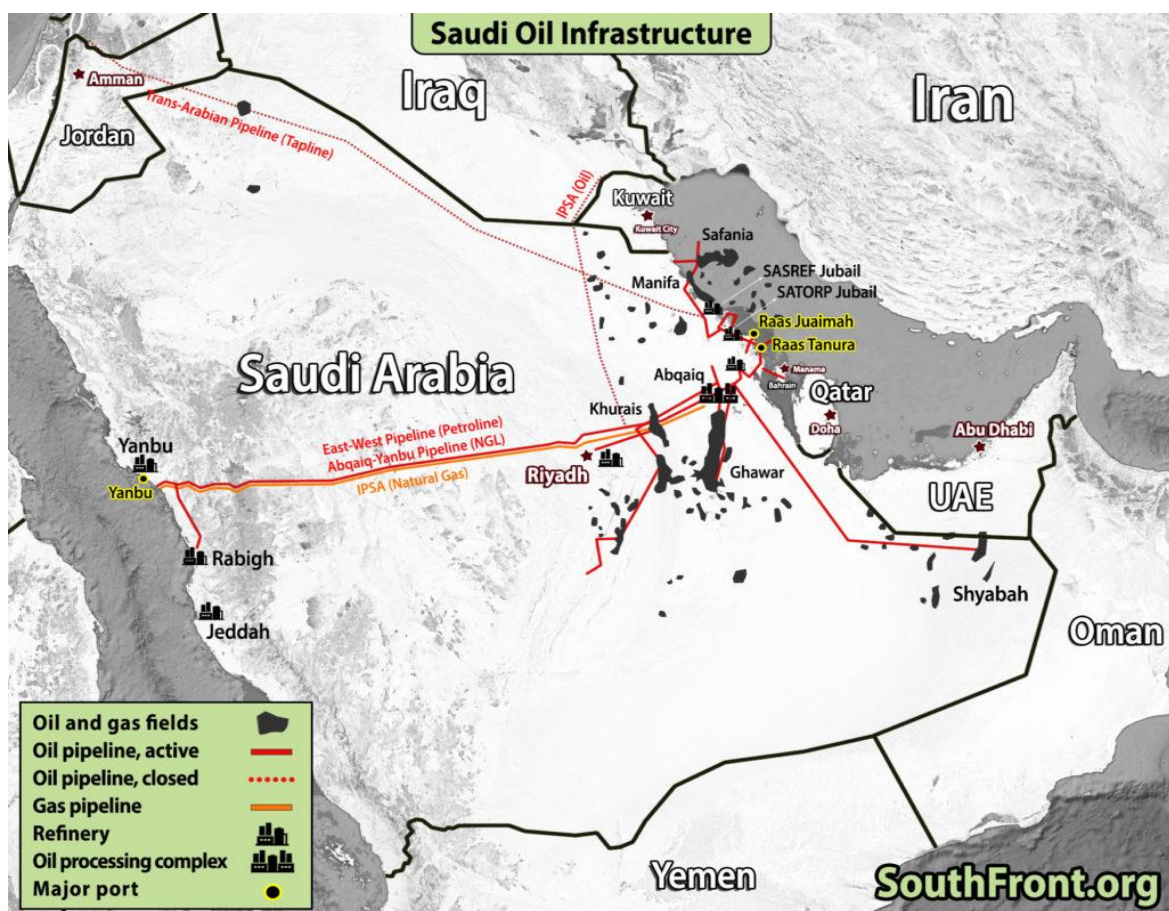
Since this research is centered on Saudi Arabia, it is critical to address its religious, political, and media environments. These are the three main contextual factors that must be defined and explained in order to comprehend the political system's authoritarian nature, the power of Islam and its involvement in all aspects of life, and government control over media outlets. These political, religious, and social institutions that imposed control over the development of political participation and social activities contributed to the rise of the phenomenon of online activism in Saudi Arabia, specifically online protests against Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system.

3.1.1 The Country Profile. Geography, History and Demographics

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Arab Islamic country with deep historical roots, it is the cradle of Islam and the Qiblah of Muslims all over the world with its famous and most visited mosques and pilgrimage centers in Mecca and Al Medina. It is divided into 13 provinces and Riyadh is its capital. The Arabic language is the official language of the country. Islam is the accepted religion. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has a land area of 2,149,690 km² making it the 5th largest country in Asia and the second largest country in the Arab world, with a population of approximately 37 million people (World Population Review 2023).

Saudi Arabia is located in the far southwest of Asia, bordered to the west by the Red Sea, to the east by the Arabian Gulf, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, to the north by Kuwait, Iraq, and Jordan, and to the south by Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia controls the majority of the Arabian Peninsula, accounting for four-fifths of the peninsula. From the west, narrow plains on the Red Sea coast are followed by mountain ranges

extending the length of the country (the maximum height exceeds 2000 m), then deserts and rocky plateaus in the middle (90% of the total area), the largest of which is the Nufud desert in the north and the Empty Quarter in the south. Wide coastal plains extend to the east and along the Arabian Gulf coast. Although 90% of the Kingdom's land area is arid, and it relied on the resources of the Hajj seasons, livestock breeding, and agriculture in some areas for economic activity, these arid lands turned out to be rich in oil and natural gas, and the Kingdom has the world's second-largest oil reserves, which contributed to the rapid economic development of the Kingdom and to be one of the most influential countries in the political and economic national and international arenas (Al-Farsy 2009).



Picture 3:1 Saudi Arabia Oil Infrastructure Map. (Source SouthFront.org)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has a distinguished position in the Arab and Islamic world as it is the origin of the Islamic religion and contains the most important Islamic sanctuaries in its territories, particularly the holy city of Mecca where the Grand Mosques is located, and the holy city of Medina which is the origins of the Islamic state during the era of the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) and the first Muslim caliphs. “Religion is another source of Saudi

transnational power. Long before the discovery of oil, gas, and minerals, another force shaped the rise of Saudi statehood, society, and culture: Islam” (Kraidy 2021:92). The Saudi flag reflects this religious statues of the kingdom, it is rectangular in shape, its width is equal to two-thirds of its length, its ground is green, and in the middle is the shahada (There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah) written in Thuluth script, and below it is an Arab sword whose grip is directed towards the flagpole drawn in white, and it may not be flown at half-mast or touched with land or water out of respect for martyrdom written on it and which demonstrates the kingdom's penetration and connection between politics and religion (Wynbrandt 2010).

The establishment of the Saudi state occurred in three stages. Muhammad bin Muqrin, the founder of the first Saudi state, first established it in 1727. This state lasted until 1818, when it was destroyed by Ottoman campaigns to annex the first Saudi state to the Ottoman Empire. The second Saudi state was founded in 1824 by Prince Turki bin Abdullah, and it lasted until 1891, when it collapsed due to internal disputes. The third Saudi state, also known as the modern Saudi state, is the subject of this research. It was established in 1932, and all Saudi lands were unified and annexed under its banner (Al-Farsy 2009).

Prior to the unification of the provinces of Najd and Hijaz and the establishment of the modern Saudi state by King Abdulaziz Al Saud in 1932, neither the state nor the Saudi identity existed. Today’s Saudi lands belonged to a number of tribes, each of which had self-rule, as well as the presence of several extended families living in various regions of the Arabian Peninsula. Except for the Islamic religion, these tribes and families had no real bonds, which resulted in the existence of continuous disputes and wars between them, resulting in the absence of political or economic stability in the region until King Abdul Aziz Al Saud was able to unite the region, the tribes, and families under his rule. In relation to the Al-Saud, the kingdom derived its official name, The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, from the name of its founder (Wynbrandt 2010).

It was not an easy task to unite the Saudi lands. As previously stated, tribes of various customs, traditions, and origins inhabited the Kingdom's lands, and they were divided by many differences. King Abdul Aziz worked to unite all the tribes under the banner of Islam, with the help of one of the most famous religious scholars at the time, Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab, who was respected and accepted by all tribes, which contributed to the establishment of a Saudi

state and a single Saudi identity, the Islamic religion being one of the most important (Vassiliev 2000).

This Saudi Islamic identity is the real link that brought together and united Saudi citizens in the modern era; it was the foundation of society and the modern Saudi state, and it enabled the Kingdom not to submit to Western colonial rule, as happened with most Arab countries, due to the political and military sophistication of its founder, as well as the religious support that he received “ Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world to be named after a single family, the Al-Sa’uds, who forged a historical power-sharing agreement with the Al-Shaykh family. According to this ruling quid pro quo, the Al-Sa’uds have full power over domestic politics, defense, and security, and foreign policy, whereas the Al-Shaykhs control religious and educational institutions” (Kraidy 2021:92).

In addition to confronting the Western colonial tide, King Abdulaziz Al Saud was able to confront the country's economic crisis and scarcity of economic resources. During his reign, one of the most important pillars of the Saudi economy—oil and natural gas wells—were discovered, allowing him to establish a stable political and economic entity for the Kingdom to the present day (Al- Farsy 2009).

The total population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was 37.199 million in 2023, with a population growth rate of 1.95%. 37% of the population is under the age of 25, while 68% of the population is under the age of 35 and median age is 29.8 years. In Saudi Arabia, as in other Arab countries, the male population 55.2% (20,540 million) outnumbers the female population 44.8% (16,658 million), sex rate of the total population is 1.230 and female labor force is 37%. Saudi Arabia is a young and educated country as the majority of the population is under the age of 35 years and literacy rate is 94.7% of the total population (World Population Review 2023). This is one of the reasons for the high levels of social media consumption among Saudis, as these young, educated generation has become digitally savvy; they were born in the internet age, and social media is where they spend most of their time and perform the majority of their activities.

3.1.2 The Monarchy and the Political System

The form of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is absolute monarchy, which means that the rule of one family (the Al Saud) is inherited, with the country being ruled by the sons

and grandsons of the founder of the state, King Abdul Aziz Al Saud and the chosen king rules for life. This monarchy, which until 1992 lacked a proper written constitution, does not clarify the segregation between the legal, executive, and judicial authorities of the government and restricts the formation of political parties, political associations, and political participation, with the king having absolute power over decision-making. Only in 1992 did the country develop a basic system of governance consisting of 83 articles as a sign of political modernization and a step toward political reform. This governance laws and system were derived from the *Quraan* and *Sunnah* as the primary source of governance and aimed at defining and organizing the state-citizen relationship from various political, social, and economic perspectives (Al Fahad 2005).

However, this step of political reformation that took place in 1992 by King Fahad reserved for the king and the royal family members the full rights and power to rule and control the country, giving vast power and recognition to the king who is the head of the state and the main ruler of the legal, judicial, and executive authorities. Consequently, this guarantees that the royal family members occupying the key political positions in the government will maintain control over the religious institutions power and will control their participation in shaping the country's political decision-making. All of this contributes to the authoritarian nature of this government and this political system. Therefore, this fundamental governance law was met with widespread criticism regarding the legitimacy of one family ruling an Islamic state. Criticisms arose primarily from the Wahabi fundamentalist movement, which served as the Saudi monarchy's main ally in the establishment of the modern state in 1932. Their criticism focused on the legitimacy of this man-made law from a religious perspective; therefore, in order to avoid the clash with the Wahabi movement and to maintain the country's stability and unity, the Saudi authority was always declaring that its decisions and policies were based on Islam principles and emphasizing that Islam is the main source for legislative, judicial, and executive institutions; furthermore, the Saudi monarchy supported the Wahabi movement and gave it strength to implement the provisions of Islam in Saudi society (Alatawi 2021).

This political system and the coalition between politics and religion in the kingdom did not permit the formation of political parties or political parliaments as in democratic countries. The only council that the monarchy is permitted to develop is what is called the Majlis Al-Shura, whose name is derived from one of the most important principles of the political system in Islam *Al-Shura*. This consultative council provides the king with the required information,

support, and suggestions related to public concerns but has no executive power to implement any laws or plans. The Shura Council expresses its opinion on the general policies of the state, which are referred to it by the Prime Minister, and in particular: 1- Discussing the general plan for economic and social development and expressing an opinion on it. 2- Studying rules, regulations, international treaties and agreements, and concessions, and proposing what he deems appropriate about them. 3- Systems interpretation. 4- Discussing annual reports submitted by ministries and other government agencies and proposing what he deems appropriate about them (Shura 2023).

The Majlis Al Shura went through two main reformation steps. The first took place in 1992, when the king decided to enhance the framework and functionality of the council by increasing the number of seats from 90 to 120 and providing the council with a level of flexibility and freedom to introduce new systems or reformation recommendations. The second step took place in 2013 with the issuing of three decrees in response to the Arab Spring movements and the calls for political reformation, the first to increase the council seats from 120 to 150, the second to allocate these 30 extra seats for Saudi women's participation in the council and the third to allow women for the first time to vote and run for the 2015 municipal elections. Many restrictions were, however, implemented on women participation in the 2015 municipal elections among them the gender segregation in the sense that women candidates can't print their faces on the campaign posters nor meet with their voters of the other gender and where not allowed to use traditional media for campaigning, thus they relied on online media channels and platforms which raised the concerns about the effectiveness of the campaign elections and participations (Montagu 2015).

The Shura council plays an important role as an advisory body to the king, responsible for evaluating and assessing the performance of governmental institutions, taking care of public issues, and providing the king with recommendations and suggestions. Despite this, the role of the Shura council, its representatives, its credibility, its limited power over decision-making, and its lack of constitutional protection are sources of public concern, which is centered on the fact that all the members of the Shura council are selected and appointed by the king; additionally, this appointment is accompanied by the members' obtaining of special social status and high economic intensity, which affects their credibility and interests in discussing the sensitive issues that concern the citizens and may annoy the king, and in return, the fear of losing the privileges granted to the Shura council appointed members. With the increased

demand to change the appointment procedures for council members and the call for these members to be elected and to represent different geographical and social categories in the kingdom, this public concern and criticism toward the Shura council came under fire on social media platforms (Alatawi 2021).

What should be mentioned here is that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not protected and immune from the internal and external forces that sometimes influence the kingdom's decision-making, especially on political and social levels. Internally, the Wahabi movement and ideology have a great influence on these decisions. The scholars of this movement, although they don't occupy sensitive positions in the political institutions, are very active with regards to the religious and conservative nature of society, and their influence is very strong on public opinion. This is why the government relies on the Wahabi scholars to gain the religious support needed to pass a controversial law, as I witnessed when the government wanted to pass the royal decree in 2017 allowing women to drive in the kingdom; this decree was issued after the religious authority approved the Wahabi community. External forces also have an impact on the kingdom's decision-making process, such as the relations with the United States, as seen after the 9/11 attacks, and the pressure put on the Saudi government and ministry of education by the American government to revise its educational curriculum that promotes hatred and violence. Human rights organizations also exert influence on government decision-making, as the royal decree on male guardianship in 2017 was a result of the Human Rights Watch report (Alotaibi and Mulderring 2021).

3.1.3 Political Freedom and Political Participation

In general, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia prohibits and severely restricts its citizens' political rights, freedom of expression, and political participation and demonstrations, to the point where all government officials are appointed by the King rather than elected by the citizens, which is a clear violation of basic democratic principles. That is why the dictatorial regime employs strict control and surveillance practices over any attempts to dissent, whether individually or collectively, criminalizes and prohibits opposition movements, imposes severe punishment on those associated with them, and uses oil revenues to protect the family monarchy from any attempts to overthrow it. In recent events, I have witnessed how brutal the government is when dealing with its opponents; for instance, Lojain Al Hathloul, a women's rights activist, was released from prison after three years in charge of her peaceful campaign for women's rights. and Salam Al Shehab, who was sentenced to 34 years in prison for using Twitter to follow and

repost the messages of activists. These two female activists are among many other regime opponents and activists who were sentenced to harsh prison terms that in some cases surpassed 40 years for tweeting on the Twitter site (Freedom House Organization 2023).

As previously stated, the formation of political parties, civil organizations and trade unions is not permitted. However, in response to the growing opposition and dissatisfaction in society with these political restrictions, some Saudi citizens activists formed the Saudi Civil and Political Rights Association, but its members were arrested and sentenced immediately after its launch, and in exchange, another political party, The National Assembly Party was formed in 2020 by some Saudi citizens activists in exile who were expelled from the Kingdom due to their political activities. Movements and political parties that oppose the regime, whether they live within or outside the kingdom's borders, are completely prohibited, such as the Brotherhood organization, which is banned in Saudi Arabia and designated as a terrorist organization. "Other groups and individuals that criticize the regime or call for political reform—whether Sunni or Shiite, Islamist or secularist—are subject to arbitrary detention. Prominent reformist clerics Salman al-Awdah, Awad al-Qarni, and Ali al-Omari were arrested in 2017 for plotting against the state, seemingly because they were perceived as sympathetic to Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood" (Freedom House Organization 2023:4).

Communication is critical to establishing and maintaining the state-citizen relationship, and in order for state institutions to understand citizen needs and societal problems, it was important for the Saudi government to allow a means of communication between citizens and government institutions and officials to serve this objective. For this, the Saudi authority adopted two means of communication that can best be described as traditional and, most importantly, non-controversial: 1- the confidential petition and 2- direct contacts with the officials whenever it is possible. Most Saudi provinces' governors or deputy governors hold weekly meetings where Saudi citizens were allowed to attend, apply for personal favors, or file a solicitation against a grievance. These petitions, complaints, or suggestions could also be expressed directly to the king, the court, royal family members or, with the advancement of the internet and technologies, through a special platform called Tawasul (*communication*). Due to the severe restrictions on political participation, political party formation, and social or political demonstrations, petitions, whether offline or online, and direct contact with officials appear to be the only available means of communication between the state and its citizens to address social, political, or personal concerns (Montagu 2015).

Political petitions, whether publicly or privately declared, are the primary means of communication between the Saudi government and its elite citizens, including religious scholars, businessmen, intellectuals, academics, and political and social reformers. Political elites usually meet secretly in small circles to discuss the issue, then present it to their followers for approval, and then target these petitions to the king and his close consultative council through the court or by requesting a meeting with the king to submit the signed petition. These public or private political petitions are claimed to be ineffective, unwelcome by Saudi authorities, and unrecorded. Furthermore, they have recently coincided with other events such as the Arab Spring and the widespread use of social media platforms, which advanced political participation and elevated public petitions to a new free level of online activism. The 'state of rights and institutions' and the 'anti-male guardianship' are examples of public petition campaigns that took place on social media platforms and sought social justice, political rights, and freedom of expression. They distinguished themselves from traditional and private petitions by enabling all internet users to freely participate in and register for these petitions (Rauchfleisch and Kovic 2016).

Analyzing the 'anti male guardianship' campaign demonstrates and proves the effectiveness of the internet and social media platforms in bringing about political and social change in Saudi Arabia for women. The first public offline petition against male guardianship occurred in 2012, when 25 female activists signed a petition and delivered it to the king via the royal court. The second round of this petition took place on Twitter in 2016 under the hashtag #antimaleguardianship, which was signed by 14000 people in just a few days, became a trend on Twitter for a few months, and gained widespread national and international attention. According to Alotaibi and Mulderring (2021) along with advancements in internet and communication technologies, some internal and external forces that the kingdom has faced in recent years have contributed to the success of some petitions and pushed forward reforming initiatives, including the second Gulf War in 2003, Al Qaeda attacks in 2005 on the eastern province that is rich in oil wells, attacks on the US consulate in Jeddah, and, most importantly, the Arab Spring events in 2011 that overthrew dictatorships "In the Saudi political annals, 2003 was the year of reform par excellence. 2003 witnessed not only a growth of literature on reform unprecedented in size and boldness, but also the government's announcement of several reforms" (Al Dakhil 2008:1).

3.1.4 Islam and the Shaping of Saudi Arabia Culture and Identity

Since its inception nearly a century ago, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has adhered to the Wahabi movement's strict version of Islam, which follows the Salafist tradition of adhering to Islamic laws dating back to the time of the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) and his caliphates. Wahhabism is a strict version of Islam that considers the *Quran* and *Hadith* to be the primary sources for organizing the moral and physical needs of the state and society, as well as enforcing Islamic laws in all aspects of life, social, economic, and political (Rice and Al-Mossawi 2002).

The Wahhabi religious movement, also calls itself ‘Salafis’, which means that the movement's religious practices follow exactly the prophet and his companion, allied with the Saudi modern state's founder, King Abdul Aziz Al Saud, to unify the various tribes and families who were settling in the Saudi territories to build a state, and in return, the state enforced the Wahabi manner of interpretation of the Islamic text into the state's institutions and bodies, such as the religious police, judiciary, and educational institutions, which gave Saudi Arabia this unique religious character as a protector and representative of the pure Islamic principles. This Wahhabism ideology emulates the Islam of the early generation of Muslims to be the guide for the new generation of Muslims and calls Saudi Muslims to follow and stick to the original practices and traditions of the prophet (peace be upon him) and the first Muslim generation and implements its Islamic regulations into the social, political, and moral structure, furthermore it emphasis “ the unity of God (tawhid), not just in the sense of believing in one God but also that he alone should be focus of worship and rituals and is totally unique in every way” (Aarts and Meijer 2012:4).

The kingdom is distinguished from the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries by the fact that the most important Islamic sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina, are located on its lands. In addition to its prestige, the kingdom is one of the richest countries in terms of its natural resources, which has contributed to its political, economic, and social stability. What has also contributed to the kingdom's stability are the strong ties between Islamic leaders and the kingdom's rulers. Because of these strong ties, Islam has played an important role in reshaping Saudi identity and culture, which has been described as conservative and resistant to change. The society's traditions, values, and practices, which are derived from Islam and its rules, can be seen clearly in the Saudi society; for example, gender segregation practices are implemented heavily in most of the government and private institutions; all shops are closed during prayer times; and

all clothing is uniform where men wear white gowns, and all women wear black gowns as this represents unity (Alsaif 2013).

The social structure in the kingdom is heavily influenced by the tribal system; the traditions of this system require that each tribe appoint a leader who commands the respect and loyalty of all tribe members; in return, all individuals who belong to the tribe must obtain the approval of the tribal leader and tribal council before making any decisive decision that can affect the tribe's reputation or status within the community. According to Maisel (2014), the tribal system is a political entity in and of itself, with great power and authority over its members. It is incompatible with the democratic system and is a major impediment to the establishment of a Saudi state based on modern democratic principles. Furthermore, when it comes to women's rights and roles in the tribe, this tribal system is seen as harsh and strict; it limits women's roles to stay at home and care for her children, it gives men more advantages and authorities than women, and it restricts women's rights to marry from another tribe, especially if it is considered inferior.

What is worth noting here is that this tribal system, Islam and traditions had an extensive and deep impact on Saudi society and lifestyle, which resulted in an extensive debate, conflicting views, and a struggle among Saudi individuals to differentiate between the pure Islamic principles and the interpreted ones that are built on tribe traditions and priorities. These contentious traditions, such as women's driving rights and the male guardianship system, are clear examples of how tribal traditions intersect with Wahhabi interpretation to impose challenges on women in Saudi Arabia (Wien 2021).

3.1.5 Saudi Arabia Media Systems and Regulations

As this research aims to understand Saudi young women's perceptions of social media platforms in their activist practices against the male guardianship system, it is critical to understand Saudi Arabia media system, its regulations, as well as where social media platforms fit in this system. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like any other nation, has been proactive in adapting new forms of media, beginning with newspapers and progressing to online media channels as we see them today. This media transformation journey from print to online media passed through popular audio and visual media stages and was influenced by geopolitical economics and religious ideologies. The country's media system began in the early 1920s with the introduction of newspapers, followed by the foundation of a national broadcast system in

the 1960s, and peaked in the 1990s with the establishment of strong regional and international media outlets in both Arabic and English, solidifying Saudi Arabia as the region's dominant media player (Kraidy 2013; 2021).

The first Saudi newspaper, *Umm Al-Quara*, was established in 1924. During the 1930s, coinciding with modern state unification, the press sector experienced growth, with two new papers emerging: *Al-Bilad Newspaper* in 1932 and *Al-Madina Newspaper* in 1937. Saudi Arabia has not published any magazines up to 1962, and the country's press was limited to three newspapers with a combined circulation of 25,000 copies. The government strongly supported press sector investments in the 1970s and urged Saudi journalists to produce articles in favor of this goal (Rugh 1980).

In 2023 there are 17 newspapers affiliated with the kingdom, the majority of which are privately owned by individuals or organizations, in Arabic, and printed in Saudi Arabia. Although almost all of these newspapers are privately owned, this has not prevented the government from interfering and heavily monitoring the type of news that is published, as well as getting involved in appointing or dismissing editors and journalists in order to ensure loyalty and prevent criticisms from affecting the government and its institutions (Alotaibi 2016).

Radio was introduced to the Saudi media environment in 1949, but at the time, the broadcasts consisted primarily of the recitation of the Holy *Qur'an*, Islamic lectures, and historical Arabic content. The reason for this limited broadcast was to appease the Wahhabi movement, which was concerned that the radio would distract people from worship “To persuade them that wireless communication would actually propagate God’s word, the king had Qur’anic verses read aloud and transmitted between Riyadh and Mecca in both directions” (Boyd 1999: 145). However, with the advancement of technology and the internet, a new wave of radio channels was introduced in Saudi Arabia, including MBC FM, which was launched in 1994 and targets Saudi listeners with musical and entertaining content. Another significant step forward for the Saudi radio broadcasting environment was the launch of five new FM radio channels in 2011 that targeted youth with a variety of entertaining programs, challenging the old and traditional vision of the radio channel's role in Saudi society (Alotaibi 2016; Kraidy 2013).

Following that, television was introduced to the kingdom during the 1960s, this decade witnessed a very critical political environment, political tension, and political propaganda in the region, necessitating the adoption of this new medium and propagandist instrument by the

kingdom to protect its political system and national identity. Furthermore, television, was a substitute for cinemas, which were prohibited in the kingdom until 2018, and it was a medium that could provide innocent and controlled entertainment to the Saudi audience, in line with the artistic and cinematic movements in the Arabic region. Furthermore “Saudi rulers have regarded national media, particularly television, as a crucial instrument for creating and sustaining feelings of national belonging” (Kraidy 2021:93).

With the introduction of satellite television in the 1990s, the Saudi government's control of television broadcasts was challenged in two ways: the first was political, with the Gulf War event introducing the region to the American TV channel (CNN) and the Iraqi propaganda through the Qatari TV channel (Al Jazeera), and the second was social and cultural, with the Lebanese entertainment broadcasting network (Kraidy 2013). Furthermore, the Saudi government was challenged internally with this new satellite television attracting audiences’ attention, with religious leaders putting more pressure on the government to impose restrictions on satellite television installations at homes and religious preachers being extremely active in warning people of the dangers of these TV channels on faith and morals. Almaghlooth (2013:33) described the religious leader’s reaction and actions to this new era of satellite and states that:

Its emergence in the country faced extreme hostility from religious leaders, who warned that it would ruin Saudi society and weaken faith of Muslims. In the early 1990s, many houses which had satellite dishes on their roofs came under gunfire. Many others had leaflets delivered to their houses by hand warning them that these devices were evil and dangerous to the unity of the country and its religion.

In response to these challenges, the Saudi government asked a close family member in 1991 to establish a new Saudi TV channel (MBC) that broadcast from London, but its media agenda was controlled by the Saudi government as it attempted to confront the Arab media revolution:

a recurrent preoccupation of Saudi officials has been to reform Saudi television to win back Saudi viewers from non-Saudi broadcasters. This entailed a “modernization” drive for Saudi television, resulting in the 2003 launch of Al-Arabiya, a pan-Arab news channel owned by the MBC Group and based in Dubai, and the 2004 launch of Al-Ekhabariyya, a Saudi national round-the-clock news channel (Kraidy 2021:96).

Currently, the kingdom, under the rule of the young king Mohamed bin Salman, places a high value on the media and entertainment sectors and is working to rehabilitate them in order to comply with the 2030 strategic framework and objectives. The kingdom established a new Saudi broadcast corporation (SBC) in 2018 with the goal of reducing various internal and external challenges and criticisms. Furthermore, the country aims on a national level to attract and control the youth audience, to support the social and cultural change that the country is experiencing, and to promote a positive and modern image of the country internationally:

Empowered with its oil wealth. Saudi Arabia pursued a dual media strategy, operating state-controlled and circumscribed domestic media systems which insulate the population from undesired external influences and uphold the religious sensibility of the kingdom while developing decentralized, open and modern transnational media systems abroad capable of safeguarding the kingdom's interest and promoting its foreign policy (Zayani 2012: 307).

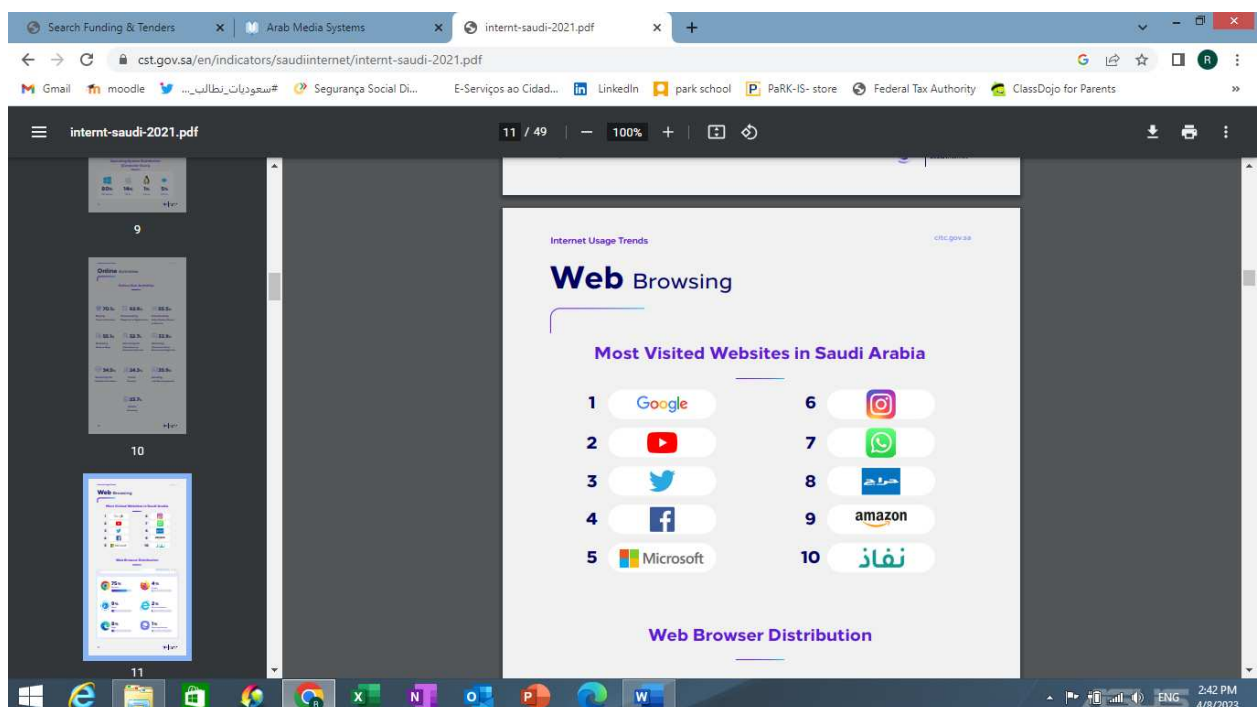
Given the importance of the internet and telecommunications technology, it was necessary for the Saudi monarchy to invest in these two areas in order to construct a controlled state and a connected community. Due to the necessity of using modern inventions in this sector to link the vast and remote areas of the kingdom with each other, the Saudi Ministry of Communications and Information Technology has undergone several makeovers and name changes and currently focuses on "Empowering Digital Saudi" (Ministry of Communications and Information Technology 2019).

The internet was introduced to the kingdom in 1994, with the King Abdul Aziz City for Science and Technology (KACST) serving as the internet's access point, as the internet was strictly used only for education and research purposes. It wasn't until 1999 that the internet was made available to ordinary citizens, with subscriber numbers increasing from 2 million in 2004 to 36.31 million in 2023 (Data Reportal 2023).

With the development and increased demand for internet usage, the increased volume of processed information, and, most importantly, the increased number of users, the Saudi government has tremendously invested in building a comprehensive technology, communication, and media infrastructure, as well as additional internet access points that served as the foundation for the telecommunication revolution we are witnessing in Saudi Arabia, the kingdom enjoying one of the most advanced telecommunications networks and

highest connectivity rate in the world. “Fixed broadband service penetration is 33.6%, while mobile broadband penetration is 93.5%, and Internet services penetration is 82%. However, if all modalities of connectivity are taken into account, mobile and Internet penetration approached 100% in 2018” (Kraidy 2021:102).

To regulate and manage this new and growing sector and to control, monitor, and censor internet access and usage, the government established a new government entity in 2001, the Communications and Space Technology Commission (CSTC), whose mission is “to regulate, monitor and to empower the communication and IT sector as it is one of the most prominent sectors which support the development and prosperity of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia” (CSTC 2023). Furthermore, the Saudi government established a strict framework and conditions for internet users to follow, prohibiting the dissemination of anything that contradicts the legal, political, and religious systems and establishments; additionally, "sites that are assessed to contain anti-Islamic, 'violent,' and 'illegal' content (e.g., pornography, gambling, and drugs) are regularly blocked" (Freedom House Organization 2023).



Picture 3:2 Most Visited Website in Saudi Arabia. (Source CST.gov)

This Saudi authority's control and monitoring of the internet was challenged with the introduction of social media platforms and the development of smartphones, both of which provided the Saudi population and activists with less restricted and less monitored access to

diverse online content. Saudi Arabia has a high penetration of social media platform usage, which reached 98.1% in 2021, with nearly equal penetration percentages across the two genders: 98.5% for men and 97.7% for women. Furthermore, in Saudi Arabia, WhatsApp, Snapchat, YouTube, and Twitter are among the most popular social networking networks (CITC 2021).

Social media platform usage is becoming a genuine challenge to Saudi authorities, who are working hard to regulate the public dialogue, criticism, and contestation taking place in the online arena. While the Saudi government has the power to oversee traditional media channels, it has a significant difficulty in monitoring the large social media contents and accounts, which also extend beyond the scope of its jurisdiction. Noman et al. (2015:4) best described the challenge of regulating the online realm, notably the Twitter sphere and states that:

We tested local access to all of the twitter account pages that have political dissident content as well as various accounts that have sensitive contents and found no evidence that any of the pages are blocked, it is likely that the censors in Saudi Arabia do not have the capability in their current filtering infrastructure to block access to specific Twitter account pages without blocking Twitter entirely.

The authoritarian Saudi government did not back down from attempting to regulate and control the production and distribution of online political and social activities and discourse. Among these efforts are: 1- the arrest and prosecution of any identified online activists, 2- the introduction in 2017 of a new antiterrorism law that views online activism as a threat to national unity, public security, and order, 3- the criminalization of any criticism of the king, crown prince, religious leaders, and government officials, 4- Most importantly, the Saudi authorities threats to its opponents and activists have increased as the kingdom has been prosecuting and assassinating political dissidents and journalists, whether inside or outside Saudi territory, as we saw in 2018, when the Saudi authorities assassinated Saudi journalist and opponent Jamal Khashoggi inside the Saudi Embassy in Istanbul, which was one of the year's biggest media events:

The government maintains an extensive system of social media surveillance and regulation and invests considerable resources in automated “bot” and other accounts that influence and distort the social media environment and target prominent users. In 2020, internet activist Amani al-Zain was reportedly arrested after a video of her

criticizing the crown prince—and making a reference to Khashoggi's murder—surfaced (Freedom House Organization 2023).

With the appointment of Mohammed bin Salman as crown prince, he became the de facto ruler of the kingdom, and he devised exceedingly ambitious plans and a vision for the kingdom dubbed "Saudi Vision 2030." This vision's main goal is to consolidate full media power under the crown prince and direct all traditional and new media outlets to serve as an entertainment platform that promotes domestic and foreign policy rather than a platform to serve human rights, namely freedom of speech and expression. For the crown prince to have complete control of the media, he ordered the arrest of approximately 12 political, royal, business, and media elites in 2017, who were imprisoned in a 5-star hotel in Riyadh for a few weeks. Among those arrested were media tycoons Prince Al Waleed bin Talal (owner of Rotana Media Group) and Walid al Ibrahim (owner of MBC Media Group):

By putting pressure on the media moguls, the Crown Prince is gaining financial leverage over some of Saudi Arabia's richest men, thereby concentrating an astonishing amount of Arab media power in his own hands and positioning himself to control a nascent entertainment sector that is poised to grow explosively in the near future (Kraidy 2021: 101).

The Saudi government is a major participant and investor in the media sector in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and the Saudi Vision 2030 heavily relies on this industry. From one perspective, this media industry investment will increase the availability of entertainment alternatives, raise economic contribution, preserve national history, and enhance Saudi Arabia's reputation. In addition to funding this industry, the Saudi Arabian government also controls and regulates it by censoring media outlets and online material, which is detrimental to freedoms of expression and freedom of speech.

3.2 Saudi Women Feminist Movement

Saudi Arabia's tribal system and conservative/literal interpretation of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* have limited women's chances of participating in society. These tribal customs of controlling women have been permeated in the society more intensively with the development of information technologies, in the sense that the accompanying of the women's male guardian in public spaces and his consent to complete an order have been transferred into the digital sphere by forcing women to submit their male guardian's consent digitally to perform a task in the

public sphere, such as the online permission to travel or the online permission to education. These accompaniment and consent practices exacerbated the gender segregation issue; for example, they barred women from mobilization freedom and employment possibilities in a gender mixed environment and entity and resulted in a significant gender equality gap in Saudi Arabia:

The downsides of the gender inequality inscribed in the Saudi legal system and social structure are multiple: the limitations caused by the guardianship system, narrow opportunities for women's careers, the rampant abuses caused by the lack of codified personal and family code as well as codified penal code, to name a few (Karolak 2014: 136).

What is worth noting here is that the Saudi government, women activists, and foreign organizations like Human Rights Watch have all recognized the issue of women's rights; these numerous recognitions constitute a significant step and force towards establishing women's rights in the kingdom. The efforts of Saudi women activists, whether offline or online, to achieve equal rights and recognition, the call for an effective code penalizing violence against women, and, most importantly, the abolition of the male guardianship system, are ongoing and diverse (Alsahafi 2019; Karolak 2014).

As a result, international organizations have called the region's peoples to reformulate the patriarchal society that considers women less than men and does not allow them to express their opinions, re-educate it, and rearrange its priorities, beginning with educating women and raising a generation of males capable of envisioning women as partners in life, homeland, and everything that happens in the political arena, and to respect them and their social and political capabilities:

The staunch patriarchal character of governments continues to impact the movement towards gender equality which, in turn, reinforces the structural inequities present in negative socio-cultural norms and practices through laws, justice mechanisms and socio-political institutions. Many States in the region still allow such norms and practices to restrict the rights of females relative to males, and limit access for women and girls to targeted education regarding their rights and other substantive empowerment initiatives (Unicef, 2021).

3.2.1 Saudi Women's Activism History

Saudi women have played an important role in the kingdom's ideology, legitimacy, and national identity; however, due to religion and traditions that instilled a sense of control and protection in women, their role and appearance remained hidden until the 1960s. With the discovery of the oil wells and the enormous revenues that have resulted, the kingdom has been able to build a new state capable of competing with other, more developed states in the region, particularly Egypt under Jamal Abdel Nasser and his nationalist ideology. To prove itself on national and international levels, this new state incorporated women into its state policy, calling for and supporting women's education and employment while intensifying gender segregation practices; thus, this step is regarded as the nucleus for the Saudi women's rights movement in Saudi Arabia (Lacroix 2011).

By the 1970s, with the oil boom, increased investment in women's education, and the proliferation of gender segregation policies and segregated educational institutions, Saudi academic women had found a place and a network to organize political activism initiatives and activities. The 1980s were a turning point for women's activism in Saudi Arabia after two main events in 1979: the Iranian Islamic Revolution and the seizure of the Grand Mosque, which challenged the Saudi government's modernization project. To respond to these new challenges and protect the monarchy, the Saudi government decided to form an alliance with the fanatical religious institution and its socially active Islamist members known as Al Sahwa. This alliance was producing and disseminating new cultural beliefs towards Saudi women, was a failure in terms of Saudi women's social and political rights and position and had been the subject of long societal debates and recently witnessed critiques by the feminist movement:

The most prominent of these cultural believes are: Saudi women are privileged queens who need not leave the home as they receive the protection and care of religiously minded Saudi men; and Saudi women are like unwrapped candies and must remain covered lest they spoil or be pursued by others desiring their sweetness (Doaiji 2017:3-4).

Ironically, the Al Sahwa movement was able to recruit Saudi women into its religious establishment during the post-taifra period of the 1980s and 1990s. The drop in oil prices and revenues, the emergence of the Saudization phenomenon, and Saudi women's limited employment opportunities in educational and religious establishments all contributed to the

emergence of a new wave of Islamic women preachers and Islamic feminists whose ideology and agenda were shaped by Al Sahwa. Islamic feminists shared and disseminated their critique through the educational and religious institutions where they worked or studied. These critiques focused on how Westernization and the presence of expatriate women harm Saudi society (Al Rasheed 2013).

Saudi women's political and social activism advanced in the 1990s and early 2000s, shifting from limited intellectual spaces into a broader space, particularly after the Gulf War and the continued suspension of political and social participation. Women were able to take their fight to the streets when they organized the first streetcar protests in their campaign for the right to drive in 1990, in which 47 Saudi educated women circled the streets in 13 cars and demonstrated against restrictions on women's driving rights. Women who participated in this driving campaign were arrested, detained, had their passports reserved, lost their jobs, faced discrimination and denunciation, and were only released after their male guardian signed a pledge that they would not violate the kingdom's women's driving law, which is an affront to the rights and dignity of women. This incident fueled the emergence of additional feminist actions, strengthening the networking and alliance between the Islamist and liberal women movements, and providing a foundation and support for a new generation of women activists (Al Rasheed 2013).

The 2000s were regarded as a watershed moment in Saudi Arabia's reformation policies. The September 11 and domestic terrorism attacks resulted in major structural social and political changes, restricting the dominant Islamic orientation and instead promoting nationhood, all of which had a significant impact on women's activism in Saudi Arabia. In its war on terrorism, the kingdom sought to arrest many people and restrict many organizations with Islamic leanings, allowing the emergence of reform movements that proliferated during this period, known as the Riyadh Spring, which focused on criticizing the religious establishment, demanding political rights, freedom of speech and participation, and promoting women's rights "Thus, three new arenas for women's activism emerged in the first decade of the new millennium: reformist movements and their petitions, the political prisoners' movement; and the beginning of new online communities emerging via blogs, forums, and circulated emails" (Doaiji 2017:5).

The kingdom witnessed the first women's physical political protests in support of political prisoners in 2007, when women protested in front of the Buraidah prison, calling for faster

political prisoners' trials, contact with them, and demand a fair trial. With the advent of the internet and new communication technologies, a new and effective space that can be used to support women's issues has emerged, with Saudi women activists forming a new organization to protect women's rights. Many offline women's activism movements moved to social media platforms, for example, and not as a limitation, the political prisoners' movements moved to social media platforms; a "prisoners until when" Facebook page and a "detained" Twitter hashtag were created (Ottaway 2011).

3.2.2 Saudi Women's Activism and Resistance in a Changing Region

Tracing back the women's activism movement before the Arab Spring and technological development, I discover that Arab women and active Muslim women played a significant role in the region's political struggle, particularly during the nineteenth-century stage of resistance to imperialism and colonialism, and several prominent names appeared in this struggle, including Hoda Shaarawy, president of Egypt's Feminist Union, and Malika El Fassi, a Moroccan women's activist for women's education rights (Cooke 2016; Khamis 2014).

After most Arab states gained independence in the 1960s and 1970s, Arab women activists became involved in several feminist institutions to denounce the deprivation of women's social and political rights, as well as their exclusion from the dialogue table and participation in decision-making. Despite their participation in the anti-colonialist struggle, women were rejected and denied their rights, and their role was limited to caring for their families. Following that, women endured a great deal in order to highlight their role and obtain their rights (Sadiqi 2016).

The Arab Spring had a profound impact on this social and political structure and power balance and resulted in a social awakening that shook the structure of traditional Arab societies such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, particularly in terms of gender roles and women's rights. Furthermore, these awakenings strengthened women's ability to overcome and challenge these limitations. Women's activism and struggle, as well as their resistance to these restrictions, manifested on a social and political level, allowing women to gain appreciation, respect, and rights (Khamis 2017; Radsch and Khamis 2013).

As a matter of protecting its territories, Saudi Arabia dealt firmly with the wave of demonstrations witnessed by the kingdom and inspired by the waves of Arab springs. To

control the uprising, the kingdom used military force as well as control over information and media technologies; however, all of these practices did not protect the kingdom from political and social transformation. Although the Saudi government recognized women's political rights in 2005 and prior to the Arab Spring movements, women's social and political rights in the kingdom remained the lowest in the region, and this served as the grassroots for Saudi women's activism and the core for women's rights issues in Saudi society "The question whether women are to be considered adults with full rights as citizens or treated as permanently immature, thus requiring constant supervision by their closest male relatives, still stands" (Doumato 2001:166).

Although Saudi women's rights reformation initiatives benefited from Arab rising events, other internal and external events in the region affected the kingdom's internal policies, particularly those related to and addressing women, and contributed to the gradual reform of Saudi women's statutes. The Islamic revolution in Iran and the storming of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, both of which occurred in 1979, created a type of religious fanaticism and conservative practices that increased gender segregation and the appearance of women, as well as their images in the media. The American invasion of Iraq in 1991 was accompanied by widespread public dissatisfaction with the Saudi monarchy and a growing role for religious institutions in promoting more conservative practices and policies, particularly toward women. The shocking terrorist attacks of 9/11- had a different but short-term impact as 15 were citizens of Saudi Arabia, and called for immediate and fundamental changes in the political and social systems in Saudi Arabia as evidenced by the establishment of the Saudi National Dialogue Center, which advocated for the need to change women's statutes legislatively and promotes women's political and social participation in the public sphere, "Although these recommendations were not automatically implemented, discussing them in a public forum and acknowledging the need for change was a new phenomenon" (Karolak 2014: 135).

Most initiatives to organize feminism movements in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia were met with heavy gender segregation restrictions and laws prohibiting women's participation in the traditional and physical public spheres until two significant events reshaped Saudi women's feminism movements, the first of which was the Arab Spring movement "Revolutions in neighboring Arab countries have raised the consciousness of women who are questioning why Saudi society is marginalizing them. This consciousness has sparked the strings of what some women are describing as the potential for a Saudi -Islamic feminist movements" (Wagner 2011:

para 5). The second event occurred when the kingdom witnessed a significant advancement in communication technology and the widespread use of social media platforms. These technological advancements provided Saudi women with the opportunity to access and assess Western-style feminism movements, allowing them to educate themselves, familiarize themselves, and raise awareness about the framework and objectives of such movements and as a result “Saudi women resist Western methods that they see contributing to increased divorce, infidelity, addiction and a weakened family structure. The Western world and its “narrow-minded” ethnocentric feminism framework are seen promoting double standards of American men and women” (Mishra 2007:270). Saudi women utilized the Middle Eastern Islamic perspective for women's rights movements in order to develop a Saudi Islamic feminism movement that was more compatible with Saudi conservative society and Islamic values “despite the self-avowedly apolitical stance of the pietists, their practices have a profoundly transformative affect in the social and political fields. They have transformed the very ground on which nationalist, statist, and other kinds of secular-liberal projects can be envisioned and practiced” (Mahmood 2005: xi).

According to the Saudi Islamic feminism movements, Islam and its main sources of legitimacy, the *Quran* and *Hadith*, do not support gender discrimination or disparities in the treatment of men and women. What is responsible for this gender equality and violence against women are cultural beliefs and values that vary from one Islamic country to the next, in addition to the gender-biased interpretation of the *Qur'anic* text. Furthermore, these Islamic feminism movements intersect with and support Western feminism movements on issues of gender inequality and violence against women but do not adopt their perspectives in dealing with and resolving the same; instead, they rely on religion for empowerment and resistance to oppression “Western feminism and Islamic feminism oppose violence against women, Islamic feminism ties that opposition to the *Quran* and the *Hadith*, and in doing so can be empowering to Islamic women in ways that Western feminism simply cannot” (Halim and Meyesr 2010:87).

It is critical to note that there are three categories of feminist scholars in the Middle East in general and in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in particular. The secular feminists, Islamist feminists and the Islamic feminists. According to Morin (2009:386) “the secular feminists, located on the left of the political scale, contented that religion has no place in public life, and they refuse any notion of feminism within an Islamic framework”.

In contrast to secular feminists, Islamist feminists argue that the existence of a true, authentic interpretation of Islam eliminates the need for feminist movements; they do not seek equal rights in employment or political participation but rather respect for women from an Islamic and religious perspective:

islamists feminism, rejecting the patriarchy of theology, advocate that women reinterpret the Quran and holy texts from the islamist perspectives, what they claim to be the true perspectives. Using Muhammad's (peace be upon him) treatment of his wife, daughters and several female advisers they claim that true Islam is meant to be gender egalitarian (Tschirhat 2014:62).

The third type of feminism movement, Islamic feminists, is the largest and is situated between secular feminist and islamist feminist organizations "Taking the middle ground these scholars claim Islam as a central part of their politics and identity like the islamists. Similar to the secular feminist the Islamic feminist oppose the male dominated hierarchy of most Islamic governments" (Tschirhat 2014:63).

In the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the most widely adopted feminism movement is either the Islamist feminist or the Islamic feminist, both of whom reject the secular feminist ideology and framework. Saudi feminists seek to work within the system and seek religious support in order to advocate for and promote women's rights. "A Saudi-led feminist movement must include the rights accorded women in the Quran and specifically in Sharia"(Wagner 2011: para 8).

3.2.3 Saudi Digital Feminism Movement

The effective use of social media platforms to create several online initiatives and activities by Arab women activists during the Arab Spring movements in 2011 raised awareness among Saudi women rights activists about the benefits of social media platforms in achieving social and political change, as well as highlighted the unequal status and rights of women in Saudi society (Alotaibi and Mulderring 2021).

Furthermore, new communication technologies have assisted Saudi women in overcoming the barrier of participating in Saudi public spheres. Saudi women in general and Saudi women activists in particular have relied on social media platforms to deliver their voices and narratives, gain access to networks, and communicate about women's rights issues (Goehring 2019). In many online activism campaigns in Saudi Arabia, such as 'women's rights to drive,

and 'Baladi' social media, instant messaging, and blogging provided a public platform for women to create unique content and organize social media campaigns to discuss and educate about women's rights and social justice (Alotaibi and Mulderring 2021).

The Internet and information and communication technologies have played an important role in removing communication barriers, spreading women's rights initiatives, empowering women to organize collective initiatives for agency and demand for women's rights, thus contributing to the development of a generation of technologically and ideologically educated women activists. "Saudi women under the age of 30 grew up with satellite television, the Internet, and mobile phones. Their broadened view of the world far exceeds that of their mothers and older sisters" (Wagner 2011: para 12). This technology allowed women to widen the scope of their activities and rights demands, as well as create a big mass online movement using hashtags, tweets, and YouTube videos while circumventing religious, ideological, and geographical constraints (Kim 2015; Tazi and Oumlil 2020). However, it is important to note that while the internet and social media platforms support marginalized voices and new initiatives, they can also reinforce existing traditional norms, and in order for these new initiatives to gain support and acceptance in the public sphere, they must be organized while keeping Saudi society's duality in mind "in order for the marginalized voice to gain collective agency it must be organized and accepted in the Saudi public sphere . For women this means deliberation of a Saudi- Islamic feminism in relation to existing Islamic feminist perspectives" (Tschirhat 2014: 58).

Women's right to drive was the topic of internet campaigns that ran between 2011 and 2012. Manal al-Sharif, a Saudi woman activist, founded the Women2Drive campaign after posting a YouTube video urging women to drive. Manal shared a second video on YouTube of herself driving her car to encourage other women. Despite being detained by the Saudi government, her internet activism inspired many more Saudi women to drive their automobiles and document the event. Women2Drive sparked a bigger internet campaign called Right to Dignity, which pushed for women's rights in general. From there, Saudi Arabia experienced a slew of internet efforts, such as the Baladi campaign in 2004 and 2011, that focused on women's voting and participation in local elections. As a result of these activities, the Saudi government announced its permission for women participation in local elections in 2015 (Ottaway 2011).

However, the most significant and effective Saudi women's rights online campaign in Saudi Arabia was #EndMaleGurdianshipSystem, which began on Twitter in 2016 and gained massive

national and international awareness, sparking a widespread debate about women's rights and freedoms in decision-making, as these rights are controlled by their male relatives and supported by the male guardianship system. The I Am My Own Guardian Twitter campaign, which ran from 2016 to 2017, was exceptional in its capacity to organize and influence a wide range of constituencies, including a new generation of young women who had not previously participated in politics (Doaiji 2017).

There are two competing perspectives on the role of new channels of communication in modern cultures. On the one hand, technological optimists concur that these technologies have contributed to the strengthening of civic communities and democratic processes. As a result, in industrialized countries, decentralization of decision-making has increased exchange and social interaction practices, influencing social and political activists, particularly those living under authoritarian regimes and dictatorships (Castells 2012). Some contend, on the other hand, that totalitarian regimes might use contemporary technology to repress freedoms and activities through censorship methods imposed on activists (Morozov 2011).

The complex role played by technology is clearly visible in the phenomenon of Saudi feminism, in which Saudi women activists used social media platforms for social and political liberation goals, but Saudi dictatorships used the same platforms to monitor, pressure, and terrorize women activists. Saudi women resisted the stereotypical image of them through their strong presence and interaction on social networking sites, but prior to this modern technology, they resisted through other women who, as previously discussed, fought for women's rights on the ground and worked hard to change the international media's portrayal of them as weak and victimized women (Radsch and Khamis 2013).

3.2.4 Saudi Women Activists for Women Rights

Based on the literature on women's feminist movements in support of women's rights in general or against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia, whether this activism took place offline or online to advocate for women's rights in Saudi Arabia, it is important to shine a spotlight on the prominent early Saudi women activists who either initiated the campaign or contributed to its longevity and success. I was able to identify the main and first Saudi women's rights activists after evaluating the research of the following authors: Al Otaibi and Mulderring (2021), Alsahafi (2017), Doaiji (2017), Thorsen and Sreedharan (2019) and Tonnessen (2016). The selected feminist sample shown below was chosen based on the criteria of being a woman,

having Saudi nationality, being well educated, being involved in human rights and women's rights in Saudi Arabia, and having activism that focuses on gender, discrimination, and equality.

1- Aziza Al Yousef

Aziza Al Yousef is a Saudi human rights activist, educator, and campaigner for women's rights. She rose to prominence after spearheading a major women's rights movement in Saudi Arabia, including the right of women to drive and the abolition of the male guardianship system. In 2016, she organized an internet activism campaign against the kingdom's male guardianship system, which resulted in the delivery of a collectively signed petition to the king's council. Al Yousef was jailed twice as a result of her activism for women's rights. In 2013, she was accused of breaking the law by driving her automobile through the streets of Riyadh, and in 2018, she was accused of gathering secret material and contacting foreign institutions.

2- Manal Al Sharif

Manal Al Sharif is a Saudi writer, activist for women's rights, and cyber security specialist. She was named one of the world's most influential women in honor of her work for women's rights in Saudi Arabia. In 2011, Al Sharif started the women to drive campaign by encouraging women to drive and posting a video of herself driving in Saudi Arabia, challenging the government, religious institutions, and laws that prohibit women from driving. She was arrested several times as a result of her activism and criticism of the government. Al Sharif's activism was not confined to the ability to drive; she also launched an internet campaign called "Faraj" to free incarcerated women of various nationalities from Saudi jails who had been detained for owing a minor amount of money but were unable to pay it. Al Sharif has been an outspoken critic of the Saudi government, accusing it of manipulating and suppressing internet freedom of expression.

3- Hala Al Dousari

Hala Al Dousari is a Saudi feminist activist, academic, and author. Her advocacy and research are centered on gender equality in Saudi Arabia as well as discrimination against Saudi women's rights, such as the ability to drive, domestic violence, and the male guardianship system. Al Dousari is the inaugural Jamal Khashoggi fellowship program fellow and a Washington Post contributor.

4- Wajeha Al-Howaider

Wajeha Al- Howaider is a Saudi writer and campaigner for women's rights. She has a long history of advocating for women's rights and was one of the earliest activists in the battles for women's freedom to drive and the abolition of the male guardianship system. She was also a founding member of the kingdom's society for the preservation and defense of women's rights. In 2003, she was barred from writing, and in 2006, she was detained for holding a sign in public in support of women's rights. She penned over 100 pieces in support of women's rights in the kingdom.

3.3 Saudi Women's Activism Against the Gender Inequality in Saudi Arabia

In the global list of gender inequality, Saudi Arabia comes in first place. Many experts investigated political rights, the right to drive, education, work, and the male guardianship system and concluded that most constraints on women's rights are based on customs rather than religion (Al-Sanea 2022). There is no clear scripture in Islam that forbids women from driving; it is simply cultural conventions and societal attitudes that believe women's ability to drive contradicts Islamic values and harms society. Gender inequality in Saudi Arabia is not limited to women's driving rights; women face significant disparities in education and employment opportunities when compared to their male counterparts (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019; Tonnessen 2016). This disparity is based on cultural values and perceptions of women's roles in society, as Islam promotes education for all and emphasizes the benefits of education. The male guardianship system is the most difficult problem for women's rights and gender equality in Saudi Arabia, as it requires male guardian consent for women's education, employment, opening a new business, and many other aspects of their lives. Nonetheless, many feminist women have recently stepped up for their rights to remove male guardianship, which impacts their daily lives (Al-Sanea 2022; Macias-Alonso et al 2023).

3.3.1 The Male Guardianship System

The male guardianship system is a legal system and traditional custom in Saudi Arabia that shapes and controls the gender relationship. Under this system, women in Saudi Arabia, regardless of their age, education level, or social and economic status, have no right to decide on issues directly related to them such as marriage, education, work, and travel without the consent of their male guardian Mahram, who could be her father, brother, husband, or son, or, in some cases, the cloak. This guardianship is awarded to her father at birth; with marriage, it

is transferred to her husband; and with divorce, it is transferred to her son, brother, or closest male relatives “ other restrictive laws exist as derivative rules of this guardianship system, such as the ban on women’s driving or institutional obstacles to women’s decision making regarding their children’s schooling, health, travel and the like” (Doaiji 2017: 7-8).

The enforcement of this male guardianship system in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been one of the most difficult struggles for women and their rights, even though in recent years the government has shown tolerance for women's rights and issued some royal decrees to reduce these restrictions on women, such as the removal of the driving ban, which was lifted in 2017. It is still believed that these legal restrictions on women are based on the Wahabi interpretation of religious laws that is inherited in Saudi society, as well as the tribal conservative structure and customs; additionally, religious scholars in the kingdom justify the male guardianship system by relying on the biological and mental differences between men and women, as well as the superiority of the male gender “ these beliefs are thought to be derived from the *Quran*’s verse (34) of Surah An-Nisa, where the word ‘ *qawwamun* ’ is used to describe men. Some Saudi religious scholars have interpreted this word as meaning ‘male guardian’, which has given men the authority over women not only within the family but in all aspect of public life” (Alsahafi 2019:248).

The interpretation of the *Quran* and *Hadith* is a contentious issue not only among different Islamic countries and the four Islamic schools of thought but also among Saudi religious scholars. Some prominent Saudi religious scholars analyze the word “*qawwamun*” and interpret it differently, referring to it as “breadwinner,” which limits their authority and increases their financial responsibilities towards women. Women in the kingdom are aware of this discrepancy in interpretation of the *Qur’anic* text and believe that the misinterpretation is biased, that the government ignores their transactions and complaints, and that the government, in most cases, requires their guardian's approval to file a complaint. Hence, this male guardianship is seen as “the most significant impediment to realizing women’s rights in the country, effectively rendering adult women legal minors who cannot make key decision for themselves” (HRW 2016: 1).

Another major concern in Saudi women's issues and rights is domestic violence, which is reinforced by the male guardianship system in addition to restrictions on women's freedom to choose their marriage, education, and travel. The male guardianship system imposes direct and indirect constraints on women's reporting rights while also highlighting domestic abuse

perpetrated by their male guardians: “an abused women is more likely to be charged with disobeying her male guardian than her guardian is likely to be charged for abuse” (Tonnessen 2016: 16).

Based on what has been defined and explained about the male guardianship system's concepts, dimensions, controversy, and impact on women's rights and freedom, it is necessary to discuss how women in Saudi Arabia took serious steps and phases, both offline and online, to limit and end this system in the kingdom, with a special emphasis on the online hashtag activism campaign **سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية**.

3.3.2 The Offline Phase to End the Male Guardianship System

Prior to the internet protest for the elimination of Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system, there was an offline phase. These offline phases began with a private workshop in 2011, then a petition in 2012, a recession from 2012 to 2016, and, lastly, an internet storm in 2016 and 2017 driven by a Human Rights Watch investigation evaluating and criticizing Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system (Alsahafi 2019).

The anti-male guardianship initial movement began in 2011 almost concurrently with the Women to Drive campaign coordinated on Twitter by the well-known Saudi women's rights campaigner Manal Al Sharif. Dr. Aisha Al-Mana, a Saudi businesswoman and women's rights activist, is the founder of the Saudi women's reform movement and the planner and initiator of the offline anti-male guardianship campaign. In 2011, Dr. Al-Mana and Dr. Aziza Al Yusuf, inspired by the women's right to drive campaign, organized confidential meetings and workshops in the kingdom's main cities of Riyadh, Jeddah, and Dammam, inviting a selected group of Saudi women activists from different ages and classes to discuss women's rights issues in the kingdom and the religious validity of the oppressive male guardianship system. Furthermore, Dr. Al-Mana and Dr. Al Yusuf took this effort a step further by contacting a law firm in the kingdom to evaluate the religious validity of the country's male guardianship system “Al Yusuf pointed out that by undertaking this study , they simply wanted to verify whether the system is based on Sharia law or whether it is a result of strict culture and conservative religious discourse, the study revealed that there are no links between the male guardianship system and Islamic law, except in the case of marriage” (Al sahaf 2019: 252).

Armed with the legal study stating that there is no religious validity for anti-male guardianship, Al Mana, Al Yusuf, and many other Saudi women activists decided to continue their offline phase by submitting a petition signed by 25 women to three official entities in the kingdom (the Shura Council, the Council of Senior Scholars, and the Royal Court) to convey and stress that this system has no connection with Sharia law and imposes many illegal repercussions on women's freedom and women's rights in the kingdom and request to reconsider this system. Despite the fact that the petition was sent to three official bodies and 150 members of the shura council, the women activists received almost no response or feedback, with the exception of two responses from two female members of the shura council stating that the petition should be addressed to the appropriate committee. As a result of the lack of response and support, ignorance, and a lack of effort to use the online space to promote their initiative, and most importantly, the Arab Spring movements, particularly women's rights movements and anti-male guardianship movements, entered a period of recession that lasted from 2012 to 2016 (Rotana Khalijiah 2016).

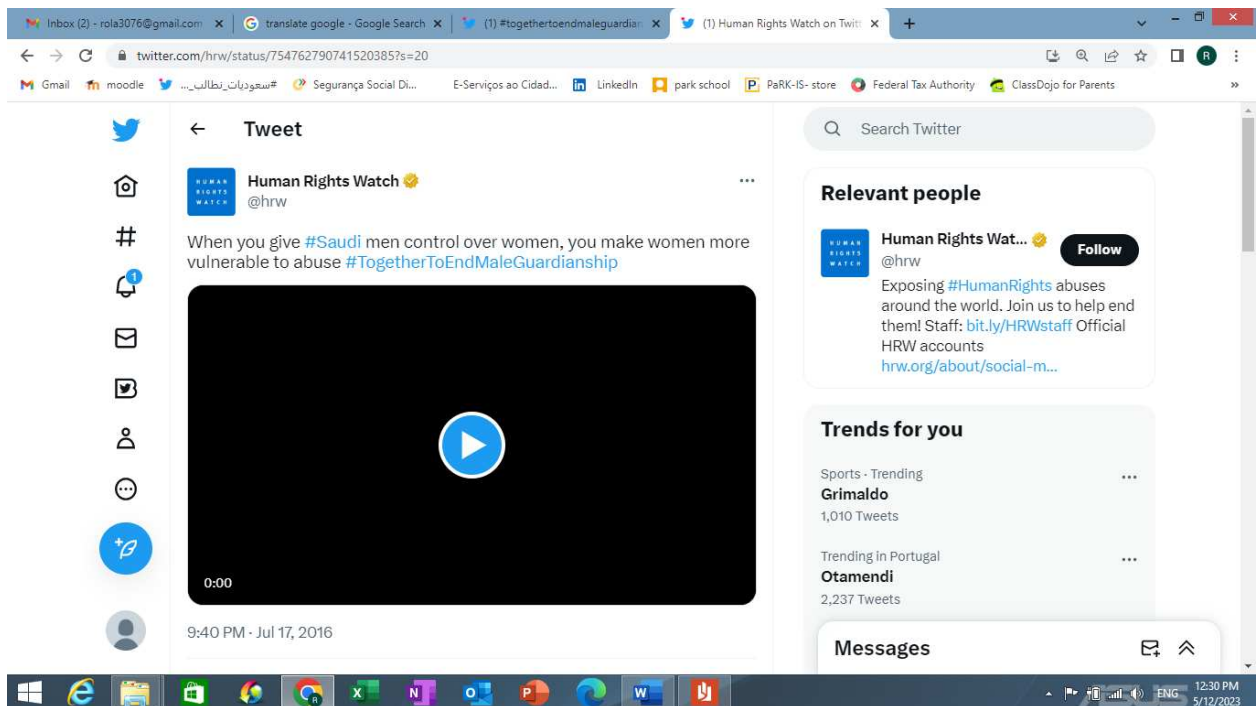
Following the recession phase discussed previously, the anti-male guardianship movements were sparked when Human Rights Watch in collaboration with Saudi women activists released a detailed report titled "In Boxed" in July 2016 that consisted of 109 pages. This report discussed in depth the guardianship system and its involvement in almost every aspect of life pertaining to women:

This focus on the everyday experiences of women under the state's rules and institutions that enforced the guardianship system turned the emphasis from the informal forces of Islam, society, and culture to focus squarely on formal aspects of governmental restrictions and reforms (Doaiji 2017:8).

This research is based on 61 interviews with Saudi men and women from various cities throughout the country, primarily Riyadh and Jeddah, with the majority of these interviews performed by electronic communication. The following phrases from the report summarize some of the most important results and the anger and rejection of this system:

Dozens of Saudi women told Human Rights Watch, the male guardianship system is the most significant impediment to realizing women's rights in the country, effectively rendering adult women legal minors who cannot make key decisions for themselves. [...] Rania, a 34-year-old Saudi woman, said, "We are entrusted with raising the next generation, but you can't trust us with ourselves. It doesn't make any sense. [...] Every

Saudi woman, regardless of her economic or social class, is adversely affected by guardianship policies (HRW 2016:1).



Picture 3:3: Hashtag and Clip for To End the Male Guardianship System in Saudi Arabia. (Source HRW)

The Human Rights Report (in boxed) revealed and provided incisive insights on how this system is strongly ingrained in Saudi society by investigating the constraints imposed on women's rights based on the following criteria:

- 1- Restricting Freedom of Movement: (Restrictions on Travel Abroad and Restrictions on Domestic Movement).
- 2- Violence against Women: (Domestic Violence Legislation, Difficulties Reporting Abuse, Prioritizing Reconciliation over Protection, Limited Shelter from Domestic Violence, Permission to Exit Prisons.
- 3- Restricting Right to Equality in Marriage, Divorce, and Child Custody, Restricting the Right to Marry Freely, Inequality in Divorce, Inequality in Arrangement for Children after Divorce.
- 4- Restricting the Right to Equality before the Law, Identity Documents, Difficulty Accessing Government Services, Discrimination in the Legal System.

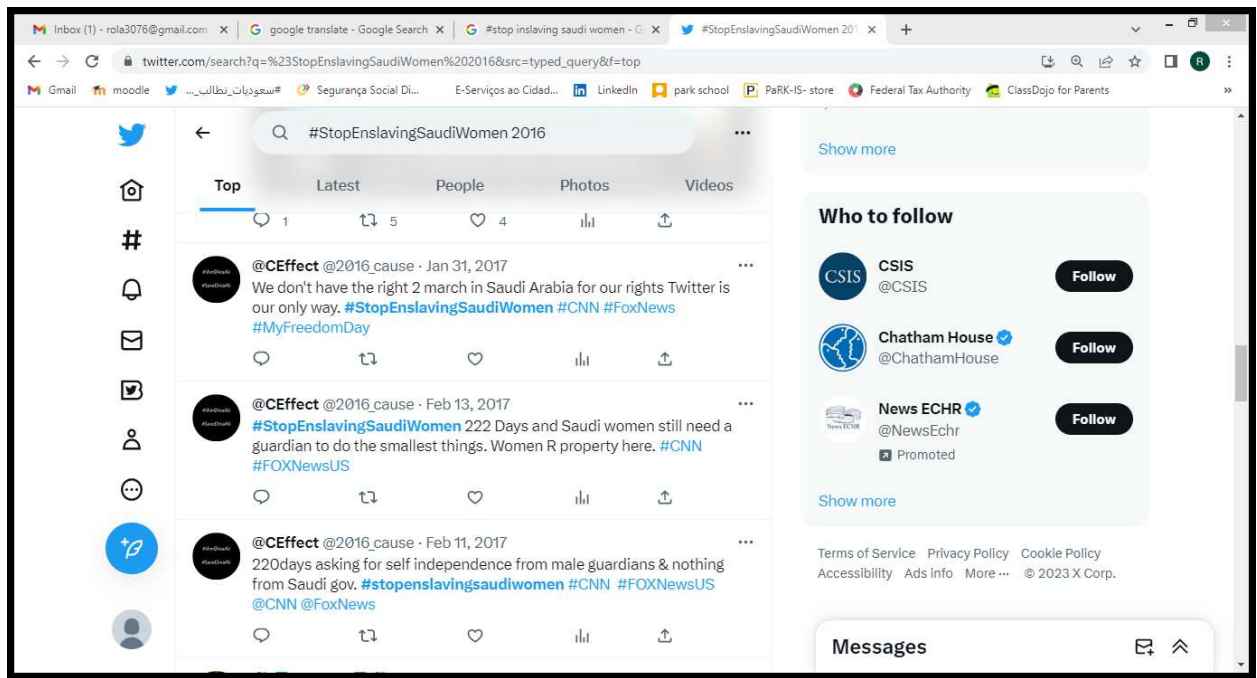
- 5- Restricting the Right to Employment, Opening the Labor Market to Women, Continuing Barriers to Women Working.
- 6- Restricting the Right to Health, Guardian Consent for Medical Procedures and emergency Care.

In addition to publishing this detailed report, Human Rights Watch promoted this campaign on its Twitter account under the English hashtag #TogetherToEndMaleGuardianship and the Arabic hashtag #معاً لانتهاء ولاية الرجل على المرأة, attaching a 42-second cartoon video clip consisting of 5 scenes that highlight the challenges women face under the male guardianship system from various perspectives, particularly domestic violence, custody, a lack of social and legal protection, and the need to end male power dominance. This became the first prominent international online campaign against the male guardianship system and gave birth to the long domestic online campaign in Saudi Arabia (Perez 2016).

3.3.3 The Online Phase to End the Male Guardianship System

The online campaign, primarily using the Twitter hashtag activism, to end male guardianship in Saudi Arabia, launched on July 16, 2016, has been described as the most effective women's rights campaign in the kingdom in terms of mobilization, longevity, and the local and international momentum that accompanied it.

A week after launching the online campaign via the Human Rights Watch Twitter account, the campaign took a huge turn and expanded to become a broader and more expansive national campaign that was adopted by diverse groups of both men and women who used hashtag activism to endorse the campaign by tweeting, sharing, and posting text, images, and videos calling for the end of the male guardianship system in the kingdom “This was rhetorically marked by the change in hashtags to #StopEnslavingSaudiWomen and #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية with an accumulative added number at end of the hashtag marking each day of the campaign. The campaign, sustained by social media, proved to be unprecedented in its influence and longevity” (Doaiji 2017:7).



Picture 3:4 Hashtags to #StopEnslavingSaudiWomen. (Source Twitter)

“The hashtag began trending daily and eventually led to a series of recent reforms in state regulation. The *سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية* generated an online petition that gathered 14,700 signatures from both Saudi men and women, along with their full names and ID numbers. The petition was sent to King Salman bin Abdulaziz in October 2016, and the hashtag continued trending daily until August 2019” (Alotaibi and Mulderrge 2021:3).

The most important phase of the campaign took place between July 2016 and September 2017, with the campaign trending occasionally and experiencing a period of stagnation, particularly at the end of 2017. This period of stagnation can be linked to the Saudi government's positive response to women's calls and online Twitter activism. A royal edict was issued in May 2017 granting women the right to access government services without the need for a male guardian and another royal edict in September 2017 granting women the right to drive independently.

It can be said that the campaign's longevity was a significant factor that put significant pressure on the government, and the campaign only ended with the issuing of one of the most important royal edicts towards women's rights in the kingdom, which grants Saudi women over the age of 21 the right to travel without the permission of their guardians (Rashad and Kalin 2019).



Picture 3:5 #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية (Source @nbaa2t Twitter page)

4 Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will describe the research framework for this thesis, including the objectives, questions, study design, data collection methods, the ethical considerations that surrounded and challenged this journey and the data analysis procedure. This section will also explain and clarify the study paradigm, the deliberate tweets selection technique, the sample strategy, participant selection and recruiting procedures, and the object of analysis. The research design, as well as the data collection and analysis techniques used, will be presented, and the reasoning and scientific basis for these decisions will be discussed.

4.1 Research Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to investigate the effects of social media sites on political and social activism through the participation and virtual mobilization of young Saudi women in an online anti-male guardianship campaign in the context of Saudi Arabia's restrictive society and authoritative regime, as well as the country's lack of democracy and freedom of expression. It is critical to investigate the relationship between political and social content, online activism, and social media platforms, as well as how these online platforms are transforming into the new Saudi public sphere in the face of authoritarian regimes and various religious and societal constraints that prevent women from participating effectively in the traditional offline sphere. Thus, this study will investigate the content disseminated by young Saudi women during their virtual mobilization in the Anti-male Guardianship campaign on Twitter in 2016. It will also provide an understanding of women participants' perspectives on the benefits and challenges of their social media practices and engagement in social and political issues, and that led them to combat male dominance and gender inequalities within Saudi society.

The research seeks to answer the following questions in accordance with the research topic and objectives and with the assistance of the data gathering methodology and process:

- 1: How do young Saudi women perceive the impact of online activism against the male guardianship system in achieving social and political changes in Saudi Arabia?

- 2: To what extent Twitter advocacy features helped Saudi women express dissent against the male guardianship system and gender inequality to obtain more social and political rights through the online public sphere?
- 3: What type of socio-political contents were used against the Male Guardianship system (assertive, persuasive, educative)?
- 4: What are the challenges and limitations feminism movements are facing in the online public sphere in Saudi Arabia?

4.2 Research Paradigms

This research aims to investigate the concept of online activism in Saudi Arabia and how social media platforms contribute to young Saudi women's social and political participation. This section will concentrate on the research paradigm adopted, which refers to the research framework, theories, and practices that will guide how I want to investigate the same, as well as identify the approach, instruments, measurements, and analysis methods that are used to identify the problem, study it, and make the research results credible for others in the same discipline. As a researcher from the Middle East, where I almost believe in one source of knowledge and are controlled by one way of thinking and constructing knowledge, it was crucial for me to familiarize myself with the various research paradigms that exist and are frequently used in the research field in the West and to share a concise and understandable summary of these different research paradigms with other researchers in the region .

We have several philosophical ideas and points of view that comprise our knowledge and govern our thinking and beliefs about society, its members, and the world around us. These philosophical ideas and beliefs, according to Guba (1990:17), are called worldviews and defined as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action". Kuhn (1962), Mertens (2010) and Schwandt (2001: 183) call them Paradigms, and the latter defines them as "a shared world view that represents the beliefs and values in a discipline and that guides how problems are solved". Crotty (1998) refers to these as epistemologies and ontologies, and Neuman (2009) refers to them as broadly conceived research methodologies.

In his classical book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn (1962) introduced the concept of research paradigm as a philosophical framework to demonstrate the fundamental way of thinking, beliefs, values, laws, methods, and even bias that are commonly followed by

scientific communities in the research process to solve issues in their disciplines. In his work, Kuhn (1962:182) stressed the "strong commitment by the relevant scientific community to their shared theoretical beliefs, values, instruments, and techniques, and even metaphysics". What makes Kuhn's work so important is that he challenges commonly held beliefs and notions about scientific progress, referring to it as "cumulative progress," which means that scientific progress is founded on the accumulation of scientific hypotheses recognized by the scientific community.

Furthermore, Kuhn advocated for criticizing the dominant concepts, which he referred to as "normal science," and forgoing it in favor of a revolutionary scientific approach that seeks renewal "Under normal conditions, the research scientist is not an innovator but a solver of puzzles, and the puzzles upon which he concentrates are just those which he believes can be both stated and solved within the existing scientific tradition" (Kuhn 2011:234).

According to Guba and Lincoln (2005) and Henry and Macpherson (2019), the idea of a paradigm includes four important elements: epistemology, ontology, axiology, and methodology, as seen in Figure 4:1.

On the other hand, Chilisa and Kawulich (2012:2) refer to a paradigm and its four key elements as way of "describing a world view that is informed by philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (known as ontology, that is, what do we believe about the nature of reality?), ways of knowing (known as epistemology, that is, how do we know what we know?), and ethics and value systems (known as axiology, that is, what do we believe is true?). A paradigm thus leads us to ask certain questions and use appropriate approaches to systematic inquiry (known as methodology—that is, how should we study the world?)”.

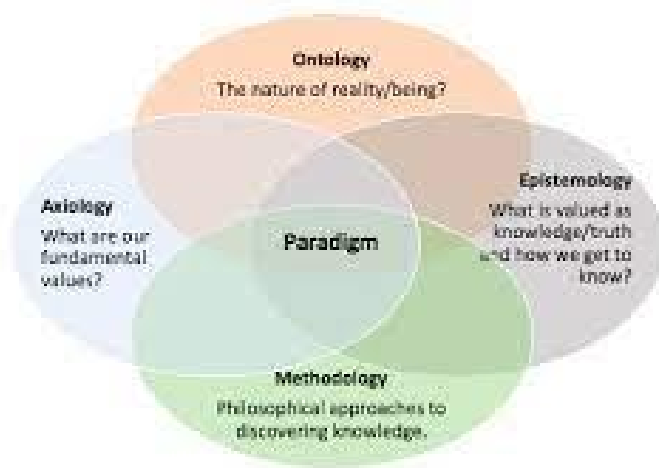


Figure 4:1: The Basic Elements of a Research Paradigm. (Source Guba and Lincoln 2005; Henry and Macpherson 2019)

The purpose of the research paradigm is to establish a framework and structure for the research project that guides the study to understand the problem, identify what knowledge is required, how knowledge can be discovered, and what methods are used to collect the sought knowledge, to understand how our existing knowledge and beliefs can affect the research process and data analysis, and finally to find a solution to the research problem (Bird 2018).

With reference to Figure 4:1 and the four essential elements of paradigm I would like to stress the following:

Ontology is a subfield of philosophy that studies the types and structures of objects as they actually are. Ontology, to put it simply, aims to categorize and explain entities. Ontology is concerned with the research subject, or what you choose to look at “Ontology is concerned with the assumptions we make in order to believe that something is real” (O’Brien 2019:16). Epistemology It is the theory of knowledge. It is focused on how the mind interacts with reality. What makes this relationship a knowledge-based one? Do we have knowledge? “Epistemology is an issue concerned with the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline” (Bryman 2008: 13).

Furthermore, Axiology is a subfield of philosophy that derives from the Greek words axios and logos, which denote the worth or value of something, and logic or thesis, respectively. Axiology is the study of how to classify things according to how good they are “Axiology is concerned with concepts of value. decisions based on ethical or aesthetic values” (O’Brien

2019:17). Finally, Methodology is the "how" of a research study. It focuses more on how a researcher methodically designs a study to ensure accurate and trustworthy outcomes that address the goals, objectives, and research questions of the study "Methodology is concerned with the set of principles and ideas that inform the design of a research study" (Mills and Birks 2014: 4).

4.3 Research Paradigms within the Social Sciences

Despite the relevance of philosophical worldviews in shaping and influencing research techniques, these don't always get much attention in academic literature (Slife and Williams 1995). This philosophical worldview is "a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study. Individuals develop worldviews based on their discipline orientation, research communities, advisors and mentors, and past research experiences" (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 44). This worldview or research paradigm must be defined and clarified in order to support the choice of research technique and method. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018: 44), a research proposal should address "the philosophical worldview proposed in the study, a definition of the basic ideas of that worldview, and how the worldview shaped the approach to research".

Despite the fact that Kuhn's (1962) discussion on philosophical worldviews or research paradigms has been severely challenged by the scientific community, it remains one of the most significant concepts in contemporary thinking and is of great interest to many social scientists and disciplines (Bird 2018). Although there is considerable disagreement about the various research paradigms available in the literature, most researchers agree on five fundamental paradigms that aim to demonstrate the researcher's epistemological position, define the methodological approach used to investigate the phenomenon, and answer the research questions (Ragab and Arisha 2018).

These fundamental and widely utilized research paradigms are positivism, postpositivism, interpretivist-constructivism, transformative-emancipatory, and pragmatism (Indigenous) as claimed by Chilisa (2012), Creswell and Creswell (2018); Mertens (2015), Philips and Burbules (2000) and Wilson (2008). As a result, it is critical that this part discusses and clarifies these five commonly accepted research paradigms, their ontological, epistemological, methodological, and axiological viewpoints, as well as their essential aspects, values, and contrasts. According to Held (2019:3) The development of knowledge theories and the progress

of Western science proceeded hand in hand “Positivism (or empiricism), borrowed from the natural sciences, was adapted to the postpositivist research paradigm. Later, the constructivist (or interpretivist) paradigm emerged to describe and understand human experience, while the transformative paradigm unites a number of different research frameworks that are brought together by the paradigm’s explicit engagement with issues of power and justice. The pragmatic paradigm facilitates the mixing of quantitative and qualitative research methods”.

4.3.1 Positivism Worldview

The positivism research paradigm, "also known as logical positivism, holds that the scientific method is the only way to establish truth and objective reality. The term ‘positivism’ was coined by early philosophers such as Auguste Comte and Emmanuel Kant to reflect a strict empirical approach in which claims about knowledge are based directly on experience; it emphasizes facts and the causes of behavior" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012:7). This paradigm is the oldest research philosophy and framework, assuming that natural scientific approaches and methods are the best for investigating the social environment and human activities and achieving practical outcomes.

Positivism's ontology is defined as realist and theory-driven, with one knowable truth about solitary reality. According to Irshidat (2019:3) "for positivists, the world is an offshoot of diverse causal inferences, as this causality results in a given effect". Positivist epistemology is considered objectivism and empirical; quantitative data is prized, and study findings are accurate. "Quantitative data and information are so valued; hence, so much emphasis is placed on data collection instruments and statistical analysis" (Fuyane 2021:31). Positivist axiology excludes values and denies the researcher's influence since it implies the researcher is completely independent and maintains neutrality throughout the study process (Alharahsheh and Pius 2020). The positivist methodological approach is experimental, manipulative, correlational, quantitative, and based on hypothesis verification. "Methodologically, positivists seek to answer the ‘what’ questions to determine, explain, and predict the relationships between variables" (Fuyane 2021:31). However, there was a huge scientific revolution against this research paradigm in the middle of the twentieth century, resulting in the emergence and change of the post-positivism paradigm (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012).

4.3.2 Post-Positivism Worldview

The post-positivist research paradigm, also known as 'logical empiricism,' represents scientific thinking following the positivist paradigm; it is less restricted and challenges the scientific view of the absolute truth of knowledge, shifting the emphasis from absolute truth to probability (Philips and Burbules 2000). While the positivist paradigm regards the researcher and the researched as completely independent, the post-positivist paradigm asserts that social and natural scientists share the same goals and methods and cannot be completely positive about the claim of knowledge when studying human behaviors and actions because "no matter how faithfully the scientist adheres to scientific method research, research outcomes are neither totally objective nor unquestionably certain" (Crotty 1998: 40).

Furthermore, the post-positivism research paradigm is influenced by a deterministic philosophy known as critical realism, which emphasizes the need to study the reasons for events and actions and "can be distinguished from positivism according to whether the focus is on theory verification (positivism) or on theory falsification (post-positivism)" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 7-8). Post-positivism encourages thorough observation and the application of logical and numerical measurements to existing reality; it also encourages the testing, verification, and revision of theories and rules that control the world around us. "Thus, in the scientific method—the accepted approach to research by post-positivism—a researcher begins with a theory, collects data that supports or refutes the theory, and then makes necessary revisions and concludes additional tests" (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 45).

Positivist and post-positivist research paradigms are considered to be members of the same family and have many similarities, as illustrated in Figure 5:1; nevertheless, post-positivist ontology is critical realist, believing in a single reality that is only probabilistically knowable. "Post-positivists concur that reality does exist but maintain that it can be known only imperfectly because of the researcher's human limitations (known as critical realism). The researcher can discover reality within a certain realm of probability" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 8). Its epistemology can be described as objectivist and empirical; findings are most likely true, implying that total objectivity is not achievable but is reachable. Post-positivist axiology excludes values and denies influence. "Post-positivists, however, modified the belief that the researcher and the subject of study were independent by recognizing that the theories, hypotheses, and background knowledge held by the investigator can strongly influence what is observed, how it is observed, and the outcome of what is observed" (Chilisa and Kawulich

2012: 9). Finally, its usual methodology includes modified experimental or manipulative methods, falsification of hypotheses, and decontextualization, and its data collection tools include experiments, tests, and surveys, among other quantitative research instruments (Ponterotto 2005).

4.3.3 The Constructive World View- Interpretivism

Constructivism, also known as interpretivism, takes a qualitative research approach that differs significantly from positivism or post-positivism. This paradigm was inspired by Berger and Luckmann's (1967) work *The Social Construction of Reality*, and many other scholars, including Crotty (1998), Guba (1990) and Mertens (2010) who contributed to and expanded on its development. These social constructivists "believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, meaning directed toward certain objects or things" (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 46).

The central reality and perception of this study assumes that individuals, relations between variables and processes influence each other. To this end, interpretivism research paradigm will be adopted for this research, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of the question at hand. This research paradigm will seek to understand the world through the eyes and experiences of others. The selection of this research paradigm for this study will be discussed in more depth in the following subchapter in the research design section.

It believes that reality and its subjective meaning are multiple, historically, and socially negotiated, and seeks to understand the differences between these constructive meanings, the process of interaction, and the context it is in from the perspectives of the participants and through discussion and interactions. Hence, it relies on experiences, culture, norms, and behaviors to interpret humans' decisions "The researcher's intent is to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world. Rather than starting with a theory (as in post-positivism), inquiries generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning" (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 46).

Crotty (1998:42–53) discusses and summarizes constructivism's fundamental principles, emphasizing that:

- 1- Meaning is created rather than discovered. Humans construct meaning as they interact with the reality they are interpreting. As a result, qualitative research methodologies are chosen because of their adaptability and responsiveness to the setting as well as participant perspectives and experiences.
- 2- The researcher must pay close attention to the research object and its interactions with the community because they are the primary sources of data collection and meaning generation in this inductive research method.
- 3- Humans cannot exist without culture; we rely on culture to drive our behavior and arrange our experiences. As a result, it is critical for the researcher to comprehend and become acquainted with the background, culture, and setting of the participants.

Constructivism-interpretivism Ontology rejects positivism's scientific and realistic perspective of fixed and absolute facts in favor of relativism, humanism, and constructive viewpoints that support numerous and intangible realities (Mertens 2010). Interpretivism adheres to a subjectivist epistemology that places a premium on human experience, knowledge, and different interpretations of reality. "Truth lies within the human experience. Statements on what is true or false are, therefore, culture-bound, historically-dependent, and context-dependent, although some may be universal. Within this context, communities' stories, belief systems, and claims of spiritual and earth connections find space as legitimate knowledge" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 10).

The interpretivism axiology emphasizes the interdependence of the researcher and the researched, as well as the impact of the researcher's values, opinions, and beliefs on the research paradigm, topic, data collection methods, data processing, and result interpretation and reporting (Fuyane 2021). Because the interpretivism paradigm confirms that the researcher cannot be separated from the subject and object of the research, it focuses on the why question and thus favors qualitative research methods for a deeper understanding and conclusion of the context and human experiences and views. The research topic, which is usually open-ended, does not have to be stated ahead of time and can be developed as the research progresses, beginning with a big inquiry and then followed by a smaller sub-question. Ethnography, case

studies, and grounded theory are three of the most commonly utilized research approaches in the interpretivism paradigm (Creswell and Creswell 2018).

4.3.4 The Transformative Worldview- Emancipatory

The transformative philosophical research approach emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, when many researchers, including Gillian (1982) and Mertens (2009), criticized the efficacy of positivist and interpretivist paradigm theories and laws, as well as how they marginalized the needs of other minorities, cultures, and societal issues such as discrimination, empowerment, and oppression, and argued that these research studies were developed by the white male gender to study male relationships. "In Africa, some scholars (e.g., Chambers 1997, Escobar 1995, Mshana 1992) argue that the dominant research paradigms have marginalized African communities' ways of knowing and have thus led to the design of research-driven development projects that are irrelevant to the needs of the people, a sentiment echoed by indigenous scholars in the West" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 11).

This research approach aims to achieve community and minority emancipation and transformation through group actions, intertwines with politics, expands participants' roles, gives them the opportunity to design the research, collect data, raise participants' consciousness, and advocate for their rights. This paradigm focuses on the lives, experiences, oppression, and unequal practices perpetrated on marginalized groups based on, among other things, race, gender, social status, and economic status (Mertens 2010). The transformative worldview does not have a unified entity to represent it, and it is comprised of many groups of researchers "that are critical theorists; participatory action researchers; Marxists; feminists; racial and ethnic minorities; persons with disabilities; indigenous and postcolonial peoples; and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, and queer communities" (Creswell and Creswell 2018: 47).

According to Neuman (1997), the transformational worldview ontology argues that reality is historically bound, multiple, and continually changing due to various social and historical events and factors. According to its epistemology, theories aid in the discovery of facts and real knowledge and their transformation into practices and activities that empower people while emphasizing the role of the participants and their relationship with the researcher "The relationship between the researcher and the researched is not based on a power hierarchy as it may be in the interpretative paradigm but involves a transformation and emancipation of both

participant and researcher" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 12). Furthermore, according to its axiology, researchers who follow this paradigm engage in ethical and political actions as well as assess their value and dedication to carrying out the research. In terms of methodology, the goal of this paradigm is to dispel myths and discover true knowledge in order to empower people; it employs both quantitative and qualitative research methods, such as participatory research, and research participants are heavily involved and active in data collection and analysis (Mertens 2010).

4.3.5 The Pragmatic Worldview

The concept of pragmatic research philosophy integrates both positivist and interpretivist approaches; it focuses on understanding the research problem and finding an appropriate approach to meet social needs rather than focusing on a specific research method; it employs both qualitative and quantitative strategies; and it begins with actions and situations rather than conditions.

Creswell and Creswell (2018: 48) describe pragmatism as follows:

Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality. Individual researchers have a freedom of choice. Pragmatism do not see the world as an absolute unity. Truth is what works at the time. The pragmatist researchers look at the what and how to research based on the intended consequences- where they want to go with it. Pragmatists agree that the research always occurs in social, historical, political and other context. Pragmatist have believed in an external world independent of the mind as well as that lodged in the mind. Thus, for the mixed methods researcher, pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis.

4.3.6 Postcolonial Indigenous Paradigm

Last, the postcolonial indigenous paradigm emerged as a result of historical and societal injustice and disempowerment. Postcolonial scholars study colonized communities in Asia and Africa, as well as indigenous peoples in the United States, Australia, and other places. Its mission is to shed light on indigenous wisdom and philosophy. "The postcolonial indigenous paradigm has blossomed in recent years as a means for hearing non-Western voices and emancipating the voices of formerly oppressed generations from the silence imposed by

colonization" (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 13). Postcolonial indigenous ontology is relativist, relational, complex, socially produced, and built on a slew of connections. It is characterized by intersubjectivity, experiential epistemology, and rational knowing. Its axiology is value-inclusive and formative; its research is guided by relational responsibility, which promotes respectful representation; and its approach is participatory, liberatory, and rooted in an indigenous knowledge system (Chilisa 2012).

It is vital to decide on the best research paradigm and research method to be employed, as well as to defend this decision, because this rationale decision is linked to reality, the knowledge we carry with us, and the features of this knowledge, which all affect the research selected theoretical perspective:

No one paradigmatic or theoretical framework is 'correct' and it is your choice to determine your own paradigmatic view and how that informs your research design to best answer the question under study. How you view what is real, what you know and how you know it, along with the theoretical perspective(s) you have about the topic under study, the literature that exists on the subject, and your own value system work together to help you select the paradigm most appropriate for you to use (Chilisa and Kawulich 2012: 2)

Assumptions regarding the nature of reality, the researcher's function, and the research's objectives vary between research paradigms. Every paradigm has its own unique set of presumptions, guiding ideas, advantages, and disadvantages. It is crucial to comprehend the many research paradigms in order to choose the best one, lower the risk of methodological bias, improve the quality of the study, and provide a clear framework for its implementation. Particular attention should be paid to a few elements that may be considered while selecting the most appropriate research paradigm for a certain project. In addition to being aware of earlier research on the subject and the chosen research paradigm related to it, the researcher should also have a clear understanding of the study's aims, research question, and theoretical framework, which should be taken into account while choosing the research paradigm.

4.4 Research Design

In order to justify the research methodology and research methods chosen, it was necessary to demonstrate the research objectives and research questions I sought to answer, consider the study's epistemological stance and conceptual framework, and analyze the various available research paradigms. As a result, in order to simplify the study design and development process, I will employ Crotty's (1998:2) four basic questions, which I feel effectively led the research design process and selection:

1) What method we propose to use?

Methods are defined by Crotty (1998:3) as "the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyze data related to some research question or hypothesis" For my study, I chose a qualitative methodology and will gather data posted on Twitter platform and through interviews. Qualitative content analysis will be used to analyze such data.

This study's core premise is that people, variables, connections, and processes all influence one another. For that purpose, qualitative data gathering approaches will be used to gain a more in-depth understanding of the problem at hand. It is especially suitable considering the scientific interpretivism of this study.

The investigation will look into the Anti-Male Guardianship campaign on Twitter. It aims to characterize how young Saudi women in Saudi Arabia perceive the implications of social media on their social and political online activism, to determine whether advocacy discourse placed on Twitter aided in the achievement of social and political rights, to investigate the types of social and political messages disseminated by young women, and to comprehend their motivations and objectives. With a focus on sociopolitical communication and the activism of young Saudi women.

2) What methodology governs our choice and use of methods?

As simplified by Fuyane (2021: 31) "methodology refers to the procedures used to systematically conduct research, for example, your design, sampling techniques, data collection, and analysis techniques". In the case of this research, I have followed the Grounded Theory approach, which was established by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1976 when

they introduced and simplified the grounded theory approach as the development of theory from facts. It attempts to use a specific set of procedures to gain a better understanding of humans and life situations by generating information and building theories, as well as developing concepts and themes throughout the process of collecting and analyzing data using an inductive approach about a specific phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss 1976, Glaser and Strauss 2017). Cullen and Brennan (2021: 1) justify the use of the grounded theory approach as they state that:

Grounded theory is a suitable research methodology to develop theory for three reasons. First, grounded theory has an established reputation for the study of human behaviour and for making knowledge claims about how individuals interpret reality (Suddaby 2006). Second, grounded theory's central aim is theory building, rather than theory testing. It is a suitable design when a theory does not fully explain a process (Creswell 2007; Goulding 2005; Thornberg & Dunne 2019). Grounded theory facilitates recording and interpreting individuals' subjective experiences. Through the methodological process of theoretical sampling and constant comparison, it enables abstraction of individuals' subjective experience into theoretical statements (Fendt & Sachs, 2008). Third, grounded-theory methodology has established guidelines for conducting research and interpreting data, particularly Corbin and Strauss's (2015) systematic approach.

The grounded theory approach will be widely used in this study, which examines social media contents, to develop concepts and theories from the acquired data. Belgrave and Seide (2019:1) support this technique, stating that "GTM allows for the systematic collection and analysis of qualitative data to inductively develop middle-range theories to make sense of people's actions and experiences in the social world".

3) What theoretical perspective lies behind the methodology in question?

This study follows the interpretivism research paradigm as it provides the researcher with the evidence material that he needs to analyze; these materials are formulated by the research participants who were part of the event or the context under research. This research approach "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social world" (Crotty 1998: 67).

According to Grbich (2007), the interpretivist research approach is associated with the concern for understanding. As my study aims to understand the implications of social media platforms on Saudi feminism movements, it will reveal some of the primary causes behind the anti-male guardianship movement and will follow the interpretivist traditions to analyze the Twitter posts related to this movement to seek understanding.

4) What epistemology informs these theoretical perspectives?

Epistemology is "the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby the methodology" (Crotty 1998: 3). Epistemologies include empirical objectivism, experimental subjectivism, antisubjectivism, and social constructivism. In my research, the epistemological perspective is social constructivism, which, according to Grbich (2007: 8–9), "assumes that "there is no objective knowledge independent of thinking" and that reality is socially imbedded and exists entirely in the mind. This makes reality a moving target because it is "fluid and changing" and is constructed "jointly in interaction by the researcher and the researched." This comprehensive explanation for social constructivism, in accordance with the study objectives and qualitative research approach, explains the epistemology adopted, which, according to Glesne (2006: 6) "suggests that a majority of qualitative researchers adhere to social constructivism or a constructivist paradigm and that "this paradigm maintains that human beings construct their perceptions of the world."

In relation to this, because I want to understand the phenomenon of young Saudi women's online activism from the perspective of women who have experienced it, the social constructivism paradigm will work well with this study because it rejects the objectivity and scientific values of knowledge associated with the positivism approach and values multiple and constructed knowledge. Social constructivism "holds that knowledge of the world is not a simple reflection of what there is, but a set of social artifacts of what we make of what is there" (Glesen 2007:7). Through interaction with the phenomenon and the participants and by using qualitative content analysis, the researcher will seek "common patterns of meaning through preliminary and thematic analysis," with a major focus on "in-depth understanding of the problem and identifying related issues" (Owen 2014:6).

In conclusion, in this study I depart from the idea that reality is a social construct. It is critical to understand that as I studied the Twitter platform and read posts related to the anti-male guardianship system and feminist movement in Saudi Arabia, I saw these movements as a

socially constructed attempt to define reality and the rules that govern gender inequality practices. The offline and online activism movement, as it evolved and was re-created throughout time, was linked to a larger social environment and support.

4.4.1 The Rationality for the Qualitative Research

As previously stated, a qualitative research approach will be followed in this study. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative research is any sort of research that produces conclusions without the use of statistical processes or other quantification methods. It can apply to studies of people's lives, stories, and behaviors, but it can also refer to studies of organizational functioning, social movements, or relationships. According to Marshall and Rossman (1995:15) "qualitative methods allow us to better identify and describe the complexity of social problems, identify unanticipated outcomes, and find inconsistencies and conflicts" Miles and Huberman's (1994:269) provides further support for the selection of qualitative research methods as they argue that "qualitative research is conducted through intense and/or prolonged contact with a 'field' or life situation. These situations are typically 'banal' or normal reflecting the everyday lives of individuals, groups, societies, and organizations".

According to Strauss and Corbin's (1998), Marshall and Rossman's (1995), and Miles and Huberman's (1994) perspectives on qualitative research methods, the researcher believes that qualitative research methods will best suit this study because it focuses on social and political communication disseminated on social media platforms, primarily Twitter, by young oppressed Saudi women and aims to address the relevance of these platforms as well as their participation and experience in virtual activism.

Furthermore, and in line with the interpretivist, inductive scientific positioning adopted for this research, I argue that qualitative research methods are best suited to meet the research objectives, explain the various aspects of the issues under investigation, and provide participants with flexibility and reassurance in expressing their opinions and reflecting on their experiences. Furthermore, Creswell & Creswell's (2018:108) argument below supports this choice of qualitative research method:

Researchers increasingly use a theoretical lens or perspective in qualitative research, qualitative research of the 1980s underwent a transformation to broaden its scope of

inquiry to include these theoretical lenses. They guide the researchers to what issues are important to examine (e.g., marginalization, empowerment, oppression, power) and the people who need to be studied (e.g., women, low economic social statuses, ethnic and racial groups, sexual orientation, disability).

Furthermore, while planning this research, I insisted on going beyond the statistics visible in the quantitative research method in terms of social media usage and relying on the flexibility of the qualitative research method, which provided me with the flexibility and in-depth understanding through interviews and online narratives through qualitative content analysis and. This approach gave me the opportunity to better understand participants experiences, motivations, and perceptions from one hand, and on the other hand, gave participants the flexibility and freedom to express themselves, their opinions, and their experiences (Creswell and Poth 2017).

The qualitative method employed in this study is "committed to an emic, ideographic, case-based position that directs attention to the specifics of a particular case" (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:12). As a result, and in accordance with the research objectives and research questions, this study heavily relies on the participation, experiences, and reflections of young Saudi women to understand the usefulness and challenges of social media platforms on online activism and Saudi feminism, where this phenomenon of feminism is one of the qualitative theoretical perspectives available to researchers. "Feminism perspectives view problematic women's diverse situations and the institutions that frame those situations. Researcher topics may include policy issues related to realizing social justice for women in specific contexts or knowledge about oppressive situations for women" (Creswell and Creswell, 2018: 108).

Abu-Nimer (2006), Alotaibi and Mulderring (2021), Castells (2012), Crone (2015), Curran et al. (2012), Fenton (2012), Greenfield (2019), Habermas (1989), Kraidy (2021), McQuail (1992), Miller (2015) and Moaddell (2021) inspired my methodological approach for social, religious, and political communication, online activism, social media platforms and technologies, and feminism movements in the Middle East. Many other researchers, such as Chilisa and Kawulich (2012), Creswell and Creswell (2018), and Crotty (1998), and their significant work on research design, methodology, and method selections were the primary sources for the building and development of this study's research design, methodology, and method selections.

Other studies, such as Doajji (2017); Tonnessen (2016) and Thorsen and Sreedharan (2019) have been examined for their richness in comprehending participants' opinions and experiences in the anti-male guardianship online movement and Saudi women's feminism movements.

Doajji (2017), for example, examines historical and contemporary Saudi women's activism in her study, *Saudi Women's Online Activism: One Year of the "I Am My Own Guardian" Campaign*, with a special focus on their activism against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia and what she refers to as media activism. She sees this movement as a new power and new energy in women's activism in Saudi Arabia with the assistance of social media platforms. Her study is based on content and discussion analysis for the #I Am My Own Guardian Campaign.

On the other hand, Thorsen and Sreedharan's (2019) study *#End Male Guardianship: Women's Rights, Social Media, and the Arab Public Sphere* investigates the implications of using social media platforms on communication and women's rights movements in Saudi Arabia by focusing on the communicative dynamics between participants during this campaign that took place on Twitter and how this platform facilitated cross-gender communication and online engagement. Their research was based on qualitative content analysis of tweets with the Arabic hashtag # and the English hashtag #EndMale Guardianship. However, their study lacked genuine engagement with participants in order to fully comprehend their experiences and perceptions of social media platforms and their role in activism.

However, because I am a Middle Eastern citizen who shares the same culture and experiences as the research participants and Arabic is my first language, there was no need to include the English version of the hashtag, which was used less frequently by the Saudi participants, and to focus on analyzing the Arabic hashtag. However, it appears extremely fair for Thorsen and Sreedharan (2019)'s research to include the English hashtag because they are both not from the Middle East region and do not speak Arabic.

Furthermore, Tonnessen's (2016) study, *Women's Activism in Saudi Arabia: Male Guardianship and Sexual Violence*, examines the relationship between women's rights and the religious and political-legal systems in Saudi Arabia, as well as women's activism inside and outside the kingdom, particularly against the male guardianship system and its restrictions. Tonnessen's method included interviews with a Riyadh prosecutor, female activists, and married women from Jeddah.

Similarly to the preceding studies and their chosen methodological approach, the use of online observation and semi-structured interviews as primary research methods will allow me to investigate participants' perceptions of the male guardianship system as well as their engagement and participation in activism via the Twitter platform. I tailor these methodological approaches and research methods to fit my research objectives and questions, so I will conduct a combined qualitative content analysis for tweets disseminated under the same Arabic hashtag and data collected from the semi structured interviews with the goal of producing insightful and valid findings. These chosen research methods assisted in identifying potential participants for the semi-structured interviews, observing their social media profiles, participation, and comments, as well as the use of language and Twitter features in expressing their opinions and online activism, and identifying the offline and online challenges to their participation in this movement.

4.5 Data Collection Process and Methods

The investigation looked into the Anti-Male Guardianship advocacy campaign that occurred on Twitter in 2016 and 2017. Data was collected with the goal of characterizing how young Saudi women in Saudi Arabia perceived the implications of social media on their social and political online activism, determining whether advocacy discourse placed on Twitter aided in the achievement of women's social and political rights, examining the types of social and political messages disseminated by young Saudi women, and comprehending their motivations and objectives, with an emphasis on sociopolitical communication.

According to research on the relationship between social media sites, political and social discourse, and discussions, Twitter has been particularly popular among social and political activists, owing to the platform's ability to transmit news and information in a short and timely manner, as well as increased awareness of social and political issues (Weiss et al. 2013). After the platform was modified in 2012 with the advantage of using the Arabic language, demand for Twitter rose in Arab countries, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the number of Twitter users climbed from 5 million in 2016 to 24 million in 2021. This pattern is likely to persist. The figures demonstrate the popularity of Twitter among Saudi youth, who account for 40% of the region's Twitter users (Global Media Insight 2021).

The data collected for the purpose of this study includes: 1: 3000 Twitter posts from the main Arabic hashtag against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia: #EndMaleGuardianship

(#سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية). This hashtag was updated on a daily basis to mark the campaign's days number; 2- 500 additional posts selected from twitter accounts related to active participants in this campaign (this will be discussed in depth in the data analysis method section). This data was supplemented with 3- the data collected from the semi-structured interviews with young Saudi women between the age of 20- 40 years old and who participated in the same online campaign that took place between August 2016 and July 2017.

4.5.1 Online Observation and Data Collection

Online observation is a technique that entails careful selection and monitoring of online occurrences as well as their capture, recording, and storage. This can involve observing facts, taking measurements, and writing down conclusions and judgments. Online observation for qualitative research can be open, unstructured, adaptable, and diverse rather than following a predetermined, predetermined approach (Dawson 2019). This data collection method was adopted for this research as it a “data collection methods which waive communication between researcher and respondent by answers and questions during the whole research period” (Kuss & Griffiths 2012:145)”. According to Theobald and Neundorger (2010:121) “Online observations focus on incidents in virtual communities and the online sphere, the increased popularity of social media has also greatly expanded the possibilities for online observation”. Furthermore “In the case of non-reactive online observations, the observed people are not aware of the observation process. The researcher observes the incidents occurred on the internet without any intervention or direct participation” (Theobald and Neundorger 2010:130).

I have to admit that gathering data through online observation was a very difficult and time-consuming process. In addition to choosing the ideal social media platform for my research goals and target audience, I also had to familiarize myself with the online activism practices and movements of Saudi women. After that, I had to determine exactly what I needed to gather, as well as when, how, the criteria, and the variables. I also conducted an initial round of online observation to ensure that there was sufficient data available on this platform for this particular campaign, which would help me meet my research goals and find the answers to the research questions. Prior to starting my online observation and data collection, I also made sure to consider and select the best tool or method for gathering, organizing, and storing my data in preparation for the data analysis stage.

Based on this , Twitter data were retrieved throughout three months, from August 1st to October 31st, 2016, Table 4:1. This time frame might be justified by the following factors: 1. after the release of the Human Rights Watch report "Boxed In" on July 17, 2016, which criticized male guardianship in Saudi Arabia; 2. around the national day celebration on September 23, 2016, which is considered one of the largest celebrations in the Kingdom; 3. before the royal decree of April 17, 2017 ending male guardian permission to enter government services; and 4. before the May 4, 2017 royal decree permitting women to receive various services without their male guardian permission.

Collected Tweets		
Month	Selected dates from each month	Number of collected tweets each month
August 2016	1, 4, 5, 7, 10,13,16,17,21,22,23,24,26,29,30	1342
September 2016	2,4,9,10,13,16,20,22,24,26,30	897
October 2016	3,6,11,12,16,17,20,21,22,24,25,27,31	761

Table 4:1. Dates and the Number of Tweets Selected per Month.

For the purpose of this study and based on my online observation, I decided to limit the collection of tweets to a specific date from each month. These specific selected dates are the ones with the highest number of tweets. I took careful consideration while choosing these particular days to ensure that I covered the beginning, middle, and end of the month. In addition, I reviewed the calendar for the year 2016 and looked for any noteworthy events, festivals, or holidays that may have happened between August and October of that year. This helped me determine the campaign's launch dates, updates, and trends.

Furthermore, the Twitter application program interface (API) was utilized to extract real-time data from selected dates within the sample period. Identifying participants and their social media platforms is critical since this thesis will study social and political material on Saudi young women activists' Twitter accounts.



Picture 4:1 Sample of the Hashtag, Account Name, Day Number and Gendered Language.
(Source @weffff4 Twitter account page)

For the purpose of this study, I extracted the most widely shared posts by Saudi women participants that had the most reactions and retweets within the specified time range and were connected to the Arabic hashtag (سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية). Based on these widely shared tweets, I gathered a data sample of 3000 tweets following tweet-level sampling (tweets are the sampling unit) and 500 additional tweets following user-level sampling (users are the sampling unit), related to a selected and generated list of Saudi women Twitter accounts that were influential during the campaign. These selected women Twitter accounts can be described as committed and active from the start of the campaign in 2016 until the time of writing this thesis.

Follower count—the number of followers each activist and participant have, which reflects the popularity of that user—and retweet influence—the number of answers and retweets—were the influence measures used for this selection of Twitter accounts and selected interviewees. While collecting the data, I excluded English hashtags, English language posts and tweets with content unrelated to the anti-male guardianship campaign, duplicated tweets, accounts, and tweets where gender was not specified or could not be ascertained. This was done by using either Twitter's Gender API or manual identification through the account name or account contents, and because Arabic is grammatically gendered, it facilitated the process of identifying the gender of the Twitter users, seen on Picture 4:1.

4.5.2 Semi Structured Interviews

Because of the emphasis on religious and political communication on social media platforms and because this study takes a qualitative approach aimed at better understanding Saudi women's roles, experiences, and motivations in initiating online activism through religious and political content, as well as the implications of social media usage on women's activism movements. Semi-structured interviews were used as a data collection method. "Interviews are defined as "efforts to understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to cover their loved world" (Brinkman and Kvale 2015: 3) and where "knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee" (Brinkman and Kvale 2015: 4).

For this study, the aim of the interviews is to address, gain a deeper understanding of, and provide richer information on the following:

- What have Saudi women been doing with their claims and actions in their online activism against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia?
- How do they perceive what they are doing and their views on Twitter's role in this activism movement (the conditions, limitations, and creative ways used along the way)?
- What is their perception of the state and societal restrictions towards the political and social reformist movement)?

Additional research questions that address Saudi women's online activism include:

- How do these activists interact with other women's rights movements and activists? Is there any coordination between them?
- Is there an interaction between Saudi online activists? How can it be described?
- How do women describe the state's reaction to their movement and claims?

Interviews can be structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. For this research and in accordance with the research objectives semi-structured interviews are the method of choice. This method aims for a deep understanding of the participants' experiences and hidden perceptions towards social media, socio-political communication, and activism in the unique context of Saudi Arabia, which is influenced by many religious, social, and political factors.

Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were selected as they are characterized by flexible and open-ended questions, so researchers do not need to stick to predetermined questions and themes but can follow up with interesting topics that may arise during discussions with participants" (Alsahafi 2019: 165).

As previously indicated, semi-structured interviews were employed as a data collection method in this study to better understand the role of young women's activism, their experiences, and their motives in launching online activism through social and political content. According to Beck and Manuel (2008), an interview is an appropriate data gathering method for exploring finely humanistic phenomena, patterns, and experiences in a qualitative way by looking for themes. As previously noted, social networking sites have played a significant role in the exchange and discussion of information, particularly in countries where freedom of expression is restricted by legislation.

The interview participants were chosen using the concept of purposeful sampling, which emphasizes that the researcher should select the interview participants taking into consideration how "they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell and Poth 2017: 158). In accordance with this, specific criteria such as relevance to the online anti-male guardianship movement, degree of influence and participation in the online Saudi public sphere, and ideological backgrounds and relationship with feminism movements and actions in Saudi Arabia were used to select participants.

The preliminary rational framework and guidelines for selecting participants included a clear criterion that limited this selection to the following objects: young Saudi women, aged 20 to 40, participants in the anti-male guardianship online campaign, based in Saudi Arabia, who are active social media users, and who are involved in political and social events. According to the 2021 population census, 68% of Saudis are under the age of 40 (23,201,974 million), with

women accounting for 46% of this group (Stats Gove 2021). This age group is an early adopter of new technologies and social media sites, relying on them to get social and political information and participate. In Saudi Arabia, the age range of 18–40 is the most likely to use social media sites (Alsaahafi 2019). Young people are defined as "voracious communicators" and everyday inventors who devote significant time and effort to using digital tools to achieve their communication goals" (Green and Brady 2013: 461).

The rationale for selecting female participants who were based in Saudi Arabia between August and October 2016 was to overcome the restriction implemented by the government on freedom of speech and expression towards the critical political and social issues. Saudi citizens living abroad enjoy more freedom of speech and participation than Saudi residents. Being active on social media shows individuals' knowledge and interest in issues like the male guardianship system, women's rights, gender inequity, and constraints on free speech. All of this is in line with the research purpose, which is to investigate the effects of social media on women's activism within Saudi Arabia's domestic political and social framework.

Because of the sensitivity of the topic, the restrictive context and environment, the Saudi government's online censorship and surveillance, retractions, and information laws and online regulations, as well as the wave of arrest, threat, and intimidation for social and political women activists and online participants, I observed that the recruitment process for participation was very difficult due to the factor of credibility and trust, which consequently promotes the phenomenon of hidden and hard-to--reach populations. A critical point to be made here is about the factors of fear and mistrust, which are common problems researchers may face during sample recruitment, particularly in politically restrictive environments" (Alsaahafi 2019: 157).

As a result, in order to overcome the obstacles in recruiting participants, and after studying a number of Twitter profiles for female participants in the online anti-male guardianship campaign for a few months, I employed the snowball sampling approach, which is "a sampling technique in which the researcher samples initially a sample group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience and characteristics relevant to the research" (Bryman 2012: 424). After several attempts to discover and contact people, I was able to reach a limited number of possible participants (2 females) who agreed to participate in the semi-structured interview and were helpful in suggesting (4 females) participants from their network who could contribute to my study.

Obtaining these female participants consent to be a part of this study by engaging in the semi-structured interview was a difficult process. In several attempts to contact the first identified list of participants, the reaction to my request was quite disappointing, as Twitter users were cautious in sharing their identities, opinions, and actions, as well as engaging with studies, researchers, or even ordinary people they didn't trust.

However, after identifying the initial list of potential participants, which included their names, Twitter account IDs, and a brief bio, I began contacting the selected participants via their Twitter pages and direct messaging, briefly introducing myself and the reason for contacting them. The second step was to share a detailed formal letter explaining the purpose of my research, the research topic, the data collection procedure, the interview duration, and so on. The purpose of these measures was to improve confidence and credibility while decreasing the ignoring of my request.

Surprisingly, only two of the twelve contacted potential participants expressed an interest in participating in the semi-structured interview under the condition of not revealing any information about themselves other than their initial real names; these two participants formed the basis of the sample list and assisted me in recruiting the remaining four participants. With a total of six participants, I was confident in the amount and quality of information I received. These interviews were mostly conducted over the phone or Zoom app, with the means of communication chosen based on the interviewee's preferences. Table 4:2 provides a list of the semi-structured interview participants.

Table 4:2. List of Interviewees in the Semi Structured Interviews

Name	Gender	Type of Interview	Interview Duration (in minutes)
Salwa	Female	Zoom	90
Maha	Female	Zoom	120
Noora	Female	Phone	85
Rawan	Female	Zoom	60
Lamyaa	Female	Zoom	56
Maysoon	Female	Phone	120

In order to elicit the most information from the interviewees, it was critical for me as a researcher to identify the appropriate atmosphere and convenient time that allowed the interviewees to feel comfortable sharing their experiences and perceptions. In my case, I would have preferred to conduct all of my interviews face-to-face; however, because I was and still am living in Portugal and all of my interviewees were in Saudi Arabia at the time of the interview, a face-to-face interview was not possible; thus, the best suggested option from the interviewees was either phone or via Zoom.

Being a female researcher and being familiar with Saudi culture, the foundation of the male guardianship system made the participants more comfortable sharing their online activities and experiences, and this unique position also allowed me to gain participants' trust and access to their offline lives, as well as map their attitudes and values, which would have been difficult for foreign researchers to do.

4.5.3 The Selection of the Anti-Male Guardianship Twitter Campaign

The rationale and reason for collecting data from the Twitter online anti-male guardianship campaign and the # (سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية) in order to investigate the role of Twitter in social and political communication, as well as its implications on feminism movements in Saudi Arabia, includes the following important facts, which have also been highlighted by Alsahafi (2019) and Thorsen and Sreedharan (2019):

- In terms of effectiveness, mobilization, and longevity, this campaign is the most prominent women's activism campaign in Saudi Arabia. This hashtag was updated on a daily basis with the cumulative day number, making it a trend on a daily basis, and it lasted for more than a year, generating unprecedented attention nationally and internationally.
- Twitter is the most popular forum for Saudi women's problems, which accounts for the majority of online conversation. Twitter allows individuals to learn about a movement informally and link them around a shared cause. It aided in framing the movement and giving it resonance while also updating in real-time to keep up with new events and in developing new protest techniques.

- This online activism effort will help me answer my second and third research questions. To what extent have Twitter advocacy features aided Saudi women in expressing their dissatisfaction with the male guardianship system and gender inequity in order to attain more social and political rights via the online public sphere? And what type of sociopolitical contents were used to undermine the Male Guardianship system (assertive, persuasive, educative)?
- The Saudi male guardianship system has political, religious, and social dimensions, and analyzing this campaign will allow me to examine the relationship between the campaign contents, online feminism movements, and social media platforms as a new Saudi online public sphere for women, which is one of the research objectives.
- Based on the bibliographical research I conducted, I discovered a lack of studies that confirm and examine the existence of an effective communication and leadership model in the anti-male guardianship online campaign, whether it is informative, religious, persuasive, or artistic, as well as a lack of studies that confirm and examine the existence of an effective communication and leadership model in this online campaign, which is an extremely important factor as this research aims to develop a communication and leadership model for feminism movements in the Middle East.
- In Saudi Arabia, Twitter considered the predominant online platform to raise and discuss sensitive political and social issues, as we witnessed for the Women To Drive and Salaries Are Not Sufficient campaign that marks how twitter became a platform to exercise online activism, in 2018 (52% of the total population aged 15+) were active twitter users and in 2023 (68% of the total population aged 15+) are active twitter users (Global Media Insight 2023).

4.6 Data Analysis Methods and Process

With the aim of researching and analyzing the beginning and development of an unmatched women's rights campaign in the first three months, I devoted a great deal of time to studying the online campaign and the main participants' Twitter profiles and activity. As a result, the subchapter of this study will go over the approaches for research analysis that were selected

for it, which include qualitative content analysis for the collected data from twitter posts and for the data collected from the semi structured interviews. Each strategy's terminology, advantages, and associated data will be made clear.

4.6.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

As mentioned above, this research used qualitative content analysis of tweets posted by Saudi women in the # (سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية) campaign against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia. Content analysis research method consists of "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1969: 14). Qualitative content analysis will be used to provide answers to the research questions as well as valuable historical and cultural insights into the phenomenon of online activism and Saudi feminism via Twitter in its particular context, as well as the social and political contents used to advocate for women's rights in Saudi Arabia.

Up until recent decades, the main application of content analysis was as a quantitative research technique (Neuendorf 2002). To address some of the shortcomings of the quantitative technique, much recent research has incorporated qualitative content analysis (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009). Qualitative content analysis has been redefined by many researchers; "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon 2005:1278), "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring 2000:2), and "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (Patton 2002:453).

These three definitions serve as examples of how qualitative content analysis places an emphasis on a comprehensive understanding of speech and text along with their unique settings. By looking at meanings, themes, and patterns that may be overt or latent in a text, qualitative content analysis goes beyond simply counting words or collecting factual information from texts. It enables researchers to grasp social reality in a flexible but methodical way (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009).

When a researcher is working in an interpretive paradigm, qualitative content analysis is a viable alternative to more conventional quantitative content analysis. The objective is to pinpoint significant themes or categories within a body of text and to offer a thorough account of the social reality those themes or categories create as it is experienced in a specific environment. The outcomes of qualitative content analysis can help in the creation of new theories and models, as well as validate existing theories and provide in-depth descriptions of specific settings or phenomena through rigorous data preparation, coding, and interpretation (Zhang and Wildemuth 2009).

The content analysis technique will be implemented in accordance with Krippendorff's (2013) approach (Figure 4:2) by analyzing specific data, text, words, and themes produced by young Saudi women in terms of language, meaning attributes to their online activism, as well as relationships and inferences of words and concepts, which will be accomplished by implying coding and categorizing the data.

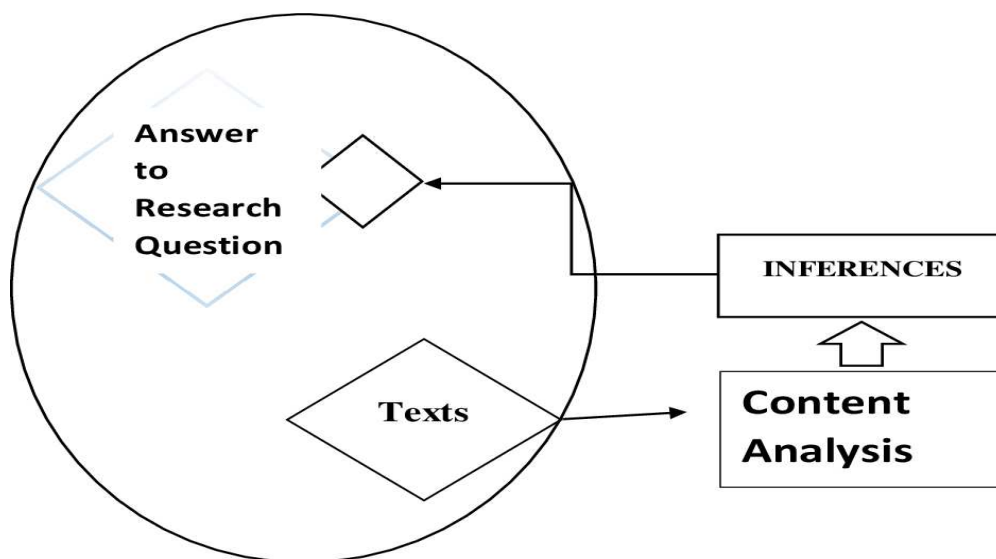


Figure 4:2 The Content Analysis Technique. (Source Krippendorff 2013)

Qualitative content analysis is essential in assessing and comprehending young Saudi women's online activism as well as their experiences and motives. Furthermore, qualitative content analysis is an interpretivist and inductive technique that will help critically analyzes the written or spoken language produced by Saudi young women. It is best used to identify trends and patterns in communication, measure the effectiveness of a communication, or compare different types of communication.

For the qualitative content analysis, tweets were painstakingly collected from 1- the # (سعوديات) (نطالب باسقاط الولاية), 2- posts and comments published on selected participants' Twitter accounts using Twitter's advanced search feature. To create the corpus for this study, only tweets in Arabic were retrieved. Furthermore, tweets and tweet replies were considered for this study. Tweet replies, on the other hand, were utilized to assess which tweets were made for parody purposes and to clarify their opinion on the matter if it appeared uncertain.

Although the Arabic online campaign and hashtag # سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية to end the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia were inspired by the Human Rights Watch report and its twitter campaign under the English # TogetherToEndMaleGuardianship and the Arabic # معا لانتهاء ولاية الرجل على المرأة, "the campaign took its own turn. Rather than remaining under the influence of a few known activists, it morphed into a much broader campaign that was able to mobilize diverse groups of women and men alike. This was rhetorically marked by the change in hashtag to # StopEnslavingSaudiWomen and # سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية with an added number at the end of the hashtag marking each day of the campaign" (Doaiji 2017:7).

For the purpose of this research, I collected 3000 tweets as a data sample from the specified hashtag and selected days from each month, which were then collated into an Excel document. Each Excel document was grouped by the hashtags and the day the tweets were posted. Columns on the Excel sheet included: (a) a row for the hashtag and cumulative day number; and (b) a row for the date. (b) a column for the tweet text and link; (c) a column for the user ID; (d) a column for the user's gender; (e) a column for the posted date; (f) a column for the type of text (text or image); and (h) a column for the number of replies on that specific hashtag, as demonstrated in Picture 4:2. For columns (d) and (g), I first examined how Twitter users presented themselves in their accounts by looking at their names or ID, bio, and tweet language.

No	Tweet	Account ID	Gender	Date	Type of Text	Nationality	No of replies
1	https://twitter.com/CitizensBut/status/768378903157207040/photo/1	@CitizensBut	F	24-Aug	T+I	S	
2	https://twitter.com/nnor_/status/768513764861837312/photo/2	@nnor_	F	24-Aug	T+I	S	4
3	https://twitter.com/zootox/status/768445408754425856/photo/1	@zootox	F	24-Aug	T+I	S	1
4	https://twitter.com/abdullahna007/status/768400318292000769/photo/1	@abdullahna007	F	24-Aug	T	S	1
5	https://twitter.com/reema_9000/status/768395005392281600/photo/1	@reema_9000	F	24-Aug	I	S	0
6	https://twitter.com/reema_9000/status/768394942112759810/photo/1	@reema_9000	F	24-Aug	I	S	0
7	سوف يتعرفون ان المرأة انسان عندما يتقبلون انها تطالب بحقوقها ليس عهرا , وعندما نتمزع ليس عهرا ..	@MERIAM_AL3TEEBE	F	24-Aug	T	S	2
8	كلما ازدادت وطنية الشخص وجبه لوطنه ومواطنيه كلما حرص ان يكون هناك ثقافه حقوق تحمي الوطن من الاحتقان	@SelimaPax	F	24-Aug	I	S	4
9	لماذا عندما يطالب اي فصيل من المجتمع بحقوقه تُتهم بالتمالة الخارجيه ؟ هل السعودي عاجز عن المطالبه بحقه		F	24-Aug	T	S	6
10	هذه نتائج عدم الثقة بفكر المواطن الذي اعتادوا تدجيته , فهو لديهم منغذ وليس مفكر ومستقل !!	@rogaia_hwoiriny	F	25-Aug	T	S	1
11	هنا المشكلة اذا احد طالب بحق من حقوقه فيه ناس تنتقده ويتهومونه اتهامات غريبه مع ان الملك حفظه الله فاتح باب للجميع		F	25-Aug	T	S	1

Picture 4:2 Organizing the Data. Excel Sheet Sample.

Furthermore, qualitative content analysis method was used to analyze the additional posts and comments published on selected participants' Twitter accounts. These female participants account selections were based on active twitter users, whether they are ordinary people or activists. The advanced search option on Twitter was used to narrow the results for the time period August–October 2016 and tweets related to the Anti-Male Guardianship campaign, for which a sample of 500 textual contests were collected. This procedure provided informative discourse and information about the selected activists and participants' sociopolitical debate and participation in the online campaign to support the movement, advocate for women's rights and inequality in Saudi society, and assist in understanding the social context of this online activism.

However, other factors were considered while selecting the object of analysis for the qualitative content analysis, which are as follows:

- The anti-male guardianship campaign
- The number of followers for each female activist or participant
- Demographic information about the object, such as age, gender, language, education, and occupation.

- The level of engagement and interaction with the social and political information produced.
- The relevance of the content produced.
- Objects of analysis are personality, reliability, honesty, and professionalism.
- Ensuring that these participants' Twitter accounts remain active until 2023.

To be more specific, the qualitative content analysis technique was also adopted to analyze the additional 500 collected textual contents that are related to the selected participants Twitter accounts, which included tweets from the 12 Twitter accounts listed below that are related to Saudi women activists and predominant participants in the anti-male guardianship online movement (Picture 4:3).

AutoSave Off

participants

Sign in

FileHomeInsertPage LayoutFormulasDataReviewViewAdd-insHelp

Clipboard

Font

Alignment

Number

Comments

Share

General

Conditional Formatting

Format as Table

Cell Styles

Insert

Delete

Format

Σ

Sort & Filter

Find & Select

Analyze Data

Analysis

M5

Identified Participants in the Anti Male Guardianship Twitter Campaign.

No.	Name	Twitter ID	Account active	Participant Bio
1	MERIAM ALOTEEBE	@MERIAM_AL3TEEBE	2023	...نسوية #سعودية وكل #الفاستدوت أعداتي أعتبر نفسي نموذج حي للمرأة التي طالبت بحقوقها داخل وطنها# انكم لن تستطيعوا معي صبرا #المرأة_وليّة_امي_نفسها #انا_لست_قاصر_صحة_حقيقية لا للعتف لا للتسلط وسلب الحقوق لا للاستبعاد لا لتغيب واحتلال العقول باسم الدين
2	علامه الصحوة العامة	@miliaKh	2023	أسقي عقلي، أسافر إلى اللامكان، وامرّج بالتقافات، امرأة تسكن ما بين كتاب وترحال-باحثة باللغويات والانثروبولوجي
3	الراعدة	@Haunted2012	2023	أخذنا عهداً أنا لا نسكت عن ظلماً أو انتهاكاً لحقوق
4	ملاك الحرية	@angleoffreedom	2023	not available
5	Salwa	@same12331	2023	not available
6	Dr.Eman	@emanALshail	2023	همي هو الإنسان .. أنشد الوحدة والتسامح والسلام. أرى الخير في كل إنسان وفي أي مكان . مهمته بالاقتصاد والاستثمار . مبدلة في مجال الاسهم الرياض - دبي
7	ماجدة	@majedhmm	2023	كل مرا نياس ان باب تقفل في وجهنا ربي يرسل برحمته باب اوسع لله ما اخذ والله ما اعطى الحمد الله يارب على حجم عطايك
8	سيدة اصالح	@Businesswoman	2023	التعليقات تحت تغريداتي لا تمثلني سادافع عن وطني بكل قوة الوطن له ابناء يحمونه والاجنبي لايهمه هذا الوطن ياغريب كن اديب #السعودية_للسعوديين #عصية_للنجاج
9	W-alzhrani	@Wedoo1409	2023	. الحرية ليست جريمة ' إن الله يعرفك بشكل كاف، أعتقد أن ذلك مريح جداً حرية، سلام، حياة' امرأة تملك قلم وأجنحة ووطن أخضر أسست #نساء_للوطن أول مبادرة توثيق عن المرأة السعودية من #سفراء_المسؤولية_الإجماعية و #سفراء_الطاء_الرقمي. كاتبة #جريدة_الرياض
10	just a girl	@ko0ok22	2023	
11	هاجر	@H_2015	2023	
12	Maha	@mahalwabel	2023	

Total2022202120202019201816-17

ReadyAccessibility: Investigate

ENG12:48 PM8/20/2023

Picture 4:3 Twitter Campaign Participants List.

4.6.2 Data Analysis Process

In order to ensure a thorough analysis and to make the most of the acquired data, the data analysis process began during the data collection phase. During the fieldwork, for example, I kept a personal diary to record my comments, observations and thoughts immediately after each interview. This strategy assisted me in staying focused on the theoretical framework of my research and avoiding unwanted distractions. It also helped with the legitimacy and quality of the data obtained during the fieldwork, as I paid closer attention to emergent topics cited frequently by respondents and campaign participants. All of this assisted me in making the most of both the fieldwork experiences and the interviews.

The post-fieldwork data analysis procedure began with the collection of tweets to be analyzed by the qualitative content analysis method as well as the collection of data from the transcription of recorded interviews. Every word in the posts and interviews was scrutinized and listened to several times. Furthermore, while listening and transcribing, I wrote notes in the margins, particularly when what had been uploaded and stated captured something intriguing about my personal observations throughout the fieldwork or concepts that came up again across interviews, for example.

4.6.2.1 Thematic Analysis Approach

Furthermore, 'a thematic analysis method' was used for the purposes of this research. It is one of the most commonly used qualitative analytic methods and is defined as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It organizes and describes your data set in (detailed) detail. However, it frequently goes beyond this and interprets different parts of the research issue" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79).

Researchers use this data analysis technique to uncover trends in the data that are interesting or important. These selected themes should help answer the study questions or say something important about the issues being investigated. It is critical to emphasize that this method is more than simply summarizing the data set; a convincing thematic analysis must make the most of the raw data by organizing, analyzing, explaining, interpreting, and making meaning of it (Alsahafi 2019).

In summary and in accordance with Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis was chosen for because it offers the following benefits that are particularly relevant to this thesis:

- Its rigorous use can yield detailed insight into the study questions.
- Its adaptable technique can be applied to a wide range of epistemologies.
- It can describe and summarize key characteristics of a large amount of data.
- Emphasis can be placed on data points that show substantial similarities or discrepancies.
- Unexpected insights may be created.

<i>Six Phases of Thematic Analysis</i>	
<i>1. Familiarizing yourself with data</i>	• <i>If required transcribe the data.</i> • <i>Reading and rereading the data.</i> • <i>Noting down any initial ideas.</i>
<i>2. Generating Initial Codes</i>	• <i>Coding interesting features of the data in a methodical fashion across the data sets.</i> • <i>Collating data relevant to each code.</i>
<i>3. Searching for themes</i>	• <i>Organising data into potential themes.</i> • <i>Proceeding to gather all data into relevant themes.</i>
<i>4. Reviewing the themes</i>	• <i>Checking that themes work in relation to the coded extract.</i> • <i>Generate a thematic 'map' of the analysis.</i>
<i>5. Defining and naming themes</i>	• <i>Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and overall patterns the content shows.</i> • <i>Generating clear definitions for each theme.</i>
<i>6. Producing the report</i>	• <i>The final opportunity for analysis</i> • <i>Selecting vivid and compelling extract examples</i>

Table 4:3 The Six Phases of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006)

I discovered various approaches to 'thematic analysis' while reading the literature on qualitative methodologies (Braun and Clarke 2006; Creswell and Creswell, 2018 and Rossman and Rallis

2012). However, in this study, I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide (Table 4:3). This is because, being one of the most regularly used methodologies in social science, this framework gives a clear step-by-step guide for doing a theme analysis.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 87) the six phases guide are as follows: (1) "Familiarizing yourself with your data" this refers to the process of intensively reviewing the acquired data in order to produce general senses and early concepts. At this phase researchers are advised to scan material, transcript interviews, make notes, jot down early impressions, and organize the data during this phase. (2) "generating initial codes" by arranging the data in categories in a meaningful and systematic way; (3) "searching for themes" by classifying the identified codes into potential themes that will represent the study's main findings. (4) "reviewing the themes" to confirm that they operate systematically with the extracted codes, as in phase one, with the whole data set, and to build a thematic map of the study, as in step two. It is helpful at this stage if researchers have gathered all relevant data for each theme. (5) "Defining and naming themes" to define each theme more precisely and to describe the overall tale expressed by the analysis. (6) "producing the report," the final phase, in which rich and persuasive examples are chosen and related to the study topics and theoretical framework.

4.7 Research Ethics: Biases and Research Reflexivity

All scientific research seeks the truth, but establishing the truth, particularly regarding humans, is one of the most difficult research difficulties. Aside from technical constraints such as time, space, and developing experience, researchers must also contend with bias. Bias is generally inadvertent, yet it has a substantial impact on research reliability. Bias is defined as any influence that causes a study's conclusions and findings to be distorted (Polit and Beck 2014).

Bias is especially problematic in qualitative methods such as qualitative content analysis or discourse analysis, and it must be well controlled and accounted for. In relation to this, Van Leeuwen (2006:293) argues that:

In any case, CDA researchers have to be aware that their work is driven by social, economic and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position. Naming oneself 'critical' only implies specific ethical standards: an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and

their criteria as transparent as possible, without feeling the need to apologize for the critical stance of their work.

Although being separated from the culture eased the process of gathering and interpreting data, it was also tough. As an example, when interviewing Saudi females for this study, some of the participants assumed that I had sufficient comprehension and knowledge about their experiences and viewpoints, and they assumed that they didn't need to explain the same more. Such an assumption would prevent the study from gaining a thorough insight into the participants' perspectives and opinions.

Specific tactics were applied to detect, neutralize, and minimize bias in order to deal with such situations properly and limit bias in the study. Key tactics included peer debriefing and reflexivity, the latter of which is essential in qualitative research during data collection, analysis, and interpretation but can be difficult to handle at times. "Researchers must be aware of the biases, experiences, and values that they bring to qualitative research and how their relationship with the research process might influence what they can perceive" (Alsahafi 2019: 169). Although it is difficult for any researcher to be completely neutral, I did my best to set aside my own biases and perceptions, to be non-judgmental, to ask clear and direct questions with no hidden assumptions, to give participants the time and confidence they needed to freely express their views, and to listen attentively to their experiences.

Because the research issue is considered sensitive in Saudi Arabia, I informed and ensured my interview participants that the data obtained, as well as their personal details and identities, would be treated confidentially. I, therefore, informed the participants that these interviews were conducted for research purposes, that they could withdraw from the interview at any moment, and that they have the right not to answer any question.

For this study, a consent form was distributed to interview participants, and because all interviews were performed by phone and Zoom, verbal approval was gained. Finally, after the data was taken, it was transformed and digitally saved on my laptop disk, which meant that the data was only accessible by the researcher. No personal data from the interviewees was stored even in my own laptop in order to ensure that, even in the event of a security breach, hackers would not have access to such data.

Because qualitative data analysis entails human biases, I had to be careful and methodical in my analysis to set aside my own views and prejudices and remain receptive to the data as it was disclosed. The current study has the advantage of being 1) supervised by a supervisor from a different background (Portuguese) and 2) discussed with peers from other cultures, values and personal backgrounds. During the study process, I had talks with them that called my attention to crucial issues and dimensions in the data or related to the theoretical framework that I had either disregarded or not addressed effectively.

This, I believe, was an important component of the reflexivity process because it helped me getting involved intensively with the participants to uncover hidden meanings by requiring me to examine my own judgments, habits, and belief systems during the data collection process “inquirers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal backgrounds, such as gender, history, culture and socioeconomic status (SES) that shape their interpretations formed during the study” (Creswell and Cresweel 2018:260). Furthermore, being reflexive aided in identifying any personal beliefs that may have influenced the research inadvertently. During this procedure, the researcher prepares to challenge her own preconceptions, which leads to additional reflections and interpretations that surely increase the current study's findings.

4.8 Research Emerged Findings and Themes from the Analysis

Throughout the research I decided that a theme should be one that captures something significant from the data in relation to the study questions during the process of discovering and selecting themes. Nonetheless, each theme should indicate some level of structured meaning from the data set (Guest et al 2012).

Although prevalence in terms of the number of different data items highlighting a particular theme was considered when deciding what should justify the establishment of a pattern or theme so that coding could begin, a theme could be created due to its critical importance in answering a research question even if it was mentioned by only one data item “‘The ‘keyness’ of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but in terms of whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 10).

To construct all of the original themes, the names of the various codes (along with brief explanations) were scribbled on separate pieces of paper and then moved around until they were organized into several heaps of different starting themes. As a result, the researcher's initial thematic map was formed from these heaps of early concepts (Braun and Clarke 2006). Following that, with the research questions and objectives in mind, the researcher produced a smaller number of pertinent major themes by removing or combining these initial ideas. This refinement (thematic mapping) procedure was then repeated several times until a small number of main themes, as well as sub-themes for each of these main themes, were merged into a final thematic map (Braun and Clarke 2006).

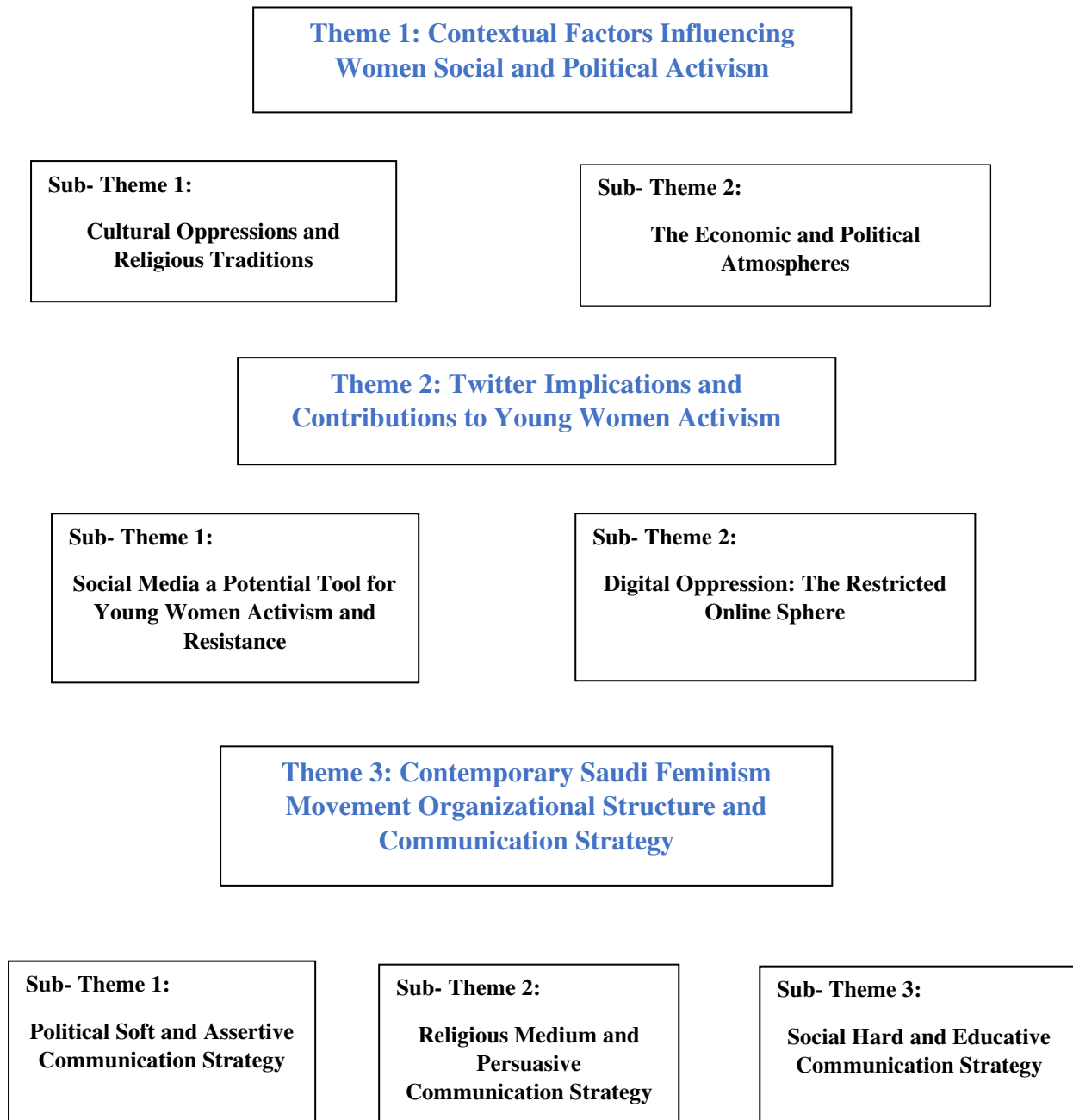
As a result, I was able to find, analyze, and produce related themes by applying Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis processes to my primary data. The empirical chapters of the current research study have been grouped into three chapters based on my research purpose and questions (Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

In Chapter Five, I examine participants' opinions, experiences, and perceptions on the significance of social media for sociopolitical activism in Saudi Arabia, as well as the contextual elements that impact and challenge feminism movements in Saudi Arabia. The chapter is organized around two major themes and various sub-themes. Each subject is backed with quotes and engaging examples drawn from the participants' own experiences as well as data gathered from Twitter. The first theme will address cultural and religious contextual issues, while the second will address economic and political contextual factors.

In chapter Six, I focus on Twitter as a platform for activism against the male guardianship system, with two subthemes. The first theme is hashtag activism as a new form of women activism and resistance and twitter as a space for social change and political participation, and the second theme concerns the challenges of the online sphere.

Finally, in chapter Seven, I address the Saudi feminism movement's organizational structure and communication strategy used to legitimize the anti-male guardianship online campaign and classifying this strategy into three subthemes which are political soft-assertive communication strategy, religious medium-persuasive communication strategy, and social hard-educative communication strategy.

To demonstrate each category of analysis—which was developed through an inductive process—selected tweets or passages from the interview transcript that I felt were more significant will be used to support the discussion of each of the emerging themes and subthemes. The following Diagram will show the themes and sub themes emerged from the data analysis.



5 Chapter Five: Contextual Factors Influencing and Challenging Online Feminism Movement in Saudi Arabia Against the Male Guardianship System

There is little doubt that the unique characteristics of social media have facilitated access to a variety of resources, provided users with instruments for political speech and mobilization, and opened up new avenues for political and social participation and activity (Kahne et al. 2015). Furthermore, it may be argued that individuals who previously operated outside of gatekeeping institutions are now chasing greater influence and a stronger voice in the public arena than what hierarchical organizations previously supplied them with. However, there are significant offline and online aspects that influence young Saudi women's decisions to participate in and interact with sociopolitical problems and should not be disregarded when evaluating the political significance of social media in an authoritarian and restrictive context (Alsahafi 2019).

Many elements, including culture, religion and the economic-political environment play an important part in molding young women's lifestyles, attitudes, and behaviors in Saudi Arabia, which is the topic of this study. However, measuring such elements is complicated by the fact that in Saudi Arabia, cultural values are so intertwined with Islamic theology that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, as well as the absence of a flexible and free economic system and political climate.

In order to obtain a greater understanding of how Saudi young women experience and approach activism against the male guardianship system in the context of Saudi Arabia's restrictions on political engagement and social activism, I must address, in addition to these restrictions, the cultural and religious factors. This influence of cultural norms and religious ideologies on young women's activism particularly in authoritarian and male-dominated contexts, is still understudied.

Saudi Arabia's culture is in its very nature, religious. That is, Islam play a central role in defining the culture, and acts as a major force in determining the social norms, patterns, traditions, obligations, privileges and practices of society. This is especially so since Islam is not only a religious ideology, but a comprehensive system which embraces detailed prescriptions for the entire way of life. ... Religion and culture in Saudi Arabia not only shape people's attitudes, practices, and behaviours, but also

shape the construction of their reality about their lives (Al-Saggaf and Weckert 2004:14).

As a result, the aim of the current chapter is to evaluate the experience and perception of young Saudi women in political and social involvement and activism in Saudi Arabia inside the Twitter public sphere, broadly correlates with the objective of online observation and interviews. I did this by incorporating the key themes discovered from my internet observation on Twitter into the interview question design. The findings of this chapter are presented to answer the first question of this research which is: How do young Saudi women perceive online activism against the male guardianship system in achieving social and political changes? Hence my thematic analysis of the Twitter data and interview transcripts revealed two key themes to provide answers for this question, which are: 1) The Male Guardianship System as a form of Cultural Oppression and Religious Tradition, and 2) the Effects of the Political and Economic Environment on promoting the Male Guardianship System.

The subthemes that resulted from the analysis of the gathered tweets and semi-structured interviews are categorized in the Table below.

Theme 1: The Male Guardianship System as a Cultural Oppression and Religious Traditions	
Shared Subthemes	Unique Subthemes
Male Dominated Society	Family Traditions and Tribal Customs
The Reliability of the International Organizations	Wahhabism's Islamic Doctrine
Religion Support for Women Rights	
Theme 2: The Economic and Political Atmosphere Implications on Promoting the Male Guardianship System	
The Changing Political Atmosphere	Government Initial Response
2030 Vision. A Plan for Women Empowerment	
The Political and Economic Dimensions for Gender Segregations Practices	

Nine subthemes in all emerged from the investigation. 3 themes are the unique outputs of the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, while 6 subthemes emerged as a shared consequence from the analysis of the gathered tweets and the semi-structured interviews. The discussion of each theme is followed and supported by tweets and quotes from the interviewees.

5.1 The Male Guardianship System as Cultural Oppression and Religious Tradition

The first theme emerged from the analysis is portraying the male guardianship system as an oppressive system that is built on culture and religion. Despite the fact that the traditional Saudi culture and religious ideology of Wahhabism are difficult to separate, a large majority of anti-male guardianship campaign participants' posts and interviews have demonstrated and emphasized these two crucial aspects: culture and religion. For example, several interviewees have repeatedly stated that the male guardianship system is a cultural institution based on an incorrect interpretation of some Quranic texts and Prophetic Hadeeth. Furthermore, the bulk of tweets and engagement on Twitter have stated that this system was bolstered by conservative interpretations of Wahhabism and the conservative culture that was built around it.

The cultural and religious influences on Saudi public identity and cultivating the male dominated society as well as how these influences shape young women's online participation cannot be evaluated independently, so this section will discuss the cultural and religious influences together, with an emphasis on each factor as the context dictates. They do affect one another continuously in a continuous cycle and are extremely interconnected elements. Furthermore, this section will address other factors that affect and shape women social and political activism in Saudi Arabia which is the reliability of international organizations women right initiatives and gender segregation practices in Saudi Arabia.

One of the most traditional and religious societies in the Arab world is Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, culture and religion are crucial in defining people's values, customs, and activities as well as influencing their attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, these ingrained cultural norms, as well as some Islamic doctrines, have a significant impact on the daily activities of Saudi citizens. One illustration of this is how Saudi society's collectivism is reflected in the idea that each person—male or female—represents not just themselves but also their entire family and extended family. The perception and reputation of a person's family and, in some situations, their tribe as a whole are significantly impacted by their behavior. As a result, if the individuals

engage in any activities that are judged wrong, their entire family will suffer and be put to shame (Alsahafi 2019).

5.1.1 Family Traditions and Tribal Customs as Obstacles for Women Activism

Saudi Arabian society is strongly influenced by traditions, and many of its rituals are based on traditions that have been passed down over the years and have no relations with Islamic principles. Most of Saudi society's hierarchy is a product of tribal customs. In daily life, social gatherings, and family get-togethers, older people or those in higher positions frequently take the lead and steer the conversation. In order to respect the elders of their tribes, younger family members typically keep quiet and continue to listen. It has been challenging for people, and particularly women, to express their ideas directly because of the culture in which they were raised. This has occasionally been a problem in the online realm as well, the respondents said, not simply in the physical world.

The women who took part in this study believe that culture and traditions in Saudi society are some of the major obstacles that people can encounter in their daily lives and activities, which is not unexpected. For instance, Noora, a participant in the online campaign against the male guardians' system indicated during the interview with her that one of the major challenges she had as a social media activist was her tribe. She claimed that because she is a member of a well-known tribe in Saudi Arabia, she frequently finds it difficult to discuss some of the contentious social topics in Saudi society and is forced to conceal her identity in order to protect herself from criticism from her family and tribe members.

The tribe was the largest obstacle I personally encountered. Politics are practiced by the tribe. Being a liberal and understanding family is never enough. There is a tribe, and its customs remain the same. The tribe's members consider themselves to be accountable for their fellow tribe members (Noora).

Another interviewee a well-known opponent of the male guardianship system, made a similar observation on how culture might seriously impair young Saudi women's ability to engage in sociopolitical matters, she mentioned that it is challenging for women to speak up about social and political topics that most people perceive as sensitive and at odds with their customs and traditions in a culture that has been locked off and segregated by gender for years.

My father has received numerous requests from numerous members of my family and extended family to halt my actions about the social concerns that I frequently discuss on my Twitter account (Salwa).

The comments made by Noora and Salwa demonstrate how tribes and families can restrict their members' independence, particularly women. In light of this, women in Saudi society, in particular, are held more accountable than men in terms of matters of honor. Because of this, Saudi people view losing their reputation or honor as a serious setback and make every effort to avoid it.

Another crucial aspect was addressed by the interviewees, namely that parents and friends have a significant impact on people's behaviors and opinions in Saudi society. Many Saudi women frequently try to steer clear of conversations on certain social topics, even those related to women, in an effort to appease their family and friends, even if it goes against what they believe in.

Mothers and female friends can also be a barrier because, for instance, if a girl has parents, relatives, or a large number of friends who share a particular belief or opinion, it can be challenging for them to depart from or disagree with this belief or attitude, especially in the offline sphere (Maysoon).

Another significant barrier that prevents young women from engaging with controversial social issues revealed by the study's findings is the fact that Twitter users in Saudi Arabia sometimes face harsh responses and comments as well as online threats because they discuss women's issues and social issues like the online campaign against the male guardianship system.

one of the major social barriers preventing many young women from participating in activism is their fear of the extremely harsh social reactions—such as slander, bullying and intimidation—that they may experience from the socially and religiously conservative members of Saudi society, the majority of whom are active on social media platforms frequently. This is particularly true given that a large portion of the population believes that such activity is detrimental to Saudi social mores and even the religion (Lamyaa).

Maha's own experience is a good illustration of this:

As a newspaper writer and women's rights activist, if I write a tweet on, say, a particular social issue, I start to get a lot of unwelcome answers, such as ones that are upsetting to me and my family and some offensive remarks that cannot be stated in real life. In addition to the attack to hack my Twitter account.

Maha recalled one incident happened to her on twitter and states that:

she supported women's rights cause during the anti-male guardianship twitter campaign, but she was surprised by her followers' slanted opposition to her views on the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia. One of her followers tweeted that Maha belongs to the Shia community and has a specific agenda against the Sunni majority, so it is best to keep her views to herself.

Such unfavorable responses, as highlighted by Maha and other interviewees, demonstrate how occasionally taking a stance on sociopolitical issues in a religious and conservative culture such as the Saudi one can result in harsh responses that may have a significant impact on women's decisions to engage. Additionally, it demonstrates how Saudi tribes have an impact on how their members behave. In Saudi society, a tribe constitutes a social and political entity whose members are not allowed to deviate from traditions and conventions in a way that would harm the tribe's standing and reputation.

5.1.2 Wahhabism's Islamic Doctrine

In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism is the official religion, and its severe doctrines are incorporated into daily life. This is evident from the litany of taboos and restrictions that apply to several facets of life, such as the ban on women traveling and the restriction on mixing genders. Saudi Arabia forbids the creation of political parties in accordance with Wahhabi doctrine. Due to the Wahhabi doctrine, Saudi Arabia does not have an elected government and does not have theaters, movies, fashion shows, or other forms of culture. Additionally, religious freedom is limited because places of worship for adherents of other religions, such as Christianity and Judaism, are not present in this nation.

In Saudi society, you can see that many Saudi women try to make the majority of their decisions in a way that does not go against Islamic teachings and their male guardian's consent. As a result, a significant portion of Saudi society, particularly women, is very reluctant to participate in discussions about any political or social topics in order to

avoid doing something that is thought to be against Sharia law and family traditions (Salwa).

Both historically and currently, the Wahhabism philosophy and the state have placed women's rights at the heart of a possible power struggle. More recently, the reform-friendly administration of King Salman and the crown prince has gained widespread praise. Contrasting a monarchy that is open to reform with a Wahhabi sect that is conservative should be done with caution. Even though few religious scholars can be classified as radical or ground-breaking in their approach to women's rights, both groups are internally divided, with some scholars being more motivated to reform than others (Tonnesen 2016).

A key point regarding the impact of Wahhabism's Islamic doctrine, particularly in the daily activities of Saudis in general and women in particular is that some of the Wahhabi imams, who established some concepts in people's minds that have absolutely nothing to do with the Islamic religion and its principles, are to blame for the confusion experienced by a significant portion of Saudi society regarding some of the Islamic teachings with regard to women's rights.

The opinions and fatwas of those Wahhabi scholars on women's rights issues in Saudi Arabia, such as the right of women to drive, sparked intense debate among Saudi citizens, who held the view that the prohibition on the right of women to drive had nothing to do with Islam and that such fatwas were instead based on customs and traditions (Rawan).

Furthermore, a religious lobby that operates throughout the area opposes the demands of women's rights campaigners. Despite the fact that the religious ulema hold a privileged position in the Saudi state, campaigners in the area frequently encounter Islamic actors both inside and outside of the religious clergy who view their claims to gender equality as criticisms of Islam and calls for westernization (Tonnesen 2016).

For instance, I have personally heard several Wahabi imams claim that removing male guardianship of women is against Islamic teachings and a religious matter. Even a sheikh once told me that anyone who calls for the overthrow of this system is considered to be opposed to religion. The sheikhs play a significant role in influencing the Saudi people because they are known to come from one of the most conservative and observant religious communities. In our case, this has led to an aggressive response

from women who support women's rights and the repeal of this male guardianship system (Maysoon).

5.1.3 Male Dominated Society in the Name of Religion

These earlier statements made by Maysoon and Rawan demonstrate the significant influence Wahhabi imams have on Saudi society's daily thought processes and decision-making. Saudi women are frequently portrayed as either discrimination-enforced victims by the Wahabi ideology or successful survivors of patriarchal religion and society.

@1986lhn (5 August 2016) confirm the same by tweeting:

Masculine power is a barbaric, servile power inherited from primitive times when man was a rational animal before he ascended his being to awareness and understanding.
السلطة الذكورية هي سلطة همجية استعبادية موروثه من العصور البدائية حين كان الإنسان حيواناً ناطقاً قبل أن يرتقي بكيانه للوعي و الفهم.

The situation is different today, since the development of digital technologies that enable social media, have completely changed how women express their ideas and share information. We start to hear many voices trying to look into the topic of women's positions and calling on society to think about how persistently marginalized women are. Through their courageous voices, critical writings, and active mobilization, women are questioning society. Saudi women are becoming a part of the public sphere, bringing their campaigns and voices into the national conversation with the advancement of communication technologies and satellite television over the past ten years (Al-Rasheed 2019).

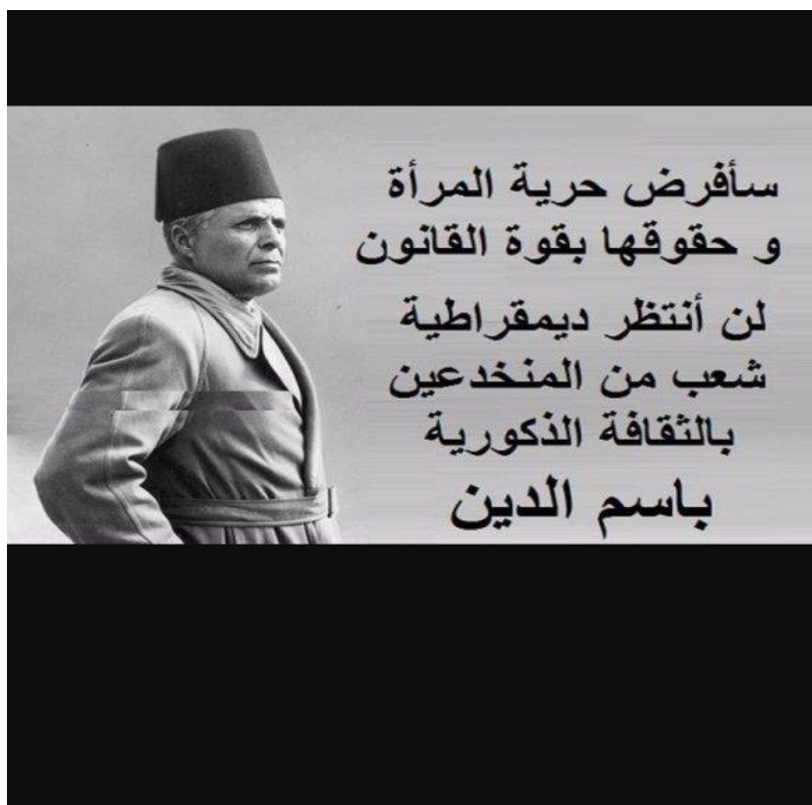
In light of this, even though the interviewees claim that social networking sites have made it easier for them to engage in sociopolitical issues and helped them get past many previous religious and tribal restrictions, including gender segregation, there are still some cultural and ideological habits that they cannot get rid of on non-social media platforms and that continue to influence their behavior on social media platforms.

Without a doubt, Twitter has greatly aided us Saudi women in our efforts to participate in the anti-male guardianship campaign and educate Saudi citizens, but we must acknowledge that due to decades of the government's control over religious institutions and the significant influence of tribal customs, the public's perception of this online movement is significantly impacted and framed in a way that serves the interests of the

government and male-dominated society. I believe that this has significantly added to the difficulty faced by Saudi Arabian women who want to introduce modern reformative initiatives and values that the majority of the Saudi population is unfamiliar with or that are typically seen as being detrimental to religion and culture (Noora).

In support for Noora comment and to criticize the male guardianship system and the influence of the male dominant societies and its role in cultivating the male guardianship system @CitizensBut (5 August 2016) posted Picture 5:1 and tweeted that:

The guardianship system is nothing but a purely masculine authority... Semi-men and masochists enjoy it. ما الولاية الا سلطة ذكورية بحتة.. يتلذذ بها اشباه الرجال والمزوخيات.



I will enforce women's freedom and rights by force of law. I will not wait for the democracy of a people who are deceived by male culture in the name of religion.

Picture 5:1. Image from Twitter Account. (Source @CitizensBut Twitter account).

However, the majority of the study interviewees and the collected tweets, expressed great satisfaction with the outcomes that social networking sites had made possible. They emphasized that it takes time for customs and traditions in a closed and male dominated society like Saudi Arabia to change, but that the trend towards a more liberated future for young women in Saudi Arabia is already evident, especially in light of recent official decisions like the royal

decree to relax restrictions on women's movement and rights and the announcement of the 2030 vision.

The Saudi citizens should now endeavor to break some bad habits, gender inequality practices and increase their level of awareness, and realize that they are all different from one another (Noora).

Patriarchal societies—where males are viewed as the source of power and women as the source of weakness—are not exclusive to Saudi Arabian civilization; rather, they are a prevalent and innovative phenomenon throughout the Arab world. However, advances in finance, education, and technology have helped to dispel the idea that power is solely possessed by men and can only exist in the form of a rigid, physically demanding machine. This has made it possible for women to become influential members of society who play just as big of a role as men in society.

5.1.4 The Reliability of the International Organizations Women Rights Initiatives

The analysis of the anti-male guardianship campaign on Twitter demonstrates the manner in which the online sphere has been utilized by Saudi women to share their struggles and demand the abolishment of the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia. However, another aspect of this activism and another theme emerged from the tweet analysis and was highlighted by the interviewees that is focused on activism against the unreliability of the international organizations and its role in promoting the stereotypical image of Saudi women.

The international organizations and the Western media, frequently use Saudi Arabia as an example of how to treat oppressed women. It is a nation where women are prohibited from driving and are required to cover their bodies and heads with black clothing (Noora).

Despite this stereotype in Western media and the numerous legislative limitations on Saudi women's rights, the kingdom ratified a number of human rights conventions, including the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Tonnesen 2016).

Some interviewees had doubts about the legitimacy of international organizations, particularly Human Rights Watch's and its internet campaign to condemn Saudi Arabia's oppression of

women, advance women's rights, and pressure Saudi Arabia to abolish the male guardianship system.

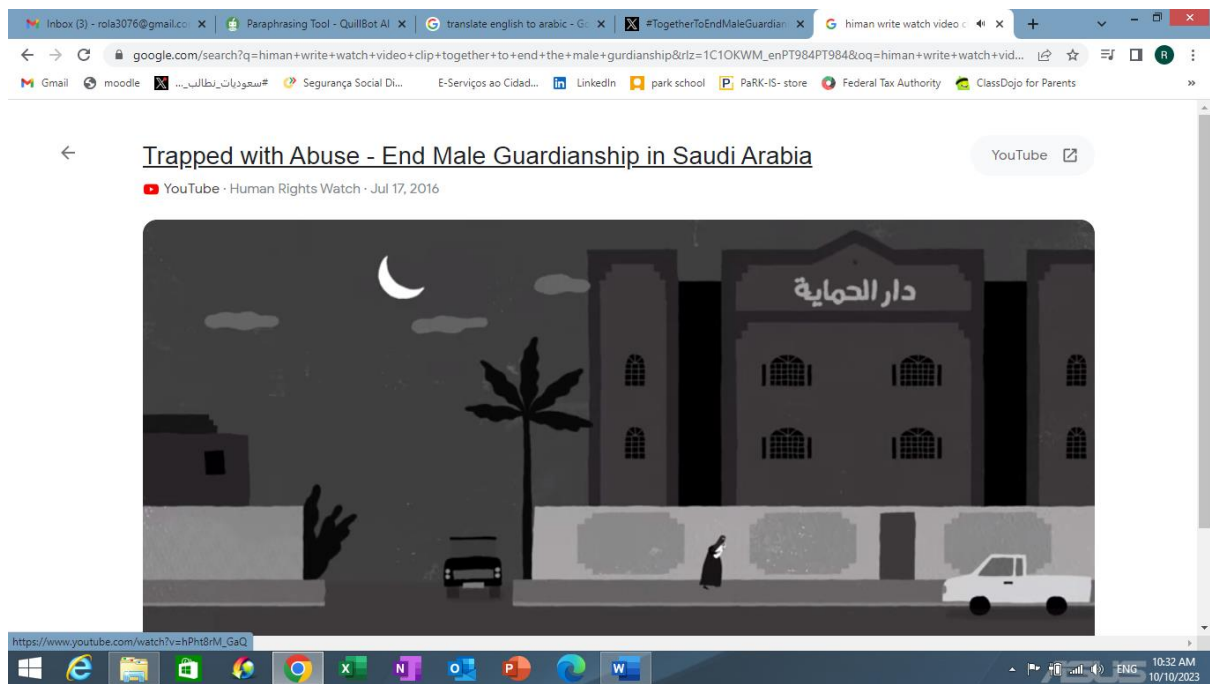
Although the anti-male guardianship movement has given women in Saudi Arabia the opportunity to raise previously unheard-of amounts of awareness about their plight and apply pressure to Saudi authorities, the campaign has also been used by others to criticize Saudi culture and further their own goals (Maysoon).

Activists and participants in the anti-male guardianship campaign also delight, in some cases, in blaming international organizations and the Western media rather than the government or religion for the subjugation of women. The notion that a change in culture and traditions is fundamental to achieving women's rights rather than a change in the regime was suitable for the Saudi government as well, which did not see any threat in them to the stability of the monarchy. Social and cultural oppression and international media bias were topics that was developed, shared, and extensively discussed on different media platforms:

There was a significant discussion about the necessity to get rid of the "cultural roots" of the male guardianship system and the prejudice that Saudi society still practices against women. Online discussions were held to promote positive Saudi female role models in the media and to correct a misguided self-perception that prevented them from becoming an equal and productive partner (Maha).

The repetition of these discourses by women activists does not imply widespread public acceptance, as conservative groups emerged that opposed Western meddling in Saudi affairs and the dominant narrative of gender suffering in Saudi society, such as the terms "patriarchal society" and "dominant patriarchal culture" in Western media or international organizations such as the Human Rights Watch, which always emphasize that religion and the family tyrannise Saudi women. In relation to this @alplmzaq (4 August 2016) criticized Human rights watch report about Saudi women and reposted Picture 5:2 form their twitter page and tweeted that:

This organization, and with its twitter account, did it talk about the Afghani or Burmese Muslim woman? Tell me?. هذه المنظمة ودونكم حسابها هل تحدثت عن المرأة الأفغانية أو البورمية. المسلمة أخبروني



Picture 5:2. A Cartoon Clip Related to the Anti Male Guardianship Campaign in Saudi Arabia (Source Human Rights Watch)

It is important to note that the anti-male guardianship campaign sparked a great deal of controversy among Saudi society's citizens following the discovery of questionable accounts, the majority of which were later discovered to be run from outside Saudi Arabia. What has been first noticed about these Twitter accounts is that they focus their efforts on undermining Saudi religious institutions by spreading false information rather than supporting the campaign's goals.

After being used by outside parties to further their own purposes, the campaign has strayed from its intended direction and goals. Such an incident serves as a reminder of how easily falsehoods may propagate online and phony identities can be employed. This led to a great deal of doubt among campaign participants about the validity of internet action (Rawan).

5.1.5 Religion Support for Women Rights and the Rejection of the Patriarchal Power System

The discourse regarding the religious legitimacy of the male guardianship system has undergone a fundamental shift in the past ten years. Under the leadership of the young prince Mohammed Bin Salman, media outlets were given permission to criticize the Wahabi

restrictive ideology's literal application of the Quran and to advocate for a more moderate form of Islam that rejects the male guardianship system and supports women's rights. This discussion gained a lot of traction on the Twitter platform and helped the anti-male guardianship campaign. @Nourani8 (2 September 2016), tweeted that:

With the help of the authority and according to the vision of those who present this idea and emphasize it and want to make it clear that it is a law and not a custom. This is our problem with the regime, not Islam. بمساعدة السلطة و حسب رؤية من يطرح هذه الفكرة ويُشدد عليها. ويريد إسباغ كونها شرعا وليس عادات. هو هذا احنا مشكلتنا مع النظام مو الاسلام

One recurring issue in the anti-male guardianship campaign debate on Twitter was blaming Saudi Arabia's patriarchal system of male guardianship on preexisting power structures. Patriarchal institutions in Saudi culture, such as cultural traditions and other political, legal, and economic structures, are to blame, according to Saudi women activists who questioned the use of religion as a defense for such an unjust system. Saudi women's online activism delivered a clear statement that the male guardianship system's denial of their rights had nothing to do with Islam's original principles. Instead, Saudi women's activists condemned existing power systems and demanded that more rights be granted to women in accordance with the literal teachings of Islam.

After the discussions that took place with this hashtag, I discovered that customs, traditions, and the social concept are stronger than religion in society. @meme_957 (24 September 2016): اكتشفت بعد المناقشات اللي صارت بذا الهاشتاق ان العادات والتقاليد والمفهوم الاجتماعي اقوى من الدين بالمجتمع

You distorted the reputation of Islam and religion with your authoritarianism and ignorance, to the point that you opposed religion and the law regarding women's rights for the sake of customs. @Gigiii_Al (24 September 2016): شوهتم سمعة الاسلام والدين بتسلطكم وجهلكم لدرجة انكم عارضتو الدين والشرع في حقوق المرأة من اجل العادات

All women in Saudi Arabia are required to have a male guardian, regardless of their age, background, or socioeconomic situation. Therefore, the male guardianship system's implementation has presented numerous difficulties for Saudi Arabian women. Despite the fact that some legal restrictions on Saudi women are enforced by government decrees, such as the prohibition on women driving, many are thought to be based on both the Wahhabi interpretations of Sharia law and the country's exceedingly conservative culture “These beliefs

are thought to be derived from the *Quran's* verse (34) of Surah An-Nisa, where the word 'qawwamun' is used to describe men. Some Saudi religious scholars have interpreted this word as meaning 'male guardian', which has given men the authority over women not only within the family but in all aspects of their public life" (Alsahafi 2019: 248).

In relation to Islam's role in Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system, short video 1 (Picture 5.3) posted by @ciham1995 (26 September 2016), will clarify this relation. This post quoted and tweeted a statement done by Dr. Khalid Al Mosleh a prominent Saudi religious scholar regarding the false interpretation of the male guardianship system.

There is no guardianship over women, and guardianship is a social custom that has nothing to do with Sharia. (@ciham1995 "لا ولاية على المرأة والولاية عرف إجتماعي لا علاقة بالشريعة" بالشرع له)



Picture 5:3 Video 1. Dr. Khalid Al Mosleh . (Source @ ciham1995 Twitter account)

With regards to this @nasiiaa_2 (26 September 2016), in respond to Dr Khalid Al Musleh Video (1) and his advocating for women's right in Islam, posted that,

I agree with him when he said that most of the problems are caused by women's ignorance of their rights, and that customs are sometimes unjust, and I liked when he said there is no such thing as guardianship over women in Islam. أتفق معه لما قال ان اغلب

المشاكل سببها جهل المرأة بحقوقها، وان الاعراف احيانا ظالمة، واعجبني لما قال مافيه شي اسمه ولاية على المرأة في الاسلام

All participants agreed that the Quran had been misinterpreted. The patriarchal interpretation of the Holy Qur'an's passages presumes that the Islamic legal system is patriarchal, with men serving as the family's leader and primary decision-maker, which inevitably gives men the upper hand and dominance over women.

A woman's value is, in an explicit practical sense, half that of a male of equal standing, according to certain Wahhabi thinkers, even though religion declares that men and women have absolute equal rights and roughly equal religious obligations. The daughter's inheritance from her parents is split equally between her and the son, just as the woman's evidence in court is split equally between her and the man's (Lamyaa).

Sharia courts in Saudi Arabia handle custody cases according to Sharia law. In Saudi Arabia, judges are all male. Guardianship and physical custody are fundamentally distinct under Sharia law. Having a guardian is equivalent to having "legal custody." This involves choosing the city and country where the child will live. A man must always be a child's guardian. The guardian is the child's natural father, and if the guardian is unable to act in that capacity, another male in the child's paternal line must be named guardian (Human Rights Watch 2023). The custody laws for example were used by the interviewees as an illustration of how they reinforce men's dominance over women.

Even though extremely young children may temporarily stay with their mothers, custody always returns to the father. All of this strengthened the patriarchal system and caused the distortion of Islamic law towards women's rights that we have seen and continue to see. As originally stated in these Islamic regulations, women are granted a number of privileges, including the freedom to possess and dispose of property without the intervention of their husbands and without being obligated to provide for the family financially (Noora).

The Saudi government would frequently claim that eliminating guardianships and granting women complete agency would be against Sharia law and hence impossible. But it's crucial to remember that they adhere to a Wahabbi interpretation of the Sharia, which is once again very patriarchal. This approach is based on an extremely constrained interpretation of a *Qur'anic*

text that claims men are God's defenders and maintainers of women because of their superior physical power.

The most stringent aspects of Islamic law are being applied by the government, while the most liberal interpretations are being disregarded, however experts on Islamic law have provided a range of analysis on the rationale behind the institution of guardianship in Islamic history and its diminishing relevance today.

This disagreement causes what can be referred to as the authoritarian equality dilemma to emerge. The paradox is that identifying with ancestral traditions helps one obtain religious authority. Departing from the patriarchal tradition puts individuals who accept Islam's ideal of gender equality in danger of losing their religious standing. However, if they want to become ingrained in the inherited patriarchal legacy, they will have to sacrifice their dedication to gender equality and opt for the gender integration paradigm instead (Maha).

Many Islamic scholars argue that the guardianship system arose in an era when there was much more insecurity with no governments and authorities providing the citizens with security as they do today” (Andersson & Togelius 2010: 17). The conflict between religious texts and social norms was brought up by the interviewees.

Religious normative texts and societal norms clashing caused intense debate and controversy, as well as hostility toward the passed-down patriarchal traditions. Muslim women started to reclaim their religious authority in the middle of this conundrum by rejecting patriarchal conventions and arguing for their own religious legitimacy (Maysoon).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, women in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia were accepted as members of society and did not encounter many challenges because the society adhered to a moderate interpretation of the Qur'an and managed to naturally balance traditionalism and women's roles. However, in the years that followed, there were alliances and interferences between political and religious groups, which led to the adoption of stricter legislation, particularly with regard to women's rights, with political endorsement and backing. But as social media and technology have developed, Saudi women have also developed a culture and an understanding that radical religious inclinations present challenges for women. Consequently, women called for a less radical interpretation of religion, the abolition of

antiquated practices and traditions, their equality with men, and the right to social and political participation.

5.2 The Economic and Political Atmosphere Implications on Promoting the Male Guardianship System

The research revealed a second important theme that affect and shaped Saudi women activism which is related to the political and economic dimensions of the male guardianship system.

In recent years, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has made significant efforts to empower women and support them in overcoming customs and norms that restrict women's access to all aspects of life, such as politics and economics. One of the steps the Kingdom has taken to advance women's political and economic equality is to allow them to vote in and run for office in local elections and to incorporate and empower women through the extensive social and economic plan that is the Kingdom 2030 vision (Vision 2030).

While previous online or offline campaigns related to women's rights in Saudi Arabia focused on symptoms, such as bureaucratic restrictions in family law or the ban on women's driving and mobility, the anti-male guardianship online campaign redefined the issue as primarily a political and economic one and concerned with the change of the female citizen-state relationship rather than the role of women within society or the family. This represented a fundamental shift in the Saudi feminist movement; it overcame barriers to women's mobility, won societal acceptance, and expanded to include political representation for Saudi women as well as economic equality between the genders.

5.2.1 The Changing Political Atmosphere. Seeking Government Support to Obtain Women's Rights

The "Al-Hazm Movement" which practically occurred at the same time as King Salman bin Abdulaziz's ascension to the throne and Saudi Arabia's engagement in the conflict in Yemen, is another significant political event that led to the rise in women's activism in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi intervention in Yemen reflected Saudi Arabia's official reactionary doctrine and contributed to the emergence of a new kingdom that was more aggressive and decisive. The Saudi king became known as the "king of firmness," and the Saudi government adopted the slogan "decisiveness" to confront to any internal or external threat to the kingdom (Mazzetti and Kirkpatrick 2015).

The majority of Saudi feminist activists initially reacted cautiously to this military operation. In addition to this heightened militaristic "decisiveness," they predicted that the succeeding king would "decisively" back religious organizations and state policy toward women's rights movements. In contrast, this "decisive moment" gave female activists an opportunity to examine discussions surrounding Saudi women's citizenship and how they relate to and support this new nationalism movement.

Furthermore, the Saudi government is investing in equipping and training this portion of the population to play an important role in Saudi society on multiple levels, including social, political, and, most importantly, economic. This is why the Saudi government invested in education, particularly abroad, as well as in empowering Saudi women, emphasizing women's roles and contributions to the kingdom's economy, and sending a clear message to Saudi youth in particular and Saudi society in general about the importance of Saudi women and the need to include them in the Saudi public sphere (Karolak 2014).

History will write that during the reign of King Salman, Saudi women were honored, just as their history occurred during the reign of King Saud. @nora_n2a (13 August 2016) tweeted for example: سيكتب التاريخ انه في عهد الملك سلمان كرمت المرأة السعودية كما حدث تعليمها في عهد الملك سعود

Women constitute half of the community, and no community can flourish if the other half is immobilized. As a result, women are a critical pillar of national growth, and governments must strengthen their social, economic, and political rights "because women make up half of society according to the traditional saying, therefore half energy, and it is necessary to contribute to the developmental process on an equal footing with men" (Al Yazidi 2017:20). When Saudi Arabia unveiled "Vision 2030" on April 25, 2016, a comprehensive plan for social modernization, economic change, and improved international standing, this potential plan strengthened women empowerment opportunities in Saudi Arabia.

The plan outlined a "progressive" future vision for Saudi Arabia that gives youth and women top priority and incorporates them into its agenda (Doaiji 2018). Furthermore, "Saudi Vision 2030 strengthens Saudi First nationalism in pursuit of national prosperity and security. Rejecting the previous paradigm of religious nationalism based on Wahhabism, the policy has produced a "Saudi First" nationalist ideology. The Saudi reform project seems especially

favorable for women, shifting the role of women from inactive, private, and invisible to active, public and visible (Eum 2019:123).

Anyone who opposes is either ignorant or stupid, and both are enemies of the homeland. We are going through economic crises, and we do not need stupidity at this stage. من يعارض إما جاهل أو غبي وكلاهما عدو للوطن . نمر بأزمات اقتصادية ولا نحتاج للغباء في هذه المرحلة (@nadinealbadear, September 13 2016)

The Saudi feminists who are opposing the male guardianship system have found great success in using this broad 2030 strategy, the 2015 political reformation and the new national citizenship firmness. Consequently, activists have made use of several new laws and government programs in public, particularly those pertaining to citizenship, civil matters, and the new social and political obligations of Saudi women. This new Saudi nationalism ideology was a subject highlighted intensively on twitter by Saudi women. @MERiAM_AL3TEEBE (26 September 2016) tweets that:

The question arises, what will the traitor and slanderer say when the government announces its support for the idea of women's citizenship and their treatment as adults?. السؤال المطروح ، ماذا سيقول من خون وقذف عندما تعلن الحكومة عن دعمها لفكرة مواطنة المرأة و معاملتها كراشد؟

The activists argued that by drawing a comparison between this 2030 vision and improvements in social and political policy, they show the power of their collective voices and emphasize the significance of acknowledging the fact that they stand up for themselves as full citizens. As a result, activist started to use and stress on the kingdom 2030 vision of considering women as a complete citizen and expressing solidarity to government decisions.

If you betrayed and doubted the patriotism of everyone who participated in a tag, be careful not to object to #royal_orders because this is the real betrayal. اذا كنت خونت وشككت في وطنية كل شارك في تاق فحاذري أن تعترض على #اوامر_ملكه لأن هذه هي الخيانة الحقيقية. (@MERiAM_AL3TEEBE, 26 September 2016)

Furthermore, activists have to display their unity, allegiance, and faith in the Saudi government in order to obtain government support for the women's rights movement in Saudi Arabia, particularly on Saudi National Day which falls on 23 September, and which is regarded as the most significant national holiday and event. @emanALshaiL (24 September 2016) tweeted:

Happy new year to my country, security, justice, moderation, peace, progress and prosperity. Happy new year to our rulers. كل عام ووطني بخير وأمن وعدل ووسطية وسلام وتقدم (وازدهار كل عام وولادة أمرنا بخير)

Although this strategy had been used previously, it was novel this time since it was accompanied by rhetorical framing that placed a heavy focus on citizenship. Its supporters were reminded that they had the right to participate in such rallies against guardianship and that they should not be afraid of charges that they were breaking the law because they were simply exercising their citizenship rights (Doaiji 2018). @Rimondelove (22 September 2016) tweeted also and stressed on her Saudi citizenship:

Because I am Saudi, and on National Day, I demand my rights, which are a reward for my belonging to this country. May your glory be long, my homeland: لأنني سعودي وفي يوم وطني أطالب بحقوقي التي هي جزء من انتمائي لهذه الوطن دام عزك يا وطن

By ensuring that Saudi women have the right to vote and run for election in municipal councils, the year 2015 experienced an increase in the political engagement of Saudi women. This political reform was heavily criticized by Saudi women's rights activists by stating that it was not as significant as Saudi media had claimed that Saudi women are seeking serious and genuine reforms regarding their rights, and that this participation had no bearing on Saudi Arabia's decision-making process because it was primarily focused on following orders.

All our demands for legal rights are to be treated as prescribed by the Sharia and the Islamic religion, that we have full capacity and full rights of citizenship. كل مطالبناحقوق شرعية بأن نعامل كما جاء به الشرع والدين الإسلامي أن تكون لنا أهلية كاملة وكامل حقوق المواطنة (@emanALshaiL, 26 September 2016).

Although the 2015 royal decree that permitted women right to vote and run for the municipal elections and the Saudi Vision 2030 reforms have resulted in a different perspective for Saudi women, these advances are limited, as seen by the government's imprisonment of female activists (El Sirgany and Clarke 2018). Since early 2018, Saudi authorities have jailed more than a dozen renowned women's rights advocates on suspicion of having questionable relationships with foreign actors and receiving funds to destabilize the kingdom, violate its social structure, and undermine national coherence.

In order to demonstrate their existence and meet the requirements for full citizenship, Saudi women look forward to greater actual participation in political, social, economic,

cultural, and legal life as well as more accomplishments that increase their level of empowerment to work, produce, and make decisions (Noora).

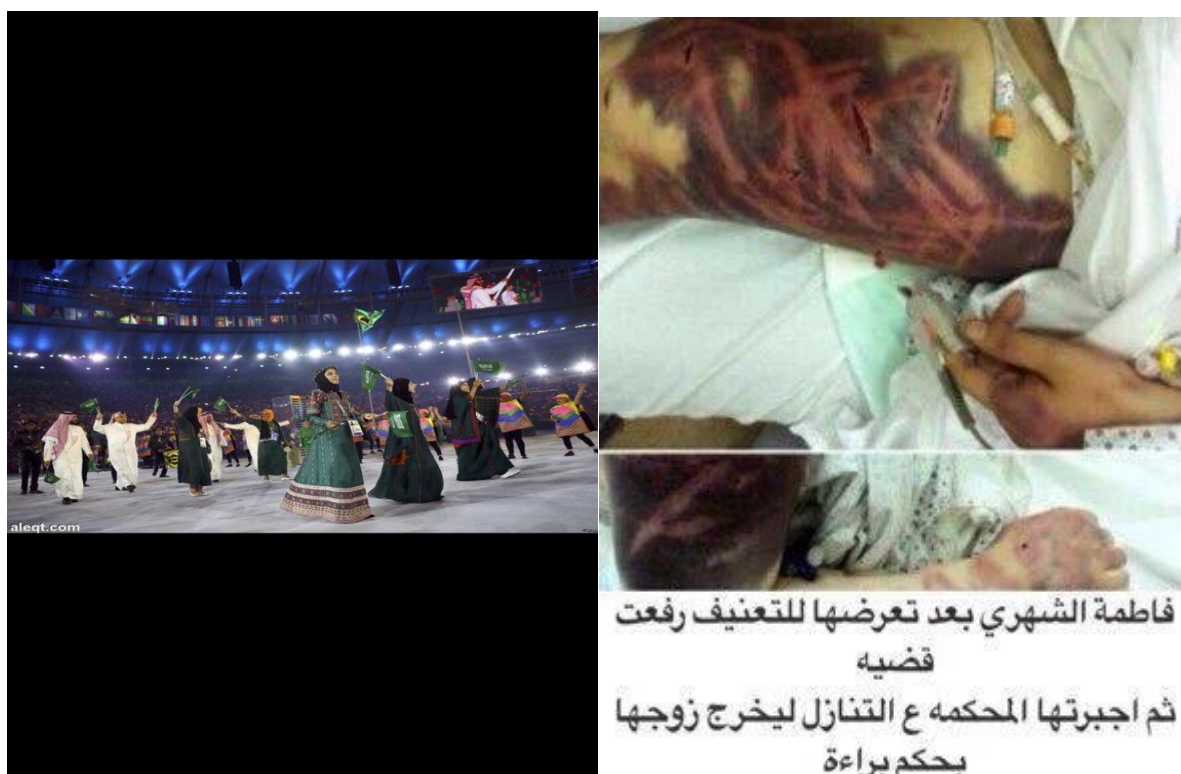
In this regards activist voiced their discontent with Saudi women's slow or unnoticed growth and thought that the Saudi government social and political plans did not involve women and that they were seen as incomplete citizens and an extension of men (Doaiji 2018). With a view to criticizing the social and legal environment for women as well as the government's inability to uphold women's and their rights. @BreathexDanni (27 October 2016) tweeted:

The government has contributed to creating an unjust and murderous environment for women. Did you know that when a girl complains about her guardian and expels her from the house, she will be imprisoned in this miserable place #Hospitality. الحكومة ساهمت في خلق بيئة ظالمة وقاتلة للمرأة هل تعلم أن الفتاة عندما تشتكي وليها ويطردها من البيت ستُسجن في هذا المكان التعيس #دار_الضيافة

Furthermore, another approach to criticize the government limited reforms initiatives to support women rights is by addressing that the vision 2030 plan is not intended to grant women the range of rights and freedom they are requesting, but rather to contribute to the expansion of the Saudi economy and reinforce the crown prince leadership “ Thus, Saudi’s reform policy for women within the context of Saudi Vision 2030 and Saudi First nationalism will likely be continued as the government will need women’s support to maintain the young Crown Prince’s leadership as well as women’s contribution in building a new nation” (Eum 2019: 129).

This issue was addressed by many activists such as @zooztox who posted the below Picture (5:4) on her twitter account on 7 August 2016 and tweeted:

Lift the damage from those affected before you make a beautiful facade in front of the world while its inside is distorted and painful. ارفعوا الضرر عن المتضررات قبل ان تصنعوا واجهه جميلة أمام العالم و داخلها مشوه و مؤلم



Picture 5:4 Saudi Women Competing in the Summer Olympics. (Source @zooztox Twitter account)

With regards to Picture (5:4), the activist views the first image, which depicts Saudi women competing in the Summer Olympics in August 2016, as a political and diplomatic ploy to raise Saudi Arabia's international profile, particularly with regard to women's rights. The second image, which depicts domestic violence against women, criticizes the lack of women's protection laws. The juxtaposition of these two photos, as well as their contrast, emphasize that if the new vision of freed women is not accompanied by further social and political reforms, the Saudi women's rights movement will suffer a significant setback.

5.2.2 Saudi 2030 Vision. A Plan for Women Empowerment in Saudi Arabia

Given that the majority of the Saudi population is under the age of 30, this will have a huge impact on the Saudi kingdom's future, as the younger generation, as indicated by Crown Prince Muhammed Bin Salman, is expected to play a larger role in crafting the country future “ Our real wealth lies in the ambition of our people and the potential of our younger generation, who are our nation’s pride and the architects of our future” (Vision 2030 Website). The Saudi authorities recognize the importance of the young generation and have launched a new reform push, the Vision 2030 plan “the plan described a “progressive” image for Saudi Arabia’s future

that relies on its youth and includes entertainment and tourism, both domestic and international, the plan is often promoted with high levels populism and notions of participation: Namely, Saudis can be participants in the country's fate through developing its economy" (Doaiji 2017:9).

Saudi Vision 2030- Without empowering women here, there will be no national transformation. الرؤية السعودية 2030 – بدون تمكين المرأة هنا، لن يكون هناك تحول وطني. (@Saudi_Women, August 16 2016)

The Saudi government is working hard to generate new legitimacy for the monarchy and the government through the Vision 2030 comprehensive reform plan, which was introduced in 2016. This new legitimacy will be supported by citizens, both male and female, and will rely less on the religious establishment as a source of political support and more on oil revenues as an economic support, especially since Saudi authorities recognized that changing the women's statue is necessary for the monarchy to survive “ Vision 2030 has three primary themes that are quantified through subcategories: (1) A Vibrant Society (with strong roots. fulfilling lives, and strong foundations), (2) a Thriving Economy (entailing rewarding opportunities, investing for the long term, open for business, and leveraging its unique position), (3) an Ambitious Nation (effectively governed and responsibly enabled)” (Alsahafi 2019: 127).

The Vision 2030 reform plan is tremendously empowering women's rights and Saudi feminism movements and promoting women's equal rights and roles on a social and economic level when compared to their male counterparts; additionally, the Vision 2030 is regarded as a supportive plan for women, particularly in their fight against the male guardianship system and it aimed at:

activating the role of women is the development of their material and cultural capabilities, raising the level of their theoretical and applied academic achievement, preparing them professionally, providing them with job opportunities, health services and other auxiliary services that relieve them of household burdens, raise their morale and make them aware of its importance The importance of their participation in positions of responsibility and decision-making, and the integration of women into the production process requires Providing appropriate conditions and addressing the various difficulties that stand in the way of activating the role of women in the development process (Al Yazidi 2017: 21).

The 2030 vision for the Kingdom was approved by the Saudi Council of Ministers in 2016, and the Council for Economic Affairs and Development was tasked with putting the appropriate systems and procedures in place to carry out and monitor this goal. The Saudi Council further invited all citizens to collaborate and work with the world in all aspects to achieve success and prosperity for the Kingdom and to be a leading model for the world at all levels. The Saudi Council also asked ministries and other governmental organizations to accomplish this goal (Kinninmont 2017).

This vision 2030, which clarified how to support and empower Saudi women by achieving strategic goals that improve the economy's capacity to produce a variety of job opportunities, make the best use of the people's energies for both young men and young women, and provide them with opportunities and the necessary skills to develop their capabilities, was greatly shared by Saudi women (Kinninmont 2017).

A thorough examination of the vision reveals that it accurately captures Saudi women's smart leadership and confirms the public's favorable perception of these accomplished women in a variety of disciplines (Salwa).

Supporting Saudi women as a crucial part of society was a key component of Vision 2030. Since Saudi women make up 50% of all university graduates, the government would let them hold significant leadership posts in the future. As the Kingdom stated in the National Transformation Program, one of the Kingdom's Vision 2030 programs, to increase the percentage of women's participation in public jobs to 42%, this vision will therefore support them by fostering their talents, directing their energies, and enabling them to find suitable opportunities in the labor market (Vision 2030).

Women in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia want to participate in development on an equal footing with men, and activists propose establishing a council to manage women's affairs in order to do this. This council would increase opportunities for women to play their full part in society and confront any obstacles that may stand in the way of that role's advancement (Rawan).

One important government initiative to empower women in the Saudi society was a mobile application called Absher app which is “the official mobile application that delivers government services to all citizens and residents “Using the Absher system, women are able to apply for or renew their passports without the permission of a male guardian. The ability to

acquire a passport independently provides women with freedom of movement, making it possible for them to travel within and outside the country, pursue academic studies or attend business conferences” (Alotaibi et al 2021: 493).

Furthermore, in 2019 the Saudi government legalized Saudi women's access to government services as equal citizens, allowed them to apply for their own government documents like ID cards and passports, and allowed them to travel on their own without the male guardianship system restricting their agency and freedom. This was done in support of the 2030 vision and the Saudi women's empowerment plan (Salaebing 2019).

The male Guardianship system was a main obstacle in the face of 2030 vision and the agenda to empower Saudi women and to obtain her financial freedom (Noora).

Vision 2030 professes to aim for a strong and stable Saudi Arabia that gives opportunity to all, with women recognized as an important component of this economic expansion, yet the plan contains no mention of women's rights or political reform. The Vision 2030 provided the impression that Saudi Arabia was beginning to shift its attitude toward women, with the easing of the driving ban and several reforms in Saudi law that turned out to be primarily motivated by economic considerations (ECDHR 2023).

Despite the benefits of women's education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the ability of Saudi women to actively participate in development is still constrained by the fact that they live in a society where there are still barriers that prevent women from being empowered and from having more access to political, social, and economic opportunities (Maha).

This perception that the male guardianship system is an obstacle for women rights and freedom was expressed intensively on twitter, @RozPerfect posted the below Picture (5:5) on 4 August 2016 to express the guardship male system restrictions on women employment, movement and financial freedom.

The guardianship system does not accept it, neither reason nor logic, nor does Islam accept it. نظام الولاية لا يقبله لا عقل ولا منطق ولا الاسلام يقبله



Picture 5:5 Male Guardianship System Restrictions on Saudi Women. (Source @RozPerfect Twitter account)

In practice, however, women remain second-class citizens in Saudi Arabia owing to the male guardianship system, which prevents them from gaining social and financial freedoms. Saudi women require permission from a male figure, generally their husband or father, to engage in common activities like higher education, financial activities, work or travel (ECDHR 2023). @nomorelove87 (22 September 2016) supported this approach and tweeted:

The guardianship system deprives women of material and moral independence and makes them dependent and controlled by the most ignoble of human beings. نظام الولاية (يحرم المرأة من الإستقلال المادي والمعنوي ويصيرها عالة يتحكم فيها أرذل البشر)

Other times, Saudi women emphasized how the country's laws prohibiting women from driving and denying them work chances had a negative economic impact on Saudi women. These instances generally led many Saudi women activists to question their presumed place in the country's initiatives for economic citizenship and development, which presuppose a participation-based nature between the genders. women financial freedom contradicted by the male guardship system.

It is contradictory for a woman to work to spend on herself and her guardian, then come humiliated to give her rights. من التناقض أن تعمل المرأة لتنفق على نفسها وعلى وليها ثم تأتي ذليلة. ليمنحها حقوقها @dr_mahajermawi (30 September 2016)

woman who spends on herself has no guardianship over her, so how many women spend on herself and even her family. أن المرأة التي تنفق على نفسها لا ولاية عليها فكم من امرأة تنفق على نفسها بل وأهلها @majedhmm (21 October 2016)

Due to a number of factors, including the first being the rise in economic disparities between the social classes brought on by the decline in oil prices in 2016 and the government's implementation of austerity measures as a result of its war in Yemen, the topics of economic privilege and economic citizenship were also covered during the anti- male Guardianship campaign. Vision 2030, with its emphasis on the principles of economic citizenship and economic engagement, has helped to enhance this economic debate concerning gender-based economic privileges and empowerment.

It appears that Saudi government promotes an image of “new women” who are assertive in terms of their economic contribution to and protection of their country. To meet Saudi Vision 2030’s goal of increasing the female labor force to 30%, the government urges women to work in private-sector jobs traditionally occupied by expatriates. The new image of Saudi women has been constructed to represent them as strong protectors of the nation (Eum 2019:126).

Hence it was fundamental to have some changes in the guardianship system to allow women to act as their own guardians and find a position of emancipation within this repressive, patriarchal institution seeks to improve the social and economic standing of women (Amnesty International 2017). (@queenof_pink (16 October 2016) tweeted on this approach and confirmed that:

Financial and intellectual independence is one of the greatest things a woman can achieve throughout her life. The feeling of dependence is unbearable. الإستقلال المادي (والفكري من أعظم الأشياء التي يمكن أن تحققها المرأة طوال حياتها .. فإحساس التبعية لا يطاق

However, for women to take on a stronger economic role in the Kingdom, they must overcome numerous challenges, these challenges might be brought on by women themselves, society, or the workplace. Women must not only obey the patriarchal government but also adhere to Saudi society's ancient code of honor and dignity. Saudi women can now attend sporting events,

concerts, and movies with men who are not related to them, but if they breach the traditional honor code, they face severe punishment.

The limitations on women's rights demonstrate that Saudi Arabia's reform programs continue to try to control and tame women. Women's rights appear to be limited to the bounds set by the government (Eum 2019).

These challenges include women's lack of awareness of their status and the significance of their role in achieving development, the multiplicity of their roles, as well as cultural and social challenges like some traditions and customs that prevent women from entering certain professions and the general unwillingness of families to hire women for jobs that require mixing the genders. In addition to organizational and administrative obstacles such as the complexity of administrative procedures and systems when searching for work and the lack of appropriate professional guidance (Lamyaa)

Another important obstacle that was restricting women from access to empowering opportunities was the lack of access sources:

The obstacle was lack of access to resources, as Saudi women were not allowed to access m-government services without male permission before 2019. This means that the previous system, which only allowed males to directly access m-government and controlled women's access, reduced Saudi women's quality of life. Legally, Saudi women now have the freedom to access government services as equal citizens to apply for their own government documents such as ID cards and passports, as they can travel independently without the male guardianship system limiting their agency and freedom (Alotaibi et al 2021: 496).

Vision 2030 contributed to the enactment of some legislation and the removal of some legislative barriers to empower women and allow them to assume some pivotal positions. As a result, several societal and cultural obstacles gradually disappeared, enabling Saudi women to become more visible, present, engaged, and giving in a variety of fields. Nonetheless, Saudi women continue to face obstacles in their pursuit of full rights and greater inclusion in the economy, society, and decision-making processes.

With the Saudi Vision 2030 plan, Saudi women have become equal partners in shaping the Saudi nation's future. Although 2017 was designated as the year of Saudi women's

empowerment, it saw significant legal advances in the area of women's rights, such as the repeal of the prohibition on women's right to drive and the lifting of many restrictions imposed by the male guardianship system. Empowering women in new fields continued in the following years; among the empowering programs launched in 2018 are the anti-harassment law, allowing sports at girls' schools, allowing Saudi women to compete in the Olympics, and, most importantly, appointing the first Saudi female ambassador to the United States in 2019, all of which confirm the government's commitment to empowering Saudi women nationally and internationally “ The Kingdom continues striving to score ambitious goals one after another with regard to women empowerment in line with the Vision 2030. The Vision aims to raise the participation rate of Saudi women in the labor market, in addition to holding political positions, as well as their active participation in the Shoura Council and the security field. They started assuming senior positions in the education sector and nominating themselves for membership in the presidency of mayoralities” (Saudi Gazzet 2022: para 3).

All of these reforming initiatives, which include political, social, and economic aspects, improved the image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on a national level, giving the kingdom a level of political and economic stability, and on an international level, promoting the kingdom as a global leader that supports civic and women's rights organizations, particularly when it comes to women's empowerment “ Vision 2030’s Saudi female empowerment reforms were recognized by the World Bank, which ranked Saudi Arabia as the top economy for the most progress toward gender equality in their 2020 Women, Business and the Law Report. Vision 2030 is creating new opportunities that women are seizing, with their workforce participation rising to 37% in 2022” (Vision 2030 Website).

5.2.3 Government Initial Response to the Anti-Male Guardianship System Movement

The Saudi government has examined civil and labor rules and regulations that have an impact on women's freedom to travel, work, and participate in Saudi society. Every member of society, including women, must be encouraged and given influence, according to Vision 2030. To achieve that aim, Saudi women are more involved than ever in society, government, and industry, and women's rights have evolved and expanded under the current leadership (Saudi embassy in Washington DC 2019).

Many laws or adjustments to the laws were passed in order to improve the lives of Saudi women, even though it is impossible to draw a straight link between the women's

online activity against the male guardianship system and the political processes that accompanied this campaign (Lamyaa).

Several times throughout the Male Guardianship Twitter campaign, which lasted for more than a year, these laws were passed. In addition to requiring all women to obtain the Saudi ID, which improves their ability to represent themselves in courts, government, and economic institutions, these laws work to increase employment opportunities for women and the remarkable acceleration in the appointment of women to official positions (Doaiji 2018).

Such royal orders enhance the daily lives of women and acknowledge their work. However, the anti-guardianship movement as a multifaceted social movement is not seen as a unilateral cycle that disappears under the weight of oppression but rather as a lengthy and multifaceted process of activity and change that can be reactivated when the chance presents itself in order to put pressure on the authorities to comply with social demands for women's rights (Maysoon).

The government decision of April 10, 2017, requiring government agencies not to require the approval of a male guardian in order for women to obtain government services was the most significant advancement directly related to the movement against the guardianship system. This government decree also urges government organizations to provide transportation assistance for Saudi women who are employed. In accordance with the Ministry of Labor and Social Development, businesses must also provide transportation (Amnesty International 2017).

The royal decree issued in September 2017 that made it legal for women to drive in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as of June 2018 and eliminated the requirement that Saudi women obtain permission from their male guardian in order to apply for a driving license demonstrates the Saudi government's commitment to ensuring women's freedom of movement. Fatima Baeshen was appointed as the first spokesman for the Saudi Embassy in Washington after this directive. The Saudi Arabian Council of Senior Scholars made a statement in support of the government's decision to allow women to drive, which marked a significant victory for the fight for women's rights (Amnesty International 2017).

these royal decrees were some of the demands made by Saudi activists, and she expects getting the rest of the rights to follow. The best is yet to come. There are still many rights that we hope to obtain. This is our country, and not everything is reserved for men. We will live in our homeland and achieve everything (Maha)

The following rights were among those won by Saudi women in response to the internet campaign to abolish the male guardianship system and in keeping with the kingdom's 2030 vision, according to the fact sheet published by the Saudi embassy in Washington DC (2019: 6):

- 1- In March 2018, women received the right to receive custody of children in divorce settlements, and the ruling that enforced their return to ex-spouses has been abolished.
- 2- Since February 2018, Saudi women can hold positions in the military, passport controls, public prosecution office.
- 3- Creditors and banks cannot discriminate credit access based on gender.
- 4- In August 2018, women entrepreneurs became able to open a business without needing consent of a male guardian.

5.2.4 The Political and Economic Dimensions for Gender Segregation in Saudi Arabia

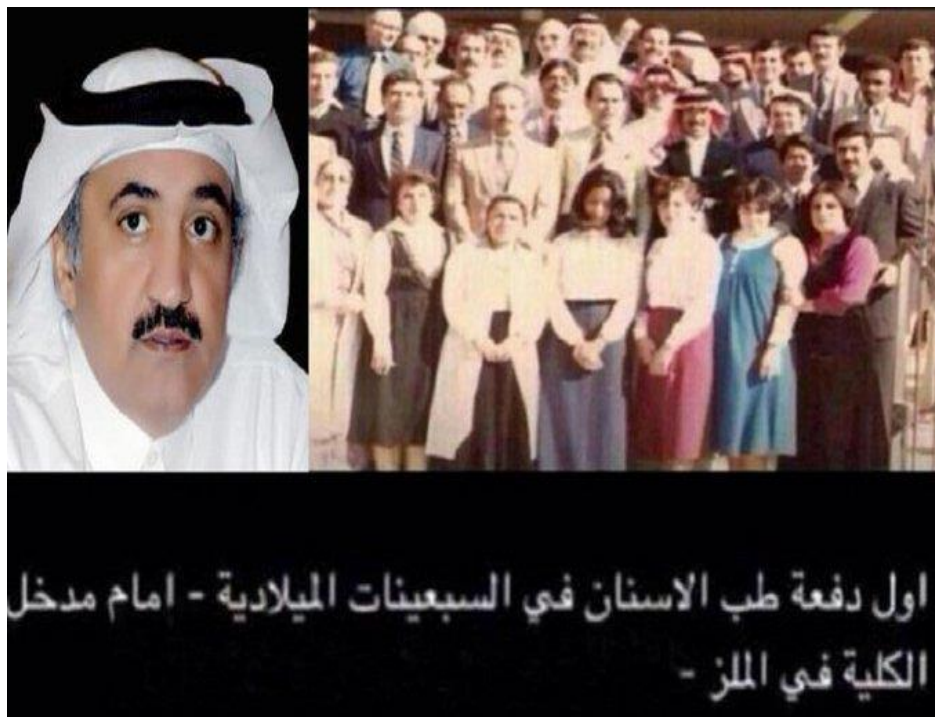
One of Saudi Arabia's distinguishing characteristics and a fundamental component of the country's interpretation of Islam is gender segregation. This is not merely a traditional practice in Saudi society, as many experts have noted; it is also connected to oil exploitation, the economic and political development of the nation, the urbanization process and strict religious discourses (Van Geel 2012).

In each of the rural or urban cultures in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we observe a variance in the application of practices of gender segregation and women mobility. For instance, the ban on women driving in urban areas has not affected women driving in rural regions; this illustrates how urbanization has changed contemporary gender standards.

Some advocates for women's rights in Saudi Arabia note that women employment is not a socially acceptable activity and naturally was eliminated with the oil profits prosperity in the kingdom “In the 1980s, urbanization and the booming employment opportunities in the oil industry in the urban centers resulted in a significant increase in men’s salaries, as a result, women’s employment was no longer needed to sustain the household and women’s domesticity became a symbol of both wealth and moral distinction” (Tonnessen 2016: 6).

Contrarily, as a result of this economic prosperity which supported and guaranteed woman right for education many educated urban women asked that they be given the same possibilities as males in the workplace. @d_nosh1 pointed how women were having un gender segregated education posted Picture 5:6 for the first dental class in the seventies- infront of the college entrance in Al- Maz.

كان الناس يعيشون حياة سوية . أفضل 60 مرة من وقتنا الحالي
 People used to live 60 times better together than we do now. @d_nosh1 (24 September 2016)



The first dental class in the 1970s- Infront of the college entrance in the Saudi city of Al- Mamlaz.

Picture 5:6 First Dental Class in 197s. (Source @d_nosh1 Twitter account)

Additionally, the Kingdom's social and cultural development was impacted by this economic growth and political openness, which included allowing cinemas, television, and sporting events in the 1960s and 1970s. In regard to this @d_nosh1 an activist in the anti-male guardianship campaign recalls what she calls it “the beautiful past of Saudi Arabia” when there were less restrictions on women mobilities women employment and gender segregations practices, posted Picture 5:7 and tweeted:

هكذا كانت أمهاتنا وجداتنا فمن المسؤول عن إبادة ماضيينا الجميل.
 This is how our mothers and grandmothers were. Who is responsible for annihilating our beautiful past?



Picture 5:7. The Beautiful Past for Saudi Arabia. (Source @ d_nosh1 Twitter account, 24 September 2016)

Some religiously fervent organizations were outraged by these social and political developments and questioned the legitimacy of the House of Saud and their rule over the nation, claiming that Saudi culture had degenerated into immorality as a result of what they believed to be Western influences on Saudi society and its Islamic teachings. This conservatism specifically targeted women since they are the protectors of the family, community, and nation, as well as the ones in charge of maintaining cultural and religious traditions and passing them on to future generations. As a result, this led to waves of mobility limitations for women.

The woman is the one who directly embodies the man's sin. He commits the sin and absolves himself of it by placing it on the woman's shoulders. المرأة هي التي تجسد خطيئة. الرجل تجسيدا ملموساً مباشراً، فهو يرتكب الخطيئة ويتحلل منها بالقائها على عاتق المرأة. @edmark_1111 (24 September 2016)

However, whenever it serves the government objectives, the state continues to have more power than its own religious instructors. As a result, the state remains the ultimate arbiter, capable of either overlooking or supporting specific fatwas and viewpoints for solely political purposes. This was evident in the 1960s, when the state intervened to introduce girls' education over religious experts' opposition in order to promote itself as a reforming agent in Saudi society.

In the past, the mandate was imposed as a result of social, economic, and political circumstances. Today, the circumstances have disappeared, and of course the mandate will disappear. *الولاية بالماضي فُرضت نتيجة ظروف إجتماعية واقتصادية وسياسية؛ واليوم زالت الظروف* @7621219faca5488 (24 September 2016) *وإبطبيعة الحال ستزول الولاية*

The situation was reversed in the 1980s, when the state collaborated with the ulama to put tighter restrictions on women in order to impose increased Islamization and in order to strengthen its religious credentials, this included both gender segregation practices and the male guardianship system. It curtailed scholarships for women to study abroad and increased public surveillance of women to the point where many women lost the few possibilities afforded to them in the previous decade “In the pre-state period, only a limited circle of men-controlled women. These were husbands, fathers, brothers, and other male relatives within the family or the extended kin group. However, with the development of state institutions of control and surveillance, the state gave a large number of men the right to control women’s behaviour and conduct in the public sphere” (Al- Rasheed 2019: 105).

With regards to gender segregation practices in Saudi Arabia, it aimed at keeping the two genders apart in public settings to prevent gender mixing. This practice is supported by Sharia law. In light of this, the government-appointed religious police force known as the “Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice” in charge of monitoring public moral behavior, including appropriate dress and male and female interaction (Le Renard 2014).

@amalalshamikh (22 September 2016) tweeted that:

Liberation from guardianship does not mean liberation from morals, for morals that require a censor have no value. *التحرر من الولاية لا يعني التحرر من الأخلاق ، فالأخلاق التي تشترط رقيب لاقيمة له*

The Saudi government does not perceive the establishment of "women only" public spaces as being conservative; rather, it sees it as a step forward and a way to make it easier for women to access the public realm. Women's banks, for instance, were a new invention made possible in 1980 to give women a location to deposit their money without having to interact with men. The banks only hire women for every position, with the exception of the guards stationed at the door to ensure that no men enter by accident (Van Geel 2012).

They are prevented and afraid of mingling with reality, and they do not know that they are living in the virtual world
يمنعون ويخافون من الاختلاط بالواقع وما يدرون إننا عايشينه بالعالم
@saharAL1 (11 October 2016) !. الافتراضي

The guardianship system and policy of gender segregation have changed and evolved throughout time. As a result of the gender segregation policy, a unique female-only sphere of activity has evolved, primarily in the field of education but later extending to other disciplines as well. Hence, it was vital for Saudi women activists and participants in the anti-male guardianship system to demand full freedom and full rights in all fields.

We demand that we be given the right to education, treatment, work, travel and marriage without the consent of the guardian.
نطالب بإعطائنا حق التعليم و العلاج و العمل و
@nadiaalrabi (24 September 2016) . السفر و الزواج دون موافقة ولي الأمر

Saudi universities today boast a majority of female students, despite past hostility toward women's work and education. In the past, women were only permitted to work in professions that were deemed "suitable" for their "nature," such as teaching, which was one of the first occupations that was open to women because gender segregation required that they instruct female students. But recently, women have been permitted to work in a number of previously all-male disciplines, including engineering, and they are doing so in other sectors as well. @es_fatimah (24 September 2016) tweeted:

We challenged them with education, and we succeeded, and we challenged them with work, our work, and our development.
تحديناهم بالتعليم ونجحنا وتحديناهم بالعمل و عملنا وتطورنا
(قالوا لنا ناقصات عقل وخرجوا منا عالمات و طبيبات

The male guardianship system, however, restricts Saudi women's ability to exercise their political, educational, employment and travel rights because, under this system, women are treated as legal minors under the authority of their mahram (closest male relative) and are subject to rules on personal behavior that do not apply to men “ As such, women’s rights within the private domain (marriage, divorce, custody) as well as within the public domain (education, work) are restricted by her male guardian” (Tonnessen 2016:9).

This debate on the aggressive and oppressive restrictions of the male guardianship system for women employment and education was very active during the anti-male guardianship online campaign as we can see in the below tweet examples:

A divorced woman loses a job in a reputable hospital because her divorce papers were not completed, and she does not have a guardian whose brother's signature was not accepted. سيدة مطلقة تخسر وظيفة في مستشفى مرموق لان اوراق طلاقها لم تكتمل ولا يوجد لها ولي لم يُقبل @SelimaPax (13 September 2016) توقيع اخيها.

Guardianship should be abolished in studies and work, and women should be allowed to live an independent life without a home and abuse. يجب ان تلغى الولاية في الدراسة والعمل. وترك المراه تعيش حياه مستقله بدون دار وتعسف @Fuony_ (13 September 2016)

The Saudi government has made it clear time and time again that it is committed to eliminating the marginalization of women and emphasizing their empowerment via work and education. However, additional policy development is required because these rules seldom take into consideration the local realities that Saudi women encounter and experience.

5.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the contextual factors influencing and challenging the online feminist movement in Saudi Arabia. Through the data gathered from Twitter and semi-structured interviews, with a particular focus on the male guardianship system, I was able to identify two main themes that address the struggle of Saudi women and confirm restrictions on women's rights and freedom. These two themes confirm that women perceive the male guardianship as cultural oppression supposedly grounded on religious tradition and emphasize that this system was promoted by the Saudi economic and political atmosphere.

Culture and religion play an important part in determining women's lifestyles, attitudes, behaviors, and rights in Saudi Arabia. However, judging such elements is complicated by the fact that in Saudi Arabia, cultural norms are so intertwined with Islamic theology that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, as shown in the male guardianship system. Furthermore, the historical and contemporary economic and political contexts posed significant challenges to Saudi women's social and political participation. The majority of these legal prohibitions are not justified by royal decrees or legislation.

The restrictions placed on women's rights projects show that Saudi Arabia's reform efforts continue to attempt to control and tame women. Women's rights appear to be constrained by the government. Regardless of the limitations of Saudi women's reform, it is clear that the majority of Saudi women, especially the younger generation, welcome and enjoy their new

rights and responsibilities as they open up and expand their sphere of action. As a result, while it is still too early to tell, further research on the impact of Saudi Vision 2030's reform program on Saudi women's lived experiences is needed in the near future.

As we've seen, Saudi women find ways to haggle in both ordinary and intentional actions. They may act in ways that are contrary to societal norms or openly reject the male guardianship system. As a result, it was demonstrated that contextual elements such as religion, customs, the economics, and the political environment influenced young women's online activism and social and political participation.

6 Chapter Six: Social Media Impact and Contribution to Young Saudi Women's Activism

Apart from the social and authoritarian boundaries ingrained in society, young women are now actively participating in discussions on current events and expressing themselves, due to the high level of freedom found on the Internet. For marginalized groups in society, like women, this new environment created opportunities that did not previously exist. It made it possible for marginalized voices to be heard, to voice their needs and concerns in an audible way, to express their opinions on various political and social issues, to critique and comment on them, and to form groups and virtual organizations around shared interests and objectives.

In the Middle East, before, during, and after the 2011 Arab uprisings, social media platforms and digital technologies were crucial in fostering political and social mobilization and sparked academic and popular discussions of the internet as a "liberation technology" that would inevitably undermine the foundations of authoritarian states (Diamond and Plattner 2012; Lynch 2011; Weidmann and Rod 2019).

However, this only tells one part of the story. Overwhelming evidence to the contrary has dispelled the naive belief that the internet will necessarily serve as a liberation technology since authoritarians have found inventive methods to use digital technologies for repression and control. Through surveillance, manipulation, disinformation, and highly targeted repression, the pervasiveness of online infrastructures has enabled new forms of digital authoritarianism, which pose a significant challenge not only to activists and social and political movements in authoritarian contexts but also to democracies generally (Fatafta 2021; Lynch 2021 and Shaheed and Greenacre 2021).

Consequently, with the aim of understanding whether social media is a platform where people in general can network and freely share their concerns and opinions or a tool used by authoritarian regimes to control people, this chapter will examine the advantages, contributions, and difficulties of social media platforms, particularly Twitter, for women's activism against the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia.

In line with the research objective to examine the role of social media platforms in social and political activism by young women in Saudi Arabia, this chapter will answer the following research questions: Q2: To what extent Twitter advocacy features helped Saudi women express dissent against the male guardianship system and gender inequality to obtain more social and political rights through the online public sphere?; Q4: What are the challenges and limitations feminism movements are facing in the online public sphere in Saudi Arabia?. The thematic analysis of the Twitter data and the data collected through the interviews revealed two key themes that provide answers for the above questions, which are: 1) social media a potential tool for young women social and political activism and resistance; and 2) Saudi women activism oppression and the restricted online sphere.

Furthermore, the subthemes that resulted from the analysis of the gathered tweets and the semi-structured interviews are categorized in the Table below. Six subthemes in all emerged from the investigation. Three themes are the unique outputs of the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, while three subthemes emerged from both the analysis of the gathered tweets and the semi-structured interviews. The discussion of each theme is followed and supported by tweets and quotes from the interviewees.

Theme 1: Social media a Potential Tool for Young Women Activism and Resistance.	
Shared Subthemes	Unique Subthemes
Accountable and Transparent Public Sphere	A Public Sphere for Social Change and Political Participation
A Platform for Advocacy and Women Empowerment	
Theme 2: Saudi Women Activism Oppression: The Restricted Online Sphere	
Unique Subthemes	
Online Political Repression in Saudi Arabia	
Distortion and Defamation in the Online Sphere	
Saudi Women Activists as Prisoners of Conscience	

6.1 Social Media as a Potential Tool for Young Women's Activism and Resistance

Authoritarian governments are in a continuous battle to suppress, restrict, or marginalize political and social topics, discussions, and participation. This social and political activism has witnessed a huge surge due to the revolution in communication technologies (Kahne et al. 2015). Social media, for instance, have considerably facilitated and provided activists and regular individuals in Saudi Arabia with the ability to discuss sociopolitical concerns outside of the constraints imposed by the government. Informational openness includes exchanging information among the people themselves as well as facts or other alarming information about the government (Alsahafi 2019)

Political parties, civil society organizations, and protests are all prohibited by Saudi Arabian legislation. However, the influence that social media platforms had on the 2011 Arab Spring led Saudi feminist and activists to realize that they, too, could take advantage of social media's ability to induce socio-political change. It provided a stage for the general public to draw attention to and dispute the inferior social standing of women in Saudi society. As a result, Saudi women launched a number of social media initiatives, particularly on Twitter, such as the Women2Drive campaign and the anti EndMaleGuardianshipSystem Twitter campaign, which was started in 2016 and has spurred a lot of public discussion on the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia (Alotaibi and Mulderring 2021).

Furthermore, an online petition created by the #EndMaleGuardianshipSystem movement received 14,700 signatures from Saudi men and women, along with their complete names and ID numbers. The petition was delivered to King Salman bin Abdulaziz in October 2016, and up until August 2019, the hashtag was consistently trending. Since then, new rules have been implemented in a number of government offices that abolish the need for guardian consent. Women over the age of 21 are now permitted to travel and have their passports issued without needing parental consent, as a result of the royal decree that was issued in August 2019 in response to a key demand of the campaign (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019).

Depicting how social media platforms, particularly Twitter, have provided Saudi women with excellent opportunities to engage in political and social problems through its facilitation tools will be the focus of the first emerging theme. The range of activities available to women in Saudi Arabia has expanded as a result of social networking sites, which have created new

avenues for political and social participation. These have also functioned as accountable, transparent advocacy platforms for women's empowerment and political and social reform.

The semi-structured interviews and the tweets' collected ' data analysis have shown that a number of subthemes were widely discussed online, including "space," "awareness," "transparency," "advocacy," "voice," "expression," "togetherness," "empowerment," and "accountability." The majority of interviewees responses also mirrored their own experiences using social media and how the "online public sphere" gave them a voice and a platform to engage in activism, raise awareness of political and social issues, and express their opinions.

6.1.1 Social Media Platforms: A Public Sphere for Social Change and Political Participation

The first theme that emerged from the interview analysis regarding the usage of social media was its contribution to women activism in Saudi Arabia and its ability to provide a free and simple sphere to disseminate information and achieve political and social changes. "One hundred thousand voices reverberating in the streets would surely be powerful, but, in the age of social media, they would be no less powerful if they were to rumble through the Twittersphere" (Clark 2016:788).

Furthermore, Shrinky (2011: 1) argues that "social media platforms have now provided the networked population with a realm that has "greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an enhanced ability to undertake collective action". This argument is supported with the interviewee's consensus that social media platforms and new communication technologies have significantly changed their experiences of activism and socio-political participation. The ability for young Saudi women to join collectively in bringing up issues and discussing them in more open-minded ways is much appreciated.

We were one of the most closed-off and traditional societies, but because of the use of social media like Twitter, Saudi women are now more outgoing than they were before. Social media facilitates discussion with a great degree of freedom. I think social media is the place where Saudi Arabian women feel most at ease talking about political and social concerns right now (Rawan).

The interviewees described their engagement with social media platforms as a space that is not only used for discussing public affairs but also one that has the resources to enable

conversations about social issues and politics that are taboo in Saudi culture, like the male guardianship system and women's rights. They also gave Twitter credit for enhancing the exposure of complaints and achieving social change:

The campaign achieved unprecedented success and the Arabic hashtag started trending every day and eventually sparked a number of recent changes in state regulation, demonstrating the campaign's success (Noora).

Despite some disadvantages of social media platforms, the interviewees consider that these platforms have greatly facilitated the pursuit of a wider range of communication and power for young Saudi women in terms of bringing up issues related to public concerns, gaining access to information, and exchanging ideas.

social media has given women in Saudi Arabia new opportunities. With unprecedented access to knowledge, we have a high degree of freedom when debating social and political problems (Maha).

Furthermore, despite constant attempts by the Saudi government to control the Internet, demands for action, reforms, and changes continue to appear to be commonplace there. Online content is prospering in areas where it may be restricted and filtered. With participants choosing current political and social subjects, online debates and meetings are expanding in quantity and scope, and this is changing frequently.

Saudi women are presently more aware of the challenges affecting their daily lives because of the usage of social media. Young Saudi women are increasingly using social media platforms, and their ongoing conversations and interactions on these platforms are a strong indication of this (Lamyaa).

The fact that women in Saudi Arabia have relatively little access to the public arena and less opportunity to take political or social positions is likely to be the cause of this. Therefore, social media platforms in general broaden the range of political and social activities by providing young women with additional avenues for social and political engagement and activism, such as uploading videos to YouTube, tweeting about politics, and engaging in online activism.

The emergence of these platforms has significantly aided freedom of speech among a sizable participant population, irrespective of their socioeconomic status. Twitter, for

instance, is regarded as a free environment where multiple and different viewpoints can be expressed and made public (Lamyaa).

There are some delicate political and social issues that the conventional media avoided discussing or avoided inviting relevant people to address, but these themes are now widely discussed on social media platforms. The Saudi people's unwillingness to engage in serious social concerns, of which the majority may be aware, out of a fear of bridging cultural and political barriers is a significant issue that has long affected Saudi society, particularly women. This appears to no longer be the case after women found the online world. Women are increasingly willing to discuss extremely touchy subjects, as we experienced with the anti-male guardianship campaign.

Because of the revolution in new media technologies, young women are now more open to debating a wide range of social topics than they were in the past. In the past, they were reluctant to address various social and political concerns in public. For instance, traditional media avoided covering issues affecting women, and most Saudis tended to avoid discussing these topics in public for fear of violating the society's relatively conservative conventions and traditions (Maysoon).

Furthermore, the participants in the study stated that social media has played a vital role in exposing the opposing viewpoint to the issues that the Saudi authorities have attempted to either marginalize or obscure through their official media channels during the last few decades.

Social media has made it easier for us to find knowledge quickly and without restriction. In the past, the only way we could get information was through traditional media, which was initially used to advance the agenda and interests of the government. Furthermore, there was no effective communication or genuine connection between Saudi government officials and the populace (Noora).

Saudi women have suffered a lot as a result of the Saudi government's disregard for a number of crucial problems pertaining to their social and political rights. The situation has worsened due to the struggle between the Saudi authorities and Saudi women activists who attempted to educate Saudi society about these issues and advocate for women's rights. However, since the advent of social media, Saudi women have gained more influence over how they raise awareness, gather information, and express their opinions.

Social media platforms are the only avenue for the Saudi people to contact others and discuss topics in an easy and affordable way because there are no public forums in Saudi Arabia for women to discuss issues and express opinions. Formerly marginalized women can now at least share their voices by drawing attention to a particular concept or problem on social media platforms (Maha).

One major sentiment is that civic social organizations have remained relatively underdeveloped in Saudi Arabia; a nation where political parties are prohibited through officially recognized channels. Laws restrict funding for civil society organizations, and the Saudi government also tightly forbids independent civic or political activity through administrative penalties (Alsahafi 2019). Social media platforms are providing an alternative venue for political and social expression and mobilization in the face of this which has been identified in previous literature.

Prior to the advent of social media, it was common and expected that people would refrain from criticizing the government or the monarchy in public. However, now that social media and new technologies are widely used and trusted, the situation has completely changed. People, particularly women in Saudi Arabia, are becoming more politically and socially active and expressive on social media platforms (Rawan).

The interviewees were quite appreciative of the social media platforms' facilitation of young Saudi women's desire for change and social and political participation. And outlined how Twitter helped the anti-male guardianship campaign advance and reach a new level:

Social media has mostly been used to develop, maintain, and mobilize the anti-male guardianship campaign. Examining this campaign on Twitter will show you how brilliantly the campaigners used the hashtag feature to support their demands. It is true that the campaign has drawn a lot of ire and criticism from some conservative and religious organizations in Saudi Arabia, which has resulted in the detention of several well-known female campaigners like Manal Al-Sharif. No one can dispute, however, the revolutionary role Twitter played in giving the campaigners the resources they needed to express their requests in a way that wouldn't have been achievable without social media (Maysoon).

What is clear from Maysoon's excerpt is the crucial function of the hashtag feature, which was once thought to be the only way for Saudi women to engage in activism. This tool has served as a place for Saudi women to organize campaigns and attract more attention to problems that

would otherwise go unnoticed. This emphasizes the need for a deeper investigation of the function of the hashtag feature in Saudi Arabian activism.

Saudi women have been quietly discussing the subject of the male guardianship system for a long time. However, after a hashtag was created on Twitter, the subject of the male guardianship system prompted an amazing response. Women started to share and talk about their personal experiences with the issue, and they emphasized that the discussion of this subject on Twitter raised people's awareness of how unfairly Saudi women are treated by the system (Salwa).

Two crucial elements that the hashtag feature may help facilitate in activism: 1) the simplicity of following activist activities in real time; and 2) the likelihood that participants will find others who share their interests. The latter is crucial, particularly for women who live in authoritarian regimes, where the fear of acting alone frequently prevents them from revealing their true preferences owing to a variety of factors, including customs, religion, and political oppression.

Most interviewees agree that Twitter was a successful tool for Saudi women activism and resistance and played an unprecedented role in promoting women's rights among Saudi citizens. Participants, for instance, emphasized how Saudi Arabian culture has changed how it approaches the problem of the male guardianship system. They highlight the fact that there was a lot of criticism at the start of this internet campaign, but within less than a year, they noted a significant shift in the opposition's views, as well as those of Saudis as a whole, about the male guardianship system.

The anti-male guardianship campaign has demonstrated the significant impact social media has had on Saudi women's activism and raised awareness of Saudi women's status in Saudi society. The impact of social media on Saudi women's activism and defiance of the dominant social and religious discourse that benefited men should be highlighted (Maha).

The above remarks for the interview participants reflect the consensus that social media platforms became a potential tool for Saudi women activism and resistance. Women activists and participants in the Twitter Anti male guardianship campaign stressed the contribution of twitter and hashtag activism to their movement.

The interviewees adamantly asserted that the contacts and discussions between Saudi women on various social media platforms have given them the opportunity to learn a lot from one another. The interactive elements and visibility of these platforms inspired Saudi women to break out of the country's restrictive society and traditional cultural standards.

Saudi women are forced to adopt the dominant ideologies held mostly by the Saudi government and traditional standards as a result of the conservative and constrained Saudi society, which discourages the disputing of ideas and viewpoints. Some interviewees claimed that social media has given Saudi women the opportunity to question preconceived notions, fight for their rights, freely express their thoughts and overcome this socially and politically restricted society. Most importantly, they said, social media has helped them develop their awareness by exposing them to various points of view and worldviews online.

Social media has made it easier for the Saudi population to think, exchange ideas, and express disagreements. As Saudi women's viewpoints are mostly suppressed offline, this strengthened the country's women's activism movements and encouraged the public to interact with them online. With the help of social media platforms like Twitter, Saudi women were better able to spread information and start campaigns to request that their rights be acknowledged (Noora).

It is often claimed that the Saudi government mainly permits online debates on socio-political issues as a way to let the Saudi public vent their resentment and frustration. However, women's reliance on social media platforms to raise awareness about their current social conditions has presumably had more far-reaching consequences than what the Saudi government initially anticipated. Saudi women now prefer to live their lives online, where they may do so mainly without being constrained by either state-imposed restrictions or the restrictions of the country's conservative culture and traditions (Alsahafi 2019).

6.1.2 Saudi Women Perception of Twitter as an Accountable and Transparent Public Sphere

Women's charitable commissions, elite salons, and cultural clubs are the three categories of offline public spaces in Saudi Arabia that have historically been used for intellectual discussion. The charity commissions are the only sites open to women because the first two are exclusively for men. But in the present era, the Internet and new communication technologies have enabled women to successfully participate in the public discourse through blogs, online

forums, and social media platforms to secure their rights. Hence, the second sub theme that arose from the tweets and interviews analysis jointly centers on how Twitter evolved into a public forum for open and transparent discussions of women's issues and how it pushed the Saudi government and its institutions to uphold higher standards of accountability.

In many other nations, this may be accepted as part of daily life for women, but for Saudi women, it is a novel experience. Twitter is used by Saudi women activists to organize campaigns, raise awareness of women's issues, and communicate common concerns in more transparent and effective way (Noora).

The Internet has provided individuals with access to equal online opportunities and participation regardless of status, gender, religious affiliation, or ideological background. Despite the fact that Saudi women are traditionally excluded from the traditional public sphere, Women and Shiite Muslims, for example, who were previously marginalized and silenced in Saudi Arabia, are now speaking out more than ever with the assistance of social media platforms "The Saudi Twittersphere has served as a platform to reflect women's reality by exposing their needs and struggles, including in ways that were risky and did not follow social norms" (Al Nahedh and Al Sheikh 2018:5).

24 million Saudis or 66% of the population used twitter as of 2021, according to the Saudi Center for Government Communication. Youth make up 62% of those who use such platform (Global Media Insight 2021). This popularity of Twitter in Saudi Arabia is because people express their opinions in the online space more freely than in the offline sphere. Nevertheless, even in the less restrictive online arena, there are some lines most Saudis will not risk crossing. While this suggests a certain degree of freedom of expression online, this freedom is still far higher than the freedom enjoyed in the traditional sphere.

@Haunted2012 (13 September 2016) tweeted that: Twitter will retaliate, but... it's the word that will do it. #الكلمة هي من ستفعل. تويتر ستقتصص لكن..

Online spaces are extremely significant for Saudi women. For example, through the use of anonymity and alter personalities on websites like Twitter, Women may express themselves more effectively through transparency, sustainability, widespread communication, and, most importantly, communication with their counterparts. Participants cited these features as justifications for praising social media platforms transparent feature and holding the firm conviction that Saudi women would not have been able to speak up, demand their rights, or

engage in social and political activities in Saudi Arabia without these platforms. This argument is supported by the discourse disseminated by women activist and participants in the anti-male guardianship campaign.

We will continue and we will enter history with the longest demands and the strongest determination and steadfastness, and the end is victory, God willing. سنستمر وسندخل التاريخ بأطول مطالبه وأقوى إصرار وصمود والنهائية هي النصر بإذن الله @han198400 (24 September 2016)

Bravo. Excellent work, wonderful performance, and powerful words. This is a unique work of art that will contribute to the spread of the cause برافوا عمل مميز و اداء رائع وكلمات قوية ، هذا يعد عمل فني فذ سيساهم في إنتشار القضية @MERiAM_AL3TEEBE (24 September 2016)

The participants also mentioned the importance of the "anonymity feature" of social media platforms, which lets women hide their personal identities, provide them with high level of transparency and in helping women activists and participants overcome the fear of political and social restrictions.

Anonymity is a major worry for women activists in Saudi Arabia in the context of the fear activists in other Arab countries encounter. They do this in order to safeguard themselves not only from potential repercussions from people who disagree with their activities but also from traditionalists who oppose women's rights because it enables them to attack activists covertly (Maysoon).

The possibility of social media promoting openness, transparency and holding the Saudi government and influential organizations more responsible is another significant subject that arose from these interviews. Participants affirmed that Twitter not only gave them a high level of transparency but also allowed them to express their opinions and take part in discussions about political and social topics that affected them. Twitter has made it possible to bring to light various concerns pertaining to women that the Saudi traditional media has not been fully transparent about.

Look, concerns impacting Saudi women were largely forgotten around twenty years ago or so. In our discussions or in the conventional media, it was extremely uncommon to hear of Saudi women being abused and violated. But today, everything has completely altered. Due to widespread smartphone use in Saudi Arabia, Saudi women

can now expose societal problems and abuse without waiting for other traditional media channels to do so. Our concerns and views are now discussed transparently and heard not just at home but also around the world (Rawan).

On Twitter, Saudi women talk about touchy subjects including corruption, political prisoners, and women's concerns. Additionally, Twitter in Saudi Arabia has the sole aim of allowing people whose participation is otherwise severely limited to participate in social and political discourse. In this regard, interviewees in this study gave social media credit for helping Saudi women's complaints about topics including their right to participate in political and social concerns and their right to insist that the Saudi government take action on these issues become more visible.

Before social media platforms, we lacked any channels through which to advocate for the most fundamental rights, and it was extremely difficult to get our views and concerns taken seriously. To be really honest, I hold our traditional media responsible for marginalizing so many women's issues as well as our conservative culture, which frequently views women as a possession of men. But as Saudi women, we are now more conscious, more powerful, and more courageous in demanding our rights (Noora).

The comments made by Rawan demonstrate how Saudi women have discovered refuge in social media, where they may speak up for themselves and disclose issues that impact them. Twitter in particular, have helped Saudi women's transparency address their limits and disadvantages while also amplifying their voices on a national and international level. It is claimed that if topics like the system of male guardianship are not widely shared on Twitter during the anti-male guardianship campaign, they will not attract international media attention. Twitter encourages more transparent discussions among Saudi women.

Without a doubt, Twitter has given us amazing possibilities to openly view and discuss issues that were previously difficult to address on traditional media channels. As a Saudi woman, I recall with sadness how our previous biased media handled Saudi women's issues and how the situation has altered now that Saudi women are mostly able to discuss their challenges and struggles through social media (Maha)

According to Twitter's Transparency Report for 2017, the Saudi government sought account information 33 times. Twitter characterized each request as an emergency disclosure request

because there was a risk of death or significant physical harm to a person (Twitter 2018). However, it may be stated that, social media gives Saudis a more open communication area as many Saudis women felt at ease and safe discussing politics on online forums.

As we find when we search beneath the hashtag 'anti_male_guardianship_campaign,' young Saudi women have recently used Twitter to openly share their problems with others by posting or sharing a few photos and videos that express their message that there are issues that need to be solved. I was astounded by the women's issues and abuse stories that young Saudi women are sharing under this particular hashtag. Do you believe that you would encounter similar tales elsewhere besides on social media? I don't believe so (Lamyaa).

It is vital to note that the interviewees believed that Twitter was a powerful tool for accountability as well as transparency and visibility. Participants emphasized that government authorities can be held more accountable for their actions if the Saudi regulatory structure is made more transparent. The regimes that have restricted the flow of information for a long time using stringent censorship and other methods are frustrated by the current informational transparency, which has been made possible by the advent of social media technology.

Demands for changes and reforms in relation to women's rights in Saudi Arabia were previously almost outlawed, but thanks to young women's significant use of social media, it is now abundantly obvious that Saudi women are seeking improvement and expressing their thoughts more openly (Salwa).

Intriguingly, the study's interviewees firmly believed that Twitter has evolved into a trustworthy community court that serves as an alternative to Saudi Arabia's official courts. In this community court, the plaintiffs and the investigators are all from the same community, and the authority's only role is to render the verdict.

It is important to note that Saudi officials appear to be aware of how popular Twitter is in the country. For instance, the majority of the nation's ministers and well-known political and social figures have Twitter accounts, and it has been frequently reported that they respond directly to the public whenever a concern is raised online that pertains to their ministry (Noman et al. 2015).

Saudi women now have the chance to discuss topics that have been challenging to discuss in traditional media sources, thanks to Twitter. We have seen how government

officials have taken seriously the calls for political and social reform that have been made through conversations on Twitter. Additionally, the existence of influential citizens in the community on Twitter, such as political activists, has influenced the state's decision-makers (Lamyaa).

Participants in this study asserted that Twitter has caused unheard-of alterations in the effectiveness of numerous governmental organizations. They have started to take precautions and have grown wary of this authority and this "community court".

Even if it's a casual court, Twitter is one. Many officials or service institutions, both public and private, express worry and dread about it. In actuality, none of our traditional media outlets have ever reported on attempts to hold a minister or person responsible. Individuals of high social rank are, in fact, exempt from criticism. This is due to Saudi Arabia's government's heavy censorship and control of the country's traditional media outlets (Maha).

Social media platforms' extraordinary informational accessibility, openness, and transparency have undoubtedly had an impact on Saudi Arabia's political power. The interviewees pointed out that Saudi authorities should be more approachable to their population because social media in Saudi Arabia serves as a watchdog for their actions.

This argument is supported by Bertot et al. (2010: 265) who considers that "ICTs can reduce corruption by promoting good governance, strengthening reform-oriented initiatives, reducing the potential for corrupt behavior, enhancing relationships between government employees and citizens, allowing for citizen tracking of activities, and monitoring and controlling government employee behavior".

The viewpoints of the interviewees offered a crucial perspective on how young Saudi women have used Twitter to enhance transparency and make the Saudi government more responsible. Additionally, it emphasizes how Twitter's unprecedented transparency features have given them an unmatched opportunity to share and discuss current issues in a more reliable and visible way.

Additionally, Twitter has given them the ideal tools to carefully monitor the actions of various officials and keep tabs on government initiatives to advance women's rights in the kingdom.

For some of the women interviewed, Twitter is perceived as an "independent ministry" for women's rights in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia now has a separate ministry for Twitter. Every woman on this platform is a minister, and no woman is in charge of or manages this ministry. Monitoring the way, the government and its services treat women's rights is one of this ministry's primary goals (Maysoon).

6.1.3 Using Twitter as a Platforms for Advocacy and Women Empowerment

The third theme emerged from the data collected from Twitter posts and interviews jointly focuses on how the use of Twitter contributed to advocating for social-political issues in general and women's rights initiatives in particular, and its ability to share and disseminate information. In return, all these uses contributed to and strengthened women's empowerment initiatives.

Especially in developing nations, using social media platforms for advocacy and activism can be incredibly empowering for women who want to express themselves and stand up for what they believe in. A noteworthy example that demonstrates many opportunities and lessons for online campaigning and women's empowerment is the 2016 Saudi women's movement to support the repeal of the male guardianship system.

A significantly larger audience now has access to international communication because of social media. The internet has provided those who have struggled to be heard throughout history with a fresh, affordable, and successful solution. There are now voices for numerous communities in many different civilizations that formerly had none. Twitter has been utilized by feminist organizations in general and Saudi women in particular to promote the abolishment of the male guardianship system, facilitate societal discourse, and enhance social involvement for social and political change. Social media platforms are particularly effective in giving voices to women who have long been mute, unseen, and unheard.

In Saudi Arabia, feminism movements are thriving, and many of them are appearing on social media as hashtags with the hopes that they may one day grow into a larger social movement that empowers women and brings about societal change (Maysoon).

It has been extensively addressed how social media and cutting-edge digital communication platforms offer multiple chances for women's empowerment and engagement. These studies were primarily interested in how women used the Internet and social media, as well as whether these new technologies could enhance women's lives and give them the power to achieve gender equality (Guntarik & Trott 2016 and McLean et al 2016). Social media were used to advocate for women rights and on women empowerment in Saudi Arabia.

Social media gave women access to virtual communities that facilitated communication and helped them get beyond the obstacles present in conventional communication channels. Social media tools also downplay the significance of physical appearance and place a greater focus on representation and narrative through text and other media objects, giving female users more control over the timing and tempo of communication (Maha).

Most civilizations' social structures have included discrimination against women. Even while women have made significant progress toward empowerment in many nations, many continue battle for equality. Saudi women struggle with oppression on a variety of fronts, including those related to their ethnicity, sexual orientation, and physical capabilities, among other things. Their Twitter activism against the male guardianship system was impressive.

The anti-male Guardianship movement is a successful example that offers a positive assessment of the role that Twitter platforms have played in mobilizing and promoting Saudi young women's engagement and empowerment. In order to reform the gender conventions that control conduct, demand gender equality, and rethink cultural values and religious ideas, many professional Saudi women turned to information and communication technology and new media tools (Rawan).

Young Saudi women were actively supporting and empowering other Saudi women who have been marginalized for years to take part in the anti-male guardianship Twitter campaign. This became apparent when we looked at the activist's tweets, which tended to focus on three things: breaking silence, calling for action, and disseminating information and raising awareness.

I am proud of your steadfastness in demanding your first right to life. فخورة بثباتكن في. @Haunted2012 (7 August 2016)
مطالبتكن بحقكن الأول في الحياة. هاشتاق بعد هاشتاق والإصرار يزداد

A great thing that makes me proud of all the demands for their freedom. 77 days, the hashtag will not go out of trend. I love you, my pure daughters. شيء عظيم يجعلني فخورة . بلدي الطاهرات بكل المطالبات بحريتهن ٧٧ يوماً لن ينزل التاچ من الترنڊ احبكم يا بنات @AlharbiRanoos (24 September 2016)

Since Saudi women have no voice in the public domain, they are unable to openly express their unhappiness with the restrictions imposed upon them. Women's groups are few, and women's behavior is crucial to family prestige. As a result, it is common to see Saudi women depicted as weak and beneath males, particularly in Western mainstream media. Although this was the case, Saudi women were highly effective in utilizing Twitter to raise the voices of women, inform them of their rights, and equip them with arguments to counter discriminatory actions.

The younger Saudi women are, however, shunning conventional gender norms in favor of greater education and careers. The rise in female literacy and education, as well as recent reforms to combat religious fundamentalism and terrorism, which have restricted the ability of the religious establishment to define gender roles and given women more legal capacities, educational and employment options, and political participation, are among the factors that have improved the situation of women and increased their awareness of their social position.

The content analysis revealed that Twitter was used to offer accurate information about the campaign and its goals by acting as a first-hand account. Twitter was also utilized to dispel any untrue information and post updates from the actual world. The following extracts, which originate from the # سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية are examples of the tweets that sought to clarify the campaign's objectives.

You are a sane and conscious adult working and raising your children. You should not be treated as dependent or incompetent and impose guardianship on you. انتي بالغة عاقلة . واعية تعملين وتربين اطفالك لايجب ان تعاملتي كتابع او فاقدة للاهلية وتقرض عليك وصاية @meme_957 (24 September 2016)

We are now more aware. You will not be able to take away our rights. We will demand and demand a better future for girls here. نحن الآن أكثر وعيا لن نستطيعوا سلب حقوقنا سنطالب . ونطالب لمستقبل أفضل للفتيات هنا @camelliablooms (16 August 2016)

Another important point was raised by the interviewee which is how women activism on Twitter was able to reduce the effect of the conservative traditions and customs of Saudi society

on Saudi women's advocacy initiatives and women's empowerment activism. As stated by Lamyaa:

But Twitter served as the perfect forum for Saudi women to band together, advocate for their rights as a marginalized group, raise awareness, and empower one another. Furthermore, Saudi women were able to overcome one of the conservative obstacles limiting their mobility—the inability to physically meet at the same time and place—with the help of social media platforms they were able to secure a continues and perennate activism.

Many Saudi women have found a space to transcend gender boundaries, present themselves publicly, and engage in an ideological struggle and discursive arguments in order to deconstruct the rules and laws that limit their lives, particularly the male guardianship system. It was important to look at how these Saudi women have used social media platforms to challenge the power structures and the numerous restrictions and laws that keep their voices in the private sphere. Saudi women were able to reinvent their identities on Twitter and challenge the prevalent narratives that constrain their lives. Twitter discourses and arguments were particularly used as supporting grounds for women's equality claims. the online sphere guarantees continuity and permanence for women activism that are not available in the offline sphere.

Rights are taken and not given. The right does not wait for anyone. We continue to demand endlessly. الحقوق تنتزع ولا تعطى،، الحق لا ينتظر احد،، مستمرين ب المطالبه الى مالا نهاية . @shrroooooog (7 August 2016)

Three months and the women are steadfast and adhering to their rights. I hope the campaign will continue until all the oppressed and oppressed are released. keep forward. ثلاث شهور والنساء صامدات و متمسكات بحقوقهم اتمنى تستمر الحمله الى ان يفرج هم كل مظلومه . @sara11208 (6 October 2016) ومقهوره وألى الامام

Together, the results above demonstrate key insights into how activists used Twitter to advocate for women's rights and raise awareness about women's social and political issues and restrictions. This role became more apparent in the authoritarian context of Saudi Arabia and the absence of powerful and transparent traditional media outlets. This explains why social media platforms, with their capacity to enable contact and the dissemination of information, have empowered Saudi women's activism and movement.

Twitter made it possible for many types of opposition against social and structural forces that affect women's status in society and the distribution of power among men and women. The ongoing discussion of women's concerns and power dynamics on twitter raised awareness of the precarious position of women and exerted unprecedented pressure on traditional systems of authority (Maysoon).

As a result of the aforementioned findings, it was generally acknowledged that social media platforms had significantly altered how Arab women experience activism and participation in society. Compared to the traditional public sphere, the interactive features within social media platforms have paved the way for women to pursue greater visibility and more extensive powers in the political and social sphere (Alsahafi 2019). Social media had great influence on Saudi women's activism, gave women a place to publicly refute criticism and helped define the goals of campaigns for women's rights.

Social media platforms have substantially aided in the creation and propagation of numerous campaigns in Saudi Arabia. Trust me, if campaigns like the one against male guardianship had taken place before the creation of Twitter, they would not have enjoyed the fame and splendor that we are seeing today (Salwa).

Twitter was a useful tool for women's activism in Saudi Arabia and it provided a space for them to confront discrimination and criticism, particularly in the absence of alternative activism platforms and campaigns in the country.

It plays a huge part. Many women's activities in Saudi Arabia are based on social media, and I think that without these platforms, there would be no activism or campaigns at all. I make this statement because we do not have a legitimate parliament or civil organization, and we are prohibited from holding public protests. However, we have been able to organize several political and social protests and stand up to the people and the government thanks to the Twitter hashtag (Lamyaa).

The participants in this study perceive social media platforms as a brand-new space for Saudi Arabian young women to engage in activism and social participation that is missing from the country's traditional political landscape. Saudi women have used Twitter as a platform to voice their thoughts and discuss social and political concerns. The participants have also emphasized how social media's potent mechanisms have widened the scope of public dialogue and elevated Saudi women's involvement in discussion and information exchange.

Overall, the data analysis shows that the use of social media platforms like Twitter improved Saudi women's public communication. This usage created two significant opportunities: first, it allowed women activists and participants to advocate for women's rights and spread material that couldn't get past the editorial filters of print media, and second, it allowed activists to reveal their women's empowerment feminist perspective to the general public.

Saudi female citizens are not owned by anyone. They have the full right to be treated with full capacity and equal civil rights with the male citizen. المواطنات السعوديات لسن ملكا. لأحد لهن كامل الحق لأن يعاملن بأهلية كاملة وتحقق مدنية متساوية مع المواطن الذكر @emanALshaiL (30 September 2016)

women should empower each other instead of being hateful & envious of one another. يجب على النساء تمكين بعضهن البعض بدلاً من الكراهية والحسد لبعضهن البعض @freesaudiwomen2 (6 October 2016)

For Saudi feminists, it appeared that the multipurpose use of the embedded functionalities allowed them to foster feminist efforts to spread information about feminist causes and other social justice issues. They were able to question given social orders and open up new spaces of engagement because social platforms like Twitter seem to have provided previously excluded and marginalized nonpolitical actors with the possibilities of engaging in the feminist scene in a way which contrasts with the difficulties encountered in trying to be heard via mainstream media.

Particularly in authoritarian and religious nations, social media assisted women in overcoming repression, fears, and political and social hurdles. Any woman can now sign up for a Twitter account, conceal her identity, and start using the service with a high level of freedom. On Twitter, there are innumerable anonymous accounts that engage in delicate political and social problems.

the availability of shared interests, challenges, and even struggles had assisted people in overcoming their dread of political repression. This was evident in the anti-male guardianship Twitter campaign, as we saw many women share their experiences, concerns, opinions, and criticism of the male guardianship system almost without fear of the government, religious institutions, or traditions. As a result, other women were inspired to get involved in these feminist issues, which is why this campaign experienced an unprecedented spread (Noora).

Social media platforms have given women in Saudi Arabia greater opportunities for activism and given them a powerful forum for engaging in political and social activities. These venues helped women overcome the challenge of exclusion they experienced in the conventional public realm by giving them more voices and power. The most significant benefit of these communication technologies is that they gave women a great deal of freedom to freely advocate for their rights and to support one another.

6.2 Saudi Women Activism Oppression: The Restricted Online Sphere

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region's internet sphere has changed since the 2011 Arab Spring movement, becoming a strictly regulated and suppressed domain. Arab governments have adopted a strict stance on internet regulation and governance as a result of the internet's crucial role in political organizing and the exercise of fundamental rights during the 2011 demonstrations. New technologies have made it possible for the authoritarian regimes to expand their repression beyond their national borders in more practical and affordable ways as they strive to assert their territorial sovereignty and domestic control over a global digital domain (Fatafta 2021).

In this context, subchapter 6.2 focused on the first theme that emerged from the data analysis, showing how social media platforms supported online activism by Saudi women for social and political causes, improving the visibility of these issues, facilitating communication, and empowering women. However, as mentioned earlier and as revealed by the data, a second important main theme emerged and will be discussed in this sub chapter that will address the other side of social media platforms and how these can be used as a restricted and oppressive sphere. Hence, the data analysis finds that Saudi women activism struggle with and suffer from the restricted online sphere and the oppressive practices of the authoritative context in Saudi Arabia.

In line with the above, the data analysis revealed the subtheme which is “Saudi Women Activism Oppression. The Restricted Online Sphere”. The outcomes of the tweet analysis revealed a number of subthemes that were widely discussed on twitter during the male guardianship campaign including "counter-public" “defamation” “slander” “conspiracy theory” and “distortion” and will be grouped for discussion under the first part of this chapter (6.2.1.). Furthermore, in the following subchapters (6.2.2. and 6.2.3.), I will discuss the outcomes of the interviews. The semi-structured interviews revealed two subthemes addressed

by the interviewees which are “online political repression” and “Prisoners of Consciences”. The interviewees reflected on their experiences using social media and how the online sphere can restrict their voices and affect their online activism.

6.2.1 Counter-Publics, Distortion and Defamation in the Online Sphere

A crucial theme that emerged from the Twitter data analysis is related to the counter movement against the anti-male guardianship movement and the distortion and defamation tactics that were used. Young Saudi women were aggressive in confronting this counter public movement and advocated for their rights. Due to this countereffort, Saudi women activists were forced to vigorously tweet in defense of their campaign and themselves. Mariam Alotaibi a prominent women rights activist in Saudi Arabia respond to this movement through her twitter account @MERiAM_AL3TEEBE and tweets on 13 September 2016:

Evidence of the success of our campaign is the forgery and distortion campaigns that are attached to our blessed campaign. They continue despite the distortion. دليلٌ نجاح مستمر ووووون رغم التشويه) حملتنا هو حملات التزوير و التشويه التي يتم إلصاقها بحملتنا المباركة ،

And she adds on 22 September 2016:

Despite the insult campaigns and childish behavior to silence our voice, thanks to the power of truth, we have become a trend for the seventy-fifth day. (ورغم حملات السب) (والتصرفات الصبيانية لإخراس صوتنا ،اصبحنا بفضل قوة الحق ترند لليوم الخامس والسبعون

While numerous women activists and participants in Saudi Arabia established hashtags and posted different material on twitter to oppose the male guardianship system and advocate for women's rights, another set of counter-campaigns, distortion and slander online discourses were also developed against their movement. Campaigners for the anti-male guardianship system had to defend themselves against accusations of betraying the state in a climate of increasing nationalism.

The large number of hashtags opposing #Saudi_women_we_demand_the_fall_of_the_state⁶⁵ is great evidence of his success. 65 days of demanding that we be treated as first-class citizens. كثرة الهاشتاقات المعارضة ل #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية65 دليل كبير على نجاحه 65 يوما من المطالبة بمعاملتنا ل #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية65 @AlharbiRanoos (13 August 2016). كمواطنات من الدرجة الاولى

And who said that we are no longer patriotic? !من قال أننا ماعدنا وطنية ؟ @nasiiia_2 (5 August 2016).

The growth of the usage of social media platforms resulted in an increase of online crimes, which are crimes committed with the use of the internet and communication technologies. Such crimes have been highly committed on social media platforms, such as distortion and defamation. Many women activists and participants in the anti-male guardianship campaign faced insults or defamation just because they expressed their disagreement and criticized the social and religious dimensions of the guardianship system. Such attitudes and practices are considered crimes and subject to penalties under the Saudi Anti-Cyber Crime Law. Women activists were voicing their outrage at the defamation and skepticism of their movement. and used Twitter to express their anger against these counter-campaigns and their supporters.

Anyone who stands against dropping guardianship is an accomplice to every crime, violence, harassment, injustice or assault that befalls Saudi women. أي شخص يقف ضد @lovhum . اسقاط الولاية هو شريك بكل جريمة او تعنيف او تحرش او ظلم او اعتداء يقع على المرأة السعودية (13 August 2016).

The skepticism about the claim is evidence that it has achieved the desired pressure and brought males to an unprecedented stage of terror. ما يحدث من تشكيك بالمطالبة لهو دليل على @ramasult222 (13 September 2016). أنها حققت الضغط المنشود، واصلت الذكوريين لمرحلة غير مسبقة من الرعب

Furthermore, women activists had to defend themselves against a conspiracy theory with a list of accusations relating to their overseas ties, presence abroad, and interactions with foreign media as we see from the below tweet example posted by @FATMA_S_AL. Questions were raised from both inside and outside the campaign, which led to furious claims of non-belonging to the Saudi society. What contributed to the emergence of this counter movement was the growing international scrutiny and criticism of Saudi Arabia over its religious practices, which intensified these discussions over the loyalty and affiliation of women activists and participants in the anti-male governorship campaign.

If you say that I am not Saudi, or naturalized, or a worker, or whatever description you desire, this will not make me back down, but rather will increase my insistence on

ان قلت اني غير سعودية او متجنسه او عميلة او اي وصف ترغب به هذالن يجعلني taking my full rights. @FATMA_S_AL (5 August 2016)
أترجع بل يزيد إصراري في اخذ حقي كامل

Another internet effort headed by conservative Saudi men and women and backed by conservative religious clerics was launched to support the male guardianship system and in response to the strong discourse established by Saudi women. This counter-campaign narrative uses the hashtags #SaudiWomenProudofGuardianship and #My Guardian Knows What's Best For Me. Beside this, the discourse that was spread under the original anti-male guardianship system hashtag was also used to convey opposing viewpoints and dissatisfaction with Saudi women's activism against the male guardianship system, and in this tale, in favor of the guardianship system (Ibrahim 2019).

We are accused, slandered, and disbelieved because we demanded our rights like them.
تُتهم نقذف نُكفر لاننا ؟
What religion do you profess, and what kind of mind do you have?
طالبنا بحقوقنا مثلهم باي دين تدينون واي عقل هذا الذي تملكون ؟ @was_8880 (24 September 2016).

These counter campaigns made the case that Saudi women greatly benefit from the male guardianship system. The Saudi government adhered to this counter campaign and supported it directly and indirectly. In response to these counter – public movement, women activists intensified their activism on twitter for the sake to fight back these slanders.

Our demands continue, and the campaign continues, so that we overthrow the evil that is in your head, and continue the distortion, because we continue to demand until death.
مطالبنا مستمره والحمله مستمره لين نطيح الشر اللي براسكم وواصلو بالتشويه لاننا مواصلين بالمطالبه لين الموت @WFR232 (13 September 2016)

Furthermore, conspiracy theory and the promotion of the guardianship system as a privilege and defender of women were two of the key themes used in the counter-campaign, where pro-guardianship narratives linked the Saudi women's fight against guardianship to conspirators who sought to undermine Saudi society and Islamic rules. Furthermore, a second pro-guardianship system narrative was used, which insisted on and promoted the guardianship system as a way to shield women from having to take on any financial or family responsibilities. This was brought up by Saudi women's activists, who responded by tweeting:

Why, when any faction of society demands its rights, is it accused of foreign employment? Is the Saudi unable to claim his right? لماذا عندما يُطالب اي فصيل من المجتمع بحقوقه يُتهم بالعمالة الخارجية ؟ هل السعودي عاجز عن المطالبة بحقه @SelimaPax (24 August 2016)

Saudi women activists were facing many challenges offline as well as online. Women's rights campaigners encounter internet smear campaigns, limitations on their employment options, online activity censorship, and media backlash. Furthermore, they face opposition from a number of sources, including the government, the religious establishment, and, more shockingly, counter-campaigns from other Saudi women who hold opposing and more conservative viewpoints.

Those who are discontent are among the opponents. It is optional for those who do not wish. We will not knock on your door and force you to stay in the arms of guardianship. لمتشجنون/ المتشجنات من المعارضين الأمر اختياري لمن لا يرغب لن نطرق على بابكم ونجبركم ابقوا في أحضان @dr_mahajermawi (7 August 2016) الوصاية

Moreover, women's rights activists and participants were accused of cheating and working to create national instability by those who opposed them and supported the male guardianship system. As a retort, Saudi women activists and participants tweeted to emphasize their commitment to the Saudi monarchy and sense of patriotism. Additionally, they re-posted the campaign's objectives, emphasizing that their protest was in favor of social progress rather than social unrest.

Dear opposition to your rights, remember that if the state was written for your ancestors when they opposed education, you would not be able to write a single letter here. عزيزتي المعارضة لحقوقك تذكرني انه لو اصغت الدولة لأجدادك عندما عارضوا التعليم لما استطعتي ان تكتبي @MedSocialworker (11 October 2016) . حرف واحد هنا

Women activists and participants of the anti-male guardianship movement along with the oppositional counter movement engaged in a critical discourse on Twitter. Saudi citizens frequently criticize the anti-male guardianship movement on Twitter and other social media platforms and seek to defame it as a Western plot to topple Saudi society and the government by connecting the campaign to atheists, Zionists, and other despised groups in Saudi Arabia. However, one cannot completely rule out the likelihood that some of these Tweets and hashtags were actually planned by political and religious leaders looking to influence public opinion through a covert social media campaign (Bianchi 2017).

6.2.2 Online Political Repression in Saudi Arabia

Following the Arab upheavals there was an intensive restriction on political and social participation, and interior and exterior oppression practices of Arab regimes became worse and more violent, both online and offline. The assassination of Saudi writer Jamal Khashoggi and the surveillance operation that preceded it show the lengths to which authoritarian regimes will go to punish their opponents in the Middle East.

Furthermore, political oppression was evident in the online sphere. Two Twitter workers were recruited as part of the Saudi surveillance operation in order to gain access to the private information of Saudi activists, including their email addresses, phone numbers, and IP addresses. Abdulrahman Al-Sadhan, a 37-year-old charity worker who was abducted in 2022, was apprehended as a result of this operation. For his anonymous criticism of the Saudi government on Twitter, Al-Sadhan stood before the Specialized Criminal Court in Riyadh in 2021 and was given a twenty-year prison sentence, followed by a twenty-year travel ban (Silverman 2021).

In the internet environment, the space for free speech has substantially decreased in recent years. In general, Saudi authorities have been successful in framing any criticism of the leadership and its actions (Maha).

It is crucial to stress that the word "politics" is a "hot" and contentious subject to the Saudi people and has in fact grown to be a significant aspect of Saudi Arabian life. In fact, because the region is driven by unstable political environment, politics is seen as a very essential topic of debate. Politics is one of the most popular subjects that Saudis are interested in, and it receives the most discussion and attention on the Twitter platform in Saudi Arabia (Noman et al. 2015).

In the offline world, people frequently discuss public affairs and political concerns when they visit friends and family or at social events like weddings or religious festivals, but they do so with some caution so as not to cross the line. Similar to this, social media platforms are frequently utilized as places where Saudi citizens congregate in order to voice their opinions, exchange ideas, call attention to injustice, share their thoughts with one another, and attempt to make sense of what is happening in their nation (Ibrahim 2019).

I've found that the Saudi community is constantly interested in talking about our political and social issues. Men are not the only ones who engage in these social and political discussions; Saudi women are also increasingly vocal in discussions on pressing social and political issues. These discussions continue to take place on Twitter and other social media platforms and are not just restricted to our in-person meetings (Lamyaa)

Although Saudi Arabia tried to convey an image of modernity and progress to the outside world, many of its changes are superficial, especially towards women's social and political participation and the women's rights movement, which remains at the center of many struggles offline and online. The arrests, imprisonments, surveillance practices, and online threats for women activists and participants of the anti-guardianship campaign in 2016 and the women's driving campaign in 2018 have seriously challenged this "rebranding" strategy.

Saudi authorities have been successful in stifling political activity offline; although it was a big challenge, they were also able to manage large-scale online activities, information flows, shared interests, and online connections. although participating in social media platforms, in my opinion, is strengthened by their protective and collective aspects, which, in my opinion, make it challenging for the government to monitor all of these actions but this does not ignore the fact the government attempt to censor and monitor online activities (Maysoon).

Even though the majority of the interviewees subtly avoided discussing the Saudi government's restrictions and surveillance practices on political discourse, they concurred that there is political repression and confirmed that it can play a significant role in activists' decisions to engage with sensitive socio-political issues, particularly online.

Many activists feel forced to self-censor or participate in anti-government internet speech because of the environment of fear that exists. Critics, activists, and anyone who is thought to express disapproval online risk harsh penalties, such as harassment and incarceration. (Maha).

Participants' responses to the topic of "political and social repression" and their decision to forego further discussion of it, as well as the fact that social media platforms have in many ways contributed to this political oppression, are supporting this claim. Therefore, it is not surprising that 21% of Saudis use a virtual private network (VPN) to hide their identity online and that 50% of Saudis say they are concerned about surveillance (Dennis et al. 2016).

According to me, political and social repression in Saudi Arabia poses a serious threat to everyone's right to free expression and participation, but it may be much worse for women, who are subjected to additional social, religious, and familial limitations. Furthermore, Twitter users are becoming less inclined to express support for outspoken activists who have lately received prison sentences. As a result of this pressure, many customers increasingly use services that purport to offer more privacy (Rawan).

However, users of social media are aware that the laws governing undesirable content have an impact on how they conduct themselves online. The fact that the Saudi Royal Family, and the King in particular, have a significant influence on both the security forces and the legal system in Saudi Arabia further complicates the problem (Alsahafi 2019). As a result, the risk of political repression is now greater and more unexpected due to the state rulers being granted a great deal of power as well as the absence of justice and security.

The freedom to use the internet and social media is becoming quite limited in Saudi Arabia. Although the Saudi government is striving harder than ever to give every person access to high-quality internet, the rigid absolute monarchy in the nation limits the types of content that may be accessible online. Authorities have strong rules in place for monitoring and censoring accounts that post material critical of the government (Noora).

The 2017 Freedom Report highlights three types of censorship Saudi women experience: online censorship, self-censorship, and societal censorship. This is true despite the 2016 online women's right movement (Freedom House Organization 2017). This oppression and censorship practices of the government are an obstacle that restrict and challenge Saudi women social and political activism in the online sphere as well as the offline one.

Government-repressive online tactics against women activists have been and continue to be used against them, including censorship, threats, tracking their IP addresses, and canceling their social media accounts. This increased the prevalence of online self-censorship. Social media users take great caution in deciding what they post, share, or enjoy online due to the threat of harassment or legal action (Salwa).

Consequently, it is evident from the aforementioned conversations that the interviewees were in agreement that political and social activities on social media platforms had a level of fear of political and social repression. This agreement was based on an important point, the continuous government practices of surveillance, censorship and restrictions of these platforms. Many of

the restrictions that authoritarian governments have successfully imposed on offline types of social and political activism are now imposed on online activism. For the fight for genuine political rights, representative governance, and the rule of law to continue, both men and women need a safe atmosphere, free from the danger of imprisonment, surveillance, or any kind of repression.

Certainly, social media platforms have created a favorable environment for Saudi women to participate in political and social dialogue. The fact that the Saudi context lacks transparent and free media outlets that support women and women's rights movements, the male-dominated society that forbids women from participating in the public sphere, and the constrained social and family structure can all be used to justify the consensus of all female interviewees that social media platforms were of great support for women's activism and women's rights movements. Digital media, however, also has restrictions and dangers for social movements, feminism, and political engagement in general. Women's online activism is limited by a number of variables, including the sociotechnical design of digital platforms (such as privacy and data protection), the restrictive political environment, and the ongoing societal discrimination in which the women's rights movement operates.

6.2.3 Saudi Women Activist as Prisoners of Conscience

One of the significant effects of the Saudi government's restrictions on freedom of speech and expression and oppressive practices is the imprisonment of prisoners of conscience, which refers to those imprisoned for peacefully expressing their political, religious, or other conscientiously held beliefs or for their identity, even though they have neither used nor advocated violence (Amnesty International 2023).

Unexpectedly, prisoners of conscience are becoming more and more common in Saudi Arabia. They are well known for protecting the rights of Saudi women and are also human rights advocates. They have made use of social media as a forum to raise awareness of and demand change for the condition of women (Salwa).

Several well-known internet activists have been penalized in the last years, in accordance with Article 6 of Saudi Arabia's 2007 Anti-Cyber Crime Law. A number of activists are currently punishable by up to five years in prison and/or a fine of no more than three million riyals (\$800,000 USD), including the creation, preparation, transmission, or storage of material through the information network or computers that violates public order, religious beliefs,

public morals, or privacy. Online activists have furthermore been punished under the 2014 Antiterrorism Law, which broadly defines terrorism as undermining the state's prestige and interfering with its public order (Anderson 2017).

Many of the Saudi women activists who were detained for their human rights activities are still being held without charge. Even if some activists have been freed, there is still a strong danger that they may be charged with a crime and get a jail sentence under the new anti-cybercrime law (Maha).

On a global scale, there is a prevalent view of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and, in particular, the status of women there. The Saudi government is currently working to "rebrand" itself abroad and alter this view by creating a new ideal of the contemporary Saudi woman. More than half of Saudi university students are women, making young, educated Saudi women the ideal ambassadors for the "Saudi modernization process" and the "new and moderate" Saudi regime (Kosyfologou 2021).

As long as these ladies and other peaceful women are still being persecuted due to their activities, I think the reform movement in Saudi Arabia cannot proceed successfully and will not be taken seriously by international society (Lamyaa).

However, in an authoritarian religious monarchy with an economy dependent on oil and a looming financial catastrophe, reality turns out to be much more complicated. According to the interviewees, this "rebranding" strategy has been seriously harmed by the arrest, imprisonment, and severe mistreatment of the feminist political activists who spearheaded the 2016 campaigns against the male guardianship system and asked for social and political reforms.

From 2017 the kingdom relaxed several restrictions on women as part of social reforms, however a number of women's rights advocates were imprisoned on suspicion of endangering Saudi interests. Along with it, there was a crackdown on opposition that led to the arrest of intellectuals and priests (Noora).

For their nonviolent activity, several of these women activists are now being jailed, tried, or subject to travel restrictions. Several women's rights advocates who were imprisoned were subject to torture, sexual assault, and other mistreatment. They were held without contact with their loved ones or attorneys and were maintained incommunicado. Charges against several

women include "promoting women's rights" and "calling for the end of the male guardianship system (Amnesty International 2019).

For instance, Loujain al-Hathloul, a well-known women's activist, received a five-year term for her social and political involvement and was freed in 2021. She still has a five-year travel restriction in place (Maysoon).

قائمة بأسماء معتقلات الرأي في السجون السعودية			
List of women prisoners of conscience in Saudi prisons			
أمل الأسمرى	45	نورة فلاح محمد الشعري	32
Amal al-Asmari		Noorah Falah al-Shehri	
مرام ماجد العنزي	46	هند علي عبدالله القرشي	33
Maram Majed al-Enzi		Hend Ali al-Qorashi	
لجين مجالي البوق	47	هيلة القصير	34
Lojain Majali al-Bouq		Haila al-Qasser	
عائشة المهاجري	48	وفاء محمد الجبني	35
Aesha al-Mahajeri		Wafaa Mohammed al-Yahya	
فوزية غرم الله الزهراني	49	سارة سعد الجبني	36
Fawziya Gharm-Allah al-Zahrani		Sarah Saad al-Jabri	
لينا الشريف	50	أماني الزين	37
Lena al-Sharif		Amani al-Zain	
أسماء السبيعي	51	سارة سعد الجبني	38
Asmaa al-Subai		Sarah Saad al-Jabri	
رينا عبدالعزيز (لدى)	52	أماني الزين	39
Rena AbdulAziz		Amani al-Zain	
ياسمين الغفيلي	53	سكينة الدخيل	40
(Lioness) Yassmin al-Ghufaily		Sukaina al-Dakheel	
نجلد عبد العزيز محمد آل مروان	54	كفاية التاروتي	41
Najla'a Abdulaziz al-Marwan		Kefaya al-Tarouti	
زينب حسن الربيع	55	زينب الشيخ	42
Zainab Hassan al-Rabeea		Zainab al-Sheikh	
سارة العلي	56	حليمة الحويطي	43
Sara al-Ali		Halema al-Howaiti	
سلمى آل شهاب	57	زينب العيثان	44
Salma al-Shehab		Zainab al-Ethan	
زينب صالح محمد السنان	58		
Zainab Saleh Mohammed Al-Sinan			
		سارة الزهراني	17
		Sarah al-Zahrani	
		سميرة غلام	18
		Sameera Ghulam	
		شاذية	19
		Shadea	
		سعدة العوفي	20
		Sadi al-Awfi	
		عمشاء عقيل الشمري	21
		Amsha'a Aqeel al-Shamri	
		غانية الخويطر	22
		Ghalia al-Khowwtr	
		فاطمة الدوسري	23
		Fatima al-Dosari	
		فاطمة علي عطيف	24
		Fatima Ali Aatif	
		مرام العشال	25
		Maram al-Hashal	
		مرزوقة العوفي	26
		Marzoqah al-Awfi	
		مريم حسن عطيف	27
		Maryam Hassan Aatif	
		مشاعل عبدالقادر جلوان	28
		Masha'l Jalwan	
		منى البيالي	29
		Mona al-Byali	
		مي الطلق	30
		May al-Talq	
		نورة السعيد	31
		Noorah al-Saeed	
		إسراء حسن الغمغام	01
		Israa Hassan al-Ghomgham	
		خديجة الحربي	02
		Khadija al-Harbi	
		عايدة علي الغامدي	03
		Aaydah Ali al-Ghamdi	
		فاطمة سعيد آل نصيف	04
		Fatima Saeed al-Nsaif	
		مريم علي آل قيصوم	05
		Mariam Ali al-Qaisom	
		امنة محمد عوض الجعيد	06
		Amna al-Juaid	
		مياء الزهراني	07
		Mayaa al-Zahrani	
		مها الرفيدي	08
		Maha al-Rufaidi	
		أفنان حميد الدليمي	09
		Afnan Hameed al-Dlaimi	
		أمينة الراشد	10
		Ameena al-Rashed	
		آية الجهني	11
		Ayah al-Jahni	
		آية الثبتي	12
		Ayah al-Thubiti	
		خلود الركبي	13
		Khlood al-Rekabi	
		دلال إبراهيم أبا الخيل	14
		Dalal Ibrahim Abu-alkheil	
		سارة ظافر الشعري	15
		Sarah Dhafer al-Shehri	
		سارة الزامل	16
		Sarah al-Zamel	

Picture 6:1. List of Women Prisoners of Consciences in Saudi Prisons. (Source @hw_saudiwomen Twitter account).

It's interesting to note that, despite being a platform for women's activism and emancipation in Saudi Arabia, Twitter served as a platform for their arrests due to their social and political activism. Furthermore, Twitter also served as a platform to support them and inform the national and international public about their struggles in the authoritarian country. There are many Twitter accounts that support these political prisoners, including @hw_saudiwomen Picture 6:1, a dedicated account focused on the concerns of Saudi female inmates and activists.

As part of a massive campaign of domestic and international repression, the Saudi government of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has frequently targeted Twitter users. This has included embedding spies inside the company to obtain private user information about anonymous Twitter accounts that were deemed to be a threat to the royal family.

This triggered international organizations and international publications criticizing the Saudi government and paying close attention to the issue of prisoners of conscience in Saudi Arabia (Rawan).

In November 2022, Manahel al-Otaibi, a 29-year-old artist and licensed fitness instructor who frequently championed female emancipation on her social media platforms, was detained. Otaibi was charged by Saudi authorities with a number of offenses, including using the hashtag #societyisready to demand an end to male guardianship laws. Another Saudi lady, Salma al-Shehab, who was a former PhD candidate at Leeds University, was given a sentence of more than 30 years in prison for having a Twitter account and for following and retweeting activists and dissidents (The Guardian 2023).

Another female activist, Salma al-Shehab, was sentenced last year to 34 years in prison for her activity on Twitter against the male guardianship system and a tweet asking for the freedom to the prisoners of conscience. This, in my opinion, reflects how far the Saudi government can go to undermine any activity that can violate what it considers a threat to society's security (Salwa).

Saudi Arabia has emerged as one of the earliest and most prominent nations with rigorous control over social media and the Internet, whether through banning or long-term penalties and fines to silence dissenting views. Human rights organizations claim the country is conducting arrest operations under a cybercrime statute that seeks to make online government criticism illegal. Particularly in light of the recent unfair legal verdicts against some political prisoners

in the nation, the authorities in the Kingdom have started to adopt a harder stance toward critics and women's rights activists.

The advocates for prisoners of conscience urge the relevant United Nations bodies and mechanisms to handle the threat opposition activists and human rights advocates face in Saudi Arabia more responsibly and to exert all of their effort to persuade the Saudi government to change its arbitrary policies and allow people to freely exercise freedom of expression and speech rights.

6.3 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to critically examine the impact that social media has on young Saudi women's activism in the chosen authoritarian environment. The central theme and related sub-themes emerged from the data analysis, which relate to the implications of social media platforms and their contributions to social and political activism. They were classified into two key themes: The first theme examines how social media can contribute to young women's activism and resistance, and the second theme addresses the restrictions and oppression of the online sphere.

One of the prominent points addressed and highlighted by the respondents is how social media platforms, and Twitter in particular, have given Saudi women great chances to engage in political and social concerns through their facilitation tools and platforms. The range of women's activities in Saudi Arabia has increased as a result of social networking sites, which now provide new avenues for political and social participation.

Additionally, historically marginalized women now have a stronger socio-political voice and impact than what was offered to them through traditional media. Saudi women now have unprecedented access to a high degree of freedom when it comes to discussing their public affairs and social concerns in a setting, they had never imagined possible due to the fundamental shift in informational accessibility triggered by new media platforms. Regardless of their educational backgrounds or social standing, Saudi women can now engage with and discuss concerns impacting their political and social rights with the help of social media.

The data not only credited social media for its positive role in promoting and strengthening women's activism but also shed light on another important fact that runs counter to the first theme and addresses the repression and restrictions placed on internet activism in general and

women's activism in particular by the populace or the Saudi government. Note that many of the restrictions that authoritarian governments have successfully imposed on traditional social activity in the past still apply to online activism attempts. Many Saudi women reported experiencing abuse from their families or even online defamation as a result of their activism and campaigning efforts, despite the fact that the majority of them tweeted behind pseudonyms. That's why it was extremely important to address the two roles of the online sphere: either being a liberation technology or being an oppressive sphere.

7 Chapter Seven: The Contemporary Saudi Feminism Movement's Organizational Structure and Communication Strategy

This chapter has two objectives. The first is to look into and analyze the contemporary feminism movement in Saudi Arabia and its organizational structure. The second objective is to analyze the communication strategy and practices used by Saudi women in their activism and mobilization against the male guardianship system, advocacy for their rights and gender equality, and strengthening female citizenship in Saudi Arabia. By this, I attempt to fill an existing gap in the literature related to the communication strategy used during this campaign in particular and Saudi feminism movements in general.

For the purpose of analyzing the contemporary Saudi feminism movement, its organizational structure and the challenges it faces, I will rely on the literature review as a research method to establish a solid basis for knowledge advancement and help with the creation of theories. This research method may answer research topics with a power that no one study can match by incorporating the conclusions and points of view from several empirical results (Snyder 2019).

As for the purpose of studying and analyzing the communication strategy used by Saudi women, I conducted a qualitative content analysis for 3500 tweets collected from the #anti-male guardianship twitter campaign as explained earlier in sub chapter 4.5.1. The use of different discourses and communication strategies was able to connect diverse topics and issues and has been an important component of the women's movement's success and spread.

The bulk of tweets referred to various problems faced by women's rights groups in Saudi Arabia, which are tied to systems—familial, legal, economic, political, and societal. Hence, this chapter aims to find answers to research question 3, which is: (What type of socio-political contents were used against the male guardianship system, (assertive, persuasive, or educative)? The research led to the identification of three communication strategies that were used by Saudi women: 1) political soft and assertive communication strategy; 2) religious medium and persuasive communication strategy; and 3) social hard and educative communication strategy.

7.1 Analyzing the Contemporary Saudi Feminist Movement

In Saudi Arabia, the law does prohibit the formation of political parties, civil society organizations, or demonstrations. However, the influence that social media platforms had on the 2011 Arab Spring led feminist activists to realize that they, too, could take advantage of social media's ability to affect socio-political change. It provided a visible and engaged forum to draw attention to and oppose Saudi Arabia's repressive social and political situation with women.

The #EndMaleGuardianshipSystem Twitter campaign, which was started in 2016, has garnered the most attention among these women's movements. Under this system, a male relative in Saudi Arabia has more power over a woman's freedoms, rights, and decision-making than she does (Alotaibi and Muldering 2021).

One major component of the Saudi feminist movement is its internal dynamics, which may be regarded as divergent, and there is a difference that exists among the movement's participants. The Saudi feminist movement is made up of several individuals and groups with varying levels of commitment who vary greatly in terms of political complexion, intellectual viewpoints, and socioeconomic place.

Instead of a coherent body of thinking and practices, the Saudi feminist movement is a plural field of opposing perspectives entangled in serious debates over a range of topics. It also reveals that movements, particularly feminist movements, are amalgamations of internally diverse actors functioning within complicated social environments. It also emphasizes women's varied identities, as feminists with secular or Islamist leanings or as individuals who refuse to be identified with the secular/religious divide. However, the existence of such heterogeneity can be a source of controversy and conflict, limiting the construction of collective identities required for activists to take action and maintain commitment (Alsahi 2019).

Current scholarly work on women in the MENA area, and particularly in Saudi Arabia, does not adequately address this internal variety. It tends to homogenize women's profiles and experiences by grouping them together and ignoring the intrinsic diversity of women in these regions. Women in this region, for example, are frequently thought to be ontologically stable, coherent categories whose coherence stems from their immutability or lack of agency (Alotaibi and Muldering 2021).

The significance of using shared struggle frames as discursive strategies to promote a feeling of solidarity among feminist activists was evident. Such frames cover a broad spectrum of concepts that are not restricted to certain topics or locations. In order to address the movement in a broader societal context, such frameworks are sometimes used in conjunction with acknowledgments of intra-movement distinctions and/or allusions to diversity as explicit movement strengths. Actors in movements have frequently crossed important lines of demarcation and reconciled material, cultural, and religious differences (Alsahi 2018).

The Saudi feminist movement cannot be considered in isolation from Saudi society's demographics. In Saudi Arabia, women are today subjected to multiple levels of oppression, which are rooted not just in governmental institutions but also in religion, society, the economy, and other spheres of life. This indicates that a woman still faces other forms of oppression, including limitations placed on her by her family, even if her economic condition is favorable.

Tweets indicate that Saudi women from various social classes and backgrounds have come together to preserve their collective unity, which has sparked a vital sense of shared interests and helped them develop consensus on the hot-button issues at hand.

The example of hashtag feminism makes clear how the increased use of digital media has altered, influenced, and shaped feminism in the twenty-first century by giving rise to changed modes of communication, different kinds of conversations, and new configurations of activism across the globe, both online and offline (Baer 2016: 18).

The Twitter platform has become the most significant political and social venue for a new kind of feminist mobilization in Saudi Arabia, enabling feminists who have few or no institutional resources to advocate for laws and policies. The young Saudi feminists who first gained attention in 2016 have changed their approach to resource mobilization.

The majority of the activists at this camp are female students and young volunteers. In the system, young feminists lack social capital, social networks, and professional credentials. Young feminists strive to sway decision-makers by applying pressure from the outside and generating public opinion through news coverage (Lee and Murdie 2020).

The idea of "people power" that young Saudi women activists adopted is what gives the anti-male guardianship Twitter campaign its vigor. People power is the model employed by social movements (Moyer 1987). The movement's approach includes alerting, educating, informing,

persuading, and mobilizing a disgruntled, passionate, and motivated grassroots populace, in addition to using conventional channels to try to influence power holders.

Public awareness of social and political activists and movements is necessary, and this calls for media assistance, particularly from mainstream outlets that have large audiences and are frequently utilized to foster dialog. In this regard, Couldry and Van Dijck (2015: 3) comments on this essential relationship between the media and feminism movements and states “Contemporary feminism is often criticized for being mainly focused on visibility and connectivity which, as such, cannot lead to much social change. In fact, digital activism is not only expressive; it is performative. It federates individuals and generates action frames leading to engagement. It allows a new infrastructure of association which backs up physical mobilization in the public sphere.”

Additionally, there are no restrictions on editorial material on the web. One of the most notable differences between action in the 1970s and the early 21st century seems to be the vast amount of feminist resources that are available regularly, instantly, and for free online (Li and Li 2017).

7.2 Organizational Structure of Saudi Feminism Movement

Social media platforms are used by the organizational structures of feminist activism to organize and advance the cause of women. It is challenging to integrate institutionalized forms of activism into everyday circumstances because the overall environment for individual feminist activity is so constrained and limited. Therefore, because there aren't any established central organizing structures or organizations for women's rights, feminism action is typically done informally or digitally via technology. Activism takes the shape of online petitions and tweets that circulate requests and claims, for instance (Alotaibi and Muldering 2021).

Through the examination of the tweets, which emphasize the assumption that current communication practices run without formal affiliations, commitments to organizations, or other types of group memberships, it was evident that digital networks were perceived as non-hierarchical means of communication. According to this view, feminist activity is centered on a decentralized framework that best enables individual connections amongst women (Alotaibi and Muldering 2021).

Additionally, the organizational aspects built into social networking platforms were highlighted. They were seen as helpful in facilitating the process of engaging in public discourse and joining networks made up of various people who are loosely connected and may only come into contact with one another through the digital sphere but mobilize toward related goals (Cammaerts 2016).

This finding is consistent with recent theories in political communication that have explored how social media has assumed the organizing agent function that was previously solely associated with formal organizations and the corresponding horizontal communication practices (Castells 2012).

While formal social movement organizations were largely absent from the activism and mobilization against Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system, prominent activists and Twitter users did come to have some influence over the movement's communication and actions. This can be seen as a problem with the Saudi feminist movement because it can be run by four or five people who talk to each other and run the show.

Reflecting on these leadership behaviors, these well-known Twitter users and activists are referred to as "connective leaders," suggesting that connective leadership is becoming more and more important for online political action, even in movements that appear to be leaderless and horizontal. Therefore, connective leadership utilizes the creation and activation of digital networks and streams, as opposed to social movement leadership, which mobilizes organizational resources (Ratta and Valeriani 2014).

Furthermore, the portrayal of the Saudi feminist movement as being without a leader needs to be understood in the broader context of the ongoing individualization of politics, which has called into question the legitimacy of social movements and the general pessimistic theories pertaining to the capabilities and purposes of social media networks. The key takeaway from this is that even in widely dispersed social media political communication practices, leadership roles are still practiced.

Even though formal feminist and women's rights organizations are largely absent in the Saudi context and social networking sites may be able to reduce the influence of movement leaders, it is important to not dismiss new hierarchical structures and leadership styles that might potentially emerge via social networking sites for nothing (Alsahi 2019).

The primary focus of this section is to investigate the perception that traditional modes of organization in social movements have been largely challenged and even replaced by more distributed, fluid connective action and networks capable of self-organization through the use of technology.

The connective leadership within the Saudi feminist movements does not simply imply an underestimation of the increased facility with which individuals and groups are able to organize themselves today. These observations allow us to better understand the dynamics of contemporary social movement organizations in Saudi Arabia and to see that activist leadership and social media activity are not mutually exclusive but can be mutually reinforcing. Social media platforms can help usher in new leadership and organizational practices.

The debates over the ownership and leadership of the campaign were strong, however the analysis of the anti-male guardianship Twitter campaign confirms that the campaign had brought in a new, younger generation as well as other new constituencies, which inevitably led to struggles over the central identity or "face" of the campaign, with a strong backlash against anyone who appeared to be attempting to speak for it (Doaiji 2018).

While such ownership problems have plagued past Saudi women's campaigns, the setting was different this time. Because the campaign corresponded with citizenship themes, activists were more skeptical of individuals claiming leadership.

It was no one's campaign and everyone's campaign; any claims otherwise would not be welcomed. This was evident in how the activists no longer referred to themselves from this point on, and instead spoke of the campaign strictly in terms of being an open, group effort of all Saudi women (Doaiji 2017: 11).

7.3 Challenges of Digital Feminist Activism

For social movements, and feminist movements in particular, digital communication also has limitations and hazards. One of the elements limiting today's digital activism is the socio-technical design of digital platforms, the political regime in which the social movement functions, online sexism, pre-existing socioeconomic disparities, and individualized and affect-based digital action (Şener 2021).

Various variables, such as the commercialization and tabloidization of digital platforms, "filter bubbles" and "echo chambers" created by the algorithms of those platforms, governmental monitoring, and censorship, might limit visibility. Although counter-public spheres and alternative information sources for social movements have proliferated thanks to digital platforms, mainstream politics and popular culture also have a tendency to colonize social media and digital news; political elites and media experts actively manage political and media messages (Schroder 2018).

A difference between a dominating public sphere supported by conventional mainstream media and counter-public spheres supported by social media would be challenging given the commercialization of well-known social media platforms (Uldam & Vestergaard 2015). Instead, one-dimensional, shallow, tabloid, and posttruthful politics are made possible by internet platforms. Social movements may adopt the spectacularization-based logic that underpins digital politics. By emphasizing violence and spectacle, protestors' social media reporting techniques sometimes resemble the mainstream media's harshly criticized reporting habits (Poell and Van Dijck 2015).

The political environment that feminist groups work in should also be taken into account. Feminist activists continue to face stigma and repression from the government, the media, and other social actors in a number of authoritarian regime-ruled nations across the world. The study of digital feminism in Saudi Arabia shows the value of this activism in a country where laws, sociopolitical culture, and a negative general perception of feminism as a threat to society that weakens morals and undermines family cohesion limit the mobilization of women.

Additionally, the global study on the #MeToo hashtag has shown that people participate more in the movement in open political systems where political, civil, and human rights are better protected, and it has come to the conclusion that domestic political structures are an important factor in online activism (Lee and Murdie 2020).

Neoliberal individualism, the rise of popular misogyny in digital media, the digital divide that prevents women from participating online, the reproduction of existing power relations and inequalities among women in cyberspace, and the fact that digital media do not always ensure the building of strong ties among feminist movements and women are some of the factors that may limit online solidarity among women. Digital feminist activism posited in a neoliberal setting has produced commodified private micro-rebellions rather than group resistance.

Online feminist protests are process-based political acts against the neoliberal reduction of politics to the individual instead of liberation and social change. They are looking for a new political paradigm (Baer 2016).

Feminist organizations are now adopting advertising and marketing tactics to manage their appearance and activity on the web since digital collective action is built on a more individualist functioning. While hashtag activism can foster a sense of community and empower victims and survivors, it can also result in revictimization, the reinforcement of dominant discourses like victim blaming, and the imposition of personal responsibility as opposed to structural dynamics. Ideology, hierarchy, and inequality play a significant part in digital activism, and organizational disparities within social movements have an effect on how they use the Internet. Those organizations that are more bureaucratic and hierarchical have the infrastructure to create and sustain online involvement, countering the claim that digital activism results in non-hierarchical groupings (Schradié 2014).

For groups with more members from the working class and few resources, digital activism may become challenging. Additionally, males may employ new kinds of hegemonic masculinity as a result of the usage of digital technologies as weapons of surveillance and dominance to limit and control the social interactions and technology use of women. Common examples of gendered digital violence include online harassment, stalking, taking over the partner's social media accounts, recording and sharing her voice or images without consent, manipulating her images, obtaining and publishing her personal information, forcing sex, revenge porn, defamation, humiliation, hacking, and hate speech that is misogynistic and homophobic. Due to the misogynistic, homophobic, and transphobic hate speech that is swiftly going viral on social media and is reinforced by algorithmic prejudice, gendered digital violence produces toxic environments for women (Banet-Weiser 2018).

Online communication's immediate and temporal nature, the quality of political discourse, and emotive communication may make it more difficult to raise awareness of the feminist cause. A sort of political engagement based on strong emotions and weak affinities rather than common political identities is created when information sharing is accelerated, since it tends to simplify difficult political issues. Twitter tweets are seen as soft emotional constructs that provide users with a sense of belonging beyond reason and reasoning. Due to social media's technical designs and economic models that prioritize personalization, real-timeness, and

virality and favor emotive communication, communities and feelings of "togetherness" are fleeting (Poell and Van Dijck 2015).

Social media, in contrast to face-to-face consciousness-raising organizations, do not ensure the development of a collective identity and may function as a self-help method for users. Other problems that negatively affect digital activism include a lack of conversation time, a lack of attention span, and a lack of preparation time for interviews and production (Fuchs 2018).

7.4 The Anti- Male Guardianship System Campaign Communication Strategies

On a global scale, contemporary feminist movements challenge their restricted local implications and activities, such as street protests. This was made clear by cyberfeminism movements that relied on the online sphere to address, among other things, the unequal representation of women and gender inequality (Martinez 2019). The fourth wave of feminism, according to some academics, emerged from digital networks and platforms, promoting the inclusion of differences and the power matrix of oppression. This emphasis on intersectionality, as a theoretical framework, makes the fourth wave movement more compatible with intersectionality because it aims to politically intervene and enable change without using segregation, silencing, or marginalization (Zimmerman 2017).

Many studies have focused on how mainstream media visualizes (or does not visualize) feminism and other social movements (Cerqueira et al. 2023; Pineda et al. 2020). We notice a certain gap in studies that do not intentionally focus on how women's movements articulate and communicate with their audiences and what strategies and practices they use. As a result, I want to point out the following: (1) the communication strategy that was employed; (2) the material that was produced for online distribution on Twitter; and (3) the mobilization and advocacy methods and actions that contributed significantly to the women's rights movement.

The Cyberspace Constitution promotes democratic communication, which transforms how individuals interact and obtain information. It is important to note that communication and Internet technologies are increasingly acting as direct alternatives to the dominant conventional media tools. Due to the democratic and open nature of the material they spread, this constitutes a real pushback against traditional media. However, mainstream media continues to play a significant role in setting the topic and publicizing activist activity online noteworthy (Lamartine and Cerqueira 2023).

This field of cyberculture also fosters the development of collective actions and contributes to the search and achievement of fundamental changes and true political and social transformations that are not limited by a geographical area, objectives, or actions. In the case of feminism, it enabled greater dissemination and discussion among women, questioning gender inequalities and women's relationship with electronic culture and technology, thus establishing cyberfeminism (Martinez 2019).

In the case of the anti-male guardianship campaign, as will be demonstrated below, there was no set model of communication that was adhered to. The communication was informal and approachable, but because every participant made their own posts independently, it was challenging to standardize the messaging. However, the message is intended to reach men, women, and society at large, as well as political and religious organizations. The postings' content was divided into three categories based on how applicable it was: assertive, persuasive, and educative.

Furthermore, an excellent source for examining the communications strategy was the online discourse created by Saudi women in the anti-male guardianship campaign. The Twitter campaign discourse demonstrates that Saudi women activists and participants used this online platform to inform, persuade and educate for women rights. This discourse can be divided into three categories: political discourse, which was disseminated to inform and emphasize participants' loyalty to the monarchy and the government; religious discourse, which was used to persuade the public to support women activists by elucidating women's rights in Islam; and social discourse, which was produced to educate and engage the Saudi society in a debate about social injustice, gender inequality, and the lack of women's empowerment due to oppressive social norms.

7.4.1 Soft and Assertive Political Communication Strategy

Despite certain limitations, social media platforms have significantly opened the path for women in Saudi Arabia to seek a wider range of communication and influence in terms of bringing up matters linked to public concerns. Their political involvement and participation experiences have been significantly impacted by social media. The fact that women in Saudi Arabia have relatively little access to the public realm and less opportunity to take on political or social roles is presumably the cause of this.

The anti-male Guardianship campaign is likely Saudi Arabia's most prominent recent example of women's activism. The campaign's broader significance is regarded as its resetting of the agenda of Saudi women's rights advocates, primarily the elimination of the guardianship system.

Furthermore, social media platforms have made it possible for Saudi women to participate in political dialogue in a proper environment. But we must keep in mind that laws governing unacceptable content have formed this area. The Saudi Royal Family, and the King in particular, have a significant influence on both the security forces and the legal system in Saudi Arabia (Alsahafi 2019).

As a result, the danger of political repression is now larger and more unexpected due to the state rulers being granted a great deal of authority as well as the absence of justice and security. This encouraged Saudi women to adopt a softer political discourse in their twitter campaign against the male guardianship system.

Unlike previous campaigns, which focused on specific issues such as bureaucratic restrictions in family law, women's education, and women's mobilization, the anti-guardianship campaign redefined the problem as primarily a political, religious, and social one, but to varying degrees. Politically, it focused on strengthening the female citizen-state relationship and seeking government support to remove restrictions on women and to achieve gender equality with no direct threat to the government stability. This was a shift in the focus of Saudi feminist action from the conventional technique of obtaining social recognition to a new softer approach to inform and confirm loyalty to the state, gaining political representation and government support for the movement and women rights. For example, @Arwa336 (24 September 2016) expresses the hope she has in the Saudi state to support women rights and tweeted that:

Our great hope in our country is that it will also abolish discrimination between males and females and contribute to improving the status of women.
املنا في وطننا كبير ان تلغي التمييز ايضا بين الذكر والانثى وتساهم في تحسين وضع المرأة

And @infinity4551 (24 August 2016) expresses the trust she has in the government and tweeted that:

These are laws from the state, and they will be lifted just as they were put in place and many previous decisions will be corrected. هي قوانين من الدولة وراح ترفعها مثل ماوضعتها. وصححت كثير من القرارات السابقة

Despite the fact that calls for gender equality are legitimate within the context of state policy, social actions like protests, calls for accountability, and organizational movements carry a high political risk, particularly when they are perceived as going beyond the pale and will therefore not be covered by mainstream media nor get full support. Thus, the first step in making an activity respectable enough that it must be reported by the mainstream media is to control the political risk (Li & Li 2017).

The most important element in this risk management procedure is topic selection, which also explains why Saudi feminist movements frequently concentrate on "people's livelihood" instead of political or ideological problems like democracy. The former is substantially less politically sensitive and subject to much less control. For instance, @on_fire90 (4 August 2016) tweeted about how she exploited the suffering of the previous generation to ask the government for help improving the position of women in the nation.:

My country, enough of your harsh treatment of my grandmother, my mother, my sister, and me. We are fully qualified, not children or crazy people. وطني يكفي معاملتك القصريه لجدتي وأمي وأختي وأنا نحن كاملين الأهليه لسنا أطفال أو مجانين

And @Astria1111 (24 August 2016) expressed her understanding to the political and social challenges that the Saudi government is facing and tweeted

The Saudi state faces challenges in national transformation and does not need citizens who do not differentiate between "rights" and "prostitution." الدولة السعودية أمامها تحديات "في التحول الوطني و ليست بحاجة لمواطنين لا يفرقوا بين "الحقوق" وبين "الدعارة"

One of the key topics that formed feminist political discourse was participants declaring their Saudi-ness through the anti-male guardianship online campaign. In the context of increasing nationalism ideology, activists and participants had to express and assert their state affiliations and defend themselves against claims of state treachery, feminist ties with foreign organizations, and dealings with foreign media. @kalemat256 (4 August 2016) tweeted that:

My country, even if it wrongs me, is dear to me. The security of our country is more important. بلادي وان جارت علي عزيزة..امن بلادنا اهم

And @Rimondelove (22 September 2016) added that:

Because I am Saudi, and on my National Day, I demand my rights, which are my reward for belonging to this country. May your glory last, my country. لأنني سعودي وفي يوم وطني أطالب بحقوقى التى هيه جزاء من انتمائى لهذه الوطن دام عزك ياوطن

Throughout the online examination of Twitter dialogue and data content analysis, the subject of conformity and allegiance to the state was obviously present. Those involved in the anti-male guardianship Twitter movement had been respectful of the political establishment and had been subtly pleading with the Saudi leadership and government to support Saudi women. Furthermore, Saudi women and well-known campaigners in the country urged governmental decision-makers to advance women's rights and urged Saudi women to take action to ease their suffering, as we can see in the tweet of @rajaa_tuwairqi (7 August 2016):

Her tongue says, "My country, I love you, my religion, and my family." I am a dreamer, ambitious, mother, and creator of ideas and men. But be with me, not against me. لسان حالها يقول يا وطنى انا محبه لك و لدينى وأهلى وحالمه وطموحه وأم وصانعه للفكر وللرجال لكن كن معى لا ضدى

The Saudi government's open-door policy was introduced in 2016, and as a result, the King and other state leaders communicate with the public via their official Twitter accounts. The King was addressed 400 times in tweets by activists using the handle @KingSalman, some of which included images and videos of women being ostracized by male guardians. The government took various steps offline, even though the activists did not receive any responses online (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019). An example of addressing the Saudi King online and via Twitter by activists and participants in the anti-male guardianship campaign is this tweet by @rogaia_hwoiriny (26 August 2016):

Here is the problem, if someone demands one of his rights, people criticize him and accuse him of strange accusations, even though the King, may God protect him, has opened his door to everyone. هنا المشكلة اذا أحد طالب بحق من حقوقه فيه ناس تنتقده ويتهمنونه إتهامات غريبة مع ان الملك حفظه الله فاتح بابه للجميع

Saudi Arabia unveiled its 2030 vision in April 2016, promising to keep fostering the abilities and energy of women while also providing them with the opportunity necessary to secure their futures and meet the needs of their communities. According to that vision, the Kingdom made

several adjustments that were adequate to loosen the limitations placed on women, including letting them engage in politics to a limited extent, encouraging them to find employment, and permitting them to drive.

These changes have so far only partially destroyed the fundamental institution of male guardianship over women. Women who enter care facilities to flee violence still need the consent of one of their male relatives to leave there, and female prisoners cannot leave state facilities without this approval. A woman's marriage still requires the male guardian's approval (Alsahafi 2019).

Personalizing feminist initiatives was a crucial communication practice. Feminists frequently initiate actions that come into direct contact with the government in their individual capacities, such as applying for public information and making suggestions, in order to avoid the inherent political danger of organized movements. The support of professional judgments aids in elucidating the significance of these actions from the viewpoint of the group (Li & Li 2017).

The ministry of justice, education department and courts are notable examples of how Saudi feminists frequently criticize the male guardianship system by expressing the inefficiency of the system and how it is a burden on women and government entities by targeting government agencies that are "close to people's daily lives" and involve fewer taboos in media coverage. Feminists also frequently target government agencies that are in a relatively "disadvantaged position" or are already subject to public pressure as we can see from the @i_mlil (24 September 2016) tweet that criticizes the male guardianship system and how it is an obstacle for the ministry of justice:

The guardianship law is a burden on the Ministry of Justice. Repealing this law will save it thousands of cases annually. قانون الولاية عبء على وزارة العدل باسقاط هذا القانون يوفر
٠ عليها آلاف القضايا سنويا

And @SelimaPax (24 August 2016) also tweeted that:

The courts registered 50 cases over the past two years in which women demanded the removal of guardianship. المحاكم سجلت 50 قضية خلال العامين الماضيين تطالب فيها نساء بنزع الولاية.

7.4.2 Medium and Persuasive Religious Communication Strategy

Islam, which also represents Saudi society's customs, beliefs, and practices, is the main element that determines the Saudi identity. Islam also has a significant impact on how customs, traditions, habits, norms, and practices are defined. Since the country's founding, there has been a close relationship between Saudi monarchs and Islamic leaders, which is the main cause of Islam's impact in every part of Saudi Arabian society.

Saudi Arabia applies the philosophy of the Hanbali School to the interpretation of Islamic literature. Its norms, one of which has been rigidly upheld, are the male 'guardianship' of women. According to the Hanbali School, there are two exceptions to this rule: during a marriage and while traveling. But in the 1980s, the male guardianship system was extended to other establishments (including schools, hospitals, etc.).

As a result, Saudi women are now considered legal minors, viewed as second-class citizens, and subject to unheard-of legal limitations “In fact, the use of the word ‘guardian’ in the campaign’s Arabic language hashtag is misleading. In Islam, the concept of a ‘guardian’ is specifically related to marriage i.e., a guardian plays an essential role in completing a woman’s marriage. Although the word choice was inaccurate, it had been used previously in official documents, in reference to this system for controlling women’s freedoms” (Alotaibi and Muldering 2021:2).

The discourse of correcting women rights in Islam was adapted by many participants in the campaign against the male guardianship system, for example @dndoon411 (16 August 2016) tweets that:

Minds have become weak and affected by intellectual invasion, and they have forgotten that Islam is fair to women and not against them. العقول أصبحت ساقطة ومتأثرة بالغزو الفكري
ونسو ان الاسلام منصف المرأة وليس ضدها

And @ma9999_ (20 September 2016) adds that:

A woman is a full-fledged human being like a man, and she has the right to be responsible for her freedom in the same way that a man is responsible for his freedom.
المرأة إنسان كامل الأهلية مثل الرجل و يحق لها أن تكون مسئولة عن حريتها بمثل ما يكون الرجل مسؤولاً عن
حريته

As was previously said, Saudi society is seen as being conservative and religious, and Saudi Arabia generally protects religion from criticism. Despite their involvement in a fight for social change, people seem driven to respect and uphold religion. Women campaigners demanded that actual Islamic laws be implemented in place of the current laws, which they claimed were based on cultural standards.

They stressed that mahram in the Quran and prophetic hadith have a different meaning from the one emphasized in Saudi Arabia. They contended that the current interpretation came about during the awakening movement of the conservative stronghold and that it has resulted in the derogation of women's rights (Thorsen and Sreedharan 2019:16).

Consequently, a significant case was made by prominent Saudi women activists that the male guardianship system, which denies them their rights, is not founded on the true teachings of Islam, and they started spreading this discourse to question the morality of such an unfair system. Instead, they blamed pre-existing social and power systems and argued that women should be granted more rights in line with the true principles of Islam. @meema_333 (24 September 2016) posted a persuasive Picture (7:1) that has endorsements from influential political figures and religious experts stating that the male guardianship system lacks a religiously valid basis and tweeted that:

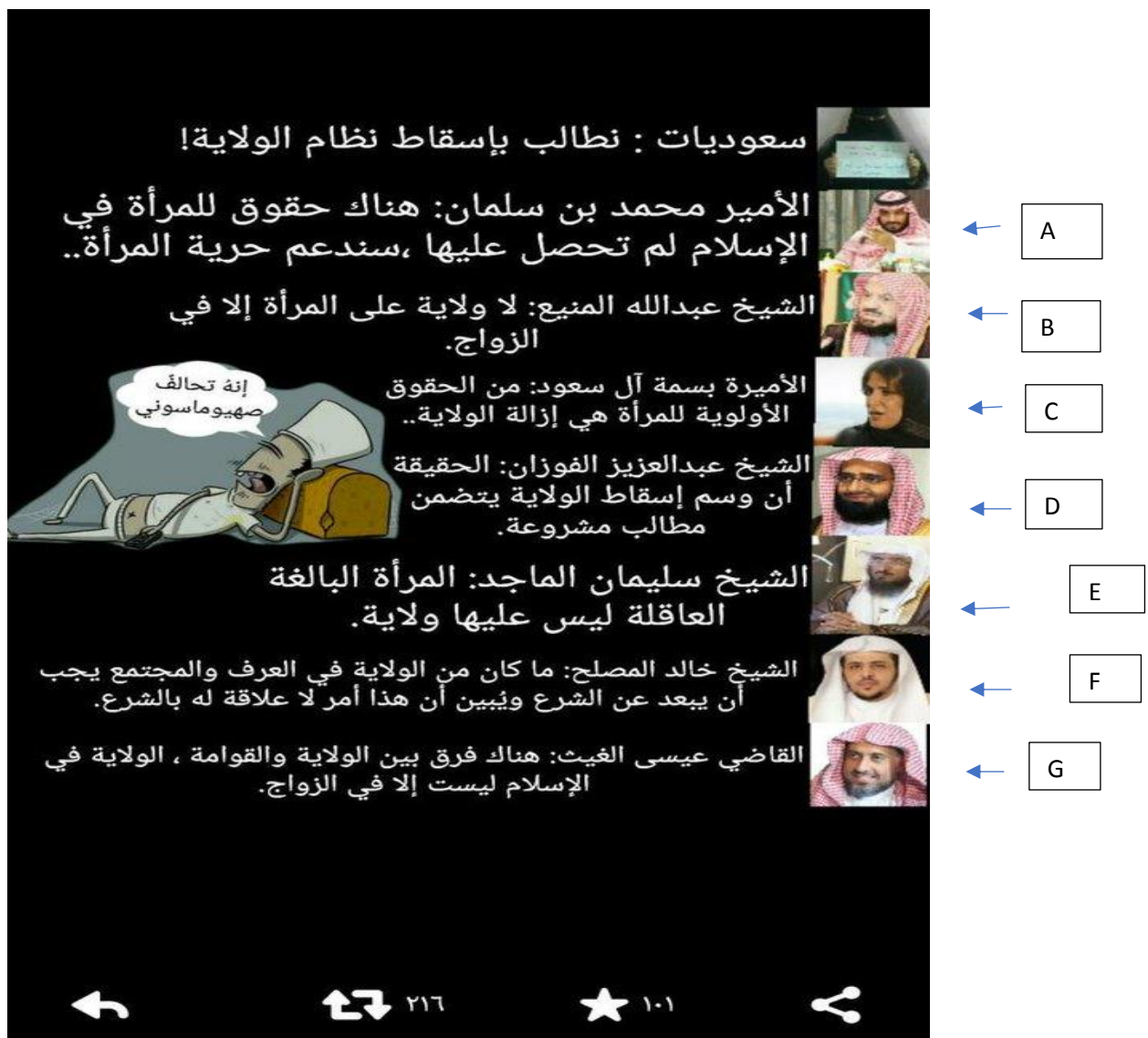
Guardianship is not part of the Sharia, but it is a lie and slander against the law of God.

الولاية ليست من الشرع كذا كذبا وافتراء على شرع الله.

Using Picture (7:1) exemplifies a persuasive communication strategy used by women participants in the male guardianship campaign to prove that political leaders and religious scholars are supporting women activism against the male guardianship system. This argument was clarified by the selected quotes presented below:

- A- Prince Mohamed Bin Salman: There are rights that women have not obtained in Islam. We will support women's freedom.
- B- Religious Scholar Abdullah Al- Manea: There is no guardianship over woman except in marriage.
- C- Princess Basmah Al Saud: One of the priority rights for women in the removal of the guardianship system.

- D- Religious scholar Abdulaziz Al- Fozan: The truth that the hashtag of dropping the male guardianship system includes legitimate demands.
- E- Religious scholar Suliman Al- Majed: A sane adult woman does not have guardianship.
- F- Religious scholar Khalid Al – Mosleh: What was of guardianship is custom and society must be kept away from Sharia law, and it should be made clear that this matter has nothing to do with religion.
- G- Judge Essa Al – Ghaith: Guardianship is Islam is only in marriage.



Picture 7:1. Communication Strategy that is used by Women Participants in the Anti Male Guardianship Campaign. Source (@meema_333 Twitter Account)

Furthermore, Saudi women emphasized that while women in other Muslim nations had more political, social, and personal rights, Saudi Arabia was the only Muslim nation to restrict women's rights by enforcing the Male Guardianship System.

Additionally, Saudi women dispelled myths about Islam endorsing the restrictive guardianship system by sharing the testimonies of Islamic experts. For instance, this was accomplished via tweeting passages on the issue from religious professors “Saudi women argued that the primary interpreters of Islamic law and policymakers in the modern history of Saudi Arabia were mostly male scholars, and their interpretation was partial, biased, and selective” (Ibrahim 2019:16). In this regard @sooso2015 (13 August 2016) for example tweeted that:

The guardianship system contradicts Islamic law and the basic system of government.

نظام الولاية يتعارض مع الشريعة الإسلامية والنظام الأساسي للحكم

And @fhfh69411 (5 August 2016) tweets that:

if we go back to the time of the Companions, they would not have had a guardian over

هم. لو نرجع على عهد الصحابييات ما كان عندهم ولي عليهم.

The anti-male guardianship movement made an effort to validate itself by turning to religious intellectuals and religious authorities to gain support for the movement. On the one hand, their persuasive religious communication strategy included quotes from moderate religious scholars, which lessened the topic's sensitivity within such a conservative society. On the other hand, as impartiality is a fundamental necessity for the success of the movement, it was vital and supportive to incorporate impartial, professional, and external opinions to support women's rights and movements against the male guardianship system.

Moreover, religious scholars were asked to weigh in on social movements and women's issues and concerns, and their comments were included in the online discussion to support women's activism. Relying on supportive religious scholars was a technique used to help avoid being criticized by other religious scholars who oppose the women's movements. Saudi women activists tweeted extensively the following: to stop using religion as an excuse to oppress women, to correct the interpretation of the Islamic guardianship laws, and to make it clear that it is only necessary for children and those with mental disabilities.

@Oma_Mohd (24 September 2016) asserts that women have full legal capacity in Islam, and to support her argument, she posted the below picture (7:2) to logically persuade others with this assertion. This post demonstrates a discussion between a proponent of the male guardianship system and a religious scholar.

س٢: كيف تزعمون أن الولاية ع النساء بدعة جديدة، والقرآن يقول "الرجال قوامون على النساء" !! هذي ابرز دليل ع الولاية !! التي ترفضوها

!ج: ومن قال لك أن الولاية هي القوامة في كتب الفقه -وعد إليها يا أخي- لا ولاية إلا على القاصر والسفيه !! وعد لكتاب الله ستجد ذلك يقول تعالى في آية الذّين من سورة البقرة " فَإِنْ كَانَ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ سَفِيهًا أَوْ ضَعِيفًا أَوْ لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يُمِلَّ هُوَ فَلْيُمِلْ وَلِيُّهُ بِالْعَدْلِ " : فهنا ذكر ربنا من الذي يجب أن يكون عليه ولي السفيه و الضعيف و العاجز ،،، فهؤلاء يحتاجون ولي يقوم على مصالحهم ويحافظ عليها و يكون له سلطة عليهم لنقص أهليتهم، وإحتاسب إن فرط في صيانتهم أما المرأة فهي كاملة الأهلية في الإسلام ولا تحتاج ولي مسئول عنها ، بالله قل لي : هل لو قامت المرأة بجرم ، سيحتاسب وليها !! طبعاً !! لا ،، لماذا؟؟ لأنها كاملة الأهلية ليس عليها ولاية

Q: How do you claim that the guardianship over women is a new innovation. When Qur'an says, "Men are guardians of women" ?. This is the most prominent evidence of the guardianship that you reject.

A: Return to the Book of God, which stated that the one who must have a guardian is the foolish, the weak, and the incapable. These people need a guardian who will look after their interests, protect them, and have authority over them due to their lack of legal capacity. This guardian will be held accountable if he neglects to maintain them. As for the woman, she has full legal capacity in Islam and does not need a guardian responsible for her. By God, tell me: If a woman commits a crime, will her guardian be held accountable? Of course not, why? Because she has full legal capacity and has no guardianship

Picture 7:2. A question by the male guardianship system proponent and answer from a religious scholar. Source (@Oma_Mohd Twitter Account).

Additionally, Saudi women activists were persuading other Saudi women to take part in the current conversation and the campaign's symbolic and nonviolent resistance actions by highlighting and explaining how Islam supports women's equality rights. Commenting on Picture 7:2 @_MaySQ (6 October 2016) states that:

I agreed with him when he said that most problems are caused by women's ignorance of their rights, and that customs are sometimes unjust, and I liked when he said that there is no such thing as guardianship over women in Islam. in Islam. اتفق معه لما قال ان

اغلب المشاكل سببها جهل المرأة بحقوقها، وان الاعراف احيانا ظالمة، واعجبني لما قال مافيه شي اسمه ولاية على المرأة بالاسلام

It is confirmed that Saudi Arabia's male guardianship system is rooted in culture rather than Islam by the way it is implemented there. Women activists and participants have stressed that this system is founded on extremely restrictive and inflexible social standards, and it may take years before women in all spheres of society experience genuine freedom and equal rights in the campaign to abolish this system.

7.4.3 Hard and Educative Social Communication Strategy

Saudi Arabia's culture is characterized as traditional and resistant to change. Tribal systems are heavily reliant on the Saudi social structure. Saudi Arabia is a growing country, and its tribal system has made it difficult to uphold modern democratic values. Tribal values are still present despite efforts to keep them out of the nation-building process in many facets of public life. This illustrates how involvement in sociopolitical concerns in a very conservative community may occasionally result in negative and harsh responses, as we witnessed during the women's activism movement against the male guardianship system. It demonstrates how Saudi tribes have an impact on members' actions and believes “A tribe in Saudi society forms a social and political unit whose members cannot go beyond traditions and customs in a way that could affect its reputation and status” (Alsahafi 2019:230).

Furthermore, some of these tribal customs, such as the male guardianship system norms pertaining to different dimensions of women's lives, are perceived as being extremely rigid and give men the advantage over women in decision-making by giving them more power and dominance. It is crucial to emphasize that tribal traditions in Saudi Arabia have an impact on Saudi society's way of life, gender relations, and rights (Maisel 2014). Accordingly, women activists and participants in the campaign against male guardianship were forced to forcefully challenge these social and tribal traditions, make it clear that they are not founded in political, religious, or human rights legislation, and promote women's rights generally.

One consistent message and theme that emerged from the campaign's tweets was rage and intolerance for the male guardianship system and the repressive societal norms that supported it. Saudi women's rights advocates pushed for the abolition of this oppressive system and resorted to activism to challenge the dominant power of religious scholars and legislators to do

the same. For example, @meme_957 (24 September 2016) and after analyzing the online discussion about the validity of the male guardianship system in Saudi Arabia tweets that:

After the discussions that took place with this hashtag, I discovered that customs, traditions, and social concepts are stronger than religion in society. اكتشفت بعد المناقشات التي صارت بذا الهاشتاق ان العادات والتقاليد والمفهوم الاجتماعي اقوى من الدين بالمجتمع

Saudi women under this rage and intolerance theme urged that such gender discriminatory laws and injustice practices of the male guardianship system to be repealed and that women be treated equally in society as adults and not minors. During their campaign, Saudi women activists employed a variety of inventive and artistic methods to express their opposition to the male guardianship system.

To empower Saudi women, raise their voices, and protect their human dignity, Saudi women activist and participants used a variety of artistic and symbolic performances in original and unique ways. Saudi women activists also used satire as an effective rhetorical device in this campaign. For example, @zoozttox (2 September 2016) tweets that:

Do you believe that God gave women a mind and then made them and the foolish woman under one rule? هل تعتقد ان الله وهب المرأة عقل ثم جعلها هي والسفيهه تحت حكم واحد "الولاية"

Additionally, @lovhum (16 August 2016) created and posted a poster Picture 7:3 depicting a female face covered in black hands as a reference to slavery and limited rights for women, like the right to express herself freely. These posts were widely shared and retweeted by Saudi women in their activism against the male guardianship system. Furthermore, @lovhum posted this and tweeted that:

The time of slaves has ended, and the time of isolation remains in the twenty-first century. انتهى زمن العبيد وبقي زمن الولاية في القرن الواحد والعشرين.



Picture 7:3 Female Face Covered in Black Hands as a Reference to Slavery and Limited Rights for Women. Source (@lovhum Twitter Account)

Furthermore, the blame-laying of current power structures and Saudi Arabia's patriarchal system of male guardianship emerged as another significant theme in the Twitter discourse. Saudi women criticized the use of religion as a defense for such an unjust system and blamed patriarchal institutions, social and tribal conventions, and economic and socioeconomic systems.

To keep society aware of the reasons and challenges facing women and to share the support options that are accessible, sharing informative postings that featured information, facts, and support sources was one of the most commonly utilized communication tactics. Sharing posts on Twitter that highlight the disparities between Saudi Arabian women's status and that of women in other Muslim cultures and the rest of the world is one example. This can be seen in the below tweets of @huoryh (16 August 2016):

How long will Saudi women be the only woman in the world who is deficient and incomplete?
لى متى المراه السعودية هي المراه الوحيدده في العالم ناقصه وغير كامله الاهليه

Twitter gave Saudi women many opportunities to start and participate in conversations on topics that were previously forbidden in traditional media and conservative Saudi culture.

Women activists used a powerful educative discourse strategy of self-expression to end the taboo and break down barriers by sharing their personal struggles with the male guardianship system and by explaining their struggles in order to inspire other women to share their stories and the discrimination they experienced as a result of this system. @Za14800 (2 September 2016) argues Saudi women to take actions and speak up in her tweet and state that:

For every violent woman, for every woman subjected to harassment, take the shortcut and learn the easiest ways of self-defense. Do not wait until protection laws are enacted.
لكل معنفة لكل من تتعرض للتحرش اختصرى الطريق وتعلمي أسرار الطرق في الدفاع عن النفس لا تنتظري إلى أن تسن قوانين الحماية

In regard to this, Mariam Alotaibi, a Saudi activist who was taking part in a Twitter campaign against the male guardianship system, was physically assaulted by her brother in order to cease the campaign, delete her photo, and hide her Twitter identity. Mariam's father filed a complaint against her for parental disobedience, which is illegal in Saudi Arabia, when she reported her brother to the police for domestic abuse. She was detained after being apprehended (Ibrahim 2019).

Mariam aggressively tweeted her story, which was shared to raise awareness of oppressive practices against women in families and society at large, to build support for feminist movements and activism, and to encourage other Saudi women to speak out and share experiences of similar discrimination and oppression. Many testimonies from other women who experienced the discriminatory guardianship system were shared by Saudi women on twitter. For example, @SelimaPax (13 September 2016) tweeted about the struggle of divorced women with the guardianship system:

A divorced woman loses a job in a prestigious hospital because her divorce papers were not completed, and she has no guardian and her brother's signature was not accepted.
سيدة مطلقة تخسر وظيفة في مستشفى مرموق لان اوراق طلاقها لم تكتمل ولا يوجد لها ولي لم يقبل توقيع اخيها

And @J0Tfy (2 September 2016) also shared her personal experience stating that:

I uncovered my face in the car drinking juice, and the result was insults, cursing, and slander from my guardian, my younger brother in the first year of secondary school.
كشفت وجهي في السيارة أشرب عصير وكانت النتيجة سب وشتم وقذف من ولي أمري أخوي الصغير بصف ١ ثانوي

Women who have taken part in the anti-male guardianship campaign and who have been trying to correct the wrong concepts and customs in Saudi society regarding women's rights have encountered harsh reactions, cyberbullying, slander, defamation, and threats from some conservatives who have blind faith and unlimited support for the tribal customs and traditions in Saudi society. This is especially true given that many Saudis view such activism as being harmful to Saudi social customs. These unfavorable reactions have been brought to light by participants who have vehemently defended the movement and themselves on Twitter. For example, @SelimaPax (24 August 2016) tweeted:

Why, when any faction of society demands its rights, is it accused of foreign employment? Is the Saudi unable to claim his rights? لماذا عندما يُطالب اي فصيل من المجتمع بحقوقه يُتهم بالعمالة الخارجية ؟ هل السعودي عاجز عن المطالبة بحقه

And @xr6rr (24 September 2016) tweeted:

They will try to distort this campaign in various ways, but we will not stop except by removing guardianship from every free woman, as important as they try to betray us. سيحاولون تشويه هذه الحملة بشتى الطرق لكن لن نتوقف الا بإسقاط الولاية عن كل امرأه حرّهمها حاولوا تخويننا

The lack of women's organizations capable of working with the government, mobilizing institutional resources, and performing experiments and changes pertaining to women's concerns harms women's rights movements in Saudi Arabia (Alotaibi and Mulderrig 2021). In order to advocate for women's causes and rights, to fight the oppressive traditions and customs towards women in society, and to replace the lack of women's organizations and legislation in Saudi Arabia, women activists and participants in the male guardianship Twitter campaign were frequently turning to tactics that were uncommon for their predecessors, such as online mobilization, calls for accountability from the social and political leadership, and even by stepping up and proposing to the government a list of changes and reforms that need to be taken into consideration and implemented for women's concerns. @AlharbiRanoos (24 September 2016), for instance, detailed this list of reforms in the following tweets:

- 1- We demand equal rights and preparations, and that some women be equal as full, first-class citizens, like working men.
- 2- We demand that we be given the right to education, treatment, work, travel, and marriage without the approval of a guardian.

- 3- We also demand the abolition of the prison law for violent women in protection homes and the introduction of a strict law that protects against violence against women.
- 4- And abolishing the guardian's right to imprison a woman if she reports violence against her.
- 5- Introducing a strict law in which the harasser and aggressor are held accountable with the harshest penalties.
- 6- Giving women the full right to drive cars, just like men, and freedom of movement.

7.5 Conclusion

There are many lessons to be learned from the Saudi women's online activism campaign against the Male Guardianship System for upcoming virtual advocacy and women's empowerment efforts. Saudi women participated in this campaign as part of a continuous struggle for social and political reform in the country's patriarchal culture. They were given more networking opportunities and new communication tools, such as social media platforms, where formerly silenced and repressed women's views could be heard.

According to previous women's activism literature, Saudi women activists used Twitter to encourage other Saudi women to take an active role in society rather than remain passive bystanders. This participation was directed at three different sectors using three different communication strategies, including political institutions to gain their support, religious institutions to strengthen and legitimize the women's movement, and targeting the social oppressive structure to boost women's ability to act together and find solutions to toothier social problems.

In order to execute social and political action against the male guardianship system, Twitter was employed as an efficient substitute for the constrained offline public sphere and the constrained traditional media channels. Twitter provided Saudi women activists with a roadmap for promoting, bringing attention to, and pressing for these constrained social and political rights. To assert, educate, and persuade women and society at large about the repressive situation and the need for change, women used Twitter in an inventive and creative way.

Young activists are adept at building networks, employing unorthodox action repertoires (humor and satire), and creating visual narratives (pictures and films). Digital media are

frequently seen as a new source of empowerment for feminist action and are sometimes credited with greatly aiding its resurgence. Younger feminists are competent at creating novel discourses and utilizing the technological and narrative frameworks of digital media.

Conclusion

I want to underline that, as the analysis of the interviews and the tweets showed, being active on social media can be a very effective and transforming experience, especially for women who live in harsh social, economic, and political environments. Several studies have demonstrated the critical role that social media platforms have played in a number of global political and social issues; however, these online spaces shouldn't be seen as a replacement for traditional offline social and political activism or participation; rather, they should be seen as useful resources for information access, advocacy, and awareness-raising (Lokot 2018 and Tsatsou 2018). A comparison of the effects of social and conventional media on individuals' participation in political issues is complicated and, in fact, irrelevant. In contrast to the conventional one-to-many medium, social media platforms allow users to access information, produce content, broadcast news, engage in political discussions, and much more. As a result, networked users are both information consumers and creators.

The influence that new media technologies can have on women's social and political engagement is demonstrated by the examination of the role that social media has played in women's advocacy against the male guardianship system via Twitter. They are employed as a low-cost means of expediting collaboration and communication and have helped overcome the social and political restrictions imposed on women.

It should be remembered that Saudi Arabia's authoritarian atmosphere and the socio-political ramifications of young women's internet activity are inextricably linked. Consequently, the contextual condition must be taken into account first and foremost in any study that aims to investigate the social and political ramifications for a certain society. The study will probably get the most accurate conclusion if it does this.

An authoritarian setting is best described as an unstable and hostile one; it may make research extremely difficult and necessitate meticulous planning, especially during the fieldwork. This may also help to explain why there are so few empirical contributions to the field of authoritarian situations in the literature. For example, in addition to the language barrier that non-Arab researchers must overcome, identifying and reaching the target sample, participant and researcher safety, accessing the fieldwork, developing trust with research participants, and

following ethical practices are among the most important factors that determine whether the research is successful or not. In order to protect the safety of study participants, it is imperative that researchers grasp the context and any potential ramifications. This will also allow them to gather rich and reliable data (Alsahafi 2019). Twitter has proven to be an incredibly useful tool for me in gathering research data and identifying and recruiting research participants. Regarding this research target sample, Twitter has proved to be an extremely effective tool through which I have been able to collect data and identify and recruit research participants.

One key observation concerning the study's female participants is that they were incredibly enthusiastic about social media's potential and how it may support women's activism in Saudi Arabia. They talked passionately about their involvement in social media platforms and their experiences with online activism. This enormous enthusiasm stems, I think, from the fact that Saudi Arabian women occupy extremely rare official political and social positions that allow them to voice their concerns and thoughts. As a result, the majority of female participants viewed social media platforms as a useful, transparent, and accountable venue that helps them raise awareness of topics that concern them. According to study participants, women in Saudi Arabia have been able to use digital channels for their rights-based campaigning despite the country's strict social structure and patriarchal nature. Within the boundaries of the state and society, women have been expressing themselves in these constricted and constrained settings. Saudi women activists utilized Twitter to empower and encourage other Saudi women to become active members of their society rather than passive objects, in line with earlier works on women's emancipation. Women must maintain their sense of strength and keep pushing for more women's rights and gender equality.

In general, the term "cyberfeminism" has the ability to draw attention to a fresh perspective in feminist theory. As the digital world becomes more and more integrated into our daily lives, we need to begin to examine blog entries and Tumblr postings more closely. It involves not just what is stated online but also how, why, and from whom. Is there an excess of enthusiasm and interest or a lack of intellectual engagement? How can we strike a balance between the two to advance feminism in a new arena where it has the potential to significantly alter society? (Hinsey 2013). In Saudi Arabia, the phenomenon of online feminism offered social and political engagement tools in addition to the kind of consciousness-raising that is now thriving. Enhancing the accessibility of online platforms for women from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, enhancing online participation and including a wider range of topics and issues

in the current discourse, and recognizing and critically engaging with the ways technology is both enhancing and shaping feminism as we progress into a new digital era are all important areas for studies and analysis.

As confirmed by the data analysis, young Saudi women's activism, social and political engagement, and use of social media platforms against the male guardianship system and to demand social and political change have been greatly impacted by political, social, economic, cultural, and authoritative circumstances in Saudi Arabia. The country was able to identify itself as the protector of the original Islamic culture, values, and principles because of its establishment and cooperation with the strict Wahabi school of thought. The public and social spheres of Saudi Arabia were governed and defined by this Wahabi doctrine, which affected every aspect of daily life, from gender mixing restrictions to public dress requirements. In addition, political freedom and involvement in Saudi Arabia are severely restricted under the country's political system, and the creation of political parties, civic groups, and public gatherings is forbidden by law. Saudi women, therefore, turned to social media platforms as a means of promoting their rights.

There is a scholarly consensus that social media platforms allow and enable young Saudi women to overcome these political, religious, and social restrictions imposed on them by the male guardianship system law and to express their social and political views and demands, owing to social media platforms' ability to enhance networks and communication, freedom of expression, mobilization, documentation, and publicizing. However, this study confirms that Saudi women's political and social online activism was affected by an authoritarian, religious, and socially restricted environment and that social media platforms and Twitter in particular had a positive impact on women's political and social activity and participation in the anti-male guardianship campaign.

But this example of online activism calls into question the boundaries of digital advocacy. This Twitter campaign by Saudi women is an example of how social media may be creatively utilized to support conventional modes of campaigning and mobilization rather than to replace them. Social media plays a fascinating role in the growth of social movements and social-political transformation because of this amalgamation of online and offline action. Many additional advocacy actions in Saudi Arabia's streets and public areas began with the internet movement against the guardianship system. Before being taken offline, a number of offline advocacy initiatives were initially conceived, planned, and debated in these virtual forums.

I would like to stress the fact that the internet and other information and communication technologies have significantly changed Saudi women's social and political participation and activism. They have also been crucial to the growth of women's rights movements in Saudi Arabia by empowering women to demand their rights and producing a new generation of politically and technologically literate and tech-savvy female activists. These technologies not only allowed Saudi women to organize a sizable mass online movement without encountering political, religious, or geographic obstacles, but they also allowed them to expand the range of their demands for rights and activities.

On the other hand, this study also shed light on another important fact that runs counter to the first by addressing the challenges and limitations that feminism movements are facing and revealing the repression and restrictions placed on internet activism in general and women's activism in particular by the populace or the Saudi government. Saudi female activists continue to be arrested, detained, and even tortured despite apparent changes. The state of human rights has rapidly gotten worse. Saudi citizens as a whole are subject to an unparalleled crackdown on the right to free speech, which includes harsh jail terms for dissenting remarks made on social media. Saudi officials have declared that all criticism, regardless of how benign, will not be tolerated. For their expression, some are receiving some of the toughest jail sentences we have ever seen in Saudi Arabia; others are receiving death sentences. Salma al-Shehab, a mother of two and PhD candidate, was detained and sentenced to 27 years in prison for her support of women's rights on Twitter. Furthermore, a proposed penal law poses a threat to ingrain these heinous offenses.

To improve Saudi Arabia's standing internationally, the Saudi government is investing billions of dollars in an image restoration program. However, this investment is unable to improve the appalling state of human rights in the country, particularly with regard to women's rights. Due to Saudi Arabia's zero-tolerance attitude toward criticism, 196 and 172 people were put to death in 2022 and 2023, respectively. Another significant setback for women's rights is the government's failure to implement the personal statute law that was promised, which would have addressed gender discrimination in the majority of family life, domestic abuse, and the maintenance of the male guardianship system (Amnesty International 2024).

Finally, based on the research analysis and findings and in accordance with the available literature on feminism movements communication strategies, I would highly suggest that in order to produce its own news, the contemporary feminism movement in Saudi Arabia must

first build its own discourse style, fully account for Saudi Arabia's limited political, religious, and social climate, and fully analyze and understand the limitations of conventional media. More personal anecdotes and viewpoints pertinent to the incident have to be included in the discourse. However, it is strongly advised that the discourse be published in the name of the Saudi Arabian feminism movement, representing both the ideas and opinions that the movement supports. Additionally, I agree with the Lamartine and Cerqueira (2023) study, which argues that feminists and activists writing from a personal perspective avoids the appearance of "organizational action" while still satisfying the needs of the media, which in turn encourages more individuals to engage and triggers a broader societal reaction.

Young Saudi feminists and women's rights advocates should educate themselves on news organizations' production deadlines and guidelines in order to make the appropriate preparations and gain media exposure as soon as feasible. Furthermore, and in accordance with the Li and Li (2017) study, feminism movements should also be aware of time since newsworthy events and themes can act as turning moments.

The presence and reach of the Saudi feminism movement are strengthened by new communication technologies and social media platforms. However, the conventional media, including newspapers and television, continue to play a significant role in shaping the news agenda and are important sources of media content. Online media still lags behind traditional media in terms of number and scope, particularly with the massive investment intentions of the Saudi government in the field of traditional media and culture. The objectives of these investment initiatives are to increase the availability of entertainment alternatives, enhance the quality of media, preserve national values and history, increase economic contribution, enhance Saudi Arabia's reputation both locally and globally, and confront political criticism and women's rights movements in the online sphere.

Therefore, the feminism movement in Saudi Arabia should use conventional media channels to promote its goals, plans, and demands in favor of the feminism cause. Although the activists want to be noticed, they haven't developed any plans to make sure that their posts are seen, read, and spread. In order to achieve this, they need to maintain a consistent editorial output on their social media and adopt the norms of the digital culture (Şener 2021).

Limitations and Future Research

It is crucial to look more closely at the phenomenon of Saudi feminism in general and Saudi online feminism in particular to show how Saudi feminist activism cannot be explained by the popular perception of feminist movements in the West or even among other Arab women. The Saudi feminism movement is seen as a modern movement that is still constrained by society, religion, and state policies on the one hand, or as a movement that is foreign to Saudi society or used as a justification for the country's authoritarian policies on the other. These conclusions and findings are especially significant because Saudi Arabia is a country where traditionalism and a lack of democracy have led to the assumption that feminist movements—particularly those that advocate for women's political and social participation—have no place at all. Thus, there will be a need for more research to evaluate the advancement and success of these movements given the swift social and political changes occurring in Saudi Arabia, the ongoing national and international pressure to advance women's rights, and the ongoing activism of Saudi women. I am certain that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia will still be going through dramatic political, social, and economic changes, which will be an important opportunity for further research.

It's also critical to recognize the research's additional limitations. I shouldn't assume that the anti-male guardianship system movement on the internet is of greater significance or that it just occurred in the virtual public domain while delving into Saudi contemporary feminism. It is important to study the Saudi feminism movement before the era of the internet, considering it an extension of the feminism liberation movement that happened in the seventies and was restricted due to the so-called Islamic awakening, which sought to control the political and social systems in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and whose impact was seen on women's rights up until now. Although many studies focused on Saudi women's activism in the online sphere, with the assistance of new communication technologies, I noticed that there is a scarcity of available studies and information on the previous offline social and political activism of Saudi women, and there is a shortage in understanding how this activism was transformed from the offline sphere to the online sphere.

A significant constraint pertains to any research concerning technology and its correlation with society and activism, particularly in authoritarian settings, given the erratic and swift evolution of circumstances. For instance, social media tools were a game-changer in collective action and activity during the anti-male guardianship campaign, helping to gain certain improvements

to women's rights in Saudi Arabia. But after thoroughly researching the Saudi online scene, I saw that the government had placed severe restrictions on free speech and activism there, which gave rise to the phenomenon known as "prisoners of conscience." As a result, I made every effort to update my research and discussions to take these new limitations on social and political participation into account. As a result, I believe there will be more possibilities for study on these surveillance methods and the government's control over Saudi Arabia's internet space.

The difficulty and struggle I had in choosing and reaching out to the target group for the semi-structured interviews is another drawback of this study. Apart from the serious lack of credible sources related to online activism in this restricted and authoritarian study context, the participants avoided direct discussion and criticism of the government regarding the lack of political and social expression and participation due to the restrictions on freedom of speech and harsh reactions of the government towards social and political activists.

As the thesis has discussed, Saudi women feminists are concerned about their social and political rights, even though the reforms for women's rights under Crown Prince Mohammed Ben Salman have only recently started, particularly with the 2030 Vision Plan. These reforms, which could be described as "economic nationalism," are still limited to the economic involvement of Saudi women in this massive plan. Further research is necessary since the way Saudi women are positioned and engaged in the country has been badly impacted by this shift in national identity.

Doaiji (2016) reports that a number of feminist activists who had previously supported or participated in women's rights movements in Saudi Arabia withdrew their support. They asserted that any feminist movement in the country should adhere to legal requirements, refrain from criticizing the government or working with foreign organizations, and emphasize that the problems facing the feminist movement in Saudi Arabia are social rather than political. Therefore, it's critical to look more closely at feminist activists' present responses and their intention to work with the Saudi government to advance their cause of social and political rights.

In Arab-Muslim nations, religion seems to be integral to every part of people's lives. Its function and degree of impact, however, differ from nation to nation. This is a result of the various sects and types of Islam. As I've already mentioned, Wahhabism, the predominant Islamic paradigm in Saudi Arabia, imposes stringent precepts and views on women's social and

political rights that are not shared by other Islamic traditions, including those in Tunisia. Thus, a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between Islam and feminism movements with regard to their involvement in political and social issues both online and offline will come from multi-country comparative studies of the roles of various Islamic models in the lives of individuals in general and towards women's rights in particular in these countries.

Finally, in terms of new directions for future research, it is important to fill in an existing gap in the literature and to investigate where Saudi women's social and political rights stand now and how they can be achieved; hence, a highly recommended area of study emerges that relates to what might be called the contemporary Saudi feminism movement's organizational structure and its communication strategy.

These drawbacks, as I mentioned before, confirm the necessity of more empirical study in the future. The current study has filled a vacuum in the literature about Saudi Arabia and identifies several topics that warrant more investigation, both within the Saudi context and throughout the Middle East.

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Appendix

Interview Request Letter

التاريخ:

الموضوع: طلب اجراء مقابلة من اجل بحث علمي- رسالة الدكتوراه

الى عزيزتي المشاركة.

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته..... اما بعد,

ارغب اولاً بالتعريف عن نفسي. اسمي هو رولا يوسف و انا طالبة دكتوراه في تخصص العلوم الانسانية في جامعة لشبونة الكاثوليكية في لشبونة, البرتغال. في الوقت الحالي انا اقوم ببحث عنوانه " النشاط عبر الانترنت. انعكاسات وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي على النشاط الاجتماعي و السياسي بين الشباب في المملكة العربية السعودية". تتركز هذه الدراسة حول الحملة ضد نظام الولاية و التي شهدناها على تويتر. من خلال بحثي تبين لي انك قد شاركتي في هذه الحملة و عليه ارغب بدعوتك لقبول طلبي من اجل القيام بمقابلة مع حضرتك بهذا الخصوص و الذي سيكون له تأثير في مسار دراستي.

يرجى الاطلاع ادناه على المزيد من المعلومات حول الدراسة و اعدادت المقابلة.

الموضوع: البحث في نشاط الشابة السعودية الاجتماعي و السياسي عبر مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي و خاصة تويتر.

مجال الدراسة: الحملة ضد نظام الولاية عبر تويتر.

الترتيبات: هذه المقابلة ستكون عبر الانترنت في التاريخ و الوقت المناسب للمشاركة.

مدة المقابلة: ستستغرق المقابلة حوالي 45 دقيقة و سيتم تسجيلها لاعراض تحليل المعلومات.

الخصوصية و اخفاء الهوية: سيكون التسجيل متاحاً فقط للقائم باجراء المقابلة و المشرف المباشر لرسالة الدكتوراه في جامعة لشبونة الكاثوليكية و لن يتم استخدام المعلومات باي حال من الاحوال بخلاف تحليل هذا البحث في الاطروحة الناتجة. سيتم اخفاء هويتك بشكل افتراضي مالم تذكرني على وجه التحديد ان هذا ليس ضرورياً. في هذه الحالة قد يطلب الاذن في مرحلة لاحقة لاستخدام واحد او اكثر من الاقتباسات المباشرة.

ساكون شاكراً جداً في حال تعاونكم في هذا الموضوع.

مع جزيل الشكر

Table 1. Philosophical Assumptions of the Major Paradigms that may Inform Social Inquiry

	Positivist (Empiricist)	PostPositivist (Critical Realist)	Constructivist (Interpretivist)	Transformative (Formerly Critical Theory)	Pragmatic	Indigenous
Ontology	Realist; one knowable reality	Critical realist; one reality, but only probabilistically knowable	Relativist; multiple, socially constructed realities	Historical/social realism; multiple, socially and historically shaped realities	Realist; unique individual interpretations of the one reality	Relativist, relational; multiple, socially constructed realities, mutual reality based on multitude of relationships
Epistemology	Objectivist, empirical; research findings are true	Objectivist, empirical; findings are probably true	Subjectivist, experiential; findings are created; idiographic, that is, contextual	Intersubjective, experiential; value-mediated findings, knowledge is socially and historically situated; dialectical understanding	Dependent on particular study	Intersubjective; experiential, knowledge is relational
Axiology	Values excluded; influence denied	Values excluded; influence denied	Values included; formative	Values included; formative, research a means for social emancipation; solidarity with the oppressed	Dependent on context/particular study	Values included; formative, research guided by relational accountability that promotes respectful representation and reciprocity
Methodology	Experimental/ manipulative; correlational; quantitative, verification of hypotheses; decontextualized	Modified experimental/ manipulative; falsification of hypotheses; decontextualized	Hermeneutical/ dialectical; qualitative, contextualized	Dialogic/dialectical; qualitative or mixed methods; informed by theories (e.g., feminist theories, postcolonial discourse), political; contextual, participatory	Approaches matched to questions and purposes of research; predominantly mixed methods	Participatory, liberatory, transformative; positioned in Indigenous knowledge systems

Source: Adapted from Chilisa (2012), Guba and Lincoln (2005), Mertens (2015), and Wilson (2008), with Botswana scholar Bagele Chilisa being the only one to include the Indigenous research paradigm in her list of paradigms.

Collected Tweets

1.	يحق للمرأة بمفردها عمل وكالة لدى كتابة العدل بالبصمة دون وجود معترف أو ولي
2.	حفظت الشريعة والنظام حق المرأة في الإرث وعدم جواز حرمانها منه
3.	كل القوانين العرفية قابلة للتغيير والتبديل مثل قانون الولاية على المرأة الذي لا يصح شرعاً إلا في أوضاع معينة
4.	بحكم الولاية الظالمة شوهوا قلوب النساء ولو كانت ولاية حقة لغمرها النور والضياء وانعكس ذلك على المجتمع
5.	عضلها والدها ولم ينفق عليها طفلة ثم طلب تطليقها أو تثبت ان زوجها ذو نسب وليس فقح تبا
6.	ملتقى_قضايا_الأحوال_الشخصية #احكام_الولاية من أبرز المحاور التي سيتم طرحها في # المرأة#قضاء #ولاية #بجدة
7.	حلال عليهم حرام على شعوبهم منافقين . الأميرالسعودي الوليدمع بنته السافرةيتجول في اوربا
8.	قانون الولي يعكس خصوصية سلوكية سعودية تدعمها الأنظمة وهي التعامل مع النساء من منطلق أنهن مدعاة للشر والفساد:
9.	هذا حق انساني ومدني للمرأة وليس نظام فزعات واسترحام
10.	الولاية الشرعية ليست سلطه بل حماية وخدمة ونفقة وتعامل بالحسنى
11.	نحن لسنا بنو ليبرال استجيبوا لمطالبنا بحت حانجرنا بعضهم يستخدم الولاية للخضوع والذل وأنا قادره على ولايةنفسى
12.	شاهدو من يتكلم عن قضايا المرأة بالسعوديه !! خذو لفه على حساباتهم تجدون العجب العجيب
13.	الولايةعلى #المرأة فقط الزواج للبكر والقوامخدمتها
14.	الولاية شئ شكلي لوعدنا للواقع الاجتماعي النساء مسؤولات عن أنفسهن وعن أسرهن في جميع النواحي
15.	لماذا اختلفنا حول مفهوم الولاية ؟
16.	كم فيه "مطلقه و ارملة " حياتها واقفه ع مزاج ذكر ابن كلب يمشيها ع كيفه
17.	لن نتوقف وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية
18.	بعض الذكور مريض يظن المرأة من (أملاكه) يتصرف بها كيف يشاء ولا يخاف الله فيها! وبعض النساء هدفها (الفلة)!
19.	كل شئ معادي للمرأة يلصقونه بالدين حتى الضرب وهو الضرب يلصقونه بالدين
20.	وعدم إجبارها على الرجوع لمعنفها ووضع قوانين صارمة لحمايتها ومعاقبة من يعتدي عليها.
21.	لا بد من وجود جهة تلجأ لها المعنفات ولا بد من محاكمة الولي الظالم هذا شرع الله!
22.	حمى الله المملكة من شر الفتن
23.	لنساء الواعيات تريد ان تكون مستقله لاتكون مسئوله عن اهل و قبيله مثل الرجل تصرفاتها تمثلها
24.	وابصم مليون بالميه الوحده وده تطلع وتسافر عادي حقك بس جد ليش مايكون هدفك تبيني هويتك تتحدثي عن نفسك واحلامك
25.	متى ينتهي ذا الهاشتاق وينحل الامر بصالح الكل
26.	من يد الرجل السعودي اسم السعودي يتكرر في كل محافل ولكن بصفة السلب
27.	وانا راشده وبالغه وكامله الاهليه - نطالب- بإسقاط الولاية
28.	سيادة الرجل على المرأة و تسلطه عليها ليس من الدين بشيء
29.	احنا السعوديات نطلب من الله ان يحفظ ولاه أمرنا ويسدد خطاهم
30.	للاسف هذا نتاج سنوات من التغريب للمجتمع المسلم الولاية حق للمرأة على الرجل بنص شرعي
31.	شرع الله القوامة على المرأة .. تكليفاً لا استعباداً
32.	لماذا سرد المعاناة والمبررات لإسقاط الولاية.. ملكة وسعيدة ولاتعاني ومكتفية ومع ذلك لن تتنازل عن حق استقلاليتها

33.	اكثر من يتعرض للظلم في كل المجتمعات الطفل و المرأة جاء الإسلام يحمي حقوقهم ويكلف شخص برعايتها وحراسة جوانبها	
34.	ن نطالب باسقاط شيء أمر الله به ولكن يجب إيجاد دور ومراكز لرعاية المرأة المعنفة وتأهيلها للإعتماد على نفسها	
35.	احنا ما حرمننا عليكم الحلال بأي حق تسرقولنا حقوقنا الشرعية؟	
36.	إن كنا مُنعمين بأهلنا فليس كُل النساء كذلك وهل يجب ان يكون الظلم على كل النساء كي نقف ضده؟	منطق اعوج
37.	الجهل والانانية اذا اجتمعت في شخص كارثة اذا انتي مرتاحه بحياتك فكري بغيرك ي عديمة الاحساس	
38.	http://3ym.co/676060 تأييد متصاعد لحملة إسقاط ولاية الرجال على النساء	
39.	هذا يدل دلالة قاطعة على أن النظام السعودي يقوم بالتمييز العنصري المتحيز ضد المرأة	
40.	غبت عن تويتر فترة طويلة ورجعت ومازالت المرأة موضوع من لا موضوع له	
41.	<u>نهى الصحابي أبو طلحة زوجته الحامل أم سليم عن الجهاد، فخصرته، و الرسول (ص) رفض أن يتأمر عليها. ذلك</u>	
42.	<u>للرجال مسؤوليات تجاه النساء لا الحق بالتأمر عليهن أنت مخطئ في معنى القوامة-صحيح البخاري كتاب ممتاز</u>	
43.	<u>#الإسلام حرر المرأة</u>	
44.	يعني المرأة ما تحب زوجها بدون ما يستعبدوها و يتحكم بها؟ 0_0	
45.	معليش، بس انت ما تفهم الفرق بين المكروه و الحرام؟ عمرك سمعت انه في على الإسلام لا اكراه في الدين؟ يا لطيف يا ربي 0_0	
46.	اللي ما يقدر يشتغل و يعيش من عرق جبين زوجته أو أمه أو بنته ليش يسير ولي أمرها اذن؟	
47.	كان في علماء نساء في أيام زمان لأن الرجال ما يفهموا في مواضيع النساء. خاف الله و لا تحرم الحلال - نعم المكروه حلال	
48.	ما هو الإسلام الرسول (ص) ما عمره أقر بإكراه أي امرأة في أي موضوع و الولاية يعطي رجال السعودية الحق لإكراه النساء	
49.	المنهي عنه ليس حرام. اكراه النساء و سرق حقوقهن ليس حق ولا حلال. و لا يجوز اكراه النساء و لا الرجال في دينهم ولا دنياهم	
50.	<u>اذن لو واحدة زوجها يضربها كأنها غنمة كل ما تفكر حتى انها تخرج من البيت، مين يدافع عنها؟ اى قاضي هيعرف مشكلتها؟ #ظلم</u>	
51.	يعني مفروض نحت ثقتنا في الرجال انه ما يظلم و لا يغلب بس ما نقدر نثق في النساء؟ اللي ولدتك مين؟ اللي ربتك مين؟	
52.	سرق والدها مال والدتها وحاول أخوها أغتصابها	
53.	يجب إحترام ما أمر به الشرع وليس لإحدٍ ألعبث فيه أما العادات والتقاليد التي ظلمت المرأة فهذه ليست من الدين.	
54.	بدل محاربة المرأة ومنعها من الاختلاط كان الاولى ان يغضوا ابصارهم ام انهم يحاربون نساءهم ويسارعون للتمتع بالنساء في اوربا	
55.	رماني بالكفر والفساد على رغم من أني لما أتت بشئ الا من آيات الله وحتى أني حظيتهم له مع كلامي، تقدرتون تدشون حسابي وتشوفون	
56.	وهو لم يأتي بحقيقة واحدة عن الدين السلامي؟ الا والقوامة الي فضل الله عليها الرجال على الناس فقط بالانفاق عليهن	
57.	احوال النساء ليست متساوية مع أولياء الأمور فمنهن من تعيش في سعادته وتفاهم ومنهن من لها وضع اخر تعتقدان الكل مثل حالها	
58.	ولاية السفية كولاية الفقية * ساقطة	
59.	اللي يتفلسف بالولاية ويقول ابوك رباك وله حق عليك تراه رباك انت بعد يا ذكر يعني ولايئة تجب عليك مثل البنات	

59.	مسقطات لقانون الولاية الذكوريه لانه مو مكتوب بالقران او غيره هاذ شي من عادات وتقاليد باليا ناتجه
60.	الله يعطيك العافيه اللي سوا الهاشتاق وأطالب بقوة، لان صار ماعاد في خوف من الله، الهم كل الهم كلام الناس وبس.
61.	يحق للمرأة بمفردها عمل وكالة لدى كتابة العدل بالبصمة دون وجود معترف أو ولي #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
62.	الولاية تحتاج ابديت
63.	المشكلة بمن يفهم أن الولاية معناها التسلط وإصدار الأوامر والتشطيع على الشراكة فالراي والعمل باختصارمعناهاحماية
64.	في بعض القوانين الموضوعه بشرياً شرطت الولاية وهي بريئة منها شرعاً .. فلا تخلطوا ..
65.	النساء ايضاً كالشعوب ، إذا هن أردن الحياة فلا بد أن يستجيب القدر
66.	لعن الله محمد بن عبدالوهاب
67.	فين قناة #العربية و #الحدث ؟! ليش ما يتحدثون عن هاشتاغ #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية ؟! في برامجهم
68.	هذه ولاية يا ناس فهمتواش معنى ولاية يعني ولي امر يا طالبة وهل جميع الاولياء اوليا
69.	نعم ياليت تسقط حرام اللي يصير فينا
70.	يوجد هنا كمية جهل في الرجال والنساء غير طبيعية إذا لم نستطع أن نفهم بعض فكيف نطالب غيرنا أن يفهمونا
71.	يقول يحددون موقعكم انا لا اخاف لني لم اتناول على وطني ومليكي بل اعشقهم ولكن اطالب اسقط ولاية الرجل عن المراءه
72.	لن_ننسى قصة #لن_ننسى حنان الشهري التي انتحرت بسبب ولاية اخوها الظالم و ايضا #ام شهد مستمرين حتى تصل اصواتنا
73.	السعوديات يطالبن باسقاط نظام الولاية حيث وصل النقاش حول هذا الموضوع في تويتر الى اكثر من 70 الف تغريده
74.	يكفي اعترافك أن الولاية عالمرأة فكر وعرف سعودي فقط "القدح في الفكر والعرف السعودي" وليس من شرع الله
75.	!رسالة معنفة أبيها حاولت الانتحار مرتين شاهد "اللي بيكون نذل يكون مع العنف ضد المرأة"
76.	علشان ما تنذل المرأة خصوصا بمثل هالمواضيع و تكون كورة تنس بين شخصين
77.	عزيزتي الدرة المكنونة الملكة الحلاوة البقلاوة وش دخل احترامك لأهلك بقانون الولاية ؟ تعرفي ان فيه امهات ابنائهم هم أولياء امورهم ؟
78.	هناك مكان في الجحيم مخصص للنساء اللواتي لا يساعدن النساء الأخريات.
79.	كل هذه المشاكل في الكاريكاتير حلها في #قيادة_المرأة_للسيارة و #إسقاط_الولاية
80.	لا تقنين لا استثناءات كل المواطنات لهن هذا الحق لا تفرقة على أسس تختارونها انتم
81.	بأي حق حياتك تكون تحت رحمة ولي أمر ؟
82.	يقال ان الاحساس بالظلم اقوى من الظلم ذاته ..
83.	سخيف وغبي جداً من يظن ان المرأة السعودية تريد اسقاط الولاية لتتمرد وتنحرف
84.	ذا ابوك او اخوك او زوجك يعني ولي امرك كويس بتعيشين واذا نذل راحتي فيها مشكله صراحه الله يعين البنات المعنفات
85.	<u>وجد #مسابقة على الشئانم والإقصاء في هاشتاغ</u>
86.	نطالب ويقوه
87.	امرأة راشدة عاقلة تربي الأجيال تصير كأنها جارية بصك ملكية يتولاها الجميع ولا تتولى نفسها
88.	لا تنشغلوا بالرد على الذكور و الجواري ، طالبوا من يملك القرار من بيده القانون أما القطيع ما هو إلا قطيع .
89.	كل شخص يرى ان الولاية هي حماية للمرأة لا لإستعبادها يدخل حسابي ويقرى مشكلتي
90.	التطبيق يجب ان يكون قانوني وليس عشوائي تراعى فيه الحقوق والمصلحة

91.	الرضوخ للتهميش والاقصاء تنتج ضحية يكون جلاد نفسه وشريك المستبد في استبداده ومحاربة وجوده
92.	مهما ذهبنا اي دائرة حكوميه يحتاجون اذن ولي امر الى متى و حتى ابسط اشياء يريدون اذن ولي امر اين المساواة ؟.
93.	إذا ظننت أن الفتاة مُجرد جسم، فتأكد أن رجولتك مجرد اسم .
94.	طبعانا مع حقوق المرأة ومؤيده بقوه بس اللي يشوف البنات ف هذا التاغ بيظن ان اهلهم قياديين ف عصابات اجراميه
95.	الانثي ان جت عند رجال عزها واکرمها واعطاها حقوقها بكته عند فقده دهرها واذا جت بيد واطي دني فهذا حاله وش ترتجي منه
96.	اسقاطها مخالفه وفرضها ظلم الحل تقنينها بشكل يتوافق مع العصر ومتطلباته ويخفف من تسلط بعض اشباه الرجال
97.	لضمان الاجتماعي لو جايه تطلع بس رقم سري ومعك بطاقه الاحوال شخصيه قالو جيبي معرف رجال طيب لهدرجه المرأة ولاشي
98.	وترجع البيت بعد مشوار مخيس وخساير وتذل نفسها ولي الامر اذ الابو شايب يرفض لانه مريض ومايتحمل مشاوير والاخ يذل
99.	ولاية الرجل على المرأة ولاية رعاية وصيانة ، وحماية وإكرام ، ولاية توجيه وتسيير ، لا ولاية استبداد وتسلط
100.	الله لا يولينا من لا يخاف الله فينا ولا يرحمنا أي ولاية لحرمة بهالعمر؟
101.	هاشتاق رهيب أول مرة أشوف البنات يتكلموا في موضوع جدآ مهم بالنسبة لهم
102.	أنتِ الحرية بعينها ، أنتِ القوة بأرآدتها ، أنتِ لا تحتاج من يكون وليّ عليك ، فت أنتِ فوق كل قوانينهم العقيمه
103.	المسأله كرامة وحرية اختيار بان كيف ارضى ان دائما احتاج باذن احدا! وان قرارات حياتي دائما رهن يد الغير
104.	https://twitter.com/jojita92/status/761185236088651776/photo/1
105.	قمة التحشيش حين تشتكي المعنفه من زوجها لانستطيع رفع الشكوى الابموافقة الولي المعنف!!
106.	https://twitter.com/_N2UP/status/774784739207180288/photo/1
107.	والله انكم فاضين مع ذا الهاشتاق المشكله الاغلب اذا مو الكل كمان خلاص صار مخلي بناته معتمدين على نفسهم
108.	معًا نحن متحدون
109.	ما زلنا نقاتل
110.	لا تتوقف، لا تستسلم.. سنقاتل حتى يمنحونا حريتنا
111.	كل صوت مطلوب
112.	ليس كل الآباء والإخوة داعمين ومهتمين ومحبين. معاناة كثيرة.
113.	ومن قال أننا ماعدنا وطنية ؟!!
114.	فكرة ان هذه الأشكال ولية على نساء مخيفة جدآ، اصحو يامؤيدي الولاية و افتحو https://twitter.com/KittyGG/status/761170752439742464/photo/1 عيونكم!!
115.	هذه المنظمة ودونكم حسابها هل تحدثت عن المرأة الأفغانية أو البورمية المسلمة أخبروني https://twitter.com/alplmzaq/status/761363123550978050/photo/1
116.	https://twitter.com/Saralsuaib/status/761353730155569152/photo/1
117.	مهما كنت اعيش مترقه ف انا اريد ان اتخذ قراراتتي المصيرية بنفسي لا يوجد من يتحكم بي!
118.	أينَ وليها وحصنها الحصين الذي يتغنون بخوارقه .. دعونا نري !.
119.	راح زمن التاج و الحلاوة المغلفة نحن كنساء سعوديات نقف و نطالب بحقوقنا و بدون خوف
120.	لا يقبله لا عقل ولا منطق ولا الاسلام يقبله https://twitter.com/RozPerfect/status/761224277727281153/photo/1 .
121.	ماهو دور المحرم في رياضة المرأة https://twitter.com/Belmiro_Il/status/761383656648761344/photo/1 ؟؟؟

122.	انا ولية نفسي انا لست بقاصر ، واسقاط الولاية مطلب شعبي https://twitter.com/_xtvrr/status/761385241198137344/photo/1
123.	هذا #الولي ي دعة العبودية يكبر شوي ويحس ان الرجل سياره وتفحيط و عبودية وعقوق https://twitter.com/u_turnsa/status/761334762116177921/photo/1
124.	لاتكذبي الناس فرع بنك عن فرع يفرق جامعة العلوم طالبة موافقة ولي الامر ف بلاش هذه الحركات https://twitter.com/_mlllAKh/status/761414574323167232/photo/2
125.	المرأه السعوديه وقت الواجبات تعامل كبالغه مكلفه وقت الحقوق تعامل كقاصر سفيهه ليس لها كيان اي تناقض هذا؟
126.	هذول اولياء على نساء ربما اكثر احتراماً منهم، اعتقد هم اللي يحتاجون ولي
127.	ليست إرثك أو ملكك أيها الذكر لا يحق لك أن تتلاعب بحياتها و تقرر عنها شيء.
128.	ياليث عندنا رجال بمعنى الرجولة مثلك ما كان صارت سيرتنا امام كل العالم سخرية وشفقة https://twitter.com/alkazraj/status/760889657064382464
129.	تلو إنك تكونين غير مُقيّدة ، حُرّة ، ما تحسّين بنقص .
130.	نساء ناضجات عاقلات لا يعقل ان يكون علينا ولي فقط لانه خُلق ذكر!
131.	بعيداً عن الاضطهاد كله .. هذا حق لاي انسان ناضج
132.	ابغى اكون حره بمصري . انا اقرر ما اريد .لايحكمني ولي
133.	الولاية ظلم وعبوديه للمرأة يجب ان تنتهي
134.	الاكيد الآن ان السعودي مستعد يجب لك ادله حتى من الانجيل عشان يثبت ان ولايته عليك حق له -البعض.
135.	بعدين المعارضات الحين ي العنزات صارو الرجال يدورون المدرسه الي تصرف على نفسها واولادها خلونا نكون صريحين
136.	المعارضين ب اسم الدين لا تكذبو وتفسرو الايات ع مزاجكم فرقو بين الولاية والقوامه روحو تثقفو بدينكم
137.	عشان كذا اقولكم نتبع طريقة الارقام لكل تويته عشان نوصل تروند
138.	وطني يكفي معاملتك القصريه لجدتي وامي واختي وأنا نحن كاملين الأهليه لسنا أطفال أو مجانيين
139.	حتى لو كان ولي امري غير ظالم هذا لايعني ان اتنازل عن حقي وعن اتخاذ قراراتي بنفسي
140.	ابسط حقوقكم
141.	هي استعباد وليست ولاية!
142.	أفرح من قلبي اذا شفت تفاعل ايجابي هنا الحمدلله في وعي كبير في البنات والشباب
143.	انا انسانه اشوف الولاية اهانه ولا احد يرضاها لنفسه يكون شخص ولي عليك بس عشان جنسه
144.	إذا أردتَ أن تتحكم في جاهل، عليك أن تغلف كل باطل بغلاف ديني " ابن رشد
145.	قبل ان تسقط مصداقيتكم وتشريعاتكم وقبلها انسانيتكم
146.	طول ليله بمنشن البنات يقذف ويشتم يكمل رجولته الناقصة على حساب نساء وطنه
147.	بلادي وان جارت علي عزيزة..امن بلادنا اهم
148.	اذا المرأة ماتختار في دراستها وعملها وزواجها وسفرها وش بقى من الحياة ؟
149.	مهما كبرت المرأة السعوديه يضل التعامل معها كطفله ولايثق فيها ..
150.	ياشعب الغباء اسقاط الولاية تعني اعتباري انسان مستقل اعرف ادبراموري بنفسي واقدر مصيري بنفسي من تحتاج ولي توكل
151.	وتسقط الولاية واللي خشمه يحكه يتفضل يستلم البلوك https://twitter.com/_D__1/status/761302740693839872/photo/2
152.	ان قلت اني غيرسعوديه او متجنسه او عميلة او اي وصف ترغب به هذالن يجعلني أراجع بل يزيد إصراري في اخذ حقي كامل

153.	حتى لو كنتِ تتمتعين بحرية التصرف الان دافعي عن حقوق بني جنسك وربما بناتك بالمستقبل تكن إحداهن معنفه ومتضرره
154.	كما أنه قد يكون هذا الولي مريضاً نفسياً أو مدمناً وتكون تلك المرأة المسلوقة الإرادة ضحية ذلك الظالم
155.	وبمساعدة السلطة حسب رؤية من يطرح هذه الفكرة ويُشدد عليها ويريد إسباغ كونها شرعا وليس عادات
156.	هناك الكثير من الحالات الظالمة تقع على النساء بسبب تعنت الأب الفاسد أو الأخ الفاسد الذي قد يبتز حتى المرأة بها، https://twitter.com/Nourani8/status/761255874430136320/photo/1
157.	فعلاً أصناف الذكور هي من لا تعرف طريقة!! للتعافهم ، قتلجاً للضرب !!
158.	شروط مشاركة السعوديات في ريو2016 .. "الزي الشرعي" و "المحرم"
159.	ر لها محرم تيتي تيتي زي ما رحتي جيتي
160.	نحن كوننا سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية لا نعني تهमيش الاب او الاخ او الزوج
161.	انا اذا طلع سعودي كنسلت وطلبت سيارة ثانية لن ادعم السعوديين وهم اللي منعونا من القيادة
162.	مجتمعنا لين يستقيم امره ونصفه لا زال يلحق بأنه قاصر ضعيف ناقص عقل وتابع
163.	هذي ومثيلاتها منعتهن الولاية من النجاح؟ والا بس عذر للانحلال؟ إنشغلن بما ينفع المجتمع
164.	الولاية تسقط إذا أثبت تسبب الولي بالضرر سمعت بكذا
165.	انا معك أنه مش منطقي طلب موافقته أعتقد لو به أنظمة ردع وعقاب للمخطئ سواء هو أو هي حسب الشرع بيكون أنسب
166.	اتوقع ببصير المجتمع تويتر كبير و انتي عارفه و شايفه إلي هنا وين وصلوا بحرية إفتراضية. فما بالك "بحرية" فعلية
167.	ولو كان الموضوع به خير لكن ما كان تحمس له الغرب وغيرهم من هيئات حقوقية مزعومة وإعلاميين و مغردين مشبوهين
168.	فيه غيره كثير واحسن منه، وفيه مواهب. انعدمت وماتت من تخلفكم وحمقكم وعاداتكم البالية
169.	ولاية والدي عليا هي الحب .. اطيعه لأنني احبه من يخاف من إسقاط الولاية هو شخص فاشل في التربية والتواصل مع بناته
170.	فاقد الثقة بنفسه والفاشل في تواصله مع الآخرين هو من يحتاج نظام وقانون يفرض عليهم بقائه معهم بالقوة
171.	هذا الفهم الصحيح الولاية هي حب قبل كل شي ومن يتولاك فهو يحبك ويريد لك الخير . وهناك حالات تمارس الولاية بعيدا عن الحق فلا تعمم.
172.	ليتنى وليه عليكم
173.	شيئ محزن ان تعامل الفتاة في مجتمعنا كملكية تنتقل صكوكها واوراقها وحرية التصرف فيها من رجل لآخر
174.	تحسي كأن اوراقك نقلت من كفيل ل كفيل ثاني !!!! من ابوها الى زوجها
175.	للأسف هذا الحملة من جهل الفهم للدين والأغلبية كما المثل مع الخيل يا شقرا
176.	الولاية تستند على أصل شرعي وهو القوامة في مفهومها الدارج ، قبل تغيير الأنظمة علينا تغيير الأفكار التي تسندها
177.	كي يخرج المظلوم من سجنه لابد أن يتغير نظام السجن وفكر السجنان ، ولابد أن يعرف السجين حقه وإلى أين هو خارج
178.	يقولون أن من تضررت من وليها لها أن تقيم دعوى لإسقاط ولايته ، إذاً هذا النظام لا يحم المتضررات فما فائدته!
179.	القرار اختياري ..انا متأكدة كل اللي عارضوا من النساء بيكونوا اول الصفوف إذا صدر القرار بإسقاط الولاية

180.	المحاكم تشهد بفضل ولاية الذكر على المرأة وياا خزيها من قضايا .. تثبت وتلزم لابد من إسقاط الولاية فعلا
181.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية11</u>
182.	<u>اسقاط الولاية مطلب شعبي</u>
183.	من تطالب بأسقاط الولاية تطالب بإسقاط الحياء بينها وبين الله وبين اهلها وامتها
184.	اذا واحد ملحد طالب بأن فيه راتب يمشي لكل شخص من ميلاده لين وفاته الا إذا اشتغل راح ترفضين هالراتب لأنه جاء من مطالبة شخص ملحد؟
185.	لانه مافيه جوانب سلبية ماراح يطالبون هم مايدخلون الا بالامور الشينه ف ريحي حالك وبما انهم معششين في الهاشتاق معروف وش اخره
186.	هنا الي وليها معطيها الصلاحيات وتحسب الكل مثلها الذكور الدرہ الي ماتعيش بدون ولي يقرر
187.	ماشوف اي ظلم ف لموضوع مين المريضه نفسيه يلي مسويا دا الهشتاق دي سنه الحياه يلي ربي كاتبها ف القرآن كمان
188.	مجتمع يبقى نصفه بدون تحمل مسؤوليات هو مجتمع محاصر ومحكوم عليه بالتأخر والفناء.
189.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية من الغباء المطالبه بتفاهات#</u>
190.	الولاية ليست حمايه بل إسقاطها هوالحمايه للكثيرمن النساء الاتي تم سلب حقوقهن من قبل أوليائهن المستغلين لولايتهم
191.	لايجب أن نكون أنانيات .. من تُدافع عن الولاية أن كان وليّك مُصلح فهناك أولياء مفسدون
192.	والبلد فيها نظام لاصلاح المفسدين في عهد سلمان الحزم يحفظه الله
193.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية بعض العقول المتخلفة تطالب بإسقاط الولاية عشان تتحرر ويزيد فسادها!! محنا # ناقصين فساد</u>
194.	لايوجد امرأة مسلمة تؤمن بالله ورسوله تطلب إلغاء الولاية إلا إذا كان ذكورها ومحارمها ليسوا رجال بمعنى كلمة رجولة
195.	فاقد الثقة بنفسه والفاشل في تواصله مع الاخرين هو من يحتاج نظام وقانون يفرض عليهم بقائه معهم بالقوة
196.	لا عاد قويه اسقاط الولاية خلونا بس نطالب بالقياده احسن وان شاء الله يارب يسمح لنا بالقياده واروح واجي ع كيفي
197.	اغلب الي في الهاشتاق لما ادخل بروفايلها الاقيها حبيبه ورومنسيه يعني عادي تصير عبده ل حبيبها بس ابوها كخه
198.	حان الوقت لتصبح الانثى نفس الرجل فهي انسان لايفرق عنها سوى بالتركيب الفسيولوجي والنفسي فقط استقلايتها
199.	بدايةً يجب حصر الولاية فيما هو ثابت وضروري وليس تعميمها وجعلها قيداً على النساء
200.	ومن هنا نعرف الفرق بين الولاية (فيما اتخذها البعض) والقوامة التي أوصى بها القرآن
201.	فعضل المرأة واجبارها على الزواج أو حتى منعها من الدراسة أمور محرمة فهمها شخص ناقص دين أنها واجب من واجباته
202.	دعمك لهذا الهاشتاق بإعادة تغريدات
203.	للتو رتوت لتغريدة تنتقدني فأعادة التغريد ليست بالضرورة تأييد ومع ذلك هناك فرق بين الولاية قانونا و القوامة شرعا
204.	ثورة السعوديات: "لا للولاية!"
205.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية#حقوق المرأة #</u>
206.	أجود ما قيل في شأن «الولاية» وأنها في احسن احوالها «مؤقتة» واستقلال المرأة خير لها
207.	اخالفك الراي مو اي وحده استقلت بنفسها يعني تصيع لاتعممين بكل الامور الدينويه في الخير والشر
208.	محد قال انهم قدوة ولا قلنا اطردهم من البيوت دام هي اهل لثقه ودام هي تبي لها الحق انها تستقل

209.	من اللي يقرر انها ذات عقل وعفه ؟
210.	ليت قومنا يفهمونا المرأة مسلوقة من حقوقها ومظلومة في هذا المجتمع الذكوري البحت! يأخذون ما يرون مناسب لهم من الدين ويمزجونه بالتقاليد
211.	مضحك جدا وهل جميع الذكور اصحاب عقل وعفة ؟!
212.	نعم؛ لأنها ستعمل بثقة ابنيها فيها وستكون بحول الله انسانية عاملة وطموحة فاستقلالها أفضل لها
213.	هل تتولى حياً أم تستولي كرهاً
214.	هل تتولى حياً أم تستولي كرهاً
215.	لحل في العمل بما في كتاب الله ثم في قانون الأحوال الشخصية
216.	أسوأ من "الولي" المعارض، امرأة جئدت نفسها في خدمة "وليها" حتى حاربت من يطالب بحقوقها.
217.	تداول على «دومة الجندل» قبل الميلاد ملكات عربيات أداروها اقتصادياً وسياسياً بامتياز دون «ولي» أو «وصي»
218.	ماذا تقصد؟؟ الولاية من الشرع وهو حق للمرأة لكن البعض يسئ لهذا الحق. مذكرته قبل الاسلام. لا تنزعو هذا الحق منا
219.	(: هروب فتاة سعودية لجورجيا لا يحتاج هروبها للبحث عن ميراث أخرى#
220.	المرأة هي نصف المجتمع، ليس رقما بل فكرا وعلماء و شراكة وهي التي تصنع النصف الآخر ليكتملا وليس ليحكمها ولتطيعه..
221.	عتابي على المراءة على أنها هي من ربت طفلها واشبعته بأفكار المجتمع الذكوري
222.	هذا المخلوق العاطفي، الرقيق، هكذا تعاملوه!! همج
223.	المرأة السعودية مواطنة كأى مواطن آخر ومساوية له في الحقوق والواجبات، وذلك لا يتحقق إلا باسقاط الولاية عنها.
224.	وجودي بمكان عام بدون ابوي او اخوي كفيل أنه يشعرني بالخوف ! الله يخليهم لنا يارب وعساهم ع القوه.
225.	لا يوجد بالشرع امر ولاية او وصاية
226.	والقوامه بالنفقة فقط ومعظمهم ما يدفعونها حتى لو تطلقت المرأة وايضاً اذا كانت المرأة موظفه
227.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية وسنظل نطالب بهذا الحق#</u>
228.	كل الأمور ممكن تلاقي لها تصرفه الا سالفه السجينة لاتخرج من السجن الا اذا استقبلها ولي امرها!! هاي شنو هاي!!
229.	يسلمها السجن بنفسه ليد السجن ليطمئن أن تعود لسجنها القديم بسلام.
230.	يقتلونهم وكذا هي تتراح وولي امرها والحكومة
231.	من كم سنه قابلت سعوديه أضطرت تتزوج بنقالي عشان تطلع من السجن ويوم طلعت لعب البنقالي في حسبتها ضرب وإهانات لين تطلعت منه وعاشت لحالها
232.	وضع المرأة في تردي وعندنا من يمثلنا في مجلس الشورى لاهشوا ولانشوا
233.	لجرايد امتلئت بوعودهن لدرجة إدهن قالت سأتولى موضوع المعنفة .
234.	يه سلعة هي تنركن ع جنب لحد مايجي صاحبها يستلمها؟!!!
235.	حسبي الله على من صرح بهذه القوانين المجحفة ووافقه
236.	قدرها انها سعوديه وش تسوي
237.	من سجن الحكومة بالحكم لسجن الحكومة بالشرع
238.	الولاية في الدين الإسلامي على الصغير والسفيه والمجنون وعلى المرأة البكر في الزواج
239.	محامون سعوديون: المرأة البالغة العاقلة ليس عليها ولاية شرعاً سوى في مسألة عقد النكاح
240.	البكر البالغ العاقل لا ولاية عليها إلا من ارتضته، فلو عضلها والدها جاز لها نقل ولايتها لغيره.
241.	لولاية مثيلة الوكالة وشرط الرضى أساسي وما ينطبق على الوكالة ينطبق على الولاية

242.	لولاية مرجع واستشارة وليست منعاً من الحقوق وتسلباً. وليست للمرأة وإنما من تولى أمر شيء كان واليا (وليت عليكم ولست بخيركم)
243.	تمنيت اني ما عرفت قوانين الولاية الحالية، على أي أساس ديني علمي أو انساني وُضعت ؟!!!
244.	سعودية و أطالب بحقوقى#مسلمة #
245.	والرجل راع في اهل بيته ومسئول عن رعيته ولكن المنافقين والمنافقات يريدونا زريبة بهايهم دون رقيب ولأحسب
246.	ردي على كل من يدعي عدم اشتراط موافقة ولي الأمر للقبول في الوظيفة أو الدراسة.
247.	أجود ما قيل في شأن «الولاية» وأنها في احسن احوالها «مؤقتة» واستقلال المرأة خير لها
248.	لا يرضى من الرجال باستحقاق ولايته على زوجته واوخته اوامه الا رجل لديه خلل ونقص شنيع
249.	<u>سعودية تقتل زوجها ما لذي دفع منبع اللطافة والرحمة الإنسانية إلى هذا الجرم؟#</u>
250.	مواطنات يتضامن مع جملة إسقاط الولاية من كل أنحاء الارض " ارفعوا الضرر عن المتضررات اولاً "
251.	على أرض الواقع اطلعت على نماذج من النساء وقع عليهن ظلم بين "شرعنه" للأسف نظام الولاية.
252.	<u>المراه السعوديه تعود للحياه بغض النظر عن بعض القوانين التي مازالت تقف أمام تسهيل أمور ها في الدوائر الحكومية # والأماكن العامة</u>
253.	الولاية تكليف على الرجل ووجدت لحماية المرأة وإن أخطأ أشباه الرجال فيها
254.	فالعديل ان نطالب #بحظر ولايتهم بدل ان نسقط حق من حقوق المرأة الشرعية والتي امرنا بها بقول #اسقاط الولاية فهي تشويه للإسلام والسلام
255.	احذر وانت تتحدث عن شيء فرضه الله ورسوله لمصلحتنا رجال ونساء فالولاية من مصلحة المرأة وليس العكس كما يظن البعض الجاهل
256.	كل من تعارض القياده هي اول من يبسوق
257.	وكل من تعارض اسقاط الولاية هي اول من يبسقطها
258.	احسن شي اكون قاعد و اتفرج علا البنات وهم رافصين تسقط الولاية عارفين ان الغنم لازم يكون لها راعي
259.	لماذا يريدون إسقاط الولاية ؟!
260.	<u>فضيحة المطالبات بإسقاط الولاية#</u>
261.	<u>نساء الاولمبياد لايمثلوننا#</u>
262.	<u>ولا زال الصراع قائم... #الطريق إلى الحرية</u>
263.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية15</u>
264.	غردو ب تأق 14 كلنا به
265.	وين الولاية اذا الطليق هرب من الدفع ووين حقوق الأبناء إذا معد استجاب للعدالة !!!!!
266.	اسهل شي بالحياة انك تستهين في حقوق أنت ماخذها من اول ما تولد ويكتبون في شهادة ميلادك " ذكر "
267.	المسؤول عن اسقاط الولاية هو المعني واي وحده مظلومه تراك تتحملها في ذمتك بالمسؤول
268.	ي ليت يحطونها أختياري اللي تبي تسقط عادي واللي ماتبي تجلس بولايتها وأنتهينا
269.	الولاية لاتكون الا على سفيه او مجنون
270.	الولاية تمددت لتصبح ولاية مجتمع بأسره
271.	إسقاط الولاية لاتعني إسقاط للكرامه
272.	ممكن تفهميني شمعنى الهاشتاق,, سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية؟؟؟
273.	المرأة الي تضرب وتهان وهي ساكته حتى لو اسقطت الولاية بتضرب وتهان لان هذي شخصيتها
274.	الولاية " شرعاً " على القاصر والسفيه فاختر أمك ضمن أي فئة؟
275.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية يامن ضاقت بك الأرض اسرعي #زوجة_تقتل_زوجها # الصبر#الله بالفرج أو يلهمك #قرآن يأتي #صلاة و #للخالق فما بين
276.	الولاية الشوعيه مطلوبه وهي امر رباني ولله فيه حكمه اما مايقرره المجتمع فقط ويعطل مصالحها
277.	لا يختلف على هذه المطالب احد. وليس للدين علاقة بجور القانون

278.	<u>سعوديات-نطالب-باسقاط-الولاية#</u>
279.	<u>سعوديون-نطالب-باصلاح-الولاية#</u>
280.	لا غرابة أن كل من يسكت عن المنكرات التي تقع من النساء أن يقف في صف هذا الهاشتاق
281.	تثقفوا ماهي الولاية و القوامة
282.	..تصدر قراراً بعدم الأحقية للمرأة المتزوجة السفر مع أبيها إلا بعد موافقة زوجها: "الجوازات"
283.	عن طلب إلغاء ولاية الرجل على المرأة: مصاد للشرع في معرض رده على وسم "الشريم"
284.	انا انتظر هذا وجلس انتظر ماحييت لان من حقي ك انسان اتصرف بنفسي كامل التصرف .
285.	انا ك انسان اطالب بحريتي اطالب باني يكون ليا كيان وليس تابع لشخص فقط لاني انثى .
286.	باسم الشعب السعودي اللهم اسالك كل خير لبلادي وشعبه ماعلمناه ومالم نعلمه وجنبنا الشر كله ماعلمناه ومالم نعلمه
287.	افهم الرجال اذا وقفو ضد هالمطالب لكن مافهم البنت ليش ماتعجبها هالمطالب !! مستانسة انها تعامل مثل السجينة
288.	دام تعرف بالدين يفترض أن يكون لديك علم أن القذف من "قذفنا لن يغطي نقصك" "تنتهي"7الموبقات أم تأخذ من الدين ما
289.	حتى اسمك ما تقدرى تغييره إلا بموافقة الولي وحضوره
290.	طلقه فضيحه لايعرف ماذا يفعل بها ليتخلص من العار ولو انها ولية نفسها لعزت نفسها
291.	ولدها وليّ امرها ويطلع لها تصريح ويجدد لها الجواز وعمره 18 في حين ان السن القانونيه عشان تسقط عنه الولاية هو 21
292.	وما زالت جرائم الولاية تتوالى فهذا ولي امر عذب من تحت ولايته
293.	مضحك مبكي حال المرأة ماتملك امر نفسها وعليها ولي وفوقها تتحمل مسؤوليه المجتمع والاسره
294.	ثم هل تعلمين أيتها الدرة المصونه أن زوجة الخليفة اردوغان ولية امر نفسها
295.	ولدك الآن ولي امرك .. يراجع الدوائر الحكوميه .. يوقع اوراق موافقتك وتصريحك وجوازك ويزوجك
296.	اولياء امورنا .. هذولا اولياء امور امهاتهم
297.	سعودية و أطالب بحقوقى#مسلمة #
298.	من يفرح بحق الولاية على امرأة او يمارسه فعليه أن يتأكد من رجولته.
299.	أنت رجل شرفك أن تمكنها من ولاية امرها بنفسها رجولتك لا تسمح لك بالولاية عليها هذا حق لا يرضى به الشرقاء.
300.	بعض الناس يايّد حقوق اللي هو يشوفها حقوق واللي يشوفها مش حقوق وعند غيره حقوق يعتبره مثير للفتنه يريد الفساد
301.	وهل الولاية أصلا من الإسلام؟ وهل المرأة ناقصة الأهلية؟
302.	جميع فتيات الدول الاخرى بدون ولاية ولم يحصل معهم ماتدعون
303.	اخذه كامل حريتها و تقول اسقاط الولاية المفروض يكون بحالات استثنائية !! باقي تحدد هي اش الحالات الاستثنائية
304.	يطعن في كل حجة تطالب بإلغاء الظلم ويقول بنات بلدي تاج راسي في أوقج من كذا
305.	لو أمطرت السماء حرية لرأيت بعض العبيد يحملون المظلات
306.	البنت تحت ولاية ابوها و لها الحق فالعلاج بالمستشفيات الحكوميه ولما إنتقلت الى عش الزوجيه يسقط حقها من العلاج
307.	من يستكثر ع بنات بلده مطالبتهن الشرعية بالحقوق المكتسبة فقد أساء لنفسه قبل أن يسيء لهن ..
308.	قامت أسرع أكتاف موظفات من بناتنا وأخواتنا وتعيّل الأسرة كاملة دون كلل وملل وتجنّفون في وصمها بخزعلات ووهم ...!

309.	فخور جدا بكل فتاة تجشمت العناء وعرفت وطالبت بحقوقها حتى تحصل عليه دون منة من أحد وصولك متأخرة أفضل من عدم وصولك
310.	هل يقبل الدين ان تعيش امرأة عاقل تحت ولاية غير عاقل؟
311.	انا فتاة بالغة تحت ولاية أخ سكرجي وحشاش واخيراً الطامة الكبرى "لوطي" لاينفق علي بل يأخذ مالي .. هل هذا هو شرعكم ؟ هل هذه هي قوامتكم؟
312.	ياااااا ما اقسى الموقف عليها نعم ##سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية فهر تجنى ظلم تحقير والسبب إما البقاء تحت وصاية ورحمة سجانك
313.	يجوز في الإسلام ياسيدي لكن أنتم لاتعرفون الاسلام تعرفون العادات البالية فقط
314.	نعم ..نعم ..نعم يوجد ظلم كبير واقع من الولاية على نساء السعوديه المجنون والطفل والمعتوه / هم فقط من يحتاجوا ولاية هل نحن كذلك؟
315.	لا جديد أستاذة همسة ومن خلال حملتنا أثبتوا لنا أنهم هم العار ويحتاجون لولي
316.	ضد الولاية والاستعباد تسقط الولاية
317.	الهاشتاج ليس للتصويت هذه حقوق مسلوقة ترد لأصحابها ولا تصويت عليه
318.	هذا حق لكل فتاة سعوديه هضم لسنوات ولكن سوف نستعيده باذن الله (لا يضيع حق وراه مطالب)
319.	نعم، سقوط الولاية عن المرأة التي تصل للسن القانوني أمر مطلوب وضروري جداً لكي تمارس حقوقها كما يحلو لها وليس كما يحلو لوليها الذكر
320.	كلنا سعوديات اب عن جد نطالب بوقف الظلم عنا وإيقاف قانون الولاية عاجلاً
321.	نعم مع اسقاط الولاية فأكثر المساوي في عالم المرأة السعوديه تتبع منها
322.	نعم نطالب باسقاطها بقوة نظراً لاستخدامها للإذلال المرأة
323.	نعم مع لأننا كاملات الاهلية والله خلقنا سواسية الولاية على البالغة الكاملة الاهلية ليست من شرع الله
324.	عندما يتعلق الموضوع بحقوق المرأة يتذاكى جميع الرجال ويتحشون عن الباطل والخوف من الوقوع فيه.. احسد الورع الي انتم فيه
325.	نعم والى نعم مللنا الذكور المتخفين بمعرفات نساء والتصويت باسمنا لتزوير النتائج
326.	التعليم: موافقة ولي أمر المرشحة شرط لإيفاد الإداريات و45 عامًا كحد لدراسة الدبلوم بعد البكالوريوس
327.	المرأة وحقوقها تابو ولما اطالب بحقي ف الولاية ف نظره اني اتكلم ف محظور ممنوع الكلام
328.	الشباب لن يكل همه أن يستقل أو يبيد لا نريد ذلنا المؤبد وعيشنا المنكد
329.	اكيد مع اسقاط الولاية ، الولاية يجب ان تكون ع القاصر او المجنون فقط !
330.	نعم مع الاسقاط لصالحها في مراجعة الدوائر الحكومية ولحماية اموالها من الاستغلال والسرقة واخير التتزوج وتستر نفسها بدون شروط تعجيزية
331.	نعم مع اسقاط الولاية ولاكن لمراءة راشدة بالسن تبدا من سن الثلاثين حتى نحتضن بناتنا ونحن مطلقات بعيدا عن ظلم ابائهم
332.	مع إسقاط الولاية
333.	يجب ان تسقط الولاية وهي تجوز للمجنون والقاصر فقط
334.	مع اسقاط الولاية احرمونا من كل شي حتى من تكملت دراسته وسبب انه ولي ويمشي كلمة علينا
335.	نعم ، مع اسقاط القانون الذي يحمي المعنف و القاتل و المستغل و المدمن ويجعلهم أولياء أمور
336.	مع الاسقاط ،انا بالغة عاقله وأحق بولاية نفسي من اي ذكر
337.	الولاية نظام استعباد و نحن لسنا بعبيد
338.	انا مع هذا الهشتاق لان اعتقد ان ولاية الرجل على المرأة امن وسلام لها ليس استعبادها وحرمان حقوقها...يسعد صباحكم
339.	نعم اذا فيه ولي يستهل ويقدر المراه
340.	مع نصرة الحق بإسقاط الولاية الذي زعمو وكذبو عندما قالو من الدين

341.	لان اذا كان الولي مراهق ف هذا يعني ان هالقانون فقط يقَدَس الذكور ما يبحث عن مصلحة النساء
342.	تسقط الولاية اليوم المرأة رائدة في كل المجالات لاحتياج ولي فاسد يؤخر نجاحها ويتحكم بمصيرها
343.	عندما يبلغ الانسان يصبح كامل الأهلية مالم يكن مجنوناً ،ليس عدلاً ان يكون له ولي
344.	يجب ان تعطى المرأة حقوقها كاملة ، لا احد يقبل الظلم .
345.	الولاية ليست حمايه للمرأة كما يقول بعض الحمقى!بل دليل على رؤيه المرأه بأنها قاصر وجاهله ولا تستطيع اختيار حياتها وقرارتها بنفسها
346.	اهلية المرأة السعودية الكاملة حق لها لا نرضى بالتجزئة
347.	ذكر مسوي حساب للمعارضه على انه بنت!كل حسابه كذب وقذاره وهمجيه،قد كذا وصل فيك اليأس!قد كذا حياتك فارغه!!
348.	الولاية قانون جائر يُبيح الجرائم تحت مسمى فرط التربية ، فتيات تُعنّف أرامل تُضطهد ، مطلقات تحت مزاجية الطليق
349.	لا ولاية الا على القاصر و المجنون ، من جعل الابن وصي على أمه في أي عُرْف هذا
350.	مع اسقاط الولاية التي لم تخلف سوى الظلم و التعنيف و الاضطهاد و الاستغلال المالي ، والتعسف في المعاملات الحكومية الى متى ؟
351.	مابترضى بالولاية الى وحده تعودت على العبودية او انسانة ضعيفة الشخصية ترى من الافضل اختيار وليها قرارتها بدل عنها..اسقطو الولاية
352.	هذي حقي بما اني بالغه عاقله اني أخذ قرارات حياتي بنفسي ..هذا حق مو هبه
353.	وضع القانون لأستعباد المرأة ونحوها ضدها
354.	يخرج ذكر معتوه ع قناة، المفروض انه قانوني ويعلم عن السلطة التشريعية التي تشرعن ع حسب الاهواء ويشكك ببنات وطنه لعنة الله عليك واشباهك
355.	هل من الممكن ينتهي هذا الكابوس وتسقط الولاية
356.	لمثل هذه الأوجاع وللنساء المقهورات برز تاق سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية .
357.	نعم أطالب باسقاط الولاية، فالمرأة البالغة العاقلة مثل الرجل البالغ العاقل في الثواب والعقاب والحقوق الإنسانية.
358.	نعم نعم نعم من المؤيدين بإسقاط الولاية عن المرأة للتحرر من هيمنة الولي.. والولي هو الله سبحانه
359.	نعم وبقوه الى متى سيظل هذا الاستبداد ومنع المرأة من حقوقها في ابسط الامور لمجرد ان ولي الامر فاهم الولاية والدين غلط
360.	حن سعوديات نطالب بأسقاط الولاية في وطننا للأسف لم تتخذ الولاية بالشكل الصحيح وهدفنا تقدم المرأة وحفظ كرامتها وأوقفوها
361.	صار ضرورة خصوصا للسفر و الوظيفة. لكن المطالبات هذي راح تلحق قيادة السيارة الي استغلته دول ثانية ضدنا وماشفنا شي
362.	مع إسقاطها فيما يخص أمور.. و حياة المرأة الشخصية.. ك القرارات والتعاملات إلخ.. أما التعاليم الشرعية ف نُحترم..
363.	اعداء النجاح زمرة الدواش وسبي النساء هم من يعارضون اسقاط الولاية للمرءه العاقله البالغه
364.	حكم الولاية انتهاك صاارخ لحقوق الانسان وهو الرق بعينه ولكن بمفهوم حديث.
365.	نبي نسافر م نقدر كل شي ولي امر ليش ي خي كل انسان ولي امر نفسه انتهى
366.	أن المرأة فوق من سن 45 فما فوق ليس عليها ولاية .. ولا يحق لوليها منعها
367.	نعيش تناقض عجيب في بلادنا!!! فعند تنفيذ الحدود والعقوبات تكون المرأة السعودية كاملة الاهلية ولاتحتاج لولي!!!
368.	الهاشتاق ذا وطقته مليون قصص تشيب الراس وتضييق الخلق مدري من الصادق من الكاذب
369.	هذا استبعاد مو ولاية في كل صغيرة و كبيرة في المرأة دخل الولي
370.	اشدد على انه قرار خاطئ تمام
371.	وين الدليل اذا الشيخه مايعرف الولاية من القوامه المفروض ما يفتى من الاساس

372.	استخدام ورقة الولاية في كل تفاصيل .. حياة المرأة الصغيرة والكبيرة .. يُعد من الغلو في تنفيذ الأمر الشرعي
373.	المرأة كرمها الله بحقها بولاية نفسها اذا لم تكن ولاية نفسها اصبحت مستعبدة وليست مكرمة يكفي كذب وتضليل
374.	لاتخافي بإذن الله سنحصل على حقنا حتى لو استمرت مطالبتنا سنوات المهم ألا نتوقف عن نضالنا
375.	معامله المرأة ك شخص ناقص الاهليه مرت فيها بكل العصور الى ان اخذت حقها الطبيعي! كذب من قال ان الولاية من الدين
376.	نقولهم الشرع مباح الولاية علي المرأة الا بالنكاح ما كأنهم يسمعون اهم شئ يسوون الي ا تعودوا علي حتى لو حرام
377.	<u>أدخال المصلح يعلق على قضية #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية</u>
378.	انا لم آتي من ضلعك انت اتيت من رحمي
379.	اتوقع عزوف بعض الفتيات عن الزواج بسبب الولاية فمن تبدل أب محب هدفه سعادتها ويكفل حريتها بقفص وان كان ذهبي
380.	أظن اغلب الطلاقات لاعتقاد الزوج انه امتلك أمة بعقد الزواج نتيجة للقوانين الموضوعه والتي لا علاقة لها بالدين
381.	المسلمات لهن ذمه مالية منفصلة عملن وسافرن ولم يكون هناك سجن بالإسلام بل تغريب واقامه جبرية لمن يثبت فجورها
382.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية 20</u>
383.	نبغى نكون احرار
384.	لن تجد أنظمة وقوانين أكثر إهانة للمرأة، من تحكم بمصيرها (عضل) إلى قهرها (فسخ للنسب).
385.	علموا السعودي أن سلامة في التزام القوانين وإن خالف فاضربوه وإن لم يرتدع فأوقدوا له المحرقة ..!
386.	يعتقدون انّ الدول خاضعة لولايتهم كنسائهم
387.	ولي امري ادري بأمرى ومكوه تخسبه في دقائق
388.	المحكمات والتلفون الجوال ولا بس تويتر تعرفوه وتسو تاق
389.	مغردون يستبشرون اثر اقتراح الشورى منح المرأة جواز سفر دون إذن وليها وكانت اللجنة الأمنية وافقت على المقترح قبل شهرين
390.	يبي يسكتوكم بذا بس لازم تستمرون لين تسقط جواز السفر خله لهم
391.	صعبه جدا ان فيه امرأه عاقله بالغه يتولاها شخص متخلف او متحجر ويمنعها عن ابسط حقوقها ك دراسه او زواج
392.	هذا غير الي لما يشوف طرف شعرها طالع سفلى فيها وصفقها *جعله للكسر مالبالغ ولا هو كلام خيالي صديقتي كذا
393.	يغبين كثر ان المرأة صارت ماتقدر تعيش حياة طبيعية بدون اللجوء الى امر من ولي امرها والله يكون بعونها اذا صار رجال بالاسم بس
394.	طبعا بعضهم يشوفون الموضوع تملك ويتحكم ب ابسط شيء واذا عصت كلامه ضربها ليكمل عقدة النقص عنده
395.	أيها الأعرابي المَقْمَل ، إن كان بك ذرّة رجولة طالب بحقوق نسائكم المستضعفات هناك
396.	الله يكون بعون كل انثى تعاني من هالاشكال الواطية ربي ياخذ حقك منهم زي ماسلبوا منك حياتك
397.	باء اموركم يابنات شوفوهم في هاشتاق حليمه
398.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية ومنا لك يا خادم الحرمين #</u>
399.	وش دخل إسقاط الولاية بالطبيعه والنخله والبن !! نقاش سخيف وتافه بيتدي ب المرأة وينتهي بالقهوه

400.	لا نتحدث عن نخل او تربه المطالبه ليست على المطلق ولكن عندما يكون هناك استغلال من الولي وحرمان من حقوق المراه ..
401.	هذا على اساس ان نصرتها عند ظلمها من اسهل مايكون من خلال النظام
402.	مع احترامي لجميع الآراء لكن حتى بعض العلماء قالوا أن نظام الولاية فيه خطأ وموارد في الشرع بهذا الشكل
403.	لحل الحقيقي هو خلق توازن حقيقي في التعايش الاجتماعي بين الفرد نفسه ومتطلبات الحياة الذي جعل إسلامنا راقى وباقي
404.	توازن يعطي لكل طرف حقه في الحياة المجتمعية
405.	! فتاة تقيم دعوى لتزويجها دون علمها.. ووالدها: أنا أعلم بمصلحتها: المدينة_المنورة #
406.	لي يقلون تبغين حقك روي المحكمة هم أنفسهم يعيبون ع بنت اشتكت ابوها سالفه روي شتكي كذب
407.	كذبه يسكتونك فيها يعني لا تصدقين وتروحي تشتكي صدق
408.	"نعيش الآن في مرحلة مخاض فكري وجدل بيزنطني مع أصحاب الولاية والعنجهية الذكورية"
409.	"تشير آخر الإحصاءات إلى أن أكثر من 900 فتاة قد هربن من أهاليهن لعوامل كثيرة"
410.	إلغاء عقد نكاح فتاة في المدينة المنورة بعد تزويجها دون علمها .
411.	<u>معهم حق يوم يطالبون #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية اولياء امور بلارحمه ينتقلونها بينهم كأنها دمية</u>
412.	الي جالس يصيرنا تسلط بعيد كل البعد عن الدين افهموا يابقر
413.	إن المرأة ظل الرجل، وعليها أن تتبعه لا أن تقوده.
414.	سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية # بامجلس الشوري كفايه دلع نريد إقرار #
415.	تعاطفي مع المتضررات والمعنفات والمسجونات، من لأحسن ولايته يجب أن تُسقط فوزًا.
416.	نصيحة للرجل العاقل لاتخف من امراه طالبت بحقها خاف من امراه عارضت بنت جنسها
417.	الزوجة التكفيرية وشقيقاتها المقبوض عليهم استخرجوا أذونات السفر من خدمة أبشر بعد معرفتهم لأرقام الدخول الخاصة بأولياء أمورهن.
418.	وانا كذلك أؤيد الهاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 22
419.	لايضر ان تكون هناك حالات مستثنيه لشروط معينه اذا لزم الامر وليس له ارتباط بالدين
420.	هاذي صدق ينطبق عليها مقولة " المرأة عدوة المرأة"،لاحظوا المصطلحات اللي استخدمتها.
421.	ناشطة كندية تصور معاناة المرأة في أمريكا الشمالية وتنقل واقعها الذي لا يظهره الإعلام الغربي
422.	انا سعودي وافتخر والله يلعن كل من يبني يزيل حكم عادل مثل حكامنا بلاكُم ماجريتم الاهانه والتشرد انتم بنعمه
423.	كل فسادلحق بهن تجدللإعلام دور فيه وهوسبب تمردهن على الشرع والقيم"بني علمان دينكم غريب؛وأغرب منه مازعم الحقود!
424.	سعوديات يطالبون باسقاط الولاية
425.	عدلو الهاشتاق لو سمحتو والصحيح هو متسعودات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
426.	كيفأجدالمرأة المناسبة ؟؟ رد الوالد إنسى أن تجد المرأة المناسبة وركز فى أن تكون الرجل المناسب
427.	هشتاق سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية ما نبي نشوفه في الترندي مسوياته الغير سعوديات مع بعض السعوديات
428.	نغلي جهاز الهيئة نطالب حرية المرأة نطالب باسقاط الولاية
429.	قبل تطلبون بالإسقاط أنشئوا جيل يعتمد نفسه من الصغر وعلموه كيف يحمي نفسه من الفتن تطلبون العلاج والداء عظيم
430.	شكرا لكل رجل قال كلمة الحق وينصر قضايا المراه حتى لو صور لهم المجتمع انه لاتستحق شيء
431.	وسوف نفعل ذلك إن شاء الله
432.	نحن نساء السعودية نريد إنهاء ولاية الرجل في أسرع وقت ممكن.
433.	نريد القانون يحمينا ويعطينا حقوقنا.
434.	عمر المرأة السعودية يتناسب طردياً مع عدد اولياء امرها .. يا الله كنّ بالعون

435.	كثر الضغط والظلم يولد الانفجار .. اللهم فرج هم المهمومين واهديهم
436.	حتى وان كانت عائلتي كريمة فسكوتي عن الظلم يجعلني شيطان اخرس واضرب ١٠% في عدد نساء السعودية واحسب المعاناة واطنّها اكثر
437.	فخورة بثباتكن في مطالبتكن بحقن الأول في الحياة.. هاشتاك بعد هاشتاك والإصرار يزداد.
438.	ما الولاية الا سلطة ذكورية بحتة.. يتلذذ بها اشباه الرجال والمازوخيات...
439.	ارفعوا الضرر عن المتضررات قبل ان تصنعوا واجهه جميلة أمام العالم و داخلها مشوه ومؤلم
440.	لا نطالب الا لحقوق لنا ولا ينكرها الا ذكر وليس برجل
441.	لن نُحل هذه المعضلة إلا بإسقاط الولاية واستقلال الفتيات
442.	من العار استخدام السياسة الميكافيلية على حساب إنسانية المرأة كأن المرأة لعبة أو شيء
443.	https://twitter.com/Ta_Alsif/status/761913868067168256/photo/1
444.	https://twitter.com/manal_md_1984/status/761844296903426048/photo/1
445.	الحقوق تنتزع ولا تعطى،، الحق لا ينتظر احد ،، مستمرين ب المطالبة الي مالا نهاية،،
446.	دور الحماية كما تصفها نزيلاتها "السجن الأنيق
447.	الدور التي من المفترض منها حماية النزيلات تمارس عليهن ممارسات غير إنسانية
448.	سقطوها فالمرأة ليست بقاصر. أسقطوها فحياة السعوديات مرتهنه بعقلية ولي الأمر ومزاجه.
449.	لا أرى مؤيد او متعاطف مع المرأة إلا وكان متعلم و لا أرى معارض إلا جاهل قاذف
450.	الذكر الجاهل هو من يرى ان الرجل هو أن تسلط و تحكم بحياة أمي أختي زوجتي ابنتي
451.	السلطة الذكورية هي سلطة همجية استعبادية موروثه من العصور البدائية حين كان الإنسان حيواناً ناطقاً قبل أن يرتقي بكيانه للوعي والفهم
452.	اللهم شل جميع اطراف اي ذكر نجس يمد يده ع مرأة وجعل البلاء يسكن جسده واحرمه العافية
453.	ليس من المنطق ان يُحاسب شخص لايملك نفسه ولا يتحكم بحياته لو ان الولاية من الشرع لما جعل الله لنا حساب وعقاب
454.	من الصعب أن يتفهم الرجل وجهة النظر الأخرى وهو يعتقد أنه فاز " بحق إلهي" وبالصدفة !
455.	كل ذكر يعتبر الوصاية المطلقة على المرأة هو حق فليعد النظر في رجولته و كل درة مصونة فلتعيدي النظر في كرامتك..
456.	لو نرجع على عهدة الصحابيات ماكان عندهم ولي عليهم
457.	فاع الذكر عن الولاية لانه مستفيد اذا كانت المرأة موظفه ياخذ راتبها واذا كانت لا يستفيد بقمعها واذلالها
458.	كل ناجحة بهالبلد مادعمها إلا ثقتها بنفسها وإيمانها بقدراتها وتصلحها مع ذاتها وبس.
459.	يعة اطلاق ولاية الرجل على المرأة تشبه خديعة ولاية الفقيه والشيخ واطلاق ولاية الحاكم على المحكوم دون سؤال
460.	علموا أولادكم أن الأنثى هي الرفيقة هي الوطن هي الحياة
461.	في بلدي المرأة البالغة قاصر والطفلة الغير بالغة تتزوج. الام لاتقود وابنها المراهق يقود السيارة.
462.	لا احد سيدوم للمرأة لأن كل شخص له مسؤولياته فلماذا تعلق حياتها على حسب الضروف وهي قادرة أن تكون ولية نفسها
463.	لمتشجنون/ المتشجنات من المعارضين الأمر اختياري لمن لايرغب لن نطرق على بابكم ونجبركم ابقوا في أحضان الوصاية
464.	قبل ان تتوعدني بمكان في النار . حاول ان تأمن مكانك انت في الجنة و هذا ليس له علاقة بي.
465.	لسان حالها يقول ياوطني انا محبه لك و لديني وأهلي وحالمة وطموحه وأم وصانعه للفكر وللرجال لكن كن معي لا ضدي
466.	ما ينلامون الي يشغونه في حياتهم ولا احد يدافع عنهم العنف الاسري شيء جدا شين الله يلطف بحالهم الي يتأذون
467.	إذا كان كل الرجال يولدون أحراراً، فكيف تولد كل النساء عبيداً؟
468.	أريد الحرية للتعبير الكامل عن شخصيتي.
469.	"يجب أن تُعطي النساء حقوقهن دون اللجوء إلى المحاكم"
470.	الولاية عندنا بالسعودية عبودية و تسلط مُش ولاية

471.	السؤال اين هذا الكلام طيلة سنين الاستعباد للمرأة السعودية ؟ اري انه متأخر جداً
472.	العقول أصبحت ساقطة ومتأثرة بالغزو الفكري ونسو ان الاسلام منصف المرأة وليس ضدها
473.	الى متى ظلم
474.	نحن الآن أكثر وعياً لن نستطيعوا سلب حقوقنا سنطالب ونطالب لمستقبل أفضل للفتيات هنا
475.	ومتي السن القانوني للمرأة كل شي ماتسويه إلا بولي الين تموت هذا ظلم
476.	الولاية ليست من الدين ليش أسأل من كبار العلماء...؟؟ أسألهم انت ورد لنا خبر طيب وفيه شيخ ف بروفابلي تكلم بالله شوف مقطعه اول
477.	ماضع حق وراه مطالب وانتوا الي نابحوا
478.	لا تخنعي ي ابنتي ، لست جارية لاحد اتبعي قلبك وعقلك حلقي بقوة ولا تلتفتي للواياش.
479.	التغطية الإعلامية هي نتاج تأثير صوتكن و اعتراضكن لذا استمروا
480.	جامعة الأصالة (جامعة جديدة بالدمام وخاصة) ومع ذلك تطلب موافقة ولي الأمر-للطالبات-
481.	المفترض أن تكون الدراسة حق ولا يجوز لأي كان أن يمنعه ! حتى ولو كان الطلب صوري ففيه انتهاك للحقوق الإنسانية !
482.	يعني لاضرر ولاضرار.. لن تضر الولي اسقاط الولاية ولكنها حتما ستنقذ المعنفة واليتيمه والمعضوله
483.	نريد فقط حياه كالحياه
484.	في فرق بين الولاية والقوامه فلا تصيرون جهله بدينكم وحنا في القرن 21
485.	الطير لن يكتم طويلاً على الشجرة سيحلق ويغرد للحياة
486.	انتهى زمن العبيد وبقي زمن الولاية في القرن الواحد والعشرين.
487.	لا صوت يعلو على صوت الحق 25 يوم من المطالبه المستمره كانت كفيله بهز الوسط الاعلامي المجد كل المجد للمناضلات
488.	اي رجل يشعر بالاهانه لاسقاط الولاية عن المرأة فهذا لان عنده شعور بالنقص يعوضه بغرض سيطرته على المراه
489.	و الله الحق العدل لن أسامح من أساء الأدب وطعن بالشرف .. لأننا نطالب بحق لا يعارض الدين ..
490.	لكل من يستطيع تغيير هذا المنكران يغيّره بلسانه وهذا اضعف الايمان .قانون الولاية اعظم منكر يرتكبه الذكور يحقنا
491.	يلعبون على المرأة بالالقب مكنونه وجوهره ودره وملكة اول مره اعرف ان الملكة لا تملك قرار نفسها
492.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية19 نظام الولاية يتعارض مع الشريعة الإسلامية والنظام http://alriyadh.com/1030674 الأساسي للحكم دهي المنيع عضو الشوري
493.	لازم تتعودون أنتوا كذا بداية أي تغيير تحيكم صدمة ترا كله نظام بشري متحجر مريض سكتنا سنوات وزاد الوضع مهزلة
494.	نحن مكلفين ومسؤولين امام الرب عن اعمالنا .. فلماذا نتعامل مثل الاطفال عند كل استخراج وثيقه؟؟
495.	بالعالم والطبيعي المرأة من توصل لسن معين تكون سيده نفسها الا المختلين عقلياً يوصون عليهم
496.	أرمله ربت ولدها لوحدها وبعد ماضار عمره ١٨ صار ولي امرها. اي شرع واي عقل يقبل هذا الكلام.
497.	الشي الذي يقهر ويستغز لما يجي واحد/ه ويقول هذا امر الله هذا الشرع وهو مايعرف من الدين غير المعوزات !
498.	دفعت المرأة ثمن باهظ لاتكفي أضاحي العالم أجمع أن تردله ثمن كرامة أهدرت أوحق سلب وعمر سلب بين سجن وأخرج أكذبة.
499.	نظام الولاية يستحق مسمى "الاستعباد" بجدارة لما يمنحه من صلاحيات للرجل بانتهاك ومصادرة حقوق النساء
500.	الى متى المراه السعودية هي المراه الوحيدة في العالم ناقصه وغير كاملة الاهليه
501.	أي شخص يقف ضد اسقاط الولاية هو شريك بكل جريمة او تعنيف او تحرش او ظلم او اعتداء يقع على المرأة السعودية.
502.	نقول هاتوا دليل على الولاية فيلوون أعناقهم وتسعفهم عقيدتهم الشيطانية بالسب

503.	KingSalman سيكتب التاريخ انه في عهد @ الملك سلمان كُرمت #المرأة_السعودية ، كما حدث تعليمها في عهد الملك سعود
504.	ع الأقل حددوا عمر اذاوصلته تكون هي ولية نفسها مثلا اذا كانت فوق ٢٠ او فوق ٤٠ او حتى فوق ٥٠ عجز وتودور لها ولي
505.	وبعدها مراح يلغون انسانيته يعتبرونها خدامه يشترونها بفلوسهم بتتحرر ومراح يفرضون سيطرتهم مره ثانيه ابدأ
506.	ولي الامر ، يعني وأد الفتاة بطريقة اخرى
507.	المرأة إنسان مستقل بذاته ولا تحتاج أي وصاية من أي شخص وهي قادرة على عمل كل شيء بمفردها فأعتقونا لوجه الله
508.	المرأة في مناضلتها لحقوقها هي تقاتل لاكثر من جبهة منها واهمها متسلقات طالبات للشهرة ومستعيدات ومنافقات
509.	نعم لابد ان تسقط لانها اصلاً ليست من الدين
510.	العبيد في موريتانيا كانوا يتظاهرون ضد قانون تحريم الرق!
511.	ذالمسيئين للمطالبات بهذاالتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 28 سيضحك عليهم احفادهم
512.	المرأة السعودية ممنوع تسوق السيارة لأنها ناقصة عقل لكن تسوق قطار وطيارة
513.	اللي اطالب باسقاط الولاية زي اللي اطالب بقيادة المرأة
514.	قبل أن ترددي: #كلنا مع الولاية اقرأى الفرق بين الولاية والوصاية والقوامة
515.	يقول: ماتعبتوا من الكلام بنفس الموضوع واقول : لا ، تعبنا واحنا نعانى سنين منه
516.	رقم الهاشتاق .. ٢٨ يوم
517.	الي تريد الاسقاط هي امرأة عانة الامرين من الولي وكلنا يعرف انو فيه اباء و اخوان وأزواج مجرمين في حق المرأة
518.	انا ما عانيت من هالشي لكن حسب الي اشوفه ان بعض البنات مطلومات بسببها انا مع انها تسقط بعمر معين للبنات
519.	لاتقحمو عاداتكم بالاسلام.
520.	حسبنا الله وكفى
521.	سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية تاق يمتلئى#
522.	تاق لا يمتلئى #كلنا مع الولاية
523.	ماذا نطالب بإلغاء قانون ولاية الرجل على المرأة ؟!
524.	غرسوا ف عقول النشئ أن (المرأة سبب الخطيئة) فطلع لنا جيل ينظر للمرأة نظرة احتقار واستباحة لا يرقب فيهن إلا ولا ذمة
525.	غيبات انتم ؟! والله الولاية رحمة لنا وتكريم ماهي عقاب ! تخيلوا مافي ولاية يعني البنت تزوج نفسها
526.	قمة الظلم ان ترضى بالظلم ع غيرك لأن هذا الظلم لم يقع عليك ويمنعك حقك كلامي لأنصاف الرجال وانصاف الاغبياء
527.	للأسف نظام الولاية في مجتمعنا استغله الرجال ضعاف النفوس لتعزيز امراضهم النفسية على نسائهم
528.	المرأة القوية هي التي تقف وتسند نفسها .. المرأة الأقوى " هي من تقف لتساند من حولها ولا عزاء للمستشرقات
529.	اللي صجوننا يحق لك نزع الولاية .. ترى انزعها بالمحكمة وادفع دم قلبي .. واعطيها واحد ثاني يعني من حفره لدحيره
530.	نا لست متضرره و رجال العيله مستعدين يعرفون عني و لكن لهدرجه انا مجهوله رغم الاثبات ؟ يا موطني انا مواطنتك
531.	القضيه ماهي متضرره وبس و اهل معقدين، بل انسان بكامل اهليته يريد القيام بأموره الشخصيه بنفسه فقط
532.	ي الله صباح خير. ولاية مره وحده
533.	اللي مثل حالتي لابد وضروري هالشي ترا بعض الناس ضروفها صعبه كيف تبون امورها تمشي وهي ماعندها ولي

534.	ثلاثينية حاولت كثيرا مع الأنظمة التعسفية حتى هربت من عاضلها ومعنفها فسجنت..
535.	حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل ،اي دين يرضى بهالشي
536.	ستسقط رغم أنف كل معارض وتذكر كلامي بعدين
537.	الام:بسافر الولد:ماني فاضي لك شوفي ولدك الثاني وبنفس الوقت يلتفت على زوجته ويقول بييلنا سفره مع اهلك!
538.	الولاية سلاح ربط عنق المراه بدل من الحفاظ عليها استغل اسوء استغلال
539.	بدون تمكين للمرأة هنا لن يكون #التحول_الوطني ولا #رؤية_السعودية_2030
540.	أصبحت أوراقنا الرسمية تتعطل بسبب ولي مهمل لا مبالي، حتى ولي يستغل قوانين كهذه للوصول الى غايته مهما كانت
541.	امراة في مالي تعذب وفي سوريا تغتصب وفي العراق تسجن ولم يقلق الغرب الا على امراة لا تقود السيارة في السعودية
542.	تصدقين لو قتلتك إن فيه نساء وصلو أبواب المحاكم و عدنَ لجلّادهن خائبات
543.	نحن #كلنا_مع_الولاية وضد #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية وكذلك ضد كل ولي معنف لا يستحق الولاية ونطالب بجهة منصفة لكل امرأة تعنف من وليها.
544.	عمّ البلاء في البرّ والبحر
545.	فيه هاشتاك صارله تقريباً شهر عنوانه " سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية " ارجع له وتعرف وش الحقوق الي يطالبون فيها .
546.	هل أختزلتم الدين في تفكيركم وفهمكم له . . كيف يجروُ إنسان عاقل على وصف مخالف فيه فكرا بالفجر والفحش !!
547.	ولاية الاب والاخ حمايه لنا وامان الولاية تكليف للاب والاخ وليس تشریف
548.	الذكور يعارضون اي امر يسهل امور المرأة ويجعلها تعيش بكرامة بوطنها سواء دينياً"ابو جهل" او جهلاً او محمراً
549.	القضيه ماهي متضرره وبس و اهل معقدين، بل انسان بكامل اهليته يريد القيام بأموره الشخصيه بنفسه فقط .
550.	حق الحريه حق بسيط وليس من المعقول أن نجادل لأجله ونحن في القرن العشرين، هي حق إنساني لكل إنسان
551.	وبما إن المملكه تُسمى ببلاد الإنسانيه أتمنى أن أرى الأنسانيه تُطبّق لكلا الجنسين بدون تفرقه
552.	عوة لتمرد المرأة على وليها حبذا الوركزا الكتاب على التعسف الذي يمارسه بعض الاولياء بدل مهاجمة الولي بصورة عامة
553.	قول من تقدمت بشكوى وثبت فيها ما تقع فيه من ظلم ينظر في امرها لتقوم على مصالحها دامها كبيره وعاقله
554.	اذا هم مهمشات ومجرد انه تقدم شكوى تقوم عليها امه محمد ياحبييتي احنا في مجتمع فعلا المرأة مظلومه وهذا من واقع
555.	يا عزيزتي هالمجتمع نفسه راح يلومها لما يشوفها طالعة نازلة حتى لو لمصلحتها يقولون ماوراها رجل يحكمها عشان كذا ترمي الخوف وراها
556.	إذاً هاشتاك عبارته عن خطه مضاده #كلنا_مع_الولاية لهاشتاك #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية من مانعك إن أهلك يتولونك ؟!
557.	المطالبه العامة فكره هابطة الا اذا طالبوا اسقاطها من الولي الغيركفو لاسباب ضروريه تتعلق بحياة ومستقبل تلك الاس
558.	لا عزاء لمن فبركت مبادئها ضد بنات بلدها لتنال رضى فلان ورأت انهم لا يستحقون الولاية الا في حالات استثنائيه!!
559.	عاد وش الفايده المجتمع مراح يتركك ولا راح نروح ولا نجي ولا نطلع ولا نساfer ولا شي بس مشاكل على الفاضي
560.	نموذج من اولياء امورنا اللي يسافرون بدون تصريح سفر وامهاتهم مايسافرون الا باذنهم
561.	يتفلون !!!! الله يقبح هذي الاشكال ناس دشير وسخين مافيه اي نوع من التربيه وش تتوقعين منهم

562.	هذا اللي انفضح الله لايبلانا هذا المفروض انا اكون وليه أمره اعلمه السنع
563.	شفتي كيف .. ويسافرون بكل راحه وتسقط عنهم الولاية بعمر العشرين
564.	هدفنا واحد ولكن لازم تحترمينا
565.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية_#محمد_بن_سلمان_الخطر_بالعالم
566.	القوامة: النفقة وتقديم العون للزوجة الولاية: للمجنون والقاصر بطلو افتراء على الدين
567.	القوامه لاتعني إلغاء شخصية المرأة / احسان الفقيه تكتب عنه
568.	ماذا #السعودية هي الوحيدة التي رفضت وثيقة الامم المتحدة للمرأة "بكين"؟ فحشرت عليها شياطينها من هنا وهناك في #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية29
569.	ومن المفروض إذا رفضت بعض الدول هذه الوثيقة أن يكون لغيرها من الدول الأخرى حق الاختيار خاصة البنود التي تضر بالعقيدة!
570.	معارضتك تسبب أذى لغيرك (والذين يؤذون المؤمنين والمؤمنات بغير ما اكتسبوا فقد احتملوا بهتاناً وإثماً مبيناً)
571.	الولاية ليست رتبة ولا تشريف بل هي تكليف ورعاية واسقاط الولاية بالكامل خطأ .
572.	كلنا مع تصحيح الولاية لكن هل الغاء الولاية بالكامل سيوقف العنف
573.	إذا الولي فعل ذلك فقد أخل بالولاية فلا ولاية له شرعا وقانونا إذا اخل بها ومطالبتنا يجب ان تكون ضد استغلال الولاية
574.	اتهمتنا بإننا حسابات وهميه ونسبت مضمون الحملة لها
575.	يش انتي كنت بخيل بحرب مثلا؟ المجد للأبطال الانسانيين اللي يضحوا و يجتهدوا لغيرهم المحتاجين أنتي بس ترفعي لحالك
576.	فولاذية م عليك منها غايتنا واحده ولا تشتتين نفسك
577.	ما يحدث لنساء السعودية هو رق
578.	كيف لاتستطيع المرأة الراشدة أن تقرر مصيرها وقراراتها؟!
579.	فاطمة كانت تحلم ان تكون طبيبة لولا قانون التمييز الجنسي من اخيها وجعلها طبخة فطائر
580.	"والله لا يهدي القوم الظالمين"
581.	موافقة ولي الامر اهم من صحتنا والعيش بكمال اجسادنا وعافيتنا !!
582.	اي ظلم هذا !
583.	الحسابات الوهميه بأسماء سعوديات وكل يوم ازعاج بوسم هاشتاك الولاية حتى وصل 29 مساكين تحزنون محد معطيكم وجه
584.	الاعلام صرح بقضيتك صراحة تناقضين نفسك تطالبين إسقاط الولاية وانتي في تغريدتك ادناه تقولين اهلي مسلمين
585.	اذا اهلك مسلمين فالناس اهلهم مسلمين لا تتبلين عليهم
586.	لاتكوني إمعه مع الخيل يا شقرا بدون تثبت من أصول الدين والفتاوي تحسب بدمتك
587.	افهمي!! هناك دين وشرع لا تطالبي ما يخالف الدين والشرع
588.	ماهي وهمية و نحن بنات قبائل أحرار مانقبل الاستعباد
589.	ولا تفتي من عندك في أمور الحياة فسألوا أهل الذكر إن كنتم لا تعلمون انتهى!
590.	لو يوصلون مو 29 لو مليون لا يمكن أن نتنازل عن عقيدتنا ومبادئنا وعاداتنا وتقاليدنا عشان دعاة التحرر
591.	للاسف ليس لديك مخزون شرعي ولا ثقافي يؤهلك للحوار معي.. انتهى
592.	هناك حسابات في تويتر تستهدف وطننا

593.	اكيد وهمية يعني حسابات غير سعوديات مجرد حسابات عصابات ومؤسسات لاسقاط السعوديات ونشر الرذيلة والتحرر واضحه
594.	اتوقع إيمانك ضعيف بدليل تدعيمين إسقاط الولاية بدون الرجوع للشريعة الاسلامية وأحكامها
595.	مشاركتك في هذا التاق مطلب شرعي وأخلاقي للمعنفات والأرامل والمطلقات كي يستطيعن التخلص من تعطل مصالهن
596.	مافي حيل أحاور الاوباش الرافضين لأنه كل ماكان ممكن أن يقال منطقيا قيل ولا فيه امل يفهمون !
597.	ن حق المرأة أن تتعامل مع الواقع بقوة منطق الاستحقاق والاصرار على ممارسة حقوقها بقوة (صح أو غلط ؟) بموقف صلب
598.	وأنت لو فتشت لوجدت عددمن قريباتك حفيت اقدامهن في الدوائرالحكومية استجداءً لحق مشروع بسبب رفض الزوج المطلق أو هجرانه لها
599.	إن وضع مستقبل النساء تحت رحمة نوايا الرجال نوع من العبث بالقوارير وليس الرفق بالقوارير!
600.	الولاية حتى لو ماهي في الدين ترها في دم الرجل العربي
601.	ولا دنيا لمن لايجي دينا ومن رضي الحياة بغير دين فقد جعل الفناء له قرينا
602.	إسقاط الولاية إسقاط جزء من الدين
603.	الرسول أجل ماحط ولاية و هو إلي مبلغ الدين
604.	استعبادنا صار جزء من الدين !!!
605.	سجن المرأة ثابت بالشرع والدليل "وقرن في بيوتكن" ولا تطالب بالخروج إلا جاهلة أو فاجرة.
606.	<u>بعض الشباب يجيك سربوت يشرب ويحشش ويزني واذا قلنا #سعوديات تطالب باسقاط الولاية29 قالوا اين الدين؟ تر يدون الانفلات والعهر</u>
607.	يعارض إسقاط الولاية ويروح يتزوج اجنبية من يوم ولدت من بطن أمها ماعليها ولاية ومع السعودية تجيه حاله نفسه
608.	كل الدول الاجنبيهتارकिन امورهم ومشغولين بالنقاب ابوعشره ريال ومسوين مؤامره علينا الجاهل مايبي يفهم الوسم
609.	المرأه التي تقرأ من الصعب أن يتحكم بها مجتمع جاهل ورجل طاغي
610.	ملايين المسلمات حول العالم يعيشون بحريه تماماً كرجل لماذا فقط نساء بلدنا يعانون من التهميش والتمييز لماذا؟
611.	وش نقول وماذا نقول
612.	رجل الدين العدو الأول
613.	ومفتيكم عيسى الغيث بسسسmbcوالله ماينابح معكم الا
614.	والباقي من الشعب والأمةهمهم وشغلهم الشاغل الحد الجنوبي
615.	المرأة هي اللي تربي الرجال وتعلمه فقط في السعودية بعد ماتربيه تتعامل مثل المجنونة هو اللي يقرر مصيرها
616.	مسيرة نجاح للمرأة الامارتيه حينما اعطيت حقوقها عندنا للأسف المطالبه بحق يعتبر جريمه
617.	يتجاهلون ذنب الولد والبنت لا وكأن لكل منهم رب اخر، لا فرق بينهم الا بتقوى يا "جاهل"
618.	الذكور تسقط عنهم الولاية عند سن معين هل هذا يعني ان عيالنا مطرودين في الشوارع
619.	<u>غردو هنا #سعوديات نفخر بولاية اهلنا لنا10 واميتو الباطل بتركه ولا تغردو خارج السرب</u>
620.	ذكر الرجال بقوله: (إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا كَبِيرًا) فهل يتعظ بها المستقوون على النساء؟!
621.	نا ضد سقوط الولاية ويرفضها فتيات المجتمع قبل رجاله ف كفاكم لعب بعقول العفيفات ي حثالة المجتمع
622.	نزع الولاية لايعني أن نستيقظ غداً ونجد نساءنا في مدن أو دول أخرى، إلا من كانت لغة العصا حاضرة في أسرته

623.	كثير من الأدونات المطلوبة من ولي الأمر قررتها الوزارات وبدون طلب من الولي أصلاً؟ كيف الحين أصبح نزعها يخيفك
624.	كم من المواهب قتلت باسم الولاية الذكورية؟.
625.	عندنا متخلفين سترو الحقوق بستار الدين مع انها امور لم ينزل بها من سلطان كلها عادات مقيته
626.	ولاية الفتاة البالغة العاقله لنفسها حق من حقوقها، ولا بُدّ للحقوق أن تُنتزع.
627.	وع المسلسل " مكسيكي " عنوان المسلسل " مساواة الرجل بالمرأه " المخرج " ليبرالي "
628.	اسقاط الولاية لن يآثر على بناتنا الي مربى بنته صح ماراح تسوي شي من ورا ظهره انمايخدم اصحاب الظروف الصعبة
629.	وش هالتفكير هذا !! هذا انت مافي احد والي عليك ولا بعث جح بشارع ولا صار لك شي
630.	الأب يبذل قصارى جهده في تربيته وعلاجه وتعليمه لتصلين الى أعلى المراتب وتطالبين باسقاط ولايته عليك ايش هذا
631.	حقير هو من يرى ان المرأة عوره وعار
632.	مفروض الهاشتاق عنوانه نطالب باسقاط الظلم
633.	من الظلم تعامل إنسانه عاقله بالغه مكلفة مثل المجنون والطفل
634.	بنات انتوا مستوعبين انه صار لنا شهر في هذا الهاشتاق متكاتفين و كل يوم ترند و عددنا يزداد! هذا بحد ذاته انجاز
635.	حق وواجب
636.	لا بالله هذا شر ما تستوعبونه، صحيح البعض استغل ومازال يستغل الولاية، لكن سجن القريب ولا سجن الغريب ، والصبر والحكمه على الولي.
637.	تخيل تعيش حياتك تحت رحمة واحد مايخاف الله ولا تقدر تسوي شي من دونه بسبب انه الوالي عليك !!
638.	هذا المتسول القذر يحارب قضيتنا المصيبه انه مستشرف همه يجمع متابعين متسول الشهره
639.	ويمنعك من اللي يبي ويتحكم في حياتك واذا شكيت صار الحق معه هذا بضبط مايصير في الولاية عشان كذا لا بد انت تسقط
640.	ومن الوقاحه انه سيارته الي براتب الدوله يفحط بها ويرمي منه شباكها الزياله
641.	والله اللي يشوفه يقول مساكين هالحريم مسجونات ، هذا هم بتاجرون ويسافرون ، ويطلقون حتى الوظائف أخذوها
642.	يأخذون الفتوى من (المفتي الذي اجاز ل بشار الاسد بذبح اطفال سوريا والسجود لصورته)
643.	راحت اشتكت لابوها عن زوجها قالوا عيب بنت قبائل كيف ترجعين البيت واذا رجعت لزوجها تمردغت معليش وبعدين طيب
644.	لا والكلمه الشهيره تحملي وش يقول الناس
645.	إنجاب البنات بدل الذكور تخطيط خبيث من الغرب من خلال دس مادة في الهمبرغر لمنع العرب من انجاب الذكور !
646.	يتضح لكم ان سبب تواجدي في الحياه ماك رويال .
647.	للاسف هاشتاق يدورون زله رجل من الف رجال وويقولوها شفتهم
648.	لاغلب يسب ويشتم (هاشتاق الخزعلات الوردية) لن يدوم
649.	إرضاخ الشعب و تقييد الشعب و تخدير الشعب، لم يعد يُجدي الشعب يُريد الحياة من يستطيع أن يمنع الشعب من الحياة
650.	الذكور والملكات نفسياتهم ممتازة مرتاحين بحياتهم ويوقفون ضد حقوقنا ما يبوننا نعيش بأمان نفسي مثلهم
651.	أقسم بالله ان الحرمة بهالمجتمع اذا كبرت بالعمر تكره نفسها يعدونها مثل القاصر وهي كبيرة والذكر الصغير يحكمها
652.	عندما يدخل التاق ومنشك شخص يقذف هذايدل انك منتصره وتغريدتك مؤثره لأنه لايملك حجه يناقشك ولاحتى تغريده مضاده

653.	تكفيريات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية٢٩ زنادقه_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية٢٩ لعن الله من يريد العبث في الدين
654.	الرجال قوامون على النساء أي الرجل قيم على المرأة أي هو رئيسها وكبيرها والحاكم عليها ومؤدبها إذا عوجت.
655.	لنساند وندعم ونؤيد كل ما يحفظ حقوق البشر ويحقق الكرامة للإنسان أيًا كان ، المساندة ليست لعيون عليا وهيفا !
656.	انتم ماتدرون وش تلحقون عليه ، مدري وش تبون بالظبط تبون قياده ولا تبون اسقاط الولاية ولا تبون تجلدون مريم حسين
657.	انا فخورة كَوْن بلدي فيه بنات قويات يعرفون حقهم واللي عليهم اي ذكر يعارضها غير قادر على الوصول لأصغر طموحاتها
658.	ولاية تصريف أعمال
659.	لكل مطالبة نحن التيار الاقوى وسوف ننتصر باذن الله فقط استمروا في المطالبة ودعنا لبعض
660.	ي الوقت الذي يجوب فيه الرجل الأرض محققاً أماله نجوب نحن وراءه بكل ذل ليسير لنا حقوقنا
661.	لو أنهم عطوا المرأة حقوقها كان انا مثلت السعوديه في الأولمبياد واخذت الذهبية ورفعت روسهم بين الشقران بس ماش
662.	مثال ابسط حق بطاقة الصراف تستدعي ولي امر و غيرهه الكثير للمعلوميه بهتاق امثل شريحه كبيره من المجتمع .
663.	وان اسقطت سيأتي ذكر آخر ويذل امك وتصبحين عبده أمامه وليس لديك من يحميك من غدر الذئاب لأن المراه بعاطفتها.
664.	فليس الحل في إسقاط الولاية فإن ذهب ذكر أتى اخر بل رفع الظلم عن المعنفات والمضطهدات
665.	فلو إسقاط شرع الله فيه رفع ظلم عن المراه لكانت نساء العالم بخير ولسن مهانات وعبادات امام الذكور.
666.	في "دار المسنات" صادفت نساء بالثلاثينات وحده ذنبها انها عانس ومنع اخوانها بقاءها لوحدها ولم يرغبوا بها معهم
667.	كويس ان المحكمه صدرت هالقرار لسلامتها وراحتها من هذا المتوحش نترفع عن مسماها!!
668.	جال الدين يشنون حملة ممنهجة لتخويف المرأة من حقوقها! يا للعجب لهذه الدرجة تخافون منها! يبدو ما خفي أعظم!
669.	لا أحد يحب قيوده ولو كانت من ذهب !!
670.	ليندري : هناك حسابات في تويتر تستهدف وطننا
671.	لمجتمعات خلقت لتتقدم ولا يمكن لأحد أن يعيد عقارب التحرر إلى الوراء
672.	حسد لبناتنا الذين ينعمون في الدين الأمن(النفس) المال "العرض" العقل وهذه ضروريات 5 اتفقت جميع الأيان عليها
673.	هل يكف البعض عن نعت من يُطالب بالجاهلة او العاهرة
674.	خطاب لإلغاء نظام ولاية الأمر على النساء قعوا عليه و انشروه لأكبر عدد ممكن
675.	اظن وضعنا صار زي الطير اللي انفتح له القفص ونسي الطيران وجنانه صارت اكسسوار
676.	قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في وصف علاقة النساء بالرجال: «إنما النساء شقائق الرجال».
677.	ا يحتاج " سلطة ولي الأمر " إلا من عجز عن إقناع نسائه بالعقل والمنطق ؟!
678.	قمة فالانانيه والوقاحه!! عشان حياتها حلوه تسب الي يطالبون بهالشيء!! ناس كل همهم نفسي نفسي..
679.	المطالبه ماتقهر لانها حق .. مايقهر غير الاتهامات بالعار وعدم مخافة الله ، تتوقعون ان المتهمين يتقون الله ؟

680.	معروف اسقاط الولاية تسهل امورك سواء كان وليك صالح ام طالح تبقى امورك تقرر ينهبنا بنفسك ومن يربطه بالعري فعقله مفصخ
681.	لغاء الولاية هو اجراء ورقي لمنع ظلم ذوي القربى للبننت فقط .. الظالم اللي ماخذ حقوقها هو للي بس يخاف
682.	انا ما اعرف ليه معقدين المسأله
683.	ولاية هذه الي مخوفتهم مالها دخل بالاسلام ولا حتى بالتربيه ، لماذا الخوف
684.	١٤٠٠ امرأة سعودية يهرين سنوياً بسبب العنف، لو لهن كيان منفصل لاستقلت وازدهرت وانتجت
685.	ياريبي يدخل الدين في الموضوع هذي حقوق طيب غصب بيوم بتتحقق
686.	بناتنا انا معكم ويقوه بس بشرووووط وبالضوابط الشرعيه وخطو تحت الضوابط الشرعيه مليونون خط
687.	الهمه الهمه فديتك
688.	لا لحظة يقولون حتى تحويل التخصص لازم بموافقة الشيخ طيب وزارة العمل منعت هالأشياء بس احد طبقه فعلياً!
689.	<u>المرأة #السعودية تعاني من انتهاكات شتى داخل أسرتها وعند مراجعتها الدوائر الحكومية</u>
690.	أبشع تشويه تعرضت له المرأة هو اقناعها أنها فاسدة بالفطرة حتى باتت تدافع عن سجنها وسجانها، معتقدة فعلاً أنها فاسدة! هذ تشويه لن يُعُفَر للمجتمع!
691.	ثبت ان الولاية لا اصل لها في الاسلام .وبعض رجال الدين متشبهين بها حماية لمصالحهم
692.	لو قرأت صحف السويد ونقد الحكومه ظننت انها حكومه افغانستان نقد الوضع دليل الوعي والفشل ماخذينه فرصه للشماته
693.	الشرطه و الاسعاف و المطافي لازم موافقه مصيبه تتكل على الله و تموت احسن
694.	ا تبرري حقوقك، لا تقولي ابي اسوق عشان اودي زوجي المستشفى/ ابي اتوظف لأنني محتاجة/ أرفض الولاية لأنني مضطهدة.. طالبي بحقك لأنك تعتقدين بأنه حق
695.	ليش الأسري أهل الوطن يا بشاوات حريتي كيف أصبحت في يدك أنت
696.	بلومبيرق : #محمد_بن_سلمان سندعم حرية المرأة بالسفر بدون إذن ولي الامر وسنسمح بـ #قيادة_المرأة في اللحظة المناسبة.
697.	هل تشمل الولاية في السعودية المقيمات من غيرالجنسية السعودية؟واذا كان الجواب لافمعناه ان لاعلاقة للولاية بالدين
698.	من يعتقد ان نزع الولاية مرادف للانحلال الاخلاقي اسمحلي انت اما غبي او تعسفي قيود الولاية وصلت للبس النساء
699.	حينما يكون هناك هيمنه وقمع لطموح النساء اذا حرمت حقها في الدراسه والعمل واختيار مجال عملها يجب نزع الولاية
700.	المطالبين : يشوفون ان المرأة البالغة العاقله المكلفه تخلص امورها بنفسها سواء متضرره او لا
701.	كل اللي يعارضون اسقاط الولاية عذرهم الدشاره والتحرر واضح انه هذا كان سلوكهم اول ماسقطت عنهم الولاية
702.	دفاعي عن حقوق المرأة السعودية ورفع الوصاية عنها ليس لأنها امرأة وليس لأنها سعودية بل لأنها إنسان..افهموها
703.	ابشرك مسترخيه ومومنه بان هاليوم بييجي مثل ماجاء غيره قبل ٦ سنين وش كنا والحين وين وصلنا
704.	والمعارضين الذكور فهم يعارضون اي شي يخص المرأة بحجة الضياع وبأسم الدين! ورجولتهم بالتسلط وهم ضايعين بالواقع
705.	انا ضد #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية32 نحتاج تميز في مجتمعنا لكن مع #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية لمن يظلم المرأة ويأكل حقوقها

706.	يعني القصة واضحة ومعروفة بعد بتتكروها
707.	إذا أسقطت الولاية كيف راح تمارسها بجوار واحد عقليته رجعيه ؟ حنا بحاجه الى أسقاط عقول وفكر وعادات وتقاليد.
708.	على تمام النعمة والعقل والحمد لله ان الجنه مو بيدكم مفصلينها على مقاسكم ماشاء الله
709.	هناك فرق بين الولاية والقوامه اقراء باسم ربك يا اخ سيف
710.	أنا السياره .. أنا الأرض .. انا الفيلا التملك .. أنا اي شي الا اني اكون انسانه
711.	في الثانوي تعبت واغمرى علي واتصلو على ابوي يجي ياخذني جاء بتاكسي .. واخذو بطاقة ابوي وبطاقة التاكسي واستمارته
712.	هذا نفس شروط جامعتي "جامعة الاميرة نورة " ولازم ختم او توقيع من عمل ولي الامر واحتمال يرفضون بعد يطلعونك قبل ا
713.	وضعنا اسوء من المساجين ايام الكلية طلبنا من كودو حقت الامن فتشت الوجبات حتى الساندويش فتحتة قلت خير ينهرب مخدرات
714.	اظننا فيه من أجل حرية المرأة ، بعيد عن استعباد الذكر
715.	فليتخلى المجتمع عن إنتقاص المرأة ووصفها بنقص العقل.الخ/وليعتبرها أنسان حر كامل الأهلية
716.	<u>عزيزي المغرد الى مع أو ضد #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية دافع عن وجهة نظرك بأي وسيلة بدون ماتدخل "الدين" في الموضوع</u>
717.	هاذي انا فيه اذا انت مرتاحه فبيتك و مع اهلك مو كل بنت عندها رجال ينشد فيهم الظهر
718.	النساء والأطفال والفسقه فى نفس الخانة هذا هو سبب الإصرار على الوصايه
719.	هالتغييرات من صالح السعوديات، لكرامتها لعزتها.. امريكا و اسرائيل و روسيا مالهم مصلحة
720.	التعسف في استعمال السلطة من قبل الرجل لا يعني ان شريعتنا ناقصة
721.	لماذا لاتسقط الولاية في سن ١٨ تلقائياً ومن ترغب بولي تذهب الى المحكمة لتوكيله
722.	اجل كذا تحنا في ظلم كبيير
723.	جال الكهنوت وأشياهم القطيع المدرع من يقفون امام إعطاء المرأة كامل حقوقها الشخصية ، مجرمين وغير أسوياء
724.	سعوديات الملهمات اللاتي يناضلن من أجل انتزاع حقوقهن و نيل المواطنة الكاملة رغم كل القيود القانونية و الاجتماعية
725.	ساقول_لاحفادي_عشت_بزم كل مفكر راقى محارب وكل جاهل متظاهر محبوب كنا نطالب # سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية_# بطاقة احوال الى ان طالبنا ب
726.	الولاية لدى البعض اصبحت صك ملكيه يقدر يتحكم فيه ب لبسك واكلك وشربك وولون شعرك حتى في طول اظافرك
727.	<u>أحمد العديم عضو-#جمعية المستشرقين السعوديين معترض على مشروع #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية</u>
728.	وولي الأمر كل واحد يرمي المسئولية ع الثاني طيب والمزهريه مالها اعتبار
729.	المرأة السعودية بين تسلط الثقافة الذكورية والخضوع للعادات والتقاليد!وبين فئة تحارب حقوقها بذريعة الدين والأخلاق
730.	لا أبداً الحمد لله نحن معززات ومكّرمات من ديننا قبل أهلنا
731.	والدين جعل الرجال قوامون ع النساء ، فيُرجى تصحيح الولاية لا إسقاطها.
732.	كم من سعودية أحكم من ١٠٠ رجل
733.	في وظيفة قدمت لها من فترة كان من متطلبات القبول موافقة ولي الامر، شعور مزعج ومهين
734.	هذه المهزلة لا بد أن تنتهي !
735.	يمنع خدمة السيدات بدون محرم فروع شركة الاتصالات قررت أن لا تخدم السيدات بدون محرم فديو لسيدات طردوجة فرع سلطان
736.	بالله هذي بلد ينعاش فيها !

737.	لا اعلم هل هذا الكائن جاء الى الدنيا بدون ان تلده مرأه؟
738.	الولاية صورته اخرى من صور الوهم ستتخطم وكالعادة سينصدمون بأنه لا يوجد شيء من مخاوفهم فياليتهم قبل ذلك يعقلون
739.	هذا شرع ولا جدال فيه اسأل الله ل بناتنا الهداية من نحن دون اب وأخ وزوج وابن !!!
740.	مجتمعنا يلوم المرأة اذا تطلقت ولا يلوم الرجل لما كان زوج بلا اخلاق
741.	<u>حواء لم تخلق لتكون شماعه تعلق عليها غططات آدم#</u>
742.	حين يُقال : الرجل لا يعيية شيء ، كأنهم يقولون : النساء وحدهن سيحاسبن يوم القيامة
743.	اعترفوا ان بناتكم معنا يطالبن والبيت له شهر ما انكنس والغسيل مكوم ومواعينك يا ملكة مكومه تنتظرك ومنجلطين هه #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط
744.	عمر هذا التاق ما كان فتنه بلعكس كان اكثر تاق استفادوا منه البنات وتسبب في توعية اعداد كبيره على كثر ما حاولتم ايقافه وتشويهه والتشكيك فيه الا انه شق طريقه لنهاية بنجاح ولا اذكر انه أضر بأحد على العكس انا سعيدة جدا فيه وبكل ذكرى ومعاناة معه
745.	اللعين طلوعوا العتبييات هم اللي مسوين الهاشاق ؟!! مو أول كانوا يقولون كوهين وجهات خارجية
746.	لازم يدخلون بجنسيات الاخرين عندما يطالب بالحقوق او يقول الحق وكأن جنسيته تدخله الجنه
747.	وعندما اتى هذا القرار.. بعضهم غيروا السنتهم واصبحوا يمجدون عموما لهن الحق في مطالبهن
748.	شكراً فوز من الاعماق
749.	إني أذكرك يافوز يوماً تكونين فيه في القبر وحدك رهينةً لعملك حيث لا أنيس ولا جليس ثم أذكرك وقوفك بين يدي الله فأعدي للسؤال جواباً واثق الله في نفسك وفي بنات المسلمين ! هداك الله وفتح على قلبك وردك إليه رداً جميلاً
750.	اي ترا اذكر حربهم الشرسة اول يوم لتاق كان ودهم لو بقت اقصى طموحاتنا السماح بالقيادة عشان اذا منعوا بناتهم واشتكوا ينقال لهم بكل بجاحه والله مشكلتك عائلية الدولة سمحت روحي تفاهمي مع ولي امرك
751.	قرارات الحكومة نابعة من تقديم مصلحة تراها هي كذلك موعشان تاق سخييف تمثله بعض النسويات المنحلات لادين ولاحياء ولا احترام للعادات والتقاليد
752.	عندما يلتقي #أول_محاولة_تحرش_كان_عمري مع #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
753.	نساء السعودية مش ساكتين وبعض الرجال مواقفهم مشرفة في دعمهن .. تتمنى تحصدوا ثمار نضالكم قريباً
754.	حسستوني ان التحرش ولد وعاش ومات في السعوديه فقط كل مكان فيه تحرش واللي عندنا مرضى حالهم حال المتحرشين الاجانب
755.	المتحرشين انفسهم قد تم التحرش بهم التحرش والاعتداء الجنسي يحدث للبنات والاطفال الذكور
756.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية فخوره فيهم#</u>
757.	<u>صباح الخير للجميع خاصة #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية، "شبهات للبر في الظلمات".</u>
758.	مقالتي الجديدة في العربي الجديد يناقش اذا كانت النسوية في السعودية تقليدية أو عضوية؟
759.	النسوية السعودية المعلقة في الهواء "بقلم"هنا الخمرى
760.	<u>:رساله لمحمد بن سلمان نبيك بس تاخذ لفة على#</u>
761.	نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية وتعرف #3-helpdinaali-2زوج_حرق_زوجته_والقاضي_ظلمها #1-على وضعنا
762.	و ان طالبت القائمة
763.	ضعوا ثقتكم في هذا الرجل محمد بن سلمان أنه فخر السعودية
764.	وسط زخم التخوين غير المبرر للمطالبات السلميات بحقوقهن الأصيله، أرفع راية الحرية
765.	ما بني على باطل فهو باطل سيصمت يوما النابحون امام الحق
766.	طبعاً لجين ماتشتغل وتسوي الامور هذي بالمجان هناك من يدعمها دعم الله اعلم من الموساد او جهات خارجيه غامضه بس اكيد فيه دفع

767.	طبعاً من يثير الناس على بلده اكيد وراه هدف وليس هدف منفرد بل مشترك من قبل جهات خارجيه معادية
768.	الحق الاصيل مطلب لكل البشر منذ خلق الله الخلق ويكفي ان امنا حواء خلقت من ضلع اعوج
769.	قول احدهم ان النساء سبب الفساد،وأنا أقول لا أنكر ذلك واكبر دليل حين تتعب 9 أشهر لتلد شاب احمق مثلك ليقول النساء سبب الفساد
770.	إلغاء شرط تصريح السفر - إلغاء تهمة التغيب - اغلاق دور الرعاية -
771.	قانون يسمح للراشديات بالاستقلال بالسكن - تجريم العنف والمعنف
772.	تجنيس أبناء المرأة السعودية
773.	الاعتراف بأهلية المرأة،والمساواة بين الجنسين في الحقوق
774.	لم قلتي المساواة بين الجنسين في الحقوق هل هذا يشمل الميراث؟؟؟؟
775.	اذا الله سبحانه و تعالى حكم بشرعه و تشريعه كذا ، من انتي عشان تجين تفرضين اشياء حتى ما عندك بُعد نظر فيها و وش يبصير بعدين ؟
776.	أمل أن يكون فوز السعودية بعضوية المجلس التنفيذي للأمم المتحدة للمساواة بين الجنسين و تمكين المرأة دافعاً و محفزاً قوي لتغيرات جذرية بحق المرأة السعودية.
777.	<u>العنف الممارس ضد المرأة السعودية من الميلاد حتى الممات#</u>
778.	<u>حقوق المرأة#</u>
779.	من لا يقدر والديه لايقدر وطنه اولى خطوات #الأمن_الفكري هو #الترباط_الاسري فلنعزز من قيمة العائله بديلاً عن تشجيع #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية فحب الوطن يبدأ من الاسره حتى لاتتكرر قضية #رهف_القنون رغم حرص اياد خارجيه لتفكيك الاسره السعوديه . #سعوديون_يرفض_الانحلال
780.	الاسرة المترابطة هي اساس المجتمع
781.	الصلاحيات التي ولدت ووجدتها متاحة لك لن تشعرك بشعور واحدة من المتضررات من الولاية.
782.	قضية رهف الفنون مارج تتكرر الا اذا تركتوا كل بنت تعيش حياتها زي ماتبي من غير تدخل
783.	للأسف خرج جيل متمردلايفرق بين تعاليم الدين.وحدودالشرع وبين..القوانين والأنظمة.التي تضعها المؤسسات الحكومية..للتنظيم والضبط..وتجنب الفوضى
784.	العدل والانصاف واحترام حقوق الانسان والكل سوء سبه امام القانون وحفظ لاسره مكانتها وتأمين مصادر الدخل لكل فرد بالغ من افراد المجتمع بحيث لا يتجه الشباب والشابات الى الانحراف و الضياع كيف نشغل الشعب ونأمن له مصدر عيش يقات منه اما واحد يملك مليارات وواحد مو لاقى ياكل فالمعادله
785.	ن اكون مواطنة كاملة الاهليه ولست تابعه ملك لذكر
786.	روضة_اليوسف تدعي حب الوطن والولاء لولاة الأمر ومعارضة ل # سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية#
787.	ياليتها تنتهي بشخطة!! كثير جهات يطالبون تصديق التوقيع من العمدة او جهة العمل
788.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية رسمياً وإلا هي من زمان ساقطة#</u>
789.	كفار قريش افهم من بعض خلق الله
790.	أكره الجدل والنقاش في البديهيات وكأنه شيء مستنكر ماهو طبيعي
791.	الوسم انعكاس لمشاكل عميقة تعيشها المرأة السعودية ، ما أسوأ أن نصل إلى هذا!
792.	من يومين رحت للمدينه عندي عمل ورحت على موبايلي عشان البصمه يقولي لازم محرم من فين اجيب محرم
793.	لني.بعدين عاجبني وضعي اني تحت ولاية،اسقطوا الولاية على من تعرضم للعنف من الذكور
794.	هاشاقات خبيثة محرصة مامنھا أي فائدة المرأة مهما كانت تظل أنثى ضعيفة تحتاج الولي
795.	بعيد عن التعصب الولاية كثير شايلينھا ناس مايبستحقونها والاصح المرأة تكون ولية نفسها فحالات زي كذاااا

796.	المشكلة ليست في الولاية ذاتها بل في الفهم الخاطئ الذي يعشعشع في العقل الجمعي فيقود إلى سلوكيات مغلوطه .
797.	برغم كل شيء تبقى أنات السعوديات تحت هذا الوسم جديرة بالنظر في المشكلة والبحث في أسبابها وحلولها .
798.	كالذي يحتاج لموافقة مختار القرية للشرب من ماء النهر
799.	الهاشقات ذى والله ان عندي إحساس وراها ناس لاسعوديين ولايحنون لكن مفسدين مغرضين بيخربون على بناتنا وحرمانا ويس
800.	ورين من السعوديات لانهم بالولاية كا الجواهر مكنونه
801.	صلحوا النت عشان نقدر نطالب بحقوقنا على رواقه
802.	كل التاقات صايرة كمية فضايح وتشهير بخلق الله .. الوضع كل ماله يتردى
803.	يكدها ٢٥ سنه لين تاخذ شهاده اكاديميه ثم تطالب بنزع ولايته عليها .. الجود بأشنع حالاته
804.	معنى سقوط الولاية تصبح ساقطه الكل يجعلها لقضاء شهواته كما في الغرب بعد أن كانت ملكة في بيتها ومجتمعا خد لها
805.	لا اطالب بالغاء الولاية بل اطالب بدفن المرأة مع وليها اذا مات لانه أفضلها من المرمطه مع قوانينكم بلا ولي
806.	ونعم الولي والله . تتوقعون هؤلاء الناضجين يعدلون سلوك كم إمراءه مما يملكون ؟
807.	إذا إنتو متعجبين من المطالبه مره إحنا متعجبين من معارضةكم ألف مره
808.	يمن علينا بالقدوم للحياة و بوسيلة اتصال بالعالم الخارجي
809.	إسألني طالبة حقوق أنا لو شي واحد يتطلب توقيع ولي الأمر فأنا أطالب بأنه يسقط عنه أعرف السفر إذا تعرفين شي ثاني فيديني
810.	حسب الأسره الي إنتي فيها وحسب درجة الحريه الي يمنحها إياك ولي أمرك
811.	لايوجد مضطهد : هذي أكذوبه تعلمي حقك : إذا كنتي حقوقيه وعندك معلومات وعي فيها الناس أنا لو تصنيفيني في التاق متابعه بصمت ليه ؟
812.	<u>حتى في طلب العلم ! في بداية ظهور هذا الوسم #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية كنت أبحث عن سبب مُنفع .. والآن وجدته ~</u>
813.	بنات وشباب بداية يعارضوا حق الولاية ويقذفوا اللي يطالبوا طيب هذا المسخرة ايش ي الدرة
814.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية#42</u>
815.	عندما تصبح الولاية تسلط مرضي...
816.	اولا هذا ماله علاقه في موضوع الولاية ثانيا انصحك بقراءة تفسير الشعراوي للايه
817.	مليون مرة مر علي هذا التفسير المشكلة انكم ماتوقفون عند جملة *لان الرجال افضل من
818.	النساء* هذا غير منطقي الافضليه للافضل خلقا ودينا وعملا فلاتنفخوا انفسكم لمجرد كونكم ذكور
819.	اعيد راجع تفسيرات اخرى كثيره + لاتخلط الولاية بالقوامه والقوامه اصلا
820.	تكليف . وهي بين الازواج. وبطلوا تتحججوا بالدين فلسنا جاهلات تحججتوا بالدين سابقا ضد تعليم المرأة
821.	المشكلة انك شاطح ومو شايف القضيه الي فوق
822.	ساسا قلت ذكور لاتحشروا انفسكم في شؤون النساء
823.	انا حاله اصلا ما اناقش ولا اتعب دماغي مع عبط همجين مايشوفون الا الجنس بأي شي
824.	حال الممانع عند سؤاله ماهي حقوق المرأة يصير درباوي
825.	قط الولاية ؟! الله يرفع البهايم عن هالاشكال
826.	أنا بالنسبة لي أقدمس ولي أمري لأنه شاي كل العنا والتعب و مريحني الله يحفظهم و يخليهم لي ولا يحرمني منهم .

827.	وطني يؤلمني !
828.	اميره تتحدث عنكم بكل شفافية فعلا بعض السعوديات حتى الهويه محرمه عليها
829.	تلخيص للتلوث الفكري ضد المرأة بقلم الحره حصه ال الشيخ
830.	الفوزان جميع من شاركوا في هذا الهشتاق منافقين
831.	<u>الولاية في الإسلام أفضل وأوجب من الجهاد !! للشيخ #الفوزان</u>
832.	ما عرفنا لكم بالمسلمين نصدق مين فيكم!! گلن يفسر ويحلل ويحرم على هواه
833.	الولاية على المرأة ركن من أركان الإسلام هذا الي فهمته من الشيخ والله أعلم
834.	مقابلة الاميرة ريم بنت بندر وكيلة هارفي.نيكلز عن وضع المرأة وتأثيره على بيئة العمل
835.	أصابته الحقيقة لكن عجلة التغيير والتقدم في مجال تمكين المرأة مستمرة بوتيرة سريعة
836.	الخلط الواضح بين القوامة والولاية والولد عند سن الرشد يرجع المصاري ف ؟
837.	على الجزمة. إذا كان محتفظ بالفواتير يذلني بها.
838.	هالبننت اذا كبرت وطالبت بإسقاط الولاية قالوا عنها عاقه
839.	لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله لابد من التبليغ عن هذا الأب الظالم عديم الرحمة
840.	اقتنعت انه لاينفع النقاش مع الكثير من المعارضين ف حين اعجزهم ف الرد واصر ع راياي يقذفوا ويشتموا ويلفقوا التهم
841.	عشان كذا صرت اعمل بلوك لي عفني العقل قذري الاخلاق والالفاش يدعون الدين وهم عراه من اخلاق الدين
842.	الام لاتستطيع اخراج صك الأعالة حتي لو كانت هي التي تصرف على أيتامها يجب ان يكون الأخ من الأب الذي لا يعرفهم
843.	دكتوراه فاضله تعيل ابنتها اليتيمة ولكن لا تستطيع ان تكمل اوراق ابتعاثها مع خالها حتي تُحضر صك أعاله محرم !!
844.	سأصرخ بالحقيقة لتموت أصوات الكاذبين!
845.	مكملين الله لا يعوق بشر وانتني اقعدي بزايه اضحكلي لين تقطع مصارينك
846.	مثلما هناك توصيات تهدف لإلغاء أنظمة مخلفات الرق مثل نظام الكفيل أعتقد أن نظام الولي يدخل من باب العبودية
847.	هناك من يناضلون من أجل الحرية وهناك من يطالبون بتحسين شروط العبودية
848.	مع الأسف واللي يقهر ويحز بالخاطر بنت تحارب حريتك وتقدمك للافضل ، مفهوم الحرية عندهم الانحطاط الاخلاقي
849.	ايسط مثال شف حال المعنفات ومسجونات دار الرعاية
850.	تعلم القران لاتفسر على كيف عقلانيتك الشوية ، ونعرف باي عام عايشين مايحتاج نعنف ، فتح عيونك لاربي ييليك
851.	واذا اغلب البنات مبتعثات شى جميل مع انه خطأ اعتقادك ، وايه عبودية في بنات محرومات من الدراسة والوظيفة ومعنفات هذا وش تسميه ؟
852.	مستفزة فكرة أني بخير لأن وليي يسمح بهذا ، مخيفة فكرة أني تحت رحمة أحدهم.
853.	واضح ان المعارضين فى التاق من محدودى الثقافه والوعى حافظ له كلمتين ويرردها، الأغلبه الصامته وش اخبارى ؟؟
854.	غداً تتغير الأنظمة وترتفع الولاية وتعود النساء كما كنا في عهد النبي يوم جئن يبايعنه فلم يشترط موافقة ولي الأمر ولا عندما خرجن لتطبيب الجرحى
855.	اسقطوها ي حكومتنا نحن بعام ٢٠١٦ جاء الوقت اللي تكون فيه كل امرأه سعوديه مستقله معتمده ع نفسها
856.	اقعدي في بيتكم اذا انتي مع الولايه محد طقك ع راسك قالك اطلعي وخلي خلق الله منتي ربهم وكلن وتربيته
857.	عندما تواجه المستشرفين ومدعي اتباع شرع الله بالأدلة لا يبقى لهم إلا مثل هذا الرد
858.	

	القضية تحت رحمة ومزاجية القاضي اما انصاف او لا لابد من تقنين الاحوال الشخصية
859.	42 يوما ونحن نشرح انها ليست من الشرع..و ما زالوا مقتنعين انها منه اما عقولهم ابت الفهم او اذانهم ابت السمع
860.	فاهمين وسامعين وكل شي بس القصة قصة تجبر وتسلب
861.	ف حال إلغاء الولاية راح تخف نسبة كبيرة من القضايا ف المحاكم وتتفرغ للقضايا الأهم
862.	القاضي ذكر لديه اربع زوجات وعشرين بنت .. لن يحكم ضد ما يراه حق له
863.	أحب ابارك لكم القرار الجديد سواك صار ولي أمرك شكرا يا وطني
864.	الدين ولكن الأولاد يتربون على الرجل عيبه بجيبه يعني ازني في بنت جارتك ونسجنا لك!!
865.	من غرائب القصص التي حدثت لي شخصيا..طلب مني موظف حكومي توقيع سائقي البنغالي لأنني حضرت بلا ولي أمر
866.	بالعكس أنا لست ناقمة بل أعذره تماما لأنه وجد نفسه أمام وضع وخاف يتحمل المسؤولية لكن مثل هذه الأمور هي التي تكشف عيوب القوانين.
867.	حتى لو كنت من المعارضين لا تنهزى بمعاناة المعنفات ماتدري أختك او بنتك تصير منهم بيوم
868.	صار حلال أرضع السواق و حرام أسوق سيارة
869.	ناس تحتفل بما وصلو اليه وناس لسي باقي تشخذ حقها
870.	وعشان ماتصير حياتك ضربة حظ صار لازم تسقط الولاية
871.	عقلية محرمك .. تحدد شكل حياتك
872.	ياالله شهادته الي تبط الجبد كن مراح تتطور الا بقيادة المرأة؟ والله يحسسونك ان التطور مرتبط بالاشياء
873.	ولي أمر يقتل زوجته حرقا .
874.	الاحترام يُكتسب ولا يفرض لذا عزيزي الذكر الراض خوفًا من فقدان الاحترام عملهم بالحسنة يعاملونك بافضل منها
875.	اما عزيزتي الراضة ما عندي غير "الله يرحم حالك" تذكرني بالعبد الراض لعق الرقبة خوفا من العيش بدون سيده
876.	أنا اقصد حسن المعاملة معهم دون تسلط تكسب ودهم دون سلطة او قوى تجبرهم على احترامك أغلب الذكور الراضين خايفين أنهم يفقدون احترامهم
877.	اللهم اعتقنا من عبودية الفكر.
878.	أخي المعارض إن لم تكن لك مصلحة في إبقاء الولاية على المرأة فلماذا تعارض
879.	الغريب بهالمجتمع المسلم ان الذكر الصغير هو ولي أمري ومحرمي حتى لو عمري 40 وعمره 15 بس عشانه ذكر وأنا أنثى
880.	ذهب الكثير ولم يبق الا القليل . بإذن الله ستعود حقوقنا إلينا . فثقتي فيك ياربي كبيره .
881.	تخيل زوجها مدمن مخدرات يضربها ويستهدف اموالها اشتكت حطوها بدار الحماية! قال ولاية
882.	كيف يعني يتركونها لزوجها!!!!يعذبها
883.	ن الله يأمر بالعدل، وليس من العدل معاملة المرأة البالغة العاقلة كالقاصر والمجنون، فهذا القانون باطل شرعاً.
884.	ولا زلت أنتظر شيء جميلا سيأتي به القدر .. ولنا في أقدار الله أشياء جميلة لم نعرفها بعد
885.	هذا ضحية أخرى من ضحايا الولاية .. تعنيف ثم دار الحماية ثم الاضطرار للعودة ثم الموت
886.	معلومات بئسه تكرر مفهوم الولاية وتسلب الرجل وضعف المرأة حساب فاشل
887.	ليس أحقر من ذكر يسخر من مطالب النساء إلا بهيمة أنثى تؤيده لتنال إعجابه
888.	لازم نأخذ مطالباتهن بعين الاعتبار ، شوفوا المسكينة هذي ؛ أبوها حتى وهو ميّت يضربها
889.	أختناااااه هل أنتي إنسان؟
890.	ويجي نتفه يقول ضعيفه وأناوليها!والله انها تساوك وتسوى 20مثلك الي ماتحملوالم الطلق!
891.	الله وليي فقط
892.	البلاوي هذي مع التعنت راح تهدم العقيدة بخزعبلاتهم وبعدها امة الاسلام

893.	لاطالت بلح الشام ولا عنب اليمن لان الجيل هذا مختلف
894.	محطات التحريم ثم التحليل شاهداً على كذبهم ، ما كان بالامس محرماً اليوم هم اول مرتكبيه ، وعجلات الزمن تسير للأمام لا الخلف؟!
895.	يعني البنت تكبر وهي معقود قرانها متزوجة بحجة نصب على الشرع وسؤ استخدام الولاية
896.	انتم مصدقين ؟؟ المتضرره من وليها الشرعي تتقدم بشكوى للمحكمة ،،
897.	المرأة (مُغَيِّبة العقل) بمنزلة « القديسة » في مجتمع العادات والتقاليد الذكوري !!
898.	فعلا و لم تكن غرضا يملكه رجل يعطي ملكيتها لرجل اخر او تنتقل من سيد لوريث
899.	السخرية على مطالب و ألم المواطنة السعودية امر محزن و مخجل
900.	واضح ان هناك خلل في التعامل مع العنف الاسري
901.	مع ويقوه
902.	مواطن يقتل زوجته بحريق مفتعل في فندق
903.	<u>اشوف #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية اختفى من الترنند!!! افااا بس ليش وقفتم</u>
904.	ما وقفنا، تغريداتنا الاكثر بالترند بس الترنند له شروط مو بعدد التغريدات
905.	<u>فيه هاشتاق #حياة راء انا مو مكذبة القصة لانها واردة لكن فيها تناقضات يهمني اكثر انها ليش انطرحت بهالوقت في ثورة</u>
906.	اغلب وليس كل البعض فعلا يعانون ولكن ماشوف ان اسقاط الولاية حل
907.	كل شي ممكن حتى القصة ممكنه بكرة نعرف اذا كانت القصة صحيحة او مجرد تحفيز للمطالبات باسقاط الولاية
908.	هل فيه شك انها ثورة ؟ اتقي الله فوق 40 تاق بنفس الاسم ولسى ماتشوفينها ثورة ؟
909.	اللهم انك خلقتنا(نساء بلاد الحرمين) احرارا.. وانك تعلم ياالله باننا صالحات صابرات اللهم لا تولي علينا ظالماوسفيتها
910.	نقول للمتضررات الله وياكم ونقول للفارغات الله يهديكم
911.	شي غريب في بلادنا النساء تقف ضد النساء !! لماذا ياعبدة الذكور!!
912.	طالبى بفتح محكمة اسرة للصلح بين الزوجين فى حالة الطلاق وخفض معدل الجريمة بسبب الطلاق
913.	جمال المراء ه في حياتها ومحرمها الذي يرفع من قدرها أمام الناس وليس عزها في وحدتها وأختلاطها وتبرجها وسفورها !!
914.	مين قال انو اسقاط الولاية معناها التبرج والاختلاط بأخصصار بس تبغا تكون مسؤولة عن حياتها
915.	اسقاط الولاية لا يعني السفور والشره افهم رعاك الله
916.	من عجائب المرأة انها تدواي وهي مجروحه وتواسي وهي مهمومه وتسهر وهي متعبه وتحزن مع من لا تعرفه,, فأرفقو بها ,
917.	تطالب بإسقاط الولاية وهي لاجت تطلع ولا تنام تستأذن من حبيبها
918.	فقط في السعوديه المرأة لا تُعامل كعاقل!
919.	بما إن الهاشتاق هادف انا اطالب بإسقاط القانون لانه يقيد حريتي
920.	وصلنا لوضع جدّا سيّء، المرأة اصبحت وكأنها مملوكة
921.	اسقطو الولاية واسمحو بالزواج الخارجي خلو الجميع يعيبش
922.	منادون حتى بحقوق الزفت .. و لكن لحقوق سجينات الاصلاحية لا منادي
923.	الأخ مو من حقه يغلط ويجي يسترجل على اخته والله حرام كثير بنات متأزمين من اخوانهم خافو ربكم !!
924.	لن نصمت عن حقنا في العيش! مستمرين..
925.	يا ربي عفوك و رضاك و حب ولاتنا رغم كل كميات الظلم و العنف الموجود .. نطلب عفوك يا رب و الصبر
926.	احس الموضوع منطقي شوي مع اني ضد الا اني والله اشوف بنات معنفين من اخوانهم مع ان ابوهم عايش ولا احد يمنعهم!
927.	{الله ولي الذين آمنو} وانا مؤمنة، من انتم لتجعلو علي ولي؟

928.	سلمى المطلقة التي جلدت و سجت خرجت و رجعت لبيتها و لكن فتيات و سيدات لازلوا فالسجون طالبا لأجلهم
929.	ماقول الا حسبي الله عليك يا جهيمان"
930.	عني لمتى !! لمتى واحنا حنفضل من العالم الثالث !!
931.	للتنبية* مو كل معارضه عاهره * عشان محد يتصيد و يحور كلامي او يفهمه غلط
932.	فعلاً "من شر البلية ما يضحك"!! كل شي جديد يجرموه كل شي حضاري يحبطوه اي شي غريب عليهم ينكروه !!
933.	يبدو أنه بدأ تكفيرنا وأستباحة دماءنا ليستمر أستعبادنا.
934.	اليوم على جُدران مدينتي بين ذكريات فلان و رقم هاتف فلان، كتبت لـ التاريخ لـ الحرية لـ النضال لـ المرأة السعودية
935.	أول من دعم الإسلام ماديا ومعنويا كانت امرأة (أم المؤمنين خديجة عليها السلام
936.	الأركان الخمسة وأركان الإيمان ليست بعض الكتاب هي كل الكتاب والولاية ليست منها فشكراً ولكن الآية لاتخص موضوع ال #الولاية
937.	حنا لسى تونا نبداً باسقاط عصر ابو جهل .. انشالله لاحقينكم
938.	استوصوا بالنساء خيراً
939.	ومن الظلم عندما تذهب الزوجه لتطلب الطلاق يطلبو الزوج لاصلاح ذات البين واخذ رايه اما اذاالزوج يبني يطلق سهالات
940.	متى استعبدتم الناس وقد ولدتهم امهاتهم احرا را
941.	ارحموا من في الأرض يرحمكم من في السماء. اعبدوا الله حق عبادته
942.	اسقاطها ليس هدفها خلع الحجاب او السفر للسباحه في مشاكل تعطلت للارامل والمطلقات والايتام تدمي القلب بسببها
943.	الرجوله بماتحملها من معنى تحتاجهاالمراه لكن الغالب اشباه رجال يبحث عن الرياء بالمرجله علحساب عائلته واسرته
944.	محزن ان تكون امراه ناضجه متعلمه تحتاج ابنها الطفل المراهق لتوقيع اوراقهاالرسميه لكونهاامراه اصبحت ناقصه كل شئ
945.	مأقدرت أصدق فكرة ان المستعبده راضيه بالعبوديه وضد البنات اللي يطالبون بأسقاط الولاية !!
946.	النصح والإرشاد واخذ الرأي لاحرج فيه اما التحكم في امر المرأة بخلاف رغبتها واختيارها ورأيها فهو ظلم محرم والولاية تنحصر في عقد النكاح لا غير.
947.	حين يرفض الولي تزويج امرأة راشدة ولا تجد حلا في المحاكم سوف يكون أمامها الأكتئاب أو الهرب أو الحرام. لا تكابروا
948.	نوره ليست الوحيدة وأقول هذا من خلال ماسمعته من نساء يعانين الأكتئاب في عيادتي
949.	"عندما تترك اخا لك تأكله الذئاب.. فستجوع الذئاب يوماً ما ولن تجد سواك لتأكله"
950.	يمكنون المجتمع بالمرأه ويفتخرون بها بعكسنا،هل ي ترى سوف تفتخر دولتي بالمرأه يوماً ما؟
951.	بالمعارضات ترا الذكر يوم يعارض هذا دليل معنده ثقه ب اهله لاتنيسطين انو معاه حق
952.	الله سبحانه وتعالى ميزنا عن حيوانات بالعقل ل نعرف بين الصح او الغلط وانا الي اشوفه الي نطالبه مو غلط
953.	ياايها الذكر الجاهل احنا طالبنا بحقوقنا انت شو دخلك بحقوقنا ؟ ماتبي اعترض عن اهلك
954.	ابي افهم بس مين التضرر من المبدأ ، اسقاط الولاية ان المرأة تكون مستقلة برايها وتستطيع اتخاذ قراراتها بنفسها
955.	غير كذا الي متضررة حقوقيا وجسديا ونفسيا تطلب اسقاط الولاية في المحكمة
956.	القاسم المشترك بين من يقبل الولاية ومن يرفضها هو أن الجميع غير أسوياء في تربيتهم
957.	من التناقضات العجيبة في وطني يشجعون ع إصدار بطاقات الهوية وهي لم تفعل ألا بولي أمر
958.	اسقاط الولاية مو خذني جيتك والامر ياتم باهشتاق بكل بساطه يبني لها حوار ديني واسع مو كلن تغرد من راسها
959.	كيف تشكل مفهوم الولاية على المرأة في التراث الإسلامي؟

960.	ما في شي ما تطالب به المرأة وما نسبته للدين و ما جرمتوا وقذفتوا من يطالب..
961.	كل من رفض اسقاطها بأسم الدين وجرمها هذا يتخذ نفس الموال من زمن تعليم البنات..
962.	طامة كبرى عندما يتضرر النساء من الولاية فيصل بهن الحال لطلب هذا الامر يحتاج ان نشعر المرأة بوجود الرجل في حياتها
963.	<u>حملة كبيرة جداً تنتشر بقوة على تويتر بعنوان " #سعوديات تطالب بإسقاط الولاية " يطالب فيها السعوديون بالحرية</u>
964.	ما يخافون الله ع قذفهم لكل من يطالب ؟ بس لان المرأة تبي تخلص امورها الخاصة بنفسها !!! اي شرع تتخذون؟
965.	والله لن اسامج من يسبني و يقذفني و يجردني من جنسيتي و يطلقني بالقاب لا امسها بصلة ليوم الدين
966.	{الله ولي الذين آمنوا} وانا مؤمنة، من انتم لتجعلو علي ولي؟
967.	حملة عبر تويتر لإلغاء نظام ولي الأمر على المرأة بالسعودية: على الدولة الإنصات لنسائها .
968.	قاصره او مازوخيه وماتشوف نفسها الا بذكر يقرر عنها
969.	ماتعيشه المرأة وأد فالوآد لايعني الدفن بالضرورة وانما الوآد له صور اخرى
970.	لما يقع فيها الكثير من الظلم وهي نفسها ظلم كيف امراه كامله الأهليه يتعامل معها كانها سفيه
971.	ياخي خلاص لاتحاول الدين مافيه ولايه ويس
972.	للتوضيح هذا الحديث أختلف في صحته كما أنه لا يوجد فيه ما يدل على الولاية
973.	حلو اذاً للمرأة التي تنفق على زوجها حق الولاية ومنعه من الدراسة والسفر وغيره ويجب عليه طاعتها
974.	بس انت شبهت المرأة بالسيارة جردتها من إنسانيتها وشبهتها بشيء يباع ويشتري!عرفت ليه وجبت سقوط الولاية؟
975.	ترا مو ضروري تقتنع الدين واضح بكل دول العالم الاسلامي مافي زي عندنا يعني كلهم غلط واحنا الصبح
976.	والله حتى بزمان الجاهليه ماكانت الولاية موجوده
977.	الولاية بالشرع لم تُخصص للذكر على الانثى ابدأ
978.	من الواضح انك جاهل في النساء على ايام الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، كانوا النساء يعملون ويخرجون حتى للغزوات.
979.	ترا مو اذا تزوجت ودفعت مهر تكون الزوجه عبده لك او احد ممتلكاتك زوجتك لها حرية رأي واستقلاله ويمكن تكون افضل منك
980.	مالك احقيه في تدميرحياتها بمنعها من الدراسة وماهي لعبه توجهها بالطريق اللي تبنيه اما السفر اساسا لايجوز الا بمحرم
981.	التشبيه يدل على جهلك ولكن الحمد لله الاسلام اعطى المرأة حقها وعلا منزلتها رغم انف اشباه الرجال
982.	هذا استعباد ، اذا انت تجهل كلمة استعباد معجم اللغة صار موجود بقوقل بالمطيع لربك
983.	مايحق لك تتدخل او تمنع حقوقها ، عساك للعقم المؤبد عشان مانشوف اجيالك الجاهلة
984.	جيب دليل واحد من شرعكم ان الله عطاك حق انك تمنعهم من الدراسة او الوظيفة لانك ولي .. انا بالانتظار
985.	الولاية استعباد ولا تكذب على نفسك بكلامك السخيف هذا
986.	ماتستعبد بس تمنعها من وظيفة او سفر او من الدراسة هذا ايش اسمه ؟ واضح انك مجرّد شخص يقول اشياء مايفقه فيها
987.	اتوقع ما وجد العقل عن فراغ ولا جت الانثى للدنيا عشان ذكر يقرر عنها ، كل شخص يتحمل الضر ولا يحق لك تتدخل
988.	ليس لك الحق في منع عاقل من حقها إن كان لا يخالف امر الله من تعليم ووظيفه وتأسيس مستقبل هل انت من خلقها؟ ام انك من وهبتها الحياة؟
989.	الولاية لمن هم ليسو مسؤولون عن تصرفاتهم ويحتاج للتصرف عنه الحافظ هو الله سبحانه ثم خوفنا منه ومراقبته في السر والعلانية لا بولايتكم

990.	هي تحتاج الأمان والاحترام قبل ان تحتاج ولايتك تحتاج توجيه عقائدي خلال تربيتها فالولاية لأجلك لا لأجلها..
991.	من الجهل ان الدولة تلزم نساءها باتباع الذكور ومن المؤسف ان ترحب بالجهل يامن تدعي الرجولة
992.	لحق هو أن لا تحرمها حقها وأن لا تفرض الدولة عليها ذلك الحق هو أن تدعم أحلامها وتطلعاتها عندما تخبرك بها
993.	الحق أن تأخذ بيدها لأنها انسان وكيان مستقل والباطل هو تصديقك لكهنة الدين والسير مع القطيع
994.	هل جميع فتيات الخليج والدول العربية في النار لمجرد انهن يخترن طريقهن بأنفسهن وهاهن مبدعات في كل المجالات ورجالهم بهم يفخرون
995.	كثير من الأبناء يستغلون آبائهم وازواج يستغلون زوجاتهم ، وهم يعلمون انهم يستغلونهم ولكن لمجرد انهم ذكور فهذه تذكرة عبور لهم!
996.	ولكن يضل في مجتمعي ان الشاب مثل الحباء مهما اخطأ فهو متكيف مع المجتمع اما الفتاة فتضل قماش ابيض تتسخ بسهولة ويجب حرقها تماماً .
997.	نصره للمعنفات اذا انا ماعاني في غيري يعاني من باب الانسانيه
998.	وكل بنت تطالب بالاسقاط له اهداف ثانيه
999.	من غير اطاله في يومنا هذا المرأة تسعى وتشقى وتنفق مثل الرجل حتى في السابق كانت تحرث وترعى وتبيع وتشتري
1000.	لاسلام ما قال الانثى ماتشتغل وماتشوف نفسها وتشوف حياتها التربيه من التزاماتها بس مو كل التربيه ،التربيه مشتركه
1001.	ليش متخيل إذا سقطت الولاية راح تخليك اختك او زوجتك بلاقيمة ستحتاج الولاية كمثال فقط عندما تمنعها من التعليم او تعنفها
1002.	لماذا لا يكون لحرائرتنا نفس حقوق الرقيق!!
1003.	البنت اللي تبي تكمل دراستها وتخلص أمورها بنفسها تبي الفسق وكذا .. والرجل اللي يبي يضمن مستقبل خواته وحاس ان المرأة انسان صار يبي حرية الوصول
1004.	المحرضين والمشاركين في هذا الهاشتاق هم أنفسهم
1005.	الولاية تعتبر المرأة السعودية الراشدة قاصي، وهي باب لاضطهاد وابتزاز للمرأة
1006.	لو امرأة واحدة فقط تعرضت للعضل سوف نطالب بأسقاط الولاية. ألا تفعلوا يكن فساد في الأرض
1007.	أتمنى من محاربي أي نظام عدم الاستفادة من مميزاته بعد إقراره احترامًا للحرب التي أشعلوها ضده ولمبادئهم التي ادعوها.
1008.	ملحدين مره وحدة ليت امك بركت عليك احسن
1009.	أنا #مسلمة #سعودية و أطالب بحقوقى
1010.	لو طبقت قاعدة الاستفتاء الديمقراطية لما ألغي الرق .. لا يستفتون البشر بالحقوق
1011.	خطاب لالغاء الولاية ارجوا النشر والدعم
1012.	إنهم يكرهون المرأة ويحتقرونها بذات إذا خالفتهم، وجعلوا الدين مسوغ
1013.	لا يستطيع أن يجتمع مع امرأة بعمر أمه من كثر التقوى.
1014.	لايجب على الزواج علاج زوجته د.سهيلة توضح تأثيرالموروث في اهانة فقهاء الدين للمرأة-
1015.	الرجال قوامون بما انفقوا، لكن إذا لم ينفق عليها وقت مرضها فمتى ينفق وعلى ماذا قوام؟ هذا يدل على تأثير الموروث بشكل بالغ على عقلية فقهاءنا
1016.	تخلوا استناداً على مثل هذه الآراء الفقهية المتخلفة تُصاغ تشريعات وقوانين المرأة اليوم. ثم نتساءل لماذا هناك نظرة دونية للمرأة؟
1017.	أن تقذف دكتورة فاضلة بالكذب لأنك جاهل، هنا المشكلة. لا تثق بجهلك الشيخ المنجد، ومره أخرى ناقش بأدب أو تحجب
1018.	والدولة حفظها الله خصصت جهاز لحماية المعنفات والله الحمد وتتعامل مع الحالات النادرة بالمجتمع على اكمل وجه

1019.	بالعكس الدولة جهاز قانوني يحتكم فيه المتخاصمين وانا على يقين ان الدولة تحفظ كرامة المرأة
1020.	اذا كان اعتراضك على بعض الاجهزة التي براك انها لا تنصف فطالبوا بتعديل قوانين الحكم في القضايا والشكوى على القائمين
1021.	يهمني انني جزء من هذا المجتمع ويهمني جميع اركانه والفرد يتاثر بالمجتمع الذي حوله
1022.	الله يلعن كل من ظلم المرأة بتفسير او غيره
1023.	الثقة تزرع المسؤولية، والمسئولية تربي "تأنيب الضمير" وهذا ما يحمي البنت لا الولاية!
1024.	هم يربوها عاى انهم يفكرون عنها ويتخذو أي قرار عنها.. كانها لا تملك عقلا. وحين لاتجد الحب والحنان والمعاملة الطيبة ستضيع مع أول طارق حب
1025.	وَإِذَا الْمَوْءُودَةُ سُئِلَتْ بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ قُتِلَتْ) يارب اغفر لهم فانهم لا يعلمون)
1026.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية #50</u>
1027.	نرجو منكم جميعا نساء ورجالا المشاركة في هذا الخطاب حتى يصل الى الملك بإذن الله
1028.	السفرحق لجميع خلق الله ليس من الشرع ان يكون باذن شخص واحد فليس كل محرم ولي هناك محارم كثر وللمحرم شروط
1029.	بعدين لنا ٥٠ يوم وزود يعني معقولة ما أحد درى
1030.	المؤلب يعرفون يجيبونه بتغريدة وأكد تعرف أمثلة كثيرة مطالباتنا سلمية مستمدة من وعود دولة أمرنا
1031.	الولاية المعمول بها هنا.. في وطننا هي ان المرأة تابعة لا مواطنة فاقدة الاهلية لا عاقلة.. تساوى بالقاصر والمجنون عند
1032.	اتخاذ القرارات... جل ما طلبناه هو معاملتها معاملة كامل الاهلية بشؤون حياتها.
1033.	ان تجبر المرأة على اخذ موافقة وليها الذكر بكل امور حياتها الخاصة فهذا قمة الظلم... ان تاخذ والدتك التي ربتك موافقتك
1034.	فهذا قمة العقوق... فالمرأة العاقلة الراشدة تستطيع التصرف بامور حياتها الشخصية... فهي ليست معتوهة او قاصر لتحتاج لوصي
1035.	ان تتعلم تتوظف تستخرج ثبوتياتها جوازها دون ولي امر تحت مزاجيته..
1036.	ان تستطيع المرأة المسجونة في حال انتهت محكوميتها ان تخرج دون الحاجة للانتظار حتى يستلمها وليها... وفي حال رفض تقبيل في السجن
1037.	المعنفات في دور الحماية.. بدل ان تحمى من معنفها اللي هو وليها.. تسجن و يظل الجلاد طليق يستمتع
1038.	ان تستطيع المرأة المتضررة من ولي لا يعلم عنها سوى انه وليها المتحكم الامر الناهي من التصرف بشؤونها الخاصة دون الرجوع لظلمه
1039.	ح كلامك... المسالة ببساطة ان الدين دين انسانية انظر لها فهي انسان وليست جماد واحكام الله ميسرة
1040.	نحن هنا لا نتكلم عن تحرر الغرب بل عن مدى اكرام دول الخليج لنسائهم هل من الصعب معاملتنا مثلهم..
1041.	جل ما رايتموه هر الغرب.. ونسيتم اخواننا المسلمين حولنا... فالإسلام لم يقتصر علينا فقط... ولسنا وحدنا مسلمين
1042.	شكرا جزيلا لكم ولكل من سجل... اعاننا الله واياكم جميعا
1043.	على العموم نحن شرحنا بالمختصر.. ولك الدخول للهاشاق لمعرفة الاسباب... لك الحرية بالاقتناع او لا ولك الحرية بتحكيم ضميرك
1044.	والقانون المطبق علينا ما مسماه؟! اسمه قانون الولاية... نحن هنا نتعامل مع قانون الولاية اليحتي اما اذا مشكلتك بالمسمى
1045.	فهذا شي ليس بيدنا... جل ما نعرفه ان هذا النظام القمعي و التسلط ما يسمى بقانون الولاية التسلطي.. الذي ليس من الشرع اسقاطه

1046.	السفر بالشرع قليل محرم و ليس بولي.. المحرم كثر ولكن لا يؤخذ بهم و الولي واحد وهو المعتبر و ان توفر المحرم فهو لا قيمة له
1047.	نحن مشكلتنا مع هذا النظام البحتي... انا ما تقصده بالولاية فلا ولاية الا بالزواج... اما القوامة تختلف بالمعنى عن الولاية
1048.	كما اخبرت سلفا مشكلتك مسميات... وتغاضيت عن اساس المشكلة... لابد ان تفتح عقلك و تفكر بمنظور الجميع.. لا بمنظور الجلال
1049.	لكل شخص وله حرية القرار بدعم ما يراه صحيحاولة من العقل ما يختار. بدعمك او بدونه نحن ماضين بمطالبنا
1050.	يبدو انك من تلف و تدور على شي اصلا غير موجود بالشرع.. فلا ولاية بالشرع الا بالزواج فقط.. غير ذلك تثقف رجاء قبل ان تكون امعة
1051.	مفهومك للولاية لا يمد للواقع بصله و لا يوجد بالشرع دليل على الولاية اعانك الله على نفسك
1052.	عزيزتي من اراد الفهم والاقتناع سيقتنع من نفسه... اما من اراد المماطلة و عقله متحجر فلا تتعبي نفسك
1053.	اللي يقول الولاية المطلقة على انسانة بالغة عاقلة هي من شرع الله هو الظالم لشرع الله!!!
1054.	برافوووو الموضوع صار يناقش بالمجالس وصار الموضوع كبير مباح محصور بتويتر خير يارب
1055.	حسيت فبصيص خير لما بنت خالتي المتشددة وكانت سابقاً دره ، تحولت تحول جذري وبدأت تطالب باسقاط الولاية .
1056.	دام ام افتار وردة صارت مع اسقاط الولاية خلاص ياجماعة مابقى احد ضدها الا شرذمة قليلون لاناقة لهم ولا جمل
1057.	بالقانون عندنا قاصر وغير مؤهلة وف العالم مكرمة ومبدعة وعالمة وفعلت مع عجز عنة الذكر
1058.	مجتمعي يفخرو ويتغنى بنساء البلدان الأخرى ويقذف ويشتم نساء بلده إن طالين بأبسط حقوقهن
1059.	اكون جاريه مملوكه فأنا إمراه محترمه ودرره ، وبمجرد اطالب بحقي الشرعي فأنا عاهره وعاقه بوالدي !! منطق غبي
1060.	لدرة المصونة آمنت أن ليس لها حقوق فأصبحت تحارب بني جنسها وكل من يطالب بحقوقها.
1061.	بما أن هناك (حريم) و نساء أعتقد أن موضوع الولاية يجب أن يكون اختياري فمن ترغب به تبقيه ومن ترفضه تسقطه :
1062.	حق الي كل م قلتي شي قالو(ناقصات عقل ودين) ناقصه عقل من العاطفه و الدين العذر الشرعي
1063.	الآن كملت ٢٤ ساعه مواصله يوم كامل وأنا ماغير أكتب شكاي و أرجع المحاكم رفعت أربع قضايا وياقي بكمل بعد العيد
1064.	ولي لولي ويا قلب لا تحزن حال المقهورات من #النساء في #السعودية
1065.	لو كنت اظن انه حكم شرعي ما تجرأت ولا لحظه على دين الله لكن ما أحد من العلماء قال الولاية الحاليه حق
1066.	انا غير متضررة من الولاية ومع ذلك اطالب باسقاطها وايضا ولي الامر يدعم ذلك فكيف يكون الولد ولي امر والدته.
1067.	كرم الإسلام المرأة وكفل حقوقها ولكن أتت العادات الجاهلية الاجتماعية وقيدتها.
1068.	بقذف او يسب عليكم بتصوير الكلام وارفاقه يلا ورونا مرجلتكم هالالحين ي رجال
1069.	ارجع و اقول وين الضر اذا سقطت هل من صعب تشوفون غيركم يتنفس و يعيش نفس م هي تبي تكون ! كفايه تسلط و ظلم
1070.	كفايه تشويه للدين ..طبقو الدين زي ما هو بدون غلو وبهارات واحنا بنكون بخير
1071.	وحتى ولاية الزواج التي يحتجون بها مختلف فيها بل ولم تعمل بها امنا عائشة رضي الله عنها
1072.	ليه لما والدي كبير وثقله الطلعه عليه يخدمني وانا اقدر اريحه واخلص اموري بنفسي وهو مرتاح ريحوا اباءنا

1073.	نتمنى فقط ان نكون مثل باقي مسلمات العالم في الدول الاسلاميه والدول المجاوره مانبي اكثر نريد وضع طبيعي فقط
1074.	هل المرأة السعودية إنسان مستقل؟ سخرية القدر سؤال لم يعرف الكثير إجابته جهلاً أو تعصبا
1075.	الأمريكيات لما اقاموا ثورة للمطالبة في حقوقهم كانوا يد واحدة ضد تسلط الرجل اما هنا فالنساء عدوات لبعضهن
1076.	فقط يقع اللوم عالضحيه وليس عالجاني المسعور جنسياً فقط لأنها امرأه" في بلد ذكوري
1077.	كل هذا الهلع والسب لمطالبات قانونية كيف بمن يتولونهم داخل البيوت
1078.	جاء الإسلام فأعز المرأة ولكن يبدو أن من طالبين بهذه المطالبة بحاجة إلى أن يرجعن إلى عصر الجاهلية (الوأد)
1079.	وصلنا 50 وهناك حسابات تعبت من اجل رفع ظلم المرأة الله يزيدهم قوه وثبات
1080.	في الرجال الي هنا مو طبيعية ياخي سيبونا فحالنا نحدد مصيرنا بكيفنا ف الاخير كل مين حده
1081.	معقول بتشتكي ضد متحرش بها يقولولها لازم تجيبي ولي أمرك..تبي تختار تخصص دراسي لازم موافقة.أمور ليست من الدين
1082.	الولاية ان تتبع شخص قد يعطل مصالحك وفقاً لمزاجه، الولاية تقوم على"المجنون، السفیه، الطفل" هل المرأة سفیه ؟
1083.	هذا وصل لـ ٥٠ #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية50 وهذا لا أثر له رغم أن خلفه "هوامير" #الولاية_لها_لا_عليها -- يؤكد أن الوعي أرتفع بين الشعب
1084.	لها لا عليها، لحمايتها كل هذه لم تعد تنطلي على الفتاة السعودية العصرية، كيف من مصلحتها أن تكون مستعبدة؟ أو حمايتها من ماذا ولماذا الولاية؟
1085.	عشان لاتنصدمون ماراح يجي 2020الامراه بالسعوديه وليه نفسها وتسوق سياره فحاولوا تتأقلمون من الان منعاً للجلطه
1086.	ولاية المرأة لنفسها حق شرعي ماعدا في الزواج ، ومن يعارضها لا يثق بأهله ويخاف من انحرافهم لو أسقطت الولاية
1087.	لله سبحانه شرع الدين الاسلامي ليناسب كل زمان ومكان، اما انظمة الدين السعودي ماتعيش اكثر من ١٠ سنوات
1088.	نطالب بمنع سفر الرجل لوحده وفقا لنصوص شرعيه وحديث انه شيطان والاثنان شيطانان لايسمح لهم بالسفر الا من ٣فاكثر
1089.	الولاية تعني الرعاية والقيام بالمصالح وليست وصاية تعطيك الحق في حرمان المرأة من حقوقها المدنية .
1090.	ماسمعنا بالولاية شرعا - الا بالزواج لابد من وجود ولي غير ذلك - لا احد يملك من حرمان أنسانه بالغه عاقله من حق مشروع
1091.	يرفض الغاء الوصايه باسم القوامه والدين، لا يوجد رجال في العالم يستعينون بدولة على تقويم "رجولتهم" كذكورنا.
1092.	ما أجمل أن تبقي الهوية بدون أن تطمس كذبوا عندما قالوا أنها من الشرع ؛الشرع آتي ليحفظ منابع الرق وطمس الهوية استرقاق
1093.	وصلنا 50 وهناك نساء نفتخر انهم من ديرتنا الله يكثر امثالهم ويرفع قدرهم
1094.	المرأة نصف المجتمع لذلك نحن مع اسقاط الولاية واسقاط كل ما يعرقل إبداع المرأة في شتى مجالات الحياة.
1095.	الله يعز من يعز نساء بيته ويذل من يذلهن!
1096.	<u>حملة سيدات #سعوديات لاسقاط الولاية متواصلة على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي</u>
1097.	لا تضيعي طاقتك في الدفاع عن نفسك ،سوف تنتصرين حينما تتقدمين ولا تهتمين لفكرتهم عنك
1098.	مايقهر الا الاسعاف والمطافي مايدخلون الابوجود محرم كيف يعني نموت عادي في سبيل الغباء

1099.	سلام الى كل حرة تدافع عن حقها وتحارب الظلم ولا تقبل المساومة على انسانيته
1100.	عندما تعامل المرأة على انها انسان كام الاهلية تكون النتيجة مشرفة ومفيدة للبشرية
1101.	انتبهتو لهشتاق #توحيد_المهر_30الف بس ما انتبهتو لهشتاق #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية عجب امركم
1102.	لايوجد اي مبرر شرعي او إنساني ان تمنع جهات حكومية اي خدمة او إجراء لها الا بموافقة وليها فتحتم على انفسكم باب
1103.	الولاية الشرعية أهمها تزويج البنت بعد موافقتها. لكن ماعلاقة البيروقراطية الحكومية فيها؟ لما يطلبون موافقة ولي؟
1104.	المرأة إنسان محوري لا تقبل التهميش
1105.	نقذوني ليه يا وطني
1106.	الأصل في الولاية على الرجل ان يثبت موافقة إبنته على الزواج مثلا. لكن منع الخدمات الوطنية عنهن إلا بموافقة! ظلم
1107.	تحاربون المعنفات وتكذبوهم عشان تطلعون قدام العالم بصورة مثالية.
1108.	لكل من تقف ضد الولاية عائقاً أمامنا، نحن المعنفات خلف غلاف الولاية.. تذكرني دائماً أن هنالك جانب اسود ومظلم لكل شيء
1109.	المرأة التي تؤمن بكمال إنسانيتها؛ ستطالب بإسقاط الولاية، والتي ترى نفسها ناقصة الأهلية؛ ستطالب بتثبيتها
1110.	لا يوجد في الاسلام ولاية الا بعقد النكاح وذلك قوة لها اما الباقي فهو قوامه وهي الانفاق والحمايه نسوا كل ذلك
1111.	تذكروا نزع اتخاذ القرارات للولي ونسوا ان الله ساوى بينها وبين الرجل بالعبادات بل خفف عنها تكريما ورأفة بها
1112.	يعتقدون ان اسقاط الولاية معناها كل اب يرمي بناته في الشارع
1113.	صدمة المطالبة المستمرة التي لم تستكين
1114.	ا تياس .. عندما لا يتحقق لك أمرا .. حاول مرارا : وتكرارا .. فقطرة / المطر تحفر الصخر !! ليس بالعنف و لكن – بالتكرار
1115.	يا ما سنين عُمر ضاعت وشهادات عليا لم تغادر حائط الغرفة بسبب انتظار توقيع إنسان مُتسلط، مُعقد، جاهل، ظالم.
1116.	أنا #مسلمة و #سعودية و أطالب بحقوقى
1117.	لا تعني فصل المرأة عن زوجها أو أبيها وأخوتها كل ما يطالبن به امتلاكهن حق تقرير مصيرهن بالحياة !!
1118.	وضع الولاية ع المرأة قيد عبودية وتحكم إقصاء وقهر
1119.	هوفي فايذة لجنسه أول لكن عن لاينلاموا يهاجمونا يعرفوا ما حد بيدافع عنادامنا مالناحقوق
1120.	لا تكابر برجولتك علي النساء...فمن علمتك الرجولة امرأة ...
1121.	اسقاط الولاية عن المرأة مثل اسقاطها عن الرجل اذا كان متربي مارح يكون كيني ميني لكن غيره بيصيع بدون اسقاطها
1122.	لازم يعرفون ان مو كل اللي يطالبون بأسقاط الولاية معنفات يوجد نساء شايفات انهم مكلفات والمفروض لاعليهم سلطه
1123.	على اني كنت مأيده ل إسقاط الولاية لكن تماديتو كثير في الموضوع و احس فيه ناس تدخلت مالها دخل بالموضوع
1124.	ه والأخوات العرب يعارضون اسقاط الولاية السعوديه كلن يخاف عليها ياقدعان قاتلكم الله انى
1125.	جمع من النسوة يطالبن الحكومة بحق يروونه من ابسط حقوقهن ، من حقك أن تعارض ولكن لا يحق لك وصفهن بالفجور والعهر

1126.	مجرد شخبطت قلم العمر يمضي يا صاحب القرار والعنف مستمر على بناتك ماذا تنتظر؟
1127.	لم نطالب إلا بحقوقنا واسقاط الولاية لاتقلل من ذكورتك.
1128.	<u>البلد في حاله حرب وانت وانت مشغولين بي الزبايل ذول</u>
1129.	بما اننا ف مجتمع زكوري بقت ابسط احلام البنت انها تعيش وتفكر وتقرر لنفسها بدون و وصايه
1130.	ايش فيها اذا عشنا حياه طبيعيه زي باقي الناس؟ ليه بس السعوديه كل شي ممنوع فيها؟
1131.	كيف ندفع عجلة التنمية واحنا لاجينا بنخلص معاملات وأوراق بسيطة لازم ولي امر؟
1132.	الملكه محد يقرر عنها ولا احد يتحكم ب قراراتها فلا تصدقي الكذبه انتي مملوكه
1133.	رحت مستوصف حكومي بفتح ملف قالت هاتي بطاقة احوال ابوك وبطاقة العايلة قلت لها بطاقتي معي قالت ماينفع!
1134.	انا بعث ارضية اسددها قروض ما عرفت منها الا 20الف والباقي بيد اخوي قاعدين ياثثون مشروعهم الجديد ظلم باسم الولاية
1135.	انا ولدت حرة وسأبقى لي الحرية في اتخاذ قراراتي لي الحرية فالتصرف بأموالي لي الحرية في العيش بدون وصاية لتسقط الولاية
1136.	بالتوفيق وانا معكم اطالب بإسقاط الولاية لانها بإختصار استعباد لان الذكور استغلوها وهضموا حقوقنا وسلبوا أموالنا
1137.	هي الدوله الوحيدده الي تمنع سواقة النساء والي تفرض الولايه، يعني باقي الدول كافره واحنا المسلمين؟
1138.	الله سبحانه وتعالى خلقنا من نفيس واحدة، ولم يخلق الرجل من نفيس أعلى مرتبة من التي خلق منها المرأة.
1139.	هاشتاق انتصاراً للمرأة السعودية من تسلط ولادة الامر ذوي الاعاقات النفسية الشاذة التي تقودهم لتحقير المرأة.
1140.	جردوها من جميع حقوقها.. سلبوها حريتها.. حقوقها.. حياتها عقلاها.. افكارها.. جسدها.
1141.	المشكلة لو قالت لا يتلومونها لأن طاعة الزوج واجب. لذلك يجب ان نسقط الولاية
1142.	وصفوها بأقبح الأوصاف. ناقصة الدين. ناقصة العقل. عورة رجموها بالسنتهم الحقيرة قبل أيديهم
1143.	سنربح
1144.	إنه اليوم 54، استمروا أيها السيدات
1145.	لن تغيري شيئاً سيدتي لذا أبقى أصابعك بعيداً عن هنا وأبقى فمك مفتوحاً قبل أن تفعل الحكومة ذلك
1146.	"عندما يصبح الظلم قانونا، تصبح المقاومة واجبة"
1147.	نحن نعاني حقا
1148.	أوقفوا قتل النساء السعوديات
1149.	أفضّل أن أكون متمرداً على أن أكون عبداً
1150.	نهم فقط يصابون بالجنون عندما يفقدون السيطرة.
1151.	الأوصياء والحرمان من الحق في التعليم

1152.	ما بعد الإنسانية، أم ندى زوجها وهب بنت لشايب 80 س. ثم عضلوهَا وعنفوها وهربت فسُجنت!
1153.	الدقيقة ٢٠:٢٠ أم ندى تقول ما أبغى أي شيء من أهلي. كرهتهم وطبعاً لنظام الولاية يد، فلولاها لما تحكموا في حياتها ثم نتج عن ذلك كراهية بين الأرحام..
1154.	من أعطى الحق لهذا الأب في بيع طفلته؟ الأنظمة الحكومية. فلو النظام حماها ثم أعطاها استقلاليتها لما وصل الحال لهذا الشتات، لما ضاعت طفولتها.
1155.	امتخلفه تقولك عايشين في البر حياة أهلها هناك معناها بدو والبدو يزوجون بناتهم وهم اصغر وشوفي امهاتنا متى تزوجو
1156.	تزوجين نلتزم بشرع الله لانكاح الا بولي هذا الكلام معناه قضية اسقاط الولاية قضيه يراد بها جعل المرأة فريسه سهله لكل حيوان
1157.	نعم عندك اعتراض اثبتني انها تحتاج لولي ولا بس مع الخيل ياشقرا متأكد ان اغلب اللي في الهاشتاق مثلكم ماخاضوا معترك الحياه
1158.	خلك باهلك ماعليك من غيرك ليه انتو ايش تسون الله المستعان اكثر شعب يذل المرأة المشكله القناه الرسميه تطلع هالمصايب وعارفين الظلم الواقع والحل بيدهم ينهون هالظلم
1159.	لكن ماعرف سبب التأخير؟!
1160.	هل تعتقد ان الله وهب المرأة عقل ثم جعلها هي والسفيهه تحت حكم واحد "الولاية"
1161.	ستمرن في مطالب الكرامة سيكون في طريقكن الكثير من المازوخيات المؤمنات بنقصهن والمستشرفات الطامعات بمالدي رجل
1162.	التغيير قادم "لا محاله" شاء من شاء وأبى من أبى.. التغيير..سنة كونية لازمت تاريخ الإنسان ع هذه الأرض و ستستمر..
1163.	سَنَمْنَا زَيْف ثِيَابِكُمْ وَ تَلَوْنَ لِحَاكِمَ
1164.	QURAAN DID NOT APPROVE TH EMALE GURDIAN SHIP SYSTEMحاولوا تفهموا
1165.	إذا أخذت حقوقي كاملة وقتها استأجر عامل يوقف سرا مع الرجاويل بحر مالي وبكامل ارادتي بدلا عن ما اعطي نص فلوسي للسواق وغيري لولي ظالم
1166.	جاء أمر الملك فيصل بمنع الرقيق في السعودية منذ ٥٠ عاماً
1167.	هذا رق جديد استحدثه مشايخ واشباه رجال يريدون استضعاف المرأة ليسهل لهم زواجها وطلاقها متى ارادوا وتبقى ذليلة لهم مستكينه لظلمهم
1168.	كيف لدولة ان تعطي نصف شعبها الحق لاضطهاد النصف الاخر؟؟؟؟
1169.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية54
1170.	لكل معنفة لكل من تتعرض للتحرش اختصرى الطريق وتعلمي أيسر الطرق في الدفاع عن النفس لا تنتظري إلى أن تسن قوانين الحماية!
1171.	فتوى المنيع في الولاية: https://twitter.com/aleid_7nan/status/773785009576632320/photo/1
1172.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية54
1173.	ينظرون للسماء لمعرفة اول ايام العيد.. ولا ينظرون للارض لمعرفة من لم يذق يوما طعم العيد
1174.	صباح الخير ، مازلنا بخير طالما اننا مستمرين ..
1175.	عجبا لقوم إذا تزوج الرجل منهم كافرة تركوه وإذا أختارت مسلمة مسلما دون رأيهم عضلوهَا وأدخلوهَا المحاكم وفسقوهَا!
1176.	أنثى تُطالب بِ كرامتها ، و أخرى تتغنى في مذلتها . عجبا
1177.	المرأة لا تريد منك ان تتكاثر بحلب المزيد من الأطفال...المطلوب هو أن ترتقي بعلاقتك معها .
1178.	لا هناك معنفة وسجينة ومحرومة من التعليم والوظيفة والعلاج بسبب هذى الولاية #لماذا يطالبون باسقاط الولاية
1179.	الي قاعدين يقدفون ويتبلون المطالبات ما اقول إلا الله يجعلها في نفسك واطفالك عشان تحس بمعاناة غيرك انتي وباه
1180.	لازم كل يوم احمد ربي اننا كلنا بنات وما عندي اخوان زق زي كذا
1181.	اذا تبي تقول كلام عن الولاية ي انك تكون معها ولاحظ راياك با "مؤخراتك "
1182.	تدعون بانها ناقصة وتهابون أن تأخذ حقها ، لانكم تعلمون انها قد تسبقكم عقلاً وكماًلاً
1183.	واخوي وأفتخر بولايتهم علي لأني دلوعتهم وكل شي بحياتهم موتو قهر يامتجنسات

1184.	امراة ولي نفس مقدار الهواء الذي يستنشقه الرجل مؤلم أن أكون غير حرة لكي لا يرتكب الرجل الذنوب.
1185.	ماضر إن كان أبني ولي أمرى، اليس نتاج تربيته، وثمره تعليمي وجهدي؟؟!!
1186.	هذا تاق اليوم انتظمو وغردوا به عداه لا
1187.	مرأة اخرى هجرها زوجها منذ ٢٠ عاماً ولما توفي طالباها الشيخ والمجتمع أن تصون عدتها
1188.	كشفت وجهي في السيارة أشرب عصير وكانت النتيجة سب وشتم وقذف من ولي أمرى أخوي الصغير بصف ١ ثانوي
1189.	هادا الشي ناتج عن تربية خاطئة وتفكير خاطئ ومالو دخل بالولاية ، ولو على كشف وجهك تقدرى تكشفيه وقت ماتبغى من وراه !!
1190.	<u>تحرير السعوديات اللهم لا تجعلنا ممن ضل سعيهم في الحياة الدنيا وهم يحسبون انهم يحسنون صنعا#</u>
1191.	برنامج قضايا معاصرة " الولاية علي المرأة شرعا وقانونا " مع الشيخ سليمان
1192.	هو هذا احنا مشكلتنا مع النظام مو الاسلام
1193.	أتفق معه لما قال ان اغلب المشاكل سببها جهل المرأة بحقوقها، وان الاعراف احيانا ظالمة، واعجيني لما قال مافيه شي اسمه ولاية علي المرأة بالاسلام
1194.	احمدو الله على م انتم عليه...نحن بنعمه وفي نعمه
1195.	مطالبات مراهنات اغلبنا اعمارهم فوق 20 وان الفتاة البالغة الراشده تطالب بحقها هذا شي
1196.	فلا تغضبي حين تشتمك امرآه وتقف ضدك وتتفاخر بعبوديتها فقد اعتادت الذل حتى اصبح جزء منها لا تتخيل الحياة بدونه
1197.	اي شرع هذا الذي يستبيح التسلط والتحكم بانسانه عاقله واعيه!! كفايه تشويه للدين ي جهله
1198.	يوما" ما
1199.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية56</u>
1200.	خلوه ع هاشتاق واحد
1201.	لقلق لا يغير شيء لكن الثقة بالله تغير كل شيء سلاما" لكم اينما حللتم
1202.	الأمير محمد بن سلمان يمتنع عن مصافحة المبتعثات في اليابان .
1203.	كيف تسقطون الولاية وذاً موجود
1204.	لا تعتمدوا على فرد ولو امرأة كفاية أصواتنا و اتحادنا يمثلونا
1205.	يحق للمرأة السعودية أن تكسر هذا الظلم والعدوان والمطالبه بحقوقه كإنسانه ومواطنة لتمارس حياته بشكل أكثر إنسانية
1206.	الولاية مبدأ شرعي كلي، نعم كلنا ضد أن تدفع المرأة ثمن أخطاء مجتمعها لكن نصيحتي "لا تهدموا الكليات بالجزئيات"
1207.	تافه من اهم مطالبه #سعوديون نطالب بالسينما1
1208.	<u>والسعوديات منتهيات يطالبون #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية</u>
1209.	لمرأة السعودية لا تطالبي بالمساواة مع الرجل لأنه حقوق المرأة أكثر بكثير من حقوق الرجل والتوعية بحقوقها مهم
1210.	والله ما تنلام السعودية اذا طفشت كافي اسمها سعودية تحبط المرأة نفسيا وذهنيا ومعنويا
1211.	اي شخص بدا الوسم عندو رأي وله حق الاحترام ولكن في حال كتب بطريقة محترمه
1212.	توني جاية من الأحوال ومرمطه ولا شي مشي من معاملاتى الا بولي الامر إثبات طلاق ولي امر استخراج هويه كذلك
1213.	اذا كان العقل ناقصا عند المرأة فبعض الذكور في مجتمعي يعيشون بلا عقل
1214.	صح اللي معنفة ومغلوبه ع امرها من حقها تسقط ولاية امرها بس مو الكل بنفس وضعكم
1215.	تلقاها من المازوخية اللي ذاله نفسها وان اسقاطها بيرميها بالشارع لانها شايفه الولاية حبل برقيتها !

1216.	تلقاها من اللي يدخل اسقاطها بتربية الاهل و يتهرب بمجرد سقوطها لانهم عمرهم ماشافوها كامله الا عند تسديد القرض
1217.	تلقاها من ذكور سارقين خواتهم و لا اللي يطعن بشرف من تطالب لان يتصورها ضايعة مثله ويقول مكرمه بالولاية كراشده!
1218.	البنات الي ضد اسقاط الولاية تجي تغرد بالهشتاق انتي مالك شغل هو اسمة سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية لاتغردون
1219.	المطالبه بإسقاط الولاية غالباً لأحد سببين ،، اما عنف اسري ،، او أهمال رب الأسرة .
1220.	<u>شعور لا يوصف لما يتم إعلان إسقاط الولاية عن المرأة السعودية.</u>
1221.	مش من الدين ولا العرف اللي تتكلمو عليه ان تقذفو ست عشان مطلب خاص بشؤونها ، الدين قال " رفقا بالقوارير "
1222.	أغلب المعارضين عقولهم عبارة عن أعضاء تناسلية
1223.	يرددون بجهل "لن تسقط" مثلما كنت اردد "لن تقودي" لاني لا اتقبل او لا اتخيل لكن امر انساني يسهل امور انسان !!!
1224.	امر يحق لاي انسان كامل مأهل .. لكن هم مايبون بأبسط حق تتنعم به المرأة !
1225.	متي ينتهي عصر العبوديه
1226.	ذكاء وفهم وسلاسة بالتغريدات شملت كل جوانب القضية
1227.	الدين لا يخالف العقل والمنطق أبدا كمثال طبيبة راشدة يلزمها ولي في جميع تفاصيل حياتها هنا حدثني عن ولاية الحمقى
1228.	الصين ستهبط على سطح القمر، الهند أطلقت أقمار صناعية، أنتم ناقشوا سنة وشيعة ووجه المرأة.
1229.	<u>مفتى السعودية حفظه الله يصف حملة #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية بـ "الجريمة"</u>
1230.	أتعرف ما هو اسوأ ما حدث في موضوع الولاية؟ انها قتلت شعور الإنسان بداخل بعض البشر
1231.	كدمفتي المملكة الشيخ عبدالعزيز آل الشيخ، بأن مطالبات إسقاط ولاية الرجل على المرأة جريمة مخالفة للكتاب والسنة، وتستهدف المجتمع السعودي المسلم
1232.	الله يجزاه خير لو تقر الحكومة إسقاط الولاية بيقول قرار تاريخي يدعم حاجة المرأة المسلمة
1233.	اذا الدين الاسلامي ساوى بين الرجل والمرأة في الولاية على النفس .. ماديكنم انتم كي تحرمون !!!
1234.	امر يحق لاي انسان كامل مأهل .. لكن هم مايبون بأبسط حق تتنعم به المرأة !
1235.	لولة أمري انا وهم ارواح في جسد واحد الله يعزهم
1236.	ستمروا "فلا يسقط حق وراءه مطالب" .. فخورين بكم
1237.	وباء جديد في المملكة اسمه العنصرية ضد الجنس الآخر
1238.	واللي ينضربون وينهانون من قبل ولي الامر هل هذا يستحق أن يسمى ولي أمر
1239.	ويش ذنب اللي ماشافوا الحياه والسبه ولي الامر وتحكمه وتسلطه على أهل بيته
1240.	كل مظلومه ومظلوم من قبل ولي الامر راح تاخذ حقه أن شاء الله لان الله سبحانه حرم الظلم على نفسه وحرمه على عباده
1241.	الولاية (شرعاً) على القاصر والمجنون فقط والمرأة السعودية ليست قاصر ولا مجنونة
1242.	الأنظمة الجامعية تتعامل مع الطالبات من منطلق أن المرأة فاسدة مفسدة والتعامل مع السائق على أنه محرم لها :
1243.	المطالبه واضحه ومشروعه مهما نابحوا الجهلاء من ذكور ومتهمات.. المطالبه وصلت ويناصرها شخصيات كبيره
1244.	<u>السعوديات يتحدين مفتي المملكة ويتمسكن بأجراً مطالبهن#</u>
1245.	تطورت القوانين الإسلامية مع الزمن مثل المالية والاقتصادية بسبب مرونة الإسلام ماعدا حقوق المرأة التي بقيت على عهدها الأول!

1246.	لازم اكون معنفه ومحرومه من الدراسه والعمل لازم اكون سجينه منسيه عشان اطالب؟ ومع هذا تقذفون لكن يكفي اني كامله
1247.	<u>ياالله ما أبشع الظلم!ولسا ناس تعارض #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية ظلم الأهل لهم كبير لكن ظلم القانون أبشع وغير مبرر</u>
1248.	معاناة حتى في ابسط أمورنا كل أمر يخصنا لازم ولي ولي كأي لا املك عقل وقدرة التصرف
1249.	لو نوقشت المرأة ع اسباب مطالبتها من قبل جهات مختصه ، لصلح المجتمع و أعطي كل ذو حق حقه
1250.	داماً أي حق من حقوق المرأة ينظرون إليه من الجانب السلبي ، لماذا لا تفعلون الايجابية في اذهانكم
1251.	تختلف ظروف الناس و في منات من الإناث عايشين ف جحيم بسبب ولاة الأمر
1252.	حرم من دراستي ووعملي وتجي وحده تقول رافضه؟ لاترفضين ابقي تحت ولاية ابوك الطيب
1253.	هذا الذكر لايفقه شي سوا الدخول بالنيات وقذف بنات بلده
1254.	في دول الخليج تعامل المرأة بأهليه وتقدير وإن ظلمت أنصفت.. في السعوديه المحاكم امتلأت بقضايا النساء
1255.	ولايتي لنفسي ليست هدية من أحد بل هو حق إلهي . وشكرا لمن قدمت لي هذه الهدية
1256.	ظن الدرة أن اسقاط ولاية أبيها عقوب له، وماذا عن إخوتك الذكور الذين ليس له عليهم ولاية يا إبنة أينشتاين؟
1257.	القضية هي إما أن تكون المرأة إنسانا أو لا تكون. فإن كانت إنسانا، وهي كذلك، فلا وصاية لأحد عليها
1258.	ولايتي لنفسي ليست هدية من أحد بل هو حق إلهي . وشكرا لمن قدمت لي هذه الهدية
1259.	المرأة السعودية تطالب بحقها الأصيل و الإنساني مثلها مثل اي فرد في هذا العالم
1260.	المنيع لـ(عكاظ): لا ولاية على المرأة إلا في الزواج
1261.	وتعني القيام بواجباتها ومسؤوليات المودة والرحمة وليس التسلط والعنف واستلاب .. "قوامة" الحقوق
1262.	كلام منطقي ،،، حتى ولاية الزواج للأسف البعض مايستحقها
1263.	لا ولاية على المرأة إلا في الزواج.. والإسلام كفل لها إدارة شؤونها بنفسها
1264.	صياغة هاشتاك #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية يفتقر لذكاء ويعرقل المطلب المفترض يكون : #سعوديات_نطالب_بتعديل_الولاية
1265.	اسقاطها مومعناته اخرج واسافر واتزوج واطلق من غير شور زوجي واهلي !!!لا تفهمون غلط اساقطها لكي امارس حياتي طبيعي
1266.	وساكتات وصايرات لان اذ هربوا عاهرات واذ طالبوا عاهرات! باسم الانسانيه نطالب
1267.	منذ الصغر وانا اعرف ان لا ولاية على المرأة الراشده وانه قانون و يُغير لانه ظالم بحق امرأه قادره على تولي نفسها
1268.	أنا ولاية أمر نفسي
1269.	ثقافة انت ومالك لأبيك هذه نتايجها، الآباء يعتقدون ان اولادهم املاكهم ويحل قتلهم
1270.	فالمشكلة في غياب الولاية بالمفهوم الشرعي واستبدالها بفهم جاهلي، لكن شرعا:لاولاية على المرأة إلا في الزواج
1271.	لن تسقطي الولاية "بفتوى" بل بكفاحك وإصرارك ومطالبتك بحقوقك ... الطريق وعزّ وشاق
1272.	هااه اجل المعارضين قتلوا محد درى عنا !
1273.	حتى في الزواج حرة الوحدة تتزوج اللي تشوفو مناسب لها بدون تحكم الولي و مدري مين
1274.	لقد أعطيت المرأة المسلمة حقوقها في الإسلام كامله لم تعطى لأي امرأة في الديانات الأخرى ومن حقوقها في المال لايحق للزوج يأخذ من مالهاشي
1275.	

	عني لو امك تركت بدون رقيب كان جابتك رذيله ومننت شرعي ؟ سوال محتاجه له جواب ؟؟؟
1276.	ولاية المرأة.. حقل ألغام الصحوه
1277.	وسم "سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية" يجتاح "تويتر
1278.	لجين الهذلول م تدري وش تبي مره القيادة مره اسقاط الولاية مره تتعاون مع مخابرات اجنبية داخل السعودية وتصور معهم
1279.	اناضداسقاط الولاية ولكن بشرط ولي امري يصرف عليه ويكون الزامي من الدولة تجربره ع الاصراف والا يسجن اجل ولي مجانا
1280.	الله يقويكم أتمنى لما ارجع للسعودية ألقى الولاية ببعض الأمور أتهت
1281.	الملكة التي هتفتوا فيها سنوات،رمت التاج بوجهكم وانتفضت لما شعرت ان حياة الملكية بمعاييركم هي حياة العبودية بمعايير الانسانية
1282.	لايوجد قانون يحمي المرأة من العنف او التحرش حتى من وليها
1283.	ستخسر الدروب إذا رضينا وينبت في بياب العمر زهرا ونحيا بعد كربتنا ربيعا كآنا لم نذق بالأمس مرا الله معنا بنات
1284.	انفذوا المعنفه احلام الشمري ياعالم احنا عايشين مع مسلمين ولا سفاحين#
1285.	من يعارض حقوق المرأة مثل الضربان عنداول مواجهة تفوح ريحته
1286.	إلى متى هذا الظلم الواقع على المرأة السعودية
1287.	معقوله نتبع ولي امر لحد مانموت تاكدو دفن المراه يحتاج لولي امر بعد؟؟ لاتستبعدون انو تحتاج والا مايدفنون
1288.	٥٨ و ٥٩ و ٦٠ و ٦١ كلها بالترند ناس فاضية كأن ما عندنا إلا هالموضوع
1289.	الأكثر تداولاً في .. "سعوديات_نطالب_ بإسقاط_الولاية"# بالصورا هاشتاج الوطن # السعودية#
1290.	التبعية لولي الأمر بعد سن الرشد والتكليف ليست إجبارية في الإسلام الإنسان يدير أمور حياته كما يشاء ولا فرض عليه
1291.	هؤلاء هن السعوديات .. رغم كل مايعترضهن من صعوبات .. بقين الأرقى في مطالبتهن بحقوقهن
1292.	السواد الأعظم من المجتمع لا يفهم الولاية وهنا الخوف من هذا الغريب الذي يفكك الأسر ياليت تفكيك الولاية وتبسيطها .
1293.	المرأة لها حقوق يجب أن تتمتع بها لكن التركيز في هذا الوقت العصيب بالذات على هذه القضية يثير الاستغراب.
1294.	المرأة المسلمة الحقيقية التي لاترضى الذل والمهان وهي تحت راية الإسلام إضطهاد المرأة تشويه لدينا الذي كرمنا وخطف من عقول مريضه
1295.	حين أشاهد تعرضهم للهجوم والاتهامات اذكر نفسي، حين كنت في دار الرعاية،مسجونة والتهمة شكوى ضد معنفها
1296.	انا مايضحكني الا اللي يكتب بالانجليزي بالهشتاق يزعط الاجانب بيضغطون على الحكومة مادرواان حكومتنا مستقلة تماما
1297.	اقسم بالله اتفشل اذا سألوني الناس خارج السعودية عن حالنا وفضايحنا الي بأسم الدين
1298.	وسم "سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية" يجتاح تويتر
1299.	لمن بدينا #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية قلتوا: مادروا عنكم! ولمن العالم كلها درت بديتوا ب #محاسبه_محرصي_اسقاط_الولاية لذا اقولكم:م دروا عنكم
1300.	بحسب مافهمته من طرح الاخوات ليس اسقاط الولاية الشريعة وانما تقنينها لتستطيع من ليس لها ولي دارة امورها
1301.	متى ترفض الضحية في بلادي حمل الجلاد على كتفيها!؟
1302.	أي حصار مفروض على الإنسان ليس له مبرر شرعي... هو الظلم والظلم فقط
1303.	الظاهر فيه استعمارخفي يرى أن تحرير المرأة أهم من استقرارالوطن اثارة شغب مدروسة
1304.	ردون اتسلط على المرأة لكي يشعرو برجولتهم اناقصه
1305.	الحمد لله اني ارتقيت وزادت ثقتي بنفسي اني شاركت في هاشتاق

1306.	انشغل بتحكم بغريزتك الحيوانية أفضل من اتحكم بأنسانيته أضعف منك يا حيوان
1307.	القذف مثل شرب الماء عندهم لا دين ولا اخلاق
1308.	المفروض العنوان .. # انا سعودية .. رسالة لوليي رفقا رفقا
1309.	والله اللي تطالب تبي تسافر وتفصح وتدشر الله لايخيلنا من محارمنا يامرون ونطيع
1310.	الشعب قلب على بعض مؤامره والله أعلم
1311.	بعد اسقاط الولاية.. اتمنى من كل مرأه عارضة اسقاط الولاية ان تذهب للمحكمة وتوقع على اسقاط اهليتها بادارة شؤونها
1312.	النظام بلا حرّية طُغيان والحرّية بلا نظام فوضى
1313.	كيف حكمت يا جاهل؟ وكيف لك أن تقذف بنات بلدك وتطعن في شرفهم؟ وكيف دخلت في ذمم الناس؟
1314.	قالها بصريح العبارة (اللي يدافع عن النساء وحقوقهم استحققره) احفاد ابو جهل .
1315.	<u>الصحة تعاونت ورسخت العادات القبلية وساهمت في الحد من نهضة المرأة#</u>
1316.	دري عنك تبيري منكعار عينة من المستشرفين المعارضين عري اخلاق ونزع حياء
1317.	كل إمراة عانت من الأكتئاب بسبب ولي هي في ذمة كل رجل دين صامت. مضادات الأكتئاب في حقائب النساء ك أصبع الحمرة.
1318.	رغد الفيصل التي تقف مع المضطهدات وتطالب بحقوقهم ماشفت اصبعها وملاك اللي ضدهم وتستهناء فيهم شفتها تتملج متبرجة
1319.	مهما كنت ذكياً لن تستطيع فهم أي إنسان وهو خاضع لك؟!
1320.	بالنهاية لا يصح إلاالصحيح بعد عقود من التدليس المتعمد لتهميش واخضاع وتغييب المرأة
1321.	كثر المرجفون هنا ...كثر المشككون بهويتنا وولاءنا ...ياقون أحرار نقهر عبوديتكم .
1322.	{قتل الانسان ماأكفره} هذا الجاهل يعتقد ان رأيه الناقص (شرع)
1323.	فعلا نُبالغ حين نقول ان التعامل مع المرأة شي مخزي !! حتي التدريب لا يستطيع ان تقرر
1324.	ماندري مين اللي اخترع موافقة ولي الامر شرط ف كل شي،حتى لو كان شي صغير،تسجيل ف معهد او غيره
1325.	حالة المرأة مؤلمة لا يرضاها من يخاف الله المرأة لاتمتاز في شيء عن الأمة أو العبدة الرقيقة بوجود هذه الولاية
1326.	مفهوم التقديس واحد .. خرافة وبدعة للسيطرة على العقول .. حرري عقلك
1327.	المعارضات فاهمين غلط يفكرون اسقاط الولايك تتحل كل اواصر المجتمع
1328.	وهذي الاهداف افهموا يابنات مو معناة تخرجين عن شور اهلك واصلا ماهي في شرع الله
1329.	لرجال الي ضد الاسقاط اصلا (مو رجال) لانه عارف انه ما عنده رجوله كافيه يشكم ويحكم بناته و اهل بيته بعدها
1330.	تفائلوا سابقاً لا يوجد محاميات ولا عضوات شورى ولا تأنيث المحلات ولا مرشحات في البلدية والآن سمح وسيسمح بغيره
1331.	العادات/التقاليد فوق الدين.انه الاسلام السعودي المشبع بإرضاء سلطة الرجل و كبرياءه.
1332.	يا قلبي في القانون نحن نتساوى مع السفية و القاصر و المجنون من ناحية المعامله. كثير قرارات تتوقف بسبب توقيع ذكر.هل هذا عدل؟
1333.	عارفه انها للمشركين، لكن المنطق واحد. تفضيل العادات المتوارثة على الشريعة. الحجه نفسها سبحانه الله
1334.	توجد ورقه حتى تسمى صك ولاية. ماهذا؟ ليش نترمى بين الذكور؟ ليه ما عندنا خيار في قراراتنا المصيرية؟ ليه لازم يمتلكنا احد؟ كالسله
1335.	هذا الوسم كشف الغطاء عن كثير من العقول ... وليس كل شهادة عالية تعني ان الشخص متعلم وعقله واعى مثقف
1336.	تقضي جميع أيام حياتها مسجونة ضمن جدران .. لا يسوغ لها أن تخرج منه مطلقاً بسبب هذه الولاية الظالمة

1337.	ولي امري كل ماجيت ابغاه وسط الدوائر يعتذر عن حضوره الى متى هذا التعب والمعاناة ضاعت حياتي بين رايه وشوره
1338.	المعارض لنا مايتذكر إن الدولة في حرب إلا في تاقنا وفي تاقات الكورة ينسى
1339.	@KingSalman
1340.	قلته انك ماتبي احد ينظلم بعهدك مومعقوله ماتشوف الظلم هذا؟
1341.	الوطن الذي لا يمنح مواطناته حق المساواة والمواطنة لا يستحق الانتماء له لذلك يجب ان تكون عدالة الارض بتحرير النساء
1342.	الى متى وهذا المجتمع يحاول ان يرتفع بجناح واحد والاخر تنفت قوادمه كلما حاول الارتفاع هوى لن نرتقي بدون الاخر
1343.	احدى النماذج المعارضة لإسقاط الولاية تصف نفسها وبنات جنسها "بالغنم" لا عجب لاحظوا انحطاط وسائل المعارضين: اسقاط آيات في غير محلها القذف التخوين وافتراس المؤامرة التبرير السخيف
1344.	سقاط الولاية مو معناته بروح أذبح أبوي وإلا أطلع مع واحد والا أفصح عباتي ! لاتحصر تفكيرك بما ينضح به إنائك
1345.	إعطاء البنت الثقة سينبت لها رقيباً داخلها لكن الشك سيعطيها رسالة أنك أنت المسؤول عنها لتستغل أي فرصة لغيابك
1346.	تم تقليص صلاحيات الهيئة بجرة قلم وبدون فتوى ولم يستطيع أحد أن يفتح فمه إسقاط الولاية يحتاج لقرار فما المانع
1347.	أن تنعتقي من قوليتهم الفكرية ..وتعي أنك إنسانه حره لك حقوق ..هذا بحد ذاته انتصار
1348.	أيها الرجل السعودي، برضى أكون ملكة ودارة مصونة وعبدك فقط إذا خيلتني مثل الملكة أحلام في كل شي لأنها ملكة حقيقية
1349.	تعتبر نفسها ملكة لأن :- اخوها يشيل عنها اكياس بنده - تاكل تشرب تروح السوق وعندها جوال = #حقوق_اليهائم
1350.	لا تستغربين استحقاق المعارضين هم احفاد من كانوا يقولون عند ذكر النساء بمجالسهم اكرمكم الله وهم خرجوا من فرجها
1351.	رغم سؤ مطالبكن وما بها من شر دفين ومردود مجتمعي سئ، إلا أنني أعجب في مدى استمرار صمولكن لتحقيق رغباتكن!
1352.	قلنا لكم ان الهاشاق من الحكومة بعد كلام الشيخ المنيع تأكدت مية بالمية انها مدروسة وقريباً تسمعون الخبر
1353.	من الوسم ان المراءه تعطى لها كامل حقوقها ومجتمعنا اعطى صلاحيه للذكور للسيطرة
1354.	بلد يعمه الفساد المالي والاداري والرشوة والمحسوبية ويرى ذكوره ان الاسلام يؤتي من إسقاط قانون أصله للمجانين
1355.	قضي على النساء أن يكن في مؤخرة كل شيء وكأن المؤخرة لم تُخلق إلا لهنّ
1356.	المرأة هي الأم التي قامت بتربيتك من أجل أن تكبر وتخرج وتتوظف وبالنهاية تأتي بكل وقاحة لتقول المرأة عار
1357.	أن عدد النساء الذين يموتون من القهر والغبنه أكثر من عدد الرجال الذين يموتون في الحروب وحوادث السيارات..
1358.	مستحيل اصدق ان فيه امرأة واعيه وتحترم نفسها ترضى بالولاية
1359.	ن شاء الله نتحرر قريباً ونصير مثل باقي نساء العالم ونستغني عن الرجل في كل معاملاتنا ونصبح مستقلين
1360.	بعض البيوت ابنتهم تسد الإيجار وقرض السيارة وراتب الشغالة وتشتري مؤنة البيت هي رجل البيت وأخيها الصغير وليها
1361.	خلق الله الكون بنظام دقيق فولاية الرجل على المرأة في الإسلام ولاية توجيه وصيانة لولاية استبداد وتسلط
1362.	

1363.	غالبية من شاركوا بهاشتاق إسقاط الولاية انقسموا لأربعة أقسام: مؤيد، معارض، مؤيد-معارض، غير مهتم.
1364.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية#63
1365.	سرقت اعمارنا واعمار امهاتنا تحت كلمة ولي جعلتونا توابع في وطننا لا هدف لنا ولا حياة آدمية
1366.	إسقاط الولاية مو يعني أعطي إكس على ابوي واخواني لكن فيه قرارات ليش يحرمون البنات منها
1367.	ويجي الزوج يكمل ماتكمل الدراسه ليش الظلم هذا
1368.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية يحتاج تويتر.. والمنيع يعلق: لا ولاية على المرأة إلا في الزواج
1369.	ارتقوفي حواراتكم
1370.	اسقاط الولاية بجهة قضاء الحقوق بالنفس و حماية الفتيات المعنفات بجهة تكريمهم بحياة طبيعيه وليست سجن
1371.	نعم فيه أبا يرفضون أن تكمل ابنتهم الدراسه لماذا هذي حياتها وهي حرة الحرمة م التعليم لتكون خادمة لرجل وأبناء
1372.	المرأة السعوديه: مرجعية ولاية الرجل على المرأة هي : التخلف والرجعية والتسلط والجهل وثقافة الدكتاتوريه
1373.	المرأة السعوديه: ولاية الرجل هي عوره من اشنع عورات البشريه والانسانيه..ابحث عن العور في عقول مريضه ب" السلطه"
1374.	المرأة السعوديه: ولاية الرجل تعني اضطهاد المرأة والسيطره عليها ك"عوره" اجتماعيه وانسانيه...تخلف اجتماعي
1375.	هتون الفاسي تكتب: ولاية المرأة على نفسها حق إلهي
1376.	نعم سنسقط الولاية والعبايه
1377.	كل ثقافات المجتمعات تعارض احتقار المرأة إلا مجتمع يقول تكرمون" وكأنها حيوان
1378.	سرقت اعمارنا واعمار امهاتنا تحت كلمة ولي جعلتونا توابع في وطننا لا هدف لنا ولا حياة آدمية
1379.	فعلًا أصناف الذكور هي من لا تعرف طريقة !!للتفاهم ، فتلجأ للضرب !
1380.	كل واحد معارض قيادة المراه للسياره عنده مكتب باصات توصيل للمدارس والجامعات وطبعا راح يخسر. كل مدخوله
1381.	كل وحده ترفض اسقاط الولاية انسانه جاهله وفاشله لاتصلح لاي شي حتى ان تكون زوجه لان المراه مدرسه وهذي اتكاليه
1382.	أرجو من كل شخص مقتنع بحقوقنا أن ينشر هذا المقطع قدر المستاع.. تحياتي لصاحبة الفكرة
1383.	ربط اسقاط الولاية باحترام الاهل من عدمه هذا شي سخيف وغبي مثل صاحب المقارنه.. هذا حق طبيعي
1384.	لا يخاف من اسقاط الولاية الا اشباه الرجال المستفيدين من اموال موليائهم
1385.	البنات المعارضات مستحيل يكونون راشدات او متربيات على ذلك ليس من الدين، والذكور مستحيل يحترمون نساءهم
1386.	إذا ظل التخلف في مجتمعاتنا فسيأتي السياح لمشاهدتنا بدلا من الآثار
1387.	لا اجد مبرر لحديثه سوى انه يشك بكل النساء بما فيهم اهله ولذلك يتحدى ويصرّ على تكبيهم
1388.	أكبر مشكلة في التواصل هي أننا لا نستمع لنفهم، بل نستمع لنعيد!
1389.	من يُشكك ان بعض الشركات والمستشفيات يطلبون موافقة ولي الامر https://twitter.com/SelimaPax/status/775682421274599424/photo/1
1390.	يجد تناقض في وزارة العمل وقوانينها التعسفيه ،، الله يغير الحال ويعطينا حقوقنا
1391.	قرارات مبهمه كالعاده ؟عنف المراه يزيد والسبب هذه القرارات اين عضوات مجلس الشورى عن هذه القرارات التعسفيه
1392.	يجب ان تلغي الولاية في الدراسه والعمل وترك المراه تعيش حياه مستقله بدون دار وتعسف
1393.	دليل نجاح حملتنا هو حملات التزوير و التشويه التي يتم إلصاقها بحملتنا المباركة ، مستمروووووون رغم التشويه.
1394.	مطالبنا مستمره والحمله مستمره لين نطيح الشر اللي براسكم وواصلو بالتشويه لاننا مواصلين بالمطالبه لين الموت.

1395.	شخص يحمل كل هذا التخلف، وهذه هي حقوق المرأة لديه. بالتأكيد يرى مطالبنا جريمة! https://twitter.com/ramasult222/status/775773111543336960/photo/1
1396.	قصص مأساوية تعيشها الفتاة السعودية ويظن المسترجلون انها تبحث عن الفسق في طلبها https://twitter.com/freen3ma/status/776019761511723008/photo/1
1397.	أكبر مشكلة في التواصل هي أننا لا نستمع لنفهم، بل نستمع لنعيد!
1398.	متخيلين التفرقة بين البنت والولد الي اي حد!!؟؟ متخيلين الظلم والطغيان الاسري القبلي https://twitter.com/freen3ma/status/776022158128668672/photo/4
1399.	من أعطى جارنا الأمي المتمتت الحق في حرمان بناته الأربع من التعليم حتى أصبح كل أمله في الحياة رجل
1400.	إذا كانت مُطالبتي بحقوقى فساد.. فأنا فاسده إذا كانت الحُرّية والفكر والرأي ليبراليه.. فأنا ليبراليه وافتخر.
1401.	مواطنة سعودية.. مسلمة.. لا اطالب بالانحلال.. فقط اريد حقوقي التي وُلدتُ بها و سلبتها مني العادات والتقاليد
1402.	صحيح.. لو ان الولاية تُسقط عن الامور الضرورية ستكون الامور افضل.. لا افهم لماذا توجد المعارضة؟
1403.	..الكلمة هي من ستفعل #..تويتر ستقتص لكن #
1404.	أنا المعنفة والارملة والمطلقة والسجينة ظلم والي أنحرمت من حضانة ابنها ومن عملها أنا المرأة وأطالب بهذا !!
1405.	لا مفر وتنتقل من ولي لولي اخر الالههم عندهم المرأة لا تكون ولية نفسها
1406.	لما تعطونا حقوقنا مراح تشوفون الوسم لكن قمع المرأة وتسلط عليها وتقولون ملكة اذا اقصى حقوقها عند بعضكم المطيخ
1407.	بدايه جميله لتضع المرأة السعوديه بصمتها ويقوه في جميع المجالات
1408.	نظام فاشل مُذل وتمتهن فيه كرامة المرأة السعودية اتمنى اسمع خير الغاؤه قريباً
1409.	سيدة مطلقة تخسر وظيفة في مستشفى مرموق لان اوراق طلاقها لم تكتمل ولا يوجد لها ولي لم يُقبل توقيع اخيها
1410.	من 2013 وانا اناذي باسقاط الولاية تهقون وراي صهيوني والا ملحد والا عزرائيل
1411.	مايحدث من تشكيك بالمطالبة لهو دليل على أنها حققت الضغط المنشود، واوصلت الذكوريين لمرحلة غير مسبوقة من الرعب!
1412.	من المؤسف أنه تم إلصاق "مطالبة بحق شرعي" بخيانة الوطن.. لم تجدوا مانعاً في الدين فلجأتم لتخويننا..
1413.	نصيحة لكل بنت لا تتزوجين حتى تشترطين عليه إسقاط الولاية عنك فإن رفض أرفضه
1414.	لماذا يطالبون باسقاط الولاية لانها قانون وضعي ظالم كفوا عن ربطها بالدين -الحقوق جزء من عدالة الإسلام#
1415.	لسنا ملكات ولا نريد معاملة الملكات .. نريد حياة مدنية عادلة مع ارادة بدون تحكم وتسلط
1416.	كونك ذكيه و قويه تطالبين بحقك في مجتمع داعشي ستعرضين للقتل لكنه بالأخير يبقى مجرد نباح دواغش لا تهتمي به
1417.	كل مانسعى اليه ليس حريتي في المنكرات انا اعلم ان الولاية لاتمنعها ولكن اسعى الى ان تكون لي كلمه في حياتي
1418.	دامها ملكة ليش ماتطلع اثباتاتها الابعرف ولي ليش ماتطلع من سجن اودار راعيه الا بموافقة بجد الكثير مطلومات
1419.	متطلباتنا بسيطه جدا والحكم علينا من فئه ضاله اننا سبب فتنه يعود الى اراهم ومايسعون خلفه من استغلال المرأة
1420.	كل من يعارض اسقاط الولاية أما صاحب مصلحة أو شخص تافه لم يفهم الأمر برمته أو مستعبدة مازوخية تغذي مرضها بشتمننا
1421.	كثرة الهاشتاقات المعارضة ل #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 65 دليل كبير على نجاحه ٦٥ يوما من المطالبة بمعاملتنا كمواطنات من الدرجة الاولى
1422.	من أعطى الحق ذال الجنوبي الظالم ليزوج أخته المراهقة عجوزا ويحرمها من أرضها ثم يتركها للأكتئاب يأكل قلبها

1423.	يكفيننا فخر أننا شاركنا في هذا الهاشتاق حتي لو لم يخدمنا يخدم كل معنفة وأسيره ومن يستغلها ولي أمرها
1424.	اصنع حياه كريمه ف أنت يوم ما ستكون أب اصنع الحياه الكريمه لبناتك فانت لا تعلم إلى أي الذكور سوف تسلمها
1425.	تبقى المرأة السعودية مصدر فخر .. مهما حاولو تهميش دورها .. والتقليل من شأنه
1426.	الشيخ عبدالله المنيع : (لا ولاية على المرأة الراشدة) فهل يستطيع (الدكتور) محمد البراك ان يقول ان الشيخ المنيع فاجر ام جاهل كما هي تغريدته؟
1427.	كل الذين ساهموا في هذا الظلم والكذب على الله و رسوله واستخدام الدين ضد المرأة :لا نسامح،لا نسامح لا نسامح .
1428.	بالنسبه للي ماتبي اسقاط الولايه كيفها لكن لا تجرم غيرها .
1429.	سعوديات يطالبن بحق مشروع دينياً.. يسهل حياتها ويكرمها ك راشد لکن المجتمع شكاك، يشك بتعليمها،بعمليها،بتربيتها
1430.	سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية القلب داعي لك#
1431.	الدور الذي تقوم به المرأة السعودية لاسقاط الولاية عنها هو ناتج من عقل واعى رافض للتسلط والعبودية الذكورية
1432.	موضوع ديني فقيه وهو اسقاط الولايه من مين الزوج ام الأب ؟ واليكون الاثنان الامريحتاج الي تشريعات وقوانين
1433.	المرأة مساويه للرجل .. لا تابعه له
1434.	اسقاط الولاية يعني معاملة الانثى كمخلوق بالغ عاقل كامل الأهلية في ممارسة حقوقه بعيد عن سلطة الاولياء الظلمه
1435.	اسقط الولاية لايعني التخلي عن الحجاب والتكبر على الله والانسلاخ عن دينه وان اجد عائلتي واهلي لاتشوهو المطالب
1436.	اخوي لما تستدعية اي جهه في حالة طلبه كولي لامري يطفش ويقول ليش مايخلوكم تخلصوا اموركم بنفسكم
1437.	فتحقير المرأة ونبذها أتى من بعض فئات المجتمع وبعض العادات والتقاليد المتناقضة وليس للاسلام أو الحكومه صلة بذلك
1438.	هذا القبيح من الخوارج وممن كفر حكامنا ، كفرنا ايضا هذا دليل اننا على حق ياحكومتنا.
1439.	اذا فازت هيلاري كلنتون ابغى اشوف ردة فعل المتخلفين حين تحكمهم امرأة وتتسيدهم وتكون والية عليهم
1440.	من يعارض إما جاهل أو غبي وكلاهما عدو للوطن . نمر بأزمات اقتصادية ولا نحتاج للغباء في هذه المرحلة
1441.	الولاية تجب على كل من يرفض استقلال المرأة.. العاهات والرجعيون أعداء الوطن
1442.	قريبتي دكتورة ستيانية سالتها لماذا لم تسافر؟ قالت: لأن جواز سفرها تجدد ولا يستطيع استلامه سوى ولي أمرها- أخوها- وهو مسافر!
1443.	سوف تسقط الولاية 1 2 3 مجرد وقت..
1444.	أغلب المعارضين عقولهم عبارة عن أعضاء تناسلية
1445.	هل هاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية مغرض يُعادي الدين والوطن ويُلبس الباطل بالحق ويُديره أعداء الوطن للفوضى
1446.	هاه خذلك بعد حتى الفقيه السفيه كفرنا
1447.	فكوني امراه قويه، قادره ومستقله تستطيع الاعتماد ع نفسها وتملك قرارها لبناء مجتمع حر.
1448.	المرأة لها حقوق ماحد ينكر ولاكن اسقاط الولاية ليست صالحه للاغلبية
1449.	ليس صحيح أن من يقف خلفها أعداء وإن كنت أجزم بأن فيها مهندسين. بل فاض الكيل بسحق حقوق النساء.
1450.	هؤلاء سعوديات يغردن من أجل الحرية
1451.	مطالبات النساء في هاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية محقة، فهل يستحق الحق أن يتم تشويهه بأمثال هذا الحثالة؟

1452.	<u>يستشهد الخائفون من حملة #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية برسالة اجنبي بعد 17 يوم من بدء الحملة متهمين أنه خلفها! الحملة انشئتها سعوديات حرات وكفى</u>
1453.	الحرية ليست حجاب يُرمى؛ ولادين يُشتم؛ ولا أخلاق تُخلع؛ هي رُقي فكر؛ واحترام عقل؛ وبناء مستقبل وعقيدة تتمسك وتعزّز بها
1454.	<u>نتائج استفتاء #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 35% يرون مشروعية الحملة 65% يرون أنها علمانية يهودية لتدمير المجتمع.</u>
1455.	تصدقون اليوم اكتشفت أن " الثيران " متأزمة من موضوع الولاية اكثر من البنات جيبو لنا طبيب بيطري نفسي لهم مساكين
1456.	فيه هشتاج على التويتير امبارح فوجئت بيه وصدمني بصراحة
1457.	<u>تحدثت عن هاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية CNN شبكة</u>
1458.	<u>منذ أزيد من شهرين يواصل هاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية التردد</u>
1459.	يعيبون الرجل : حين يعشق أنثاه ويُدللها وينسون أن الرفق بهنّ أعظم رجولة
1460.	أطالب بتنفيذ احكام الله في كتابه و في سنة في مسأله الولاية
1461.	ياليت نسمع في هذا الموضوع رأي القانونيين الشرعيين
1462.	المعارض الانساني يقول للمتضررات اما الباقي يبي يصيع ويضيع !!! الدين ماحدد يامتعلم "لا ولاية عليها الا بالنكاح"
1463.	الرجل في الماضي كان يعتبروضع الاسترقاق وضعاً طبيعياً
1464.	<u>مجتمع قدر يظل رجلاً لو زنا بمئة امرأة وتظل عاهرة فقط لو أحبت #</u>
1465.	اسقطوا الوصاية علينا، نحن خلقنا احرار
1466.	بهذه الصيغة يجب ان تكون المطالبة *بها كلنا _ الغير_ سعوديات_ نطالب_ باسقاط_ الولاية_ # معكم*
1467.	ما طالتوا الجهة المناسبة مأحد سامعكم وبصراحة مايهمني. اللي مايطالب ربه قبل الجمهور اشجعه يهاجر ويريح الحرمين
1468.	من الملفت حملة المرأة السعودية للمطالبة بحقوقهن الانسانية ونشرها في الصحف العالمية، يرافو عليهم ،لكن ماذا بعد
1469.	ما أحب هالمواضيع ولا احب اتدخل فيها لكن! يا اخي انت/ي عايش/ه حياة زينه غيرك مو عايش اص ياخي !!!
1470.	هماكم تقولون لن تسقط طيب وراكم متوترين ومأتشين وكل تغريده تردون عليها ياشين الخوف
1471.	تعليق الشيخ الدكتور احمد الغامدي على #قيادة_المرأة_ للسيارة لا يوجد ما يمنع وهو امن من وجود سائق و اقل تكلفة
1472.	نعم ويشده اطالب بذلك حتى يعرف الولي ان الولاية نفقه وليست تحكم وسيطرة وغباء
1473.	<u>لب باسقاط الولاية مشكله للبعض لان في رجال والنعم فيهم سند وظهر للمرأة ورجال كلاب مجمعهم يطلعون عقدهم عليها # انتي وحظك</u>
1474.	الرجولة: أن تؤمن بأن المرأة "مساوية" لك، وليست "تابعة" لك .
1475.	<u>عن #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية ومقابلات مع سعوديات يحاولن الهجرة CNN تقرير قناة</u>
1476.	يا عوره عيب تمشين فالشارع، عيب تكشفين وجهك، استأذني قبل الطلعه من اخوك المراهق يا عوره لا تتنفسين فتنه
1477.	<u>نوع آخر من تعنيف #المرأة ! مع هكذا أهل وهكذا ذكور لتسقط ولاية انصاص الرجال</u>
1478.	<u>يدات الدراسة واختفى هاشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية</u>
1479.	حتي لو كانت ارملة مثلا يكون ابنها وليها ولا بد من موافقته علي اي أوراق رسمية او سفر
1480.	كل هالتعريفات ضد حقوق الحيوان فما بالك بالانسان
1481.	ويجي جاهل سفيه يقول المرأة السعوديه ملكه ومعززه مكرمه ونساء العالم يحسدونها على ماهي عليه !

1513.	فقط في مجتمعنا : حين تطالب #المرأه بحقوقها تنهمر الشتائم والالفاظ البذيئه عليها !
1514.	انتقلت النسوية السعودية أخيراً إلى أكثر مطالبها جذرية وهو إسقاط الولاية
1515.	للأسف انا غير متفائلة بالعهد السلماي العقيم كل شي علي ماهو عليه بل والكثير في تراجع
1516.	المؤسسه الدينيه تدعمنا موهذا السبب،لكن ننتظر صدور القرار !!
1517.	حمايه من ماذا؟ احنا في غابه؟ فية قانون وحكم ال سعود
1518.	خذلك حتى النادي موافقه ولي أمر بس التراجع يبين ان الحمله بدأت تقطف ثمارها
1519.	من سلبيات الولاية جعلت أول أهداف بعض الفتيات أن تكون جذابة للرجال ، لأنهم غدو مفاتيح الحياه بالنسبه لها؟!
1520.	لا تقمعوا قيمتنا فَ نَظهر لكم كراهيتنا
1521.	الولاية نظام يستمد قوته من تحكم القوي بالضعيف ، ولا يليق أن يستمر هذا النظام في ظل وجود الدوله والقوانين ؟!
1522.	نحن لاناناقش قضيه سفرالمرأه فقط،نحن نطالب بتحديد السن القانوني لهاحتى تصبح مواطن كامل الاهليه في جميع شؤونه
1523.	بسبب المتشددین " العُلاءة " الذين شرعنوا -إقصاء وتحقير المرأة- ، أصبحت بيننا وبين الحياة فجوة كبيرة
1524.	سنوات من الكبت والضغط الديني والاجتماعي لتشكيل سلوك " الحريم الفاضلات " ومع اول طلب للحرية اصبحن عاهرات
1525.	هذه الملصقات تعمرني بالنشوة، لتؤكد أن الحملة هبطت من عالم افتراضي لواقعي. دعوا ممرات المدارس والجامعات تشهد
1526.	جامعات ومدارس الجنوب؟ حيث هناك أكثر حالات العنف الاسري، جامعة أم القرى؟ وجامعات القصيم والشمال وبقية المملكة
1527.	مليكي وحكومتي الرشيد لا تجعلونا مملوكات في عصر العولمة قد ولى زمن العبودية منذ مئات السنين فهل يعقل هذا!
1528.	الجهل سوف يرحل يوما وتتغير الاحوال الى اجمل حال
1529.	أكاديميات وناشطات يطالبن «الشورى» بإلغاء «الولاية المطلقة» على النساء 2014/03/02
1530.	قبل اكثر من سنتين
1531.	طوبى لكل من آمنت بإنسانيتها و إستحقاقها لكافة الحقوق طوبى لمن سعت لنيلها طوبى لكن جميعاً .
1532.	نوعية من البشر كأنهم حيوانات! لا يتحملون رؤية أنثى في الشارع فظلموها لتجلس في بيتها
1533.	حين نطالب بحقوقنا يقولون تبي العهر والأنحلال يرون ان إهانة النفس وممارسة الرذيله حريه لايعرفون معنى الكرامه
1534.	انا مؤيدة للموضوع مع اني غير متضررة من الولاية ولا عندي بنات أدافع عنهم، انما الدفاع عن المبدأ. حرية المرأة
1535.	إيمان القويفلي تكتب:متى تنجح في السعودية حملة إسقاط الولاية؟
1536.	من يذكّر الجامعات أنها صرح تعليمي للبالغين وليست سجنا لابد من تصريح للخروج منه؟
1537.	إللي يشوف عقلية المعارضين في الوسم يتمسك بطلب إسقاط الولاية أكثر وأكثر (مرضى نفسيين الله يشفيهم)
1538.	ليش اي شي تطالب به المرأة يعتبر مؤامرة او خيانة ، لأنهم يقدسون العادات والتقاليد وليس الاسلام.
1539.	معلمات ينقلهن سائق شايب متقاعد او مدمن مخدرات والسبب لاتقودي سيارتك لأنه (عيب).
1540.	شعار المعارضين لامشكلة يظلم نصف النساء المهم تبقى سلطتي واستبدادي انا..سنسقطها ونسقط اناانيتك وفكرك المنحط
1541.	كونك لا تعانين لا يعني ان جميع الإناث مثلك .. أباك ليس أباهن واخاك ليس اخاهن !
1542.	عدم الرغبة في اسقاط الولاية هو خوف من التغيير.. وهل كل تغيير سيء؟ ماذا عن التغيرات والتطورات الجيدة؟

1543.	(والمؤمنون والمؤمنات بعضهم أولياء بعض) يعني ممكن الأم تكون ولية ابنها مو العكس يا بهائم!
1544.	الداخلية تمنع القيادة للمرأة و تقر نظام الولاية توجيه الانتقاد لمكان آخر هو خوف أو جهل
1545.	القذف والشتم والتكفير لكل إمراه طالبت بدون احترام لرأيها واختلاف برقي أكبر دليل على إهانتهم للمرأة وتسلطهم!!
1546.	لغرب مو بحاجة تغير فكر نساء المسلمين عشان يضعف الاسلام وهونجح في صنع داعش وزاد كرهه العالم للإسلام وهم رجال
1547.	حتى يعود الأطفال لأحضان الأمهات المطلقات وحتى ينتصر الدين على العادات
1548.	لمرأة بلا ولي كوطن بلاحدود تارة استعمار وتارة احتلال وتارة دمار. محبتكم للأبد.
1549.	كل العالم يشوفون النساء نساء الأالسعوديين ممن غسلت ادمغتهم الصحة يشوفونه "صيده سهله" وهو سبب سجنهم المؤبد لها
1550.	البعض يحتاج إلى الفهم وإلى التثقيف في العلاقات الأسرية..
1551.	الي يقول مؤامرة و ايران و أمريكا و كيف ولي ولي العهد يكون داعمنا ؟ صحصح انت وياه ولي ولي العهد هاذا
1552.	صباح الصمود رغم عصابات الكارهيين
1553.	عندما أرى كمية الألفاظ القذرة و القذف من الذكور المعارضين أنفهم سبب تمسك البنات بهذا الحق
1554.	من أخذ على عاتقه مهمّة الدفاع عن الولاية هو يحمل عبئ ثقيل جداً ؛ لأنه يُدافع عن " باطل " ويواجه مطالب منطقيه!
1555.	ترند كالعادة فخورة بكل المشاركين المناضلين بلااستثناء
1556.	أختاه الذرة؛ تُريدي من يتحكم بك ويتولى أمورك؟ تفضلي لا أحد يمنعك، فقط اخربي عن غيرك
1557.	نحن المواطنات السعوديات وش نبا هل نريد ان تطير الاسماك نحن نبا نعامل نفس ماتعامل الامارات بناتها الامارات
1558.	قبل الصحة كُنا اسوياء
1559.	لما تلجأ المظلومه للقضاء وترفع قضيه يجتمع عليها كل ذكور العائله يحاربونها ويهددونها بالقتل مثل احلام الشمري!
1560.	تتحرر المرأة عندما يتحرر الرجل من عاداته وتقاليده أو تتمرد عليها لتعيش حياتها كإنسان حر
1561.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية73#</u>
1562.	أقود في القرية، لا أقود في المدينة - ريم الفضلي
1563.	شيلات و أموال لدفع دية !! و حماية ذكر متهور من القصاص !! ولم نسمع عن مراحلكم في دعم سجينات دار الحماية
1564.	المرأة بدون ولي أب او زوج او أخ او ابن سلسلة معاناة وأحزان بلا نهاية. حمدا لله .يارب احفظ أولياء أمري.
1565.	أختاه الذرة؛ تُريدي من يتحكم بك ويتولى أمورك؟ تفضلي لا أحد يمنعك، فقط اخربي عن غيرك
1566.	المرأة السعودية تموت منذ سنوات فكيف يلومونها؟
1567.	ساعدوا المرأة في السعودية على العنصرية والظلم https://twitter.com/tallz_0/status/778930624606380032/photo/1
1568.	احلم بها حتى تتحقق أحلامك.
1569.	<u>حول وضع المرأة في السعودي #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية75BBC مختصر تقرير لقناة</u>
1570.	طريقة كلامهم تدل ان المرأة عندهم سجين أو أسير..والبدوي الثاني يقول هيا لتربية العيال بلغته..فعلا مجتمع جاهل حتى بالانترفيو.مقزز
1571.	دايما عندهم خصوصيه ف كل شي..ف كل حياتهم.عندهم مشكله مع ذكر وانثى هما محور كل قوانينهم الوضعيه عكس الكره الأرضيه.قوانين مستحدثه
1572.	شوف فن التعامل مع امرأة الخارج خلاف الداخل.تناقض..كمان يقول هيا بتاكل وتشرب مين حرما حقوقها.وكان الحريه طعام فقط

1573.	https://twitter.com/mesho5o55/status/778902379504799745/photo/1
1574.	حملة السعوديات لإسقاط وصاية الرجل تتسع : "أنا ولية أمري" https://twitter.com/i/status/780791672326062080
1575.	من هو الولي ؟ وما هي شروط الولاية ؟ إن لم يكن هنالك ولي حقيقي في حياة المرأة فالأولى أن تكون هي الوليه على نفسها.
1576.	https://twitter.com/noon_x13/status/778809229607964672/photo/1
1577.	نظام الولاية يحرم المرأة من الإستقلال المادي والمعنوي ويصيرها عالة يتحكم فيها أرذل البشر.. https://twitter.com/nomorelove87/status/778848667797250048/photo/1
1578.	https://twitter.com/ivshll/status/778887326751744000/photo/1
1579.	https://twitter.com/moone_110/status/778678149542404100/photo/1
1580.	للمره المليون الولاية هي نظام يُطلب فقط بالدوائر الحكوميه أما الانحراف وسهرات الليل لا تطلب موافقه ولي أمر
1581.	مثال يحتذى به بكيفية العمل وفق خطه وهدف من اجل الحصول على حقوق المرأة شكرا لك نيابه عن كل سعودية https://twitter.com/MedSocialworker/status/778866298868686848/photo/1
1582.	اجمل جملة قالتها الشابة "الحملة ليست موجهه لك أيها المعارض/المعارضة هي موجهه للدولة
1583.	تشيل بيت كامل بس ماتقدر تشيل نفسها https://twitter.com/sehamalnsr/status/778692255297052672/photo/1
1584.	ورغم حملات السبام والتصرفات الصبيانية لإخراس صوتنا ، أصبحنا بفضل قوة الحق ترند لليوم الخامس والسبعون
1585.	صباحكم وطن متحرر من قيود https://twitter.com/0914707aazz/status/778838178178490368/photo/1
1586.	سؤال يشغل تفكيري ... لماذا كل المعارضين لإسقاط الولاية ألفاظهم قذره !! خالفني الرأي ولكن بأدب وأخلاق وراقي
1587.	مجتمعنا ذكوري بحت وسيتغير بطريقه واحده وهي بأنك تطالبين ولا تياسين أبداً من كلامهم وقذفهم لأنك "ارعتيهم"
1588.	الوطن للجميع ويسع حقوق الجميع وهذا وطني واطلب منه أن يعاملني مباشرة في كافة أموري فأنا امرأة كاملة الأهليه
1589.	حلم إبليس بالجنة نتوقف
1590.	متفائلون ولو عبست الأقدار ب وجه أيامنا متفائلون جداً وستسقط قريباً .
1591.	ستسقط رغما عن أنف كل ساقط
1592.	الله يسعد الحره الي طالبت باسقاط الولاية والله كنت احسب نطبق شرع الله . طلع عادات نورت عقلي الله ينور دربها
1593.	الولاية هي قوانين وضعتها الدوله تقيد المرأة وتخليها تابع للرجل يعني الذكر هو اللي يتحكم في شؤونها
1594.	هذا رد المنيع وهو من كبار اعضاء هيئة العلماء https://twitter.com/malak_0oO/status/847904464883286016/photo/1
1595.	لأنني سعوديه وفي يوم وطني أطالب بحقوقتي التي هيه جزء من انتمائي لهذه الوطن دام عزك ياوطن
1596.	من بداية الهاشتاق ، و لا ذكر واحد اعترض بطريق محترمة ، حتى لو تكلم بهدوء عدي (1,2,3) و يطلع وجهه الحقيقي
1597.	واحد يقول انه نحنا مستهدفين في ديننا وانا أقول الدين منحنا وانتم من حرمننا لذلك انتم من تستهدفون الدين بالظلم
1598.	حق من حقوقي أن يعترف الوطن بي، و أني كائن حر مستقل عن الذكر، أنا ك الذكر أعمل كما يعمل و أفكر كما يفكر.

1599.	المعاناة من الاضطرابات النفسية لا تختص بأحد دون آخر فكيف يمكن أن تترك امرأة تحت رحمة ولي مضطرب بيده مستقبلها
1600.	للمعارضين .. لكل ذكر مستبد : {متى استعبدتم الناس وقد ولدتهم أمهاتهم أحراراً}؟ ...عمر الفاروق رضي الله عنه
1601.	الذكريقتل ويتدعشن يفحط يسكر يدشر وأحياناً لواط لكنه لايعتبر خطراًمني عالبلد!لكن امرأة تطالب بحقها فساد عظيم!
1602.	التحرر من الولاية لا يعني التحرر من الأخلاق ، فالأخلاق التي تشترط رقيب لاقيمة لها
1603.	الضغط يولد الانفجار.. أن تقمع نصف المجتمع وتوقع منه ان يبقى صامتا فهذا محال.. لن يصمت حتى يأخذ ما هو حق له..
1604.	المرأة إنسان كامل الأهلية مثل الرجل و يحق لها أن تكون مسئولة عن حريتها بمثل ما يكون الرجل مسئولا عن حريته.
1605.	المنطق في كلام الله سبحانه "المؤمنون والمؤمنات بعضهم أولياء بعض" ولاننسى انها كامله الاهليه بالادله
1606.	حتا لو ماكان فيه أستغلال للبعض بمجرد اننا غير كاملات الاهليه قدام النظام أهانه لنا. #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية75
1607.	76 يوم ونتم بالحمله بالاخير تجلذكم وحده ب 30 ثانيه
1608.	العهر والانحراف والرذيلة لاتحتاج لموافقة ولي امر الدراسة والوظيفة والإجراءات الصحية والمدنية تحتاج لموافقته !
1609.	إن كنت -لله الحمد- متمتعة بكامل حقوقي كإنسانة بالغة في ظل والد متفهم، لكن من الأنانية تجاهل حال باقي بنات الوطن
1610.	ليت اليوم الوطني ختم بإسقاط الولاية ليكتب هذا الفخر في جبين التاريخ
1611.	المطالبة بإسقاط الولاية ، قد يستمر سنوات واكثر ، ف على قصيري النفس ان يتنحوا جانباً !
1612.	تخيلو اجيال بنفس العقليه يكره من يختلف معه في كيفية عبادة الله ويدعم المفحطين هؤلاء ليس اهلاً لان يكونوا أولياء
1613.	الغنم التاق الي هتك عرضه مليون مره ومع هذا لا يزال يتمسك بالحفاظ على شرفه
1614.	ولتفادي المشاكل أصبحوا يشترطون اذن الولي، الزوجة كاملة الأهلية ولا حق له بمنعها إطلاقاً
1615.	نحن نعلم قي قلوبنا ان ما نفعله هو الصحيح والشرع بصفنا ومطالبتنا لا تتعدى القانون وهذا هو الكافي.
1616.	الله يهدي كل معارض م على لسسانه الا السب والقذف
1617.	لا اريد ان اكون ملكة بالمفهوم المحلي لانها مستملكة غير عن الملكة بالمفهوم الحقيقي
1618.	فلتسقط الولاية ولتُعتق النفوس الحبيسة من حقنا ان نختار طريقنا في الحياة لأن الله خلقنا أحرار
1619.	ل ما اتخيل حال المرأة زمان اقول كيف صبرت وتحملت الظلم! لاني اعلم جيدا الان اغلب النساء لم تعد تستطع صبرا
1620.	ذنبها انها امرأة سالحة ووليها فاسد مجرم قتلت بابشع الطرق ولما يحكم ع القاتل بالقتل!! https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIcRtM33sAo
1621.	في كل يوم وطني سنذكرك وندعو لك اللهم ارحمه واسكنه فسيح جناتك ...ملك الانسانيه عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز.
1622.	لن اجادل احدا يرى في الحق باطل ...احترم عقلك الذي وهبه الله لك
1623.	https://twitter.com/Afeminist/status/779466760202452992/photo/1
1624.	ونحن نحتفل بيومنا الوطني أرجو وأطلب أن تسقط مايسمى بالولاية على المرأة الراشدة
1625.	<u>سجينات منسيات بسبب قانون الولاية الظالم#</u>
1626.	يأذن الله لن ياتي اليوم الوطني القادم الا وقد اسقطت وتحقق العدل واعطيت الحقوق كامله
1627.	عندما تحس انك انسان مالك اي مكانه حتى لاجيت تفرج، غلط! بأحتفالات يتسيدها ذكر حيوان لايعترف بوجود المرأة
1628.	واجب علي ادعم إسقاط الولاية مو بس لمستقبلي برضوا عشان بناتي و حفيداتي و اللي بعدهم .

1629.	وماو صلنا اليه والصدى الذي احدثناه والتفاعل الغير محدود ... لن يذهب سدى .
1630.	ماوراء الصبر الا الفرج...برغم كل مامرت به الحمله الا اننا صامدن وبالحق مدعومون .
1631.	https://twitter.com/Oma_Mohd/status/779454433910464512/photo/1 كاملة الأهلية..
1632.	أتمنى تصوير فيه وزارة لشؤون المرأة اتولاها وأقسم بالله إن أمنع أي رجل دين يتكلم عن enough المرأة؛ خلاص
1633.	قناعتهم اذا المرأة طالبت بهذا ف المطالبات الجايه اعظم فساداً مثل عقولهم، السعوديات ماذا يريدون غير المشروع
1634.	استغفر الله! مع حياة الكبد التي تواجهها المرأة السعودية يبشرونها بأنها أكثر أهل النار! الدين والدنيا لكم يعني؟
1635.	نحن نبا يدرسونا كتاب اسمه حقوقي توضح الحكومه حفظها الله حقوق المرأة السعوديه الموقعه علاه بلادنا
1636.	اسباب + فوائد إسقاط الولاية للي م يعرفها https://twitter.com/meme201245/status/779450323727421441/photo/1
1637.	الى الان لم يتحرك الضمير الانساني
1638.	نصيحه للذكور المعارضين لا تاخذون راحتكم مره *يمكن زوجتك* تطلع وحده من هنا
1639.	https://twitter.com/meme201245/status/779446495141593093/photo/2
1640.	ستستمر المطالبه حتى تسقط .
1641.	هكذا كانت أمهاتنا وجداتنا فمن المسؤول عن إبادة ماضينا الجميل https://twitter.com/d_nosh1/status/779444053700116480/photo/1
1642.	كان الناس يعيشون حياة سوية أفضل 60 مرة من وقتنا الحالي https://twitter.com/d_nosh1/status/779442717030027264/photo/1
1643.	وعجيب أن يخلق المرء حُرّاً ثم يأبى لنفسه الحرية ... اهداء للدرر المعارضات
1644.	ارفعوا التاق ... رقم سبعة رقم الحظ
1645.	كيف اكون سعيدة وانا ولدت حرة ولكني أعامل كالمملوك؟! كيف اشعر بنعمة انسانيتي وانا اعامل كحيوان أليف؟
1646.	حيواني الأليف مثلنا يا بنات وطني .. لايسافر بدون اذني.. لا يخرج من قفصه بدون اذني .. لايتزوج بدون تدبيري ..
1647.	لولي الامرالسعودي على موليته سيطرة على حياتها ما ليس لبشر على بشر راشد في هذاالعالم هل تُعد نحن هنا بشر؟!!
1648.	لولي الامرالسعودي على موليته سيطرة على حياتها ما ليس لبشر على بشر راشد في هذاالعالم هل تعدونا من جنس البشر؟
1649.	يبقى الحيوان الأليف تحت حكم صاحبه من الولادة للممات .. مثله مثل المرأة السعودية مع وليها ماذا تعدون جنسنا؟!
1650.	نطالب بان تتساوى الحقوق و الواجبات و تعامل المرأة ك مواطنة كاملة الاهلية من الدرجة الاولى ك الرجال تماماً
1651.	سيحاولون تشويه هذه الحمله بشتى الطرق لكن لن نتوقف الا بإسقاط الولاية عن كل امرأة حُرّة مهمها حاولوا تخويننا
1652.	اعطاء المرأة حقها الكامل بقيادة السيارة ك الرجال تماماً و حرية التنقل ٦
1653.	استحداث قانون صارم يحاسب فيه المتحرش و المعتدي بأشد العقوبات ٥
1654.	و إلغاء حق الولي بسجن المرأة في حال بلغت عن العنف ضدها ٤
1655.	كما نطالب بإلغاء قانون السجن للمعنة في دور الحماية و استحداث قانون صارم يحمي من العنف ضد المرأة ٣
1656.	نطالب بإعطاءنا حق التعليم و العلاج و العمل و السفر و الزواج دون موافقة ولي الأمر ٢
1657.	بعد اسقاطها ستعلمون أن الأنثى تستأذن أباه وأخاها لأنها تحبهم وليس غصبا عنها!
1658.	شيء عظيم يجعلني فخورة بكل المطالبات بحريتهن ٧٧ يوماً لن ينزل التاق من الترنند احبكم يا بنات بلدي الطاهرات
1659.	الشجاع من رجال بلادي من دعم اخواته هناهناك الكثيرين يوافقون لكن يحجمون عن المشاركةخوفاًعلى مكانتهم وصورتهن
1660.	فقط في زمن الرق رفضت مطالب العبيد وتمت مهاجمتهم، ويحدث لنا الان أشباه البشر ضدنا ويفرضون علينا تبرير لحقوقنا

1661.	المرأة السعودية أليس هي أمكم وأختكم وزوجتكم فلماذا التشكيك بمطلبها لماذا تريدوا أن تذلل وتظلم وتجدوا بحقوقها؟! لا مبرر لعراضكم يامستبدين
1662.	فلتسقط الولاية ولتعتق النفوس الحبيسة من حقنا ان نختار طريقنا في الحياة لأن الله خلقنا أحرار
1663.	الإسلام بريء من قانون يجعل امرأه تأخذ إذن عشان تسافر من ابنها الذي تصرف عليه...عليكم لعنه الله
1664.	مين انت تقول كيف نطالب بعد نجاح الحمله ووصولها عالميا ادري انكم متفشلين من هالقمع وطلع تخلفكم للخارج
1665.	في نهاية المقطع سيفهم العاقلون فقط الفرق بين القوامه والولاية ..
1666.	خوّلت الشريعة للمرأة ما للرجل من الحقوق، وألقت عليها تبعه أعمالها المدنيّة والجنايّة .
1667.	ابسط الحقوق والبدئية نطالب بها : https://twitter.com/XxxBanana0/status/779426429196992513/photo/1
1668.	ليس تسقط الولاية عن الولد بعمر ١٨ وماتسقط عن البنت لين تموت ؟ : لأن شيخي يقول البنت حوضها بركبتها https://twitter.com/waard__0/status/779425881299247108/photo/1
1669.	هي فتره تاريخية للمملكة ستحفظ أسماء من شاركو فيها بالسلب أو بالإيجاب استرجاع ماضع من حقوق النساء
1670.	نحن مستعبدات بالقانون سواء أهلك أعطوك حرية أو لا تظلين داخل زنازة الاستعباد هذه حقيقة لا يمكن إنكارها.
1671.	أحبك يا وطني وعيدك هو عيد حيناً أنت الحزن والملاذ الذي أيت له همومي ومطالبي
1672.	انتهاك خصوصية #المرأة السعودية ضمن نظام الإجراءات الجزائية؛ صور https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779416105614008322/photo/1
1673.	مزيداً من الصور التعسفية في عمل #المرأة السعودية والتضييق عليها ٣ صور https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779414755249385472/photo/1
1674.	التضييق على #المرأة السعودية بمجالات كثيرة للعمل بحجج شرعية واجتماعية متناقضة ٣ صور
1675.	كيف تستطيع إقناع طفلك بأن التدخين ضاروانت تدخن أمامه؟ وكيف تكون قدوة حسنة له؟ إذن لاتدعو اهلك للبر وتنسى نفسك
1676.	و لكن لا افهم هجوم المعترضين فهم لم يعانون او يتألمون لنفهم عاطفيتهم و بعدهم عن الحكمة في الحوار
1677.	حكمة راس المعرفة و بعض من بناتنا ابدن غير ذلك يعذرُ لهن ما اصابهن من قهر و الم و عجز
1678.	لم أجد شباب بلد يهاجم ويقذف ويشتم بنات بلده كالشباب السعودي وهم أعلم بحالهم ويسفرياتهم وموجونهم
1679.	ماسي أفرزت من ولاية الرجل المتسلط على https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779410554666512384/photo/3
1680.	اتمنى اذا اعطونا حقوقنا كامله نُحرم منها كل امرأة ثبت انها عارضتنا سابقاً، حرام هالاشكال تستفيد من تعب غيرها
1681.	من حقوق #المرأة السعودية رفض الوصاية عليها ان هي راشدة وتدير أمور هابعدا عن اى ظلم وتسلط لوصى https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779408799698477056/photo/1
1682.	تفاقم نسبة العنف ضد #المرأة بالمجتمع السعودي في ظل غياب قانون رادع وتفتش جهلها بحقوقها ٢ صورة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779407601297661952/photo/1
1683.	السعودي المعتوه: هو الي يعتقد ان سقوط الولاية هي سقوط لرجولته .. يحتاج إعادة تربية والله !
1684.	https://twitter.com/msubaii1/status/779406650788765697/photo/1
1685.	في استئذان #المرأة السعودية بالزواج قديستولى عليه وليها ظلماً بدعم المأذون ٢ صرة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779406039934443520/photo/
1686.	لا بعد القانون معه لو اشتكى ضدها يرجعونها بالقوة له إذا ما قبلت يحطونها في(سجن الرعاية)
1687.	في السعودية المناهج الدراسية نفسها تعزز لفكرة ان العلاقة بين الذكر و الانثى المفروض تكون علاقة رئيس و مرفوس

1688.	من جد وقذارة لسانهم خلاني اصر على اسقاطها بعد ماكنت اشوف التاق واتجنبه
1689.	https://twitter.com/AnabaderBadr/status/779403852256841728/photo/1 قبل بروز نجم بني صحيون وتأخير المجتمع للخلف سنين على ايام الجاهلية
1690.	غياب #المساواة بين #الرجل و #المرأة في السعودية بعدة جوانب ٢صورة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779403383958560770/photo/2
1691.	معوقات تخصيص محاكم تهتم بقضايا الاسرة وتتفهم حاجاتها ٢صورة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779402585547636736/photo/1
1692.	من الظلم القضائي الطلاق الغيابي لل #المرأة_السعودية وهوليس من #الانسانية ٢صورة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779399742572953600/photo/1
1693.	التعسف القضائي بحق #المرأة السعودية وتهميش هويتها وانسانيتها ٢صورة https://twitter.com/nooorhuda/status/779398373312962563/photo/1
1694.	استحمار حينما يتاح لك التحدث والمطالبه بحقوقك وترفض بل وتعارض خوفاً من المجتمع نعم ياسادة انه لاستحمار عظيم
1695.	السفر - نساء العالم : جواز و تسافر - المواطنة السعودية: إصدار جواز، تصريح و كلها تنلغي بدون موافقة وليها
1696.	التاق له تأثير كبير على الجميع عجبهم أو ماعجبهم.
1697.	صديقتي تقول شاركت في حملة ضد العنف على المرأة و جو نساء قالولها بس الحزمة لو ما انضريت كيف تفهم؟ جتني صدمة
1698.	نقسم لك يا وطني بأننا نُحبك لكن لا نُحب من فيك من بشر فاقدين للرجوله والإنسانيه ويُريدون تهميشنا.
1699.	قمة المهزله اني اربي طفل وبمجرد مايكبر يصير حاكمي وجلادي ماقول غير لعنة الله على من فكر في وضع هذا القانون
1700.	حب الوطن والولاء له لا يتعارض ابدا مع مخاطبة صناع القرار للسعي للكمال https://twitter.com/SouadALshammary/status/779345694939381760/photo/1
1701.	إذا سألنا لماذا تعارضون ؟ قالوا : "هذا ماوجدنا عليه اجدادنا وعاداتنا!!" اللعنه عليك وعلى اجدادك وعاداتك.
1702.	ياختصار : إذا كان ديني كرمني فمن أنتم كي تهينوني باسمه ؟ .
1703.	تحديناهم بالتعليم ونجحنا وتحديناهم بالعمل وعملنا وتطورنا قالوا لنا ناقصات عقل وخرجوا منا عالمات وطبيبات
1704.	ابن عمي في المحاكم ويقول الآن قاعدين يدرسون خطة الاسقاط ولكن بيمهدونها وعلى أغلب الحال سيصدر القرار ١٠/١
1705.	الولاية فرضت من 30 سنه و لو انها من الدين ف شيء ل طبقها الرسول و جعل وليا على نسائه قبل وفاته كذب و تأليف
1706.	عادات جعلوا منها عبادات و ليتهم يطبقون العبادات مثل تطبيق العادات
1707.	مُحق في خوفه فهو يشعر ان وقت الإنتقام حان فيوم العدل على الظالم اشد من يوم الجور على المظلوم.
1708.	حتى وأن تم تهديدي سأواصل المطالبه ولن تعيقني اي تهديد من الضعفاء ,هذا حق ويسؤخذ عاجلاً أم أجلاً
1709.	سنطالب بتقنين هذا النظام العقيم المجحف... قانون اخرجنا و اخرج اسم دولتنا و كاننا من الدول المتأخرة
1710.	ي بنات غيرو اسم التاق فيه كمية جهلا بالدين حطو هشتاق يوضح مقصدم في عقول تنبح بدون تفكير
1711.	https://twitter.com/mesho5o55/status/779372867217686528/photo/
1712.	الولاية بالماضي فُرضت نتيجة ظروف إجتماعية واقتصادية وسياسية؛واليوم زالت الظروف وبطبيعة الحال ستزول الولاية!
1713.	حقوقنا كنساء ماراح تخلينا من دون اخلاق هي بتخلينا متكافئين مع الرجال بس
1714.	نحتاج إلى من يتبنى الدفاع عن حقنا أمام القضاء نحتاج وثيقة الكترونية نوقع عليها جميعا ونرفعها للملك ووليي عهده
1715.	في وطني ذكور يعارضون اسقاط الولاية حتى لا تسقط رجولتهم.
1716.	https://twitter.com/000020Q/status/779360308838236160/photo/1

1717.	المطالبات واضحة ومستمرة! إنهاء التمييز ضد المرأة بأي شكل من الأشكال. https://twitter.com/SafeMov/status/779359434875236352/photo/1
1718.	للاسف هذه الحملة استخدمت لمصالح شخصية ولتفريغ حقد دفين .. ومع ذلك تبقى حق شرعي تسير حياة نساء الوطن
1719.	فللاسف هذه الحملة التي نريد بها نصر المظلومات والمعنفات أصبحت حملة لتشويه سمعة السعوديات
1720.	سنستمر وسندخل التاريخ بأطول مطالبه وأقوى إصرار وضمود والنهاية هي النصر بإذن الله
1721.	ظلم المرأة لا يقع من ولي الامر بل من بعض القوانين التي احرمتها حقها في العيش كمواطنه https://twitter.com/layalmubarak/status/779354869601796097/photo/1
1722.	سنستمر ولن يصيبنا الكلل أو الملل. مطالبتنا بحقوقنا حرية. لأحد يتنازل عن الحرية
1723.	انحطاط المعارضين وهمجيتهم وقود لنا للاستمرار وإثبات أننا على حق.
1724.	في #اليوم الوطني حقنا ك #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية 77
1725.	و أنا عتيبية و معاك لأننا حرائر نرفض الاستعباد و نرفض التخلف الذي يحاصرنا من كل الجهات
1726.	كفى استعباد البشر خلقنا الله أحرار لماذا الوصاية؟! التجاهل؟! الإذلال؟!!
1727.	المرأة كامله الاهليه ، والولاية لناقص الاهليه فقط كالطفل والمجنون
1728.	كوني مستقلة مفكرة عندي طموح اقوي من مليار عرف ما نزل به الله من سلطان يا بلدي اوقفو نزيه الظلم فلتسقط
1729.	ربي لاتحرم كل بنت بسعوديه من كل الي تتمناه وحجب عنها بعذر الولاية معاً لمستقبل اقوي وأعظم من أجلنا كلنا
1730.	https://twitter.com/non7n_/status/779347827726188544/photo/1
1731.	https://twitter.com/mesho5o55/status/779347472363683840/photo/1
1732.	سنظل نطالب حتي يمل الطلب من أصواتنا وكيف استعبدتم الناس ولدتهم أمهاتهم أحرار فلتسقط لا للتمهيش
1733.	من يقذف ويكفر ويخون نساء بلده لأنهم طالبوا بحقهم أليس بداعشي
1734.	احلم بحرية وهبها الخالق لي . وسلبها المخلوق مني!
1735.	ملعون في كل الأديان.. من يُهدر حق الإنسان.. حتى لو صلى أو زكى وعاش العُمرَ مع القرآن..
1736.	طيب ليش ماوحده منكم عنده سلطه وقدره تكلم الديوان الملكي مباشرة ، ، وتناقش بالموضوع
1737.	طيب الحين بنات الهشتاق كله جدال جدال جدال مع المعتوهين والمعتوهات؟ الي متي؟؟؟؟
1738.	https://twitter.com/alfahad_987/status/779337345158045696/photo/1
1739.	المرأة هي التي تجسد خطيئة الرجل تجسيدا ملموسا مباشرا، فهو يرتكب الخطيئة ويتحلل منها بالقائها على عاتق المرأة
1740.	عزيزي الرجل أوهام الولاية لا علاقه لها بالدين ممكن تفهم ؟ لو نجيب لكم بن باز يجي يقولها لكم بتكذبونه
1741.	تسلطهم عليك وحبسك بالبيت = عنف رفض رغبتك بالعمل = عنف عدم خروجك للتنزه والراحة وتربك اطفالك لوحدهك = عنف
1742.	حرمانك من النفقة عنف إهمالك عنف منعك من السفر وزيارة أهلك عنف منعك من العلاج عنف حبسك عنف
1743.	وفي الاساس هالتاق موجه لحكومتنا اللي بيدها الأمر
1744.	الحقيقة لا يوجد لامؤامرة لاتأمر ولا بطيخ كلها مطالب نساء ظلمهم قانون الولاية المستحدث الذي لا يمت للشرع بأي صلة
1745.	عبارة تقتل الأحلام وتبدد الطموح " ما أقدر أساعدك إلا بموافقة ولي أمرك "
1746.	عنصرية
1747.	https://twitter.com/alfahad_987/status/779333591406968832/photo/1
1748.	وراك وراك يا وطن ، ولا بنوقف مطالبه لين تتغير اوضاع المرأة بالكامل
1749.	إسقاط الولاية اكثر عدلاً وإنصافاً للمرأة ولها الحق بالمطالبة بحقوقها التي ضاعت أو تأخرت أو نسيت ..
1750.	هذي المطالبة هي حق شرعي للمواطنات سواء وقف معها ملحد او صهيوني او عبيد الشهرة هذا لا يطعن بهدف الحملة ابداً

1751.	التاق طلع غباء بعض الذكور وعبداتهم اتوقع لو دوله خليجييه ثانيه كان رجالهم انصفوهم لانهم واثقين بنات بلدهم
1752.	درست وتخرجت واشتغلت انا وخواتي وبعدها يجي اخوي الي ماعنده غير الثانوي يقول كفايتكم لا تفسدون وابوي يصفق له
1753.	مهما حاول البعض تشويه الحملة او حاول ينشهر على حسابها او حاول ينسبها لنفسه ستبقى وتستمر ولن نلتفت لهم
1754.	ذكورالسعوديه:كل من تخالف رأيي فاجره حتى لو كانت ملتزمه عفيفه وكل من توافق رأيي عفيفه حتى لو كانت روضه اليوسف
1755.	دليل انكم لا تحاربون الفتن بل تحاربون الانثى
1756.	وضعت الولاية ردع لمفاسد و فتن الانثى ، بينما الفتن المحيطة بنا من قتل و مخدرات و ارهاب اصلها ذكر ؟!
1757.	لجميع يتجادلون عن كل شيء مع الجميع.
1758.	بلادي..لما تنتظرين موافقه كامل الشعب على اطلاق سراح شخص واحد ؟ اذا لم يكن شخص كفيل بتغيير قوانين من سيكون ؟
1759.	نحن أمة غرقت في بحر التناقض https://twitter.com/bocha_loca/status/779329726166999040/photo/1
1760.	اكتشفت بعد المناقشات اللي صارت بذا الهاشتاق ان العادات والتقاليد والمفهوم الاجتماعي اقوى من الدين بالمجتمع
1761.	يقولون مجتمعنا محافظ ورغم ذلك يصرون على وجود الهيئة يقولون نساءنا ملكات ثم يفرضون عليها الوصاية
1762.	كيف تطالب بشيء سقط عنك تلقائياً بمجرد وصولك لسن معين المشكلة عندنا فيه استمر https://twitter.com/StrongerWoman/status/779329285391867909/photo/1
1763.	قانون الولاية عبء على وزارة العدل باسقاط هذا القانون يوفر عليها آلاف القضايا سنوياً
1764.	نريد إسقاط الجهل وأن نرتقي بالعلم وأن نساهم في بناء وطننا ليس مطلبنا إسقاط من شاب رأسه لتربيتنا.
1765.	بالفعل تشوهت الحمله وعفنت بوجود تدخلات اجنبيه وصهيونيه،انا لي حق ومحتاجه اخذ حقي لكن ماني بحاجة يهودي واجنبي
1766.	<u>وطننا نحبه وعلى الرأس وفي القلب. فقط نرجو أن يأتي العام القادم وقد استجيب ل #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 77</u>
1767.	ما أوهم الكثير وجعله يتعنت ويتعسف بهذه السلطة هو أن الأنظمة والقوانين المعمول بها مكنته من ذلك نظاما
1768.	مخجل جداً أن تكون علاقة المجتمع سيد بعده!! بدلاً من أن تكون علاقة تكامل واحترام متبادل
1769.	اعرف جيداً سر هذه الغوغاء و هذا التشنج ، الذي يشبه جنون الأحقق عندما يخاف ان يعود نكرة كما كان
1770.	في اليوم الوطني تسلط الضوء على المرأة شريكة التنمية،وتحدث عن ضرورة رفع قيود mbc الوصاية والولاية عنها
1771.	في مجتمعنا ستظل المرأة ناقصة مالم يوجد رجل يكملها ، مهما علت في مناصبها وفي تعليمها..وهذا أمر جائر جدا
1772.	اذا كنت ترا في اسقاط الولاية بداية للفجور اذا الاسلام لم يتمكن من نفسك وكل مايعيشه المجامع رياء
1773.	شوهتم سمعة الاسلام والدين بتسلطكم وجهلكم لدرجة انكم عارضتو الدين والشرع في حقوق المرأة من اجل العادات
1774.	في الوقت اللي النساء يحكمون العالم عندنا النساء يعاملون كالقاصر في نظر القانون.. https://twitter.com/Gigiii_AI/status/779320159148371972/photo/2
1775.	فيه فرق بين انك تطالبي بين حقوقك وبين انك تبين تتجردي من قيم الاسلام
1776.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy1oo/status/779319851106045953/photo/1
1777.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy1oo/status/779319683921092608/photo/1
1778.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy1oo/status/779319600102121474/photo/1
1779.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy1oo/status/779319499120050176/photo/1

1780.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy100/status/779319418358730752/photo/1
1781.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy100/status/779319337001873408/photo/1
1782.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy100/status/779319270283051008/photo/1
1783.	https://twitter.com/Dreamy100/status/779319198531158016/photo/1
1784.	للي يغذف يسبب ينتقص من الآخرين لان رأيه صواب لا يحتمل خطأ ! "ألا يصح أن نختلف ونبقى إخواناً الإمام الشافعي
1785.	ياأختي فرقي بين ولاية القاصر وبين الولاية على الراشدة إल्ली نطالب بها الله يسعدك
1786.	طبيب ياأختي طيب تستمر الولاية على الذكور مادام أساس الموضوع التربية والعناية الواجبة على الوالدين
1787.	نحتفل لحب الوطن وتناسى حقوق سلبت منا لعلها تعود يوما
1788.	ولا ذرة مشاعر للوطن الي عاجز عن حمايتك كامرأة وسلب حقوقك وجعلك ملك لذكور سفلة !يقررون عنك ويحرمونك ويظلمونك
1789.	86 عام وحقوق المرأة مسلوبه وكأنه ماطالبها تعجزيه وهي بسيطة واقل حقوقها
1790.	في كلا الحالتين المرأة السبب كيف كلام كهذا يدرس بالمدارس يفسد عقل الطفل بصورته عن المرأة
1791.	مجتمعنا معاق يعيق معوق يسخر من قضايا إنسانية لو تكلم الجدار للصرخ وهم يستهزؤن بالمعنفات ابتلاككم الله به
1792.	كنت اسوي مقابله لزميله مفروض تشتغل معايا انصدمت من طلب المدير قال خليها تجيب ورقه موقعه من ولي الامرلا مانع
1793.	المرأة ليست فرج، المرأة إنسان تحتاج لحريتها وحققها كأى مواطن.
1794.	عادات وتقاليد واللي دفنا هي العادات وليس الدين ليتنا نتبع الدين حقا
1795.	تأكدوا يا أصحاب القرار بأن التأخير يتسبب في أذى وضرر يومي وتعطيل مصالح وقهر !
1796.	بسيء لأيه من القران ويتهمها بأنها اذلال للمراه وسلطه وعنف.
1797.	نُتهم نقذف نُكفر لاننا طالبنا بحقوقنا مثلهم باي دين تدينون واي عقل هذا الذي تملكون ؟
1798.	كلنا مستهدفين ونحارب بعضنا ونلعن العدو ولانقتل الا أنفسنا ! https://twitter.com/was_8880/status/779312333353054208/photo/1
1799.	لم نطالب من فراغ بل المعاناة وعدم تسهيل امورنا القانونية وتعقيد كل شيء نطمح اليه هو من دفعنا للمطالبة بحقنا
1800.	المرأة_السعودية سواء كانت معلمه او طبيبه و مهما بلغت من الكبر عتيا ستعامل # فتأمل #كالمراهقه تحت سن 21 #الجوازات https://twitter.com/nhr7arbi/status/643494372105920512/photo/1
1801.	عزيزي الرجل رجولتك مواقف وليست بفرض الوصاية على الانثى فهي امك ربتك واختك تعایشت معها وزوجة رعتك ورعيته
1802.	نحن نطالب الغاء المحرم الحارم يعني الغاء طلب تثقيع ولي الامر ع كل شيء يخص المرأة من تعليم وعلاج وغيره
1803.	الي يجي يتفلسف هنا من الذكور اصحاب العقول المغلقة المرأة هنا تطالب بحقها الشرعي
1804.	لكل رافض لاسقاطها كل مظلومة معنفة مغتصبة مفهورة في رقبتك لانك اتاني لانفهم رجولتك الا يفرضها على الانثى
1805.	يا اخواتي غيرو مسمى الهشتاق فيه اوادم مو فاهمين ايش تطالبون فيه ما الومهم صراحه من متى هم يفكرون
1806.	رفضون شرع الله لأنه ليس على أهوائهم سيأتي يوم يُحاسبهم الله لن تنفعهم جاهليتهم و مطالبنا موجهه للدولة فقط.
1807.	الي يقول انه من الدين الذكر يتسيد المرأة في كل امورها حتى لو الذكر فاسد فهذا دين ظالم و عنصري ليس الاسلام
1808.	جيبو لي من الشرع ادلة على الي يصير في ايامنا ذي ، و اقنعوني انه العبودية حلال
1809.	و الله حتى القتل ارحم من التعذيب الي يحصلونه بعض البنات ، كم بنت فكرت في الانتحار
1810.	رمون البنات لاول ذكر عشان يتخلصون من العار ! ياخي اقتلها و خليها واضحة حقيقة اننا في الجاهلية الثانية

1811.	اقرب مثال زواج القاصرات ، ولا جاهل يقول من الدين " في الشرع باطل الزواج اذا هي مو رافضية "
1812.	آيزك صهيوني ملحد أيا كان ما يهم، لأن الهم سعودي; والنظام سعودي والمتضررات سعوديات .. لا تتشاغل بأيزاك عنا!
1813.	<u>يثقون بك لتربية اطفالك وتربية اطفالهم وتعليمهم ولا يثقون بك لتسيير حياتك #تناقض</u>
1814.	<u>لييه يا بلادي للاسف ياغازي مازال هناك من يمارس طقوس الجاهلية في قمع النساء وهن احياء ويدعون الحضارة#</u>
1815.	مغردون يعيدون تداول مقطع لـ د.غازي القصيبي رحمه الله، استمعوا إليه بمايفخر https://twitter.com/KSASociety/status/779058467369807872/video/1 وبماذا يوصيكم -
1816.	في اليوم الوطني هل احتفل كمواطنه ام نصف مواطنه؟
1817.	الولاية ليست من الشرع ولا من الدين وتعارض المنطق وحقوق الإنسان . . والله لنسقطه https://twitter.com/nomorelove87/status/779306102840262657/photo/3
1818.	ما أوهم الكثير وجعله يتعنت ويتعسف بهذه السلطة هو أن الأنظمة والقوانين المعمول بها مكنته من ذلك نظاما
1819.	وش هدف آيزك كوهن من تأييد الحملة ووش هدف فقيه من معارضتها؟ تعرفون توزنون القضية بميزان العقل ويس؟
1820.	مطالبتك لاسقاط الولاية لاتعني اسقاط ابيك او اخيك او زوجك لكن الحرية المعترزة بنفسها تأبى الوصاية وفقدان الاهلية
1821.	ولايتي عن نفسي حق لي عندما اكون بالغه وعاقله الخريه حق لكل إنسان.
1822.	ستستسقط وستلطم انت وكل معارض
1823.	انتي بالغة عاقلة واعية تعملين وتربين اطفالك لايجب ان تعاملتي كتابع او فاقدة للاهلية وتغرض عليك وصاية
1824.	هو لم يفكر وضع المرأة البائس هو فقط يفكر في عاداته البالية ، يخاف عليها تدثر ولا يخاف من الضرر الناتج عنها!
1825.	<u>وبعد هذه الفضيحة 2</u> https://twitter.com/jjaadd129/status/779298136221036544/photo/2 <u>لازال الجاهل غير مصدق ومستمر بمطالبته المأساويه باسقاط الولاية</u>
1826.	امنية حياتي افهم تفكير المرأة والرجل (((المسلمين))) اللي مع الولاية كيف انتم مسلمين وتطبقون شيء مو من الدين؟
1827.	<u>لسنا ملكات حنا سعوديات كاملات العقل والاهلية نطالب بسقاط قانون الولاية عن المراه #اليوم الوطني 86</u>
1828.	المعارضات فاشلات بحياتهن يحتاجن ظل يتوارن خلفه ! عاله على نفسها وعقلها ارحم الجيل الي بيطلع منهن
1829.	ما ضيعنا إلا "عرف المجتمع"
1830.	كون إن ولي أمرك هو الي سمحلك بالتعليم والعمل والسفر والخ هذا لا يعني بأنك تملكين هذه حقوق.
1831.	انه كل يوم ادخل اطمئن ان التاق موجود اعرف انا احيا نتنفس ياررب اسعد قلوبنا بحريه العقول قبل الاجساد
1832.	مع زيادة وعي المرأة السعودية ادركت مدى الظلم الواقع عليها..لاتباكي على الماضي ولكن نرفع أصواتنا للمستقبل
1833.	في اليوم الوطني نطالب ايضا نحن النساء لاننا جزء من هذا الوطن وانجازاته ارفعوا ظلم الولاية
1834.	قبل ان تهاجم هذا الهشتاق .. اسال نفسك ماهي الولاية ومن ابتدعها؟ ثم اسال نفسك مالذي يزعجني في اسقاطها؟
1835.	الله يسعد الحره الي طالبت باسقاط الولاية والله كنت احسب نطبق شرع الله .طلع عادات نورت عقلي الله ينوردر بها
1836.	نفس الشي اصلا اول مرا دخلت التاق قلت انهبلو ذول يسقطو شي من الدين؟ اشوى م درعمت روحت و قرأت ويحث وفهمت
1837.	مستقله ولها الحرية في ان تطالب في محاكمة معنفها وسجنه لا ان تعزل على العالم وجلادها حر طليق عوقب بتعهد فقططط

1838.	ولايه نفسي تجي قبل كل المطالب ..ذي الاساس !
1839.	شرعاً شهادة المرأة تقبل ، يا الله أرجعوا قولوا تهمة شكم هذا من الشرع
1840.	للجهل اثار سلبية ستجر على مجتمعنا الخيبات تلو الاخرى
1841.	برافوا عمل مميز و اداء رائع وكلمات قوية ، هذا يعد عمل فني فذ سيساهم في إنتشار القضية
1842.	نادينا يا وطن تكفي وسمعنا الكون كلة وانت للحين بصمت تراقب وين وصلنا؟؟!!
1843.	فك اسري ما تنتظر؟؟!! لست عيب ..لست حرام... انا طبيبتك انا مهندسه انا معلمه لاطفالك ..انا أمك!!ما تنتظر؟؟!!
1844.	للأسف كل المعارضين. دواعش مستقبلين
1845.	ممکن استوعب الرجل اللي ضد الاسقاط ولكن امرأه ضدها؟؟؟ فعلاً المرأه عدو المرأه
1846.	لا تناقش السفهاء ف يستدرجونك إلى مستواهم ثم يغلبونك بخبرتهم في النقاش السفیه ..
1847.	نحتاف بوطنا وتقدمه وعقبال مانحتفل بتحقیق الرؤیه #سعودیات نطالب باسقاط الولاية77
1848.	https://twitter.com/fightergirl34/status/779296240462864385/photo/1
1849.	والولاية ماتضبط دين احد ولا تضبط سلوك احد والفاسده فاسده حتى لو عليها مليون ولي
1850.	الله يسعد الحره الي طالبت باسقاط الولاية والله كنت احسب نطبق شرع الله . طلع عادات نورت عقلي الله ينوردربها
1851.	اللي جاده باسقاط الولاية تكتب اسمها رباعي مع السجل المدني مو تناهقو بمعرفات وهميه ونشوف ايش يصير معكم
1852.	التضييق ع المرأه بأسم الدين أبشع ما إنمارس عليها و هو ظلم لها و إغتصاب لحقوقها و لإنسانيتها
1853.	لأي وحده تقول محكمة او قانون او قاضي الخ https://twitter.com/cathelpercat/status/779295110928281600/photo/1
1854.	الولاية ليست واجبه فالدين ومطالبنا ليست محرمة او ممنوعة .
1855.	لا ولاية ع المرأه إلا في النكاح https://twitter.com/anuxlr/status/779294952291495936/photo/1
1856.	لكل درة مصونة ادركي !كون متطلباتك وحتياجاتك بتتوقف على ذكر انتي مهددة يوما ما بالاضطهاد والتسلط
1857.	لنا سبع و سبعون يوم و مازال هناك نساء لم يصدقن بعد انهن إنسان برتبة مواطن كالذكر تماما !!
1858.	جميع الدول تطبق القانون على الذكر والمرأه بالتساوي الا فالسعوديه يكون القانون معسر على المرأه ميسر على الذكر
1859.	لكل وضع يتهمكم باصوات المعنفات او بأصوات المطالبة بحقوق مشروعة.. تنحى بعيدا فمواطن الكرامة ليست محلا لك
1860.	في يوم الوطن مازال هاشتاقتنا ترند.. يجب ان يصل صوتنا لأعلى مستوى.. نطالب بالعدالة https://twitter.com/nomorelove87/status/779294019012755456/photo/1
1861.	٧٧ تاق علشان تسقط الولاية؟؟ طيب ليش ما تصير مطالبكم مفيدة للمجتمع ؟
1862.	داعشيتهم تطبق على النساء فقط .
1863.	ليه ماتقام ولاية ع الابن الذكر ليه تسقط الولاية عنه بمجرد البلوغ ومايعتبرون هذا عقوق
1864.	اسقاط الولاية لايعني اسقاط الشرف ومن حق المرأه العيش من غير ان يتولاها ذكر
1865.	انا ارفض ان اعامل ك سفيهه او ناقصه للاهليه . https://twitter.com/asmaaotbbb/status/779292110499569665/photo/1
1866.	كل عام ووطني بخير وأمن وعدل ووسطية وسلام وتقدم وازدهار كل عام وولادة أمنا بخير https://twitter.com/i/status/779292054841163776
1867.	كل عام وبلادي بألف خيروأمن وسلام كل عام وولادة أمنا بألف خير كل عام ونساء ووطني بخير وعدل وحقوق
1868.	لا بد للاستعباد أن ينتهي يوما إستمروا بالمطالبة...
1869.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية77 مستمرون بالمطالبة#قيادة_المرأة_للسيارة #

1870.	المعارضين وش هدفهم من الرفض دام مراح يتغير شي عليهم الا ان كل مظلومه ومعنفه تستعيد إنسانيتها ليه هالأنانية ؟
1871.	إسقاط ولاية مين قال إسقاط الحجاب !
1872.	لا يقفون بصفنا ، هم يقفون بصف الحقيقة ، يقفون بصف بناتهم غداً و أخواتهم كي لا يستغلهم احداً
1873.	هذا ظلم واستعباد وعكس الدين والإنسانية وما يثبت الا اننا مازلنا في عصر الجاهلية.
1874.	سبب جلدها الحقيقي عدم موافقة الذكر بالسفر لكن لا يستطيع القاضي أن يصرح بالدين https://twitter.com/ihhi_24/status/779287921899802624/photo/1
1875.	هذا امريكي صديق كوهين يقول كوهين هو قائد الحملة ويقول كوهيم من بدأ هذه الحملة https://twitter.com/So3Xx/status/779287799317032960/photo/1
1876.	وراء حملات اسقاط الولاية اليهودي يقودهم يعني ينفذون اوامر يهودي؟؟ https://twitter.com/So3Xx/status/779287671847915520/photo/1
1877.	وطني يامن لاهوية لي فيه..... #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية77 #ليه_يا_بلادِي
1878.	https://twitter.com/i/status/778609881997717504
1879.	حقوقنا لاتسقط ولا تنتسوه ولا يعنينا من تحدث عنها أياً كان! نحن ننظر للقضية وليس للأشخاص
1880.	نستحقها ليس تقصيرا في الذكور او نقص فيهم بعض امورنا في حياتنا نتوقف من اجل الولاية نستحقها يا اقرب وقت
1881.	المجتمع العربي لن يرتقي الا اذا كف الرجل عن استعمال المرأة لمتعته وقصر نشاطها على البيت
1882.	ثريا عبيد: الاستثمار في المرأة هو استثمار للوطن. يمثلها نفتخر المرأة السعودية
1883.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية77 قريبا سيتم إرسال البرقيات وسيتم الإعلان عن الموعد #FreeKsaWomen وكيفية إرسالها في الحساب المخصص للحملة
1884.	هل كان ما يدرس في الجامعات للتسلية فقط...؟ https://twitter.com/livein2030/status/779270524430057472/photo/1
1885.	https://twitter.com/bocha_loca/status/779347837196828672/photo/1
1886.	عضو مجلس ادارة الهيئة ليس في الشرع ولاية على البالغ ذكر او انثى التكملة https://twitter.com/Qc4350003W/status/779270253251559425/photo/1
1887.	https://twitter.com/mnal0201/status/779269529088262144/photo/2
1888.	متجاهلين قضايا البطالة والبطالة للخريجات ، ، والفقر والسكن والصحة وأمور الحياة البسيطة ، ، زمن غريب ؟!
1889.	نظرية المؤامرة باتت قديمة كأجندة للمعارضة، أيها المعارضون نحن مستمرون لذا فمن المجدي البحث عن أجندة أخرى.
1890.	لنتحد ضد الظلم لنتحد لأخذ حقوقنا المسلوبة قانونياً ، لنتحد لكي نثبت قوة الحرائر لتحرر من العبودية .
1891.	دكتوراه متضرره https://twitter.com/Avril8888Moon/status/779258362580131840/photo/3 من الولاية تم عضلهااا من وليهااا إهل هذا يرضى الله ورسو ووله؟؟؟؟
1892.	املنا في وطننا كبير ان تلغي التمييز ايضا بين الذكر والانثى وتساهم في تحسين وضع المرأة
1893.	العيد الوطني فرصة لتوعية شباب و شابات الوطن بموضوع الولاية
1894.	الولاء لهذه الارض ولهذا الوطن قبل كل شي وقبل كل اختلاف وفوق كل انتماء
1895.	الولاية ليست من الشرع كفا كذبا وافتراء على شرع الله https://twitter.com/meema_333/status/779254364967956480/photo/1
1896.	بعدين فيه شي محيرني ليه كل البنات ما حطو هوياتهم؟ في التاق! شي محيرني صراحة
1897.	البنات: متى تسقط الولاية بإجدي الرقم صارفلكي؟ الجدة: ردي يا ليل ما اطولك

1898.	هذا واحد من المعارضين شوفو وش يسوي ب اخواته وش هالمجتمع الفاسد؟؟؟ ياليت يتم معاقبتهم ويتم الاسقاط بأسرع وقت
1899.	تضحكين على نفسك نظام الولاية يعطي للذكر الحق انه يتحكم في حياتك تعليمك ووظيفتك وكل شؤونك حتى المسجون ماتقدر تطلع الا بموافقة ولي
1900.	لا تدلسين ولا زمن التدليس ادخلي على قوانين الدولة وشوفي حتى دول الخليج عندهم ولاية
1901.	لا بأس بركوب الجمل أو أن يكون لديك سائق غريب ولكن ليس لديك الحق في B2:B16 القيادة smrrr/status/780371047178797060/photo/1_https://twitter.com/xhuzhz
1902.	مشاهدة الناس يتحركون أمامك، بينما أنت عالق في مكانك بسبب جورديانك..
1903.	اول محامية سعودية/سفانة ربيع تشرح كيف اعافتها الولاية في مؤتمر برشلونة للمرأة https://twitter.com/i/status/779697455067725824
1904.	https://twitter.com/zoozttox/status/780331547178233856/photo/1
1905.	الشيخ خالد المصلح " لا ولاية على المرأة والولاية عرف إجتماعي لا علاقه له بالشرع" https://twitter.com/i/status/780338081752870912
1906.	كل مطالبنا حقوق شرعية بأن نعامل كما جاء به الشرع والدين الإسلامي أن تكون لنا أهلية كاملة وكامل حقوق المواطنة
1907.	أيعقل هذا ؟ (: شوية تفكر في المهزلة هذه يا جماعة :) https://twitter.com/Faten_Sh/status/780315249404735489/photo/1
1908.	يانجود المشكلة وين؟ أنهم جهة تنفيذية! هنا كل الخلل والهباته، تدرين انهم الا شوي ويدخلوني "مجلس تأديبي" عشاني حاجيتهم بلون العباية!
1909.	الادارات النسائية -حرفيًا- تحط أنظمة من راسها وهنا مشكلتنا كلها
1910.	تدرين إن أنظمة الخروج هذه من "راس" بعض الاداريات في الجامعات! يعني مش من وزارة التعليم (:
1911.	هل أبوك يأجر عليك غرفة نومك وإنت ساكن عنده بدون ولاية عزيزي الشاب؟ https://twitter.com/_sana_music/status/780402008931045376/photo/1
1912.	https://twitter.com/salmaniatalhawa/status/780344788302303232/photo/1
1913.	إذا كنت خونت وشككت في وطنية كل شارك في تاف فحاذري أن تعترض على #اوامر ملكيه لأن هذه هي الخيانة الحقيقية.
1914.	شتان شتان بين من يمارس حياته الطبيعة وبين من يلث لك يطالب بحق من حقوقه https://twitter.com/0914707aazz/status/780518316943237120/photo/1
1915.	لما تيجي السالفه للحجاب و الوقور في الببت تذكرن لنا زوجات الرسول عليه السلام بس غير كذا لا شرعهم يختلف https://twitter.com/bocha_loca/status/780368813883854848/photo/1
1916.	حتى في الإسعاف لازم يتصلون على الولي يوافق ينقلون البنت اوتموت في مكانها! كم حياتك رخيصه ينظرهم
1917.	حسب ماوصلني ان المنشورات ممنوعه عشان كذا لا تطبعون شي وتعلقونه بمكان عام حملتنا خلوها توعيه عن طريق تويتر
1918.	كل شي حلال على الذكور في مملكة الذكور https://twitter.com/free4ever_/status/780501949900742656/photo/1
1919.	نعيش في وطن تموت فيه النساء لتحيا التقاليد
1920.	<u>ضحى المانع ماتت بالأصح قتلت لأن هناك انظمه تشترط وجود ولي أمر ذكر حتى وانت تنازعين الروح إلى متى يا #وطن</u>
1921.	مايجعل الالسنه تتناول على وحكومتني وقوانين بلدي هم حثاله من الناس ذو معتقدات باطله وهم قله امثال المسؤولات عماحصل لضحي .
1922.	كل الذكور المعارضين يخافون أن المرأة ستكون اكثر نجاحا في المجتمع منهم كبريائه مايسمح له تكون المرأة افضل منه
1923.	<u>!! ضحى المانع ضحية مجتمع يحسب أن عاداته وتقاليده هي قوانين الطبيعة#</u>
1924.	هنا يطالبون بإسقاط الولاية الوضعية التي وضعها النظام بواسطة رجال متخلفين لا الولاية الشرعية في الزواج

1925.	ستنسقط الولاية لفهم المرأة ان ما يمارس عليها من ظلم ليس شرعة الهية بل نتاج فكر ذكوري متخلف من بقايا عصر مظلم
1926.	السؤال المطروح ، ماذا سيقول من خون وقذف عندما تعلن الحكومة عن دعمها لفكرة مواطنة المرأة و معاملتها كراشد؟!
1927.	أختاه_موتي عادي أهم شيء ما يشوفك رجال ولا تركبين سيارة الإسعاف #ضحي_المانع # من غير ولي أمرك
1928.	ترا الموضوع مو انه نبي نفسد وندشر على راحتنا، لا الموضوع باختصار شوية حرية أقدر فيها أخلص أموري "بنفسي".
1929.	اسقاطها لايعني اسقاط الاب او الاخ من الاسره ،بل يعني ان تكون معاملاتي التعليميه والاداريه تحت تصرفي الشخصي.
1930.	في فقههم المرأة غير قادره علي تحمل مسؤولية نفسها مهما بلغت من عمر بس الطفله عادي تتزوج لأنها بالغه عندهم
1931.	وانا أريد ان اتكشف وأوفر راتب السواق،سيارتي موجوده ولكن #إلى_متى #قيادة_المرأة_للسيارة ممنوعة
1932.	لننتحر جميعا حياتنا إيز أوفر
1933.	81سعوديات تطالب باسقاط الولاية #
1934.	اللي يباحون يااذناب ايران طول وقتهم بهشتاق #سعوديات_تطالب_باسقاط_الولاية تحول نباحهم لهشتاق #الاوامر_الملكية
1935.	سعوديات نفخر بالولاية ضد كل فتاه تطالب ب اسقاط الولاية#
1936.	عريضة تحمل 14,700 توقيع تطالب بمعاملة النساء كمواطنات
1937.	من هاشتاق #سعوديات تطالب باسقاط الولاية إلى الديوان الملكي .. عريضة سعودية لإسقاط ولاية
1938.	اللي تطالب باسقاط الولاية اثبيري بس الحمدلله لي أب رباني وأخ يخاف علي أكثر من نفسه وزوج ابو لأبنائي
1939.	سعوديات_تطالب_باسقاط_الولاية ابي اعرف سبب #برقيه_الولاية_للملك_25_سبتمبر # !!! واحد يدفع الحكومة تمنع النساء حقهم وتربطه بقبول المجتمع
1940.	شمعني #الأوامر الملكية مايدخل المجتمع فيهاوتقرض بدون نقاش ضموا مطالبناالأوامر
1941.	اعتقد ان تتحقق الرؤية والهاشتاق مخلص#سعوديات_تطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
1942.	القيادة في أمور الحياة والفعال هي أغلال الرجال ولكن لايعني أن تهمش المرأة لدرجة مطالباتهم
1943.	حملة #سعوديات_تطالب_باسقاط_الولاية هل هي بداية الوعي في #السعودية بأن الحقوق لن تأتي مكرمة من الحاكم وهل تكون بداية لمطالب أخرى؟
1944.	حملة السعوديات لإسقاط وصاية الرجل تتسع : "أنا ولية أمري"
1945.	حملة " #إسقاط_الولاية" من " #تويتر" إلى الديوان الملكي السعودي
1946.	في منهم من يطالبين بحقوقهن الحقيقيه التي شرعت بالدين لآكن مع الأسف هم الاقلية
1947.	عريضة تحمل 14,700 توقيع تطالب بمعاملة النساء كمواطنات كاملات
1948.	كم نحتاج لنثبت اننا نساء كاملات الأهلية والاستقلالية ويتم التعامل مع قضايانا بدون وصاية
1949.	يدم بارد قتلها ولي أمرها #اسقاط الولاية مطلب شعبي
2016Election	لو كانوا في السعودية ممكن واحد زي ترامپ يكون ولي على وحدة زي هيلاري #
1951.	المرأة السعوديّة.. سعي إلى فكّ ولاية الرجل
1952.	تحت مطرقة الشرع والقانون يتساوى الذكر والأنثى في العقوبات تحت مطرقة المجتمع كل الخطايا مؤنثة والذكر فقط مقتون
1953.	الاميرات # "على رأس المرأة ، والتاج لا تحمله إلا "تاج" الرجل #
1954.	فيه هاشتاق حالياً نشط جداً يهمني وهو #سعوديات تطالب باسقاط الولاية أتمنى لو حصل فيه أي اتفاق يتطلب مشاركة <u>ان احد يرسل على الخاص ببنهني</u>
1955.	سجينات منسيات
1956.	الانسانية #حقوق_المرأة
1957.	سعوديات تطالب باسقاط الولاية ٨٤
1958.	احدى حالات تعنيف #المرأة ب#السعودية

1959.	كل الدعم للنساء السعوديات في وجه الظلم والتمييز!
1960.	<u>هل مثل هذا الزوج يستحق الولاية ؟ هل أسرتها تستحق ولايتها وهي تشنكى لهم عنف الزوج ويعيدونها لجحيمة ؟</u> <u>#سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية</u>
1961.	مسلمون ضد قوانين الوصاية القمعية في السعودية وغيرها.السنة هي اتباع خديجة عليها السلام في علمها وشخصيتها ونفوذه
1962.	انرفع ضغطي من كمية الجهل اللي في عقول الناس
1963.	البعض استغل ولايته وسلطته وجعلها قيداً معرقلاً على أعناق من هم تحت وصايته.
1964.	وحين تتعرض للعنف من جانب وليها، فهذه حالات موجودة، لكنها مرفوضة شرعا وعرفا ونظاما، ومستهجنة ومذانة.
1965.	الحقوق لا يتصدق بها أحد ، إنما الحقوق تأخذ بالقوة
1966.	قوانين حماية المرأة عندنا تقتضي موافقة ولي الأمر !
1967.	83 مطلقه ياخذ ولدها 18سنة وكالة من والدها المسن لاستخراج جواز بدل فاقد،الجوزات تحقق مع ولدها عن فقدان وليس هي
1968.	الوصي عليك اما جنتك او نارك . واللي في الجنه يرمون اللي في النار بالعهر اذا طالبت برفع الولاية . تبا للحريم
1969.	فيديو لزواج مثير للجدل.. العريس ثمانية والعروس 15 عاماً.. ومطالبات بالتحقق من الأمر وسن قوانين فعلية لإيقاف هذه المهازل!
1970.	15 عام فقط ! يا لها من ظليمة بحق هذه البنت يا ليتها كانت الولاية بيدها فما راحت تظلم بسبب أبيها!!!
1971.	أساساً الطلاق سهل لان تقدر تطلقها بدون ماتدري تجي ترسل لها رسالة روعي بيت أهلك أنت طالق وتزوج ع طول
1972.	.. لكن الفرق اننا نُظلم بسبب جنسنا !! https://twitter.com/i/status/781904289
1973.	سحقا لهذا المجتمع https://twitter.com/kalemat256/status/781911678212595712/photo/1
1974.	والله ماودي انجب بنات بذا البلد
1975.	وجودك مع نسائك في السفر ليس ولاية بل مرافقة:) https://twitter.com/i/status/781973744176824320
1976.	المواطنات السعوديات لسن ملكا لأحد لهن كامل الحق لأن يعاملن بأهلية كاملة وحقوق مدنية متساوية مع المواطن الذكر
1977.	هذه هي اخلاق المعارضين فأين الاسلام الذي تدعون انكم تحمونه https://twitter.com/Talaal3399Miss/status/781934613342064640/photo/1
1978.	أصبحت الهند دولة عظمى بقيادة نساءها .. ونحن لانستطيع حتى قيادة أنفسنا https://twitter.com/kalemat256/status/781915719789404160/photo/1
1979.	البعض يقرأ كلمة : إسقاط الولاية "السماح للعمل في سلك الدعارة" والحقيقه هي: إذا تعديتي ١٨ فأنت امرأه مستقله
1980.	شكراً رعد...دائماً تتحدثين بما يختلج في صدورنا.. في حين لا نجد الكلمات للتعبير عنه.. https://twitter.com/Oma_Mohd/status/781941241558798336/photo/1
1981.	<u>كل الرجال نحترهم ونقدرهم من اي دين كانوا اما اشباة الرجال فلا قيمة لهم . #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية 84</u>
1982.	واقع المرأة السعودية مُحزن صك عبوديتها يتم إستلامه السوي وغير السوي حتى وان بلغت من العمر ٤٠-٥٠ تصل قاصر.
1983.	المرأة إذا تكلمت وعلا صوت حجتها فوق أصواتهم، اهتزوا وارتبكوا واختنقت أصواتهم، تارة يقذفونها وتارة يخونونها وتارة ينتقصون من شكلها.
1984.	إذا كانت الولاية خدمة وراحة للمرأة لماذا لا يقبلها الذكر على نفسه ؟!!!
1985.	متضررة او غير متضررة محد له حق يصادر حقوقي ولا رح أبرر لأي احد ليه أنا احتاجها حقوقي و ياخذها
1986.	الحقوق لا تبرر

1987.	من اول مقتنعه مجد واقف ضدنا من الذكور الا نوعين اشباه الرجال او الحمير الجهله
1988.	بعد مقابلة الشيخ المنيع بدأ اللطم من جديد من المعارضين لم يجدوا حجج قوية فلجأوا للقفز والسب والشتم والتحقير
1989.	الولاية تعني: المرأة في السعودية تُعتبر قاصرة قانونياً طيلة حياتها
1990.	من المخزي ... أن تكون الحقوق في بلدي أماني
1991.	نحنُ إلى الآن في زمن العبودية ولن ننتهي منه أبداً مادام نظام الولاية على النساء الراشدات لم يسقط بعد.
1992.	الذكريطلب من الدولة فلوس وبيت بلاش بغير وجه حق مافي دولة سوتها ويحي هناقذفناعشان نطلب حقناكياقي نساءالعالم
1993.	وسيكتب التاريخ اسماء المناضلات في سبيل الحق وضد الظلم بماء الذهب .. ستتذكرهن حفيداتنا بكثير من الامتنان
1994.	المرأة لها من الحرية ماهو لشقيقها الرجل -المنيع https://twitter.com/i/status/781830777151614976
1995.	السعودية الطموحة تصطدم بوليّ أو بعادات تجعل طموحها سراً
1996.	لقاء مع عزيزة يوسف قائدة حملة "أنا ولية نفسي" في السعودية https://youtu.be/7ymaXfTWRmk @azizayousef
1997.	فصل الولاية عن الحماية فصل للدين عن العادات ،بقاء للشريعة بعيدا عن التقاليد ،دامت حواء
1998.	لاتبرر جهلك بالدين ، ولا تلفق على الدين لتحمي سلطتك ! الولاية ليست شرع
1999.	الولاية ستنتهي والقيادة قادمة وكل هذا التغيير من رجال الدين في كلامهم من ضد إلى مع هي تعليمات وتوجيهات
2000.	وقلنا مسبقاً من ادعى ان المرأة شرعاً ناقصة الأهلية قاصر عليها ولاية فقد كذب على الله ورسوله
2001.	قتلو أحلامي وأهانو طموحي قزو على كل شيء جميل في حياتي.. بحجة "نحن أعلم بصالحك" (لبنهم وأدوني طفله)
2002.	الرجال اللي يعارضون اسقاط الولاية هم اللي عايشين عالهم يعناشون من رواتب امهاتهم او خواتهم اوزوجاتهم
2003.	تمشين على الطريق اللي يرسمه لك الذكور أياً كان بدون نقاش أو بنخليك سيئه وفاسده وو..الخ
2004.	الحين يقدم على سكن للجامعة وطالبين إقرار خطي لموافقة ولي الامر، هل بالمعقول أسكن بمكان واهلي م يدرون
2005.	من التناقض أن تعمل المرأة لتنفق على نفسها وعلى وليها ثم تأتي ذليلة ليمنحها حقوقها !!
2006.	قي اولاً في أن يرفع عني هذا الرق ويحدد لي سن رشد كما في دول الخليج وأن امتلك نفسي وقراري حق يأتي قبل كل حق
2007.	مشاكلنا أكبر من انها لا تستطيع قيادة سياره هي في الحقيقه لا تستطيع قيادة حياتها وأمورها معلقه بيد ولي امرها
2008.	Collected Tweets from October
2009.	النساء يطالبن بإسقاط ولاية الرجل عليهن. في انتظاركم لمساعدتنا
2010.	كم وصلنا يابنات؟؟ هاتو الهاش
2011.	والله كم يحرقني قلبي على بنات بلدي
2012.	وش هالخرافات ولاية ما ولاية ناس فاضيه ومن الفراغ ماقتل
2013.	العنف موجود في كل مكان
2014.	سعوديات رائدات اعمال! وسعوديات عباقره ومبتعثات! وسعوديات يعملن بكافة المجالات! وهناك سعوديات مع الخيل يا شقرا
2015.	<u>تطالب بإسقاط الولاية وهي نفسها ما اقتنعت تحط صورتها في التويتر ! #تناقض</u>
2016.	ولي المرأة في حقها لايمنعها لابطموحها وسعيها يحطمها وينجاحها يقف معها ويشجعها وباللحلال يدعمها وبالحرمان يردعها
2017.	سعوديات وليس سعوديين فسدوا افواهكم عنا واخر من يتكلم بالانسانيه قضايكم اول
2018.	بنات بلا تخلف و غباء انا بنت و ضد فكرة اسقاط الولاية فكونا من اتباع الغرب يرحم امكم

2019.	أولم تكن حواء أما للجميع أوليس آدم بذرة الإنسان في هذا الوجود فمن الذي قسم الشعوب لِسادة لهم الحقوق وآخرين هم العبيد
2020.	<u>المشكلة في موضوع #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية انه ماعلا الا صوت المراهقات اللي اكبر همها تشيل العبايه وتروح السينما وتسافر وقت ما تبغا !</u>
2021.	يعني لو شفنا حالات طاغيه على التاق من النساء المحتاجات فعلا وقصص واقعيه أكثر بدون تلفيق أو تمثيل كان الموضوع مشى واخذ حقه
2022.	مايحتاج تجي تسردي قصصك للعلن بمان واضح اثر السلطة المطلقة ليه في قوانين تحمي حق المال بما انه في امن وبنوك؟! لان في شخص باع ضميره
2023.	الموضوع مامشي مع كثره القضايا اللي تجي للمحكمة ويطردها الشيخ او يقلل من شأنها لانها امرأه وخصمها رجل !و يشوفوا الرجل له حق امتلاكك
2024.	عن كميه القصص اللي ظهرت والا مظهرت والكبيره والصغيره لايعني ابدا عدم وجودها وعدم تضرر كل انسانه من سلبها حق حرية العيش والاختيار
2025.	مطلقه ياخذ ولدها عمره 18 سنة وكالة من والدها المسن لاستخراج جواز بدل فاقد ويحققو معه عن بكيفية فقدان
2026.	سيقتص الله لنا .
2027.	اذا كنت تستطيع ان تقنع الحيوان بان يفهمك انه حيوان فستستطيع اقناع مسقط ولاية والده
2028.	ناس تبي نفتح الناظده وناس تقول إحنا عاجبتنا الكتمه لاتفتخون الناظده لهم
2029.	<u>انطلاق سعوديات ضد الاسقاط#</u>
2030.	صباح الاصرار لابد للقدر يوما ان يستجيب
2031.	الهيئة العامة للرياضة : تراخيص الاندية الرياضية النسائية في شهر ديسمبر المقبل
2032.	<u>لاجازة ماعاد يدرون وش يسون #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية</u>
2033.	<u>كرت عايله للزوجه طيب باقى تصريح سفر للزوج لا يسافر الا بإذن الزوجة#</u>
2034.	«الشورى» يصوّت على منح الزوجة حق الحصول على «دفتر العائلة» .. قريباً
2035.	<u>كثير من الأسر تحمل مسؤوليتها الأم ، هي الولية والوصية والقوامة على أسرتها #كرت عائلة للزوجه حق من حقوقهن</u>
2036.	<u>إذا إستطعتي أن تحصلي على إنش إضافي من الحرية فإفعلي وإن لم تفعللي فعارّ عليك..</u>
2037.	<u>بداية الخير #كرت عائلة للزوجة</u>
2038.	ياليت ماتشاركون في أي هاشتاق يطالب ضد مطالبكم اوك خليك في هذا التاق مع الترقيم ركزو على هدفكم
2039.	عرفتو ايش فايده الولاية، الام اولى بولاية اطفالها ، ال الاب مش فاضي ،ياخذهم غصب عناد في الام بس #ام تنحر طفله
2040.	سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية#كرت عائلة للزوجة هوة خطوة الى #
2041.	ظاهرة عجيبة عندما يختلفون معك في الرأي لا يناقشون الفكره ولكن يشككون فى مواطنتك وجنسياتك
2042.	أسفني ان تخرج أجيالاً لاتفهم معنى الحرية
2043.	ربط الشرف بالولاية تسقط الولاية يسقط الشرف تبا لعفن عقولكم وحسافة ع من ربت وتعبت
2044.	بين اللي ناشيين ف التاق والمنشن صياحكم يطربنا وراح يطربنا اكثر بعد اخذنا حقنا ف الولاية
2045.	من الجيد ان وضع المرأة يتحسن فعليا ولو كان بشكل تدريجي في حقوق بديهية اصلا
2046.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية#87</u>
2047.	حرية الرأي ليست وقاحه/رفض أمر لايناسبها ليست عقوق/مبادئها ليست عصيان/ولايتها لنفسها ليست طعن في شرف أسرتها.
2048.	مة .. هذي الأشكال اللي طبلّتي معهم ضدنا بالنسبة لعديم الرجولة هو يتكلم عن نظرتة لوالدته لا

2049.	اتفهم مطالبات النساء بإسقاط الولاية لأنها تعطل حياتهم ، اللي ما افهمه الناس اللي تحارب مطالبهم وش وضعهم؟
2050.	ماتعيني الحمله ابدآ . ولكن ممكن هي تعني لنساء فعلاً يعانون . ف ليش احارب حملتهم انا ما عندي مشكله مع احد
2051.	لأنها تسهل حياة النساء وبعدها مايحتاجونهم
2052.	لذكر لانه ذكر ما يحتاج نفسر و ليش يعارض الدرہ تخاف على زوجها ابوكرش تحسب اذا سقطت الولاية بنخرج عريانات ونسرق الاسباني منها
2053.	هذه فئة الذكور اشباه الرجال اللي يفرضو شخصيتهم المهزوزه بإحتكار كل ماقد يرفع من مستوى المرأة اهم شي لا تطلع افضل منه ،اشفق عليهم
2054.	هؤلاء فئة من الذكور يعانون من عقد نقص مركبه يفرغ حقوقه المسلوبه على النساء لانه رخمه لايقوى على مواجهة الرجال.
2055.	لا بس الأهل والغبي اللي يشوف كوهين اليهود من يدافع عنا .. لكن مايدافع عن الفلسطينيات الآتي يقتلن ويغتصبن بدون أعلام؟؟؟
2056.	<u>سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية 87 ولسى فى ناس تقول ما حد درى عنكم#</u>
2057.	مسائكم أخبار سعيدة للمناضلات فقط
2058.	النظرة الدونية للمرأة موجودة منذ القدم وفي كل مكان لكن الفرق ان الظلم عندنا يتم بمباركة القوانين والفتاوى
2059.	السجينه انسانه غلطت من حقها تكمل حياتها مو تجلس طول عمرها مسجونه عشان وليها اتبرا منها
2060.	لولايه هي إذلال للمرأة والرجل بطبيعته أناني والولاية جعلت أنانيته تزيد لتصل الى حب السيطرة والعنف !
2061.	اللي ابوها أناني ومهبل بها تروح للمحكمة وتسقطه من حياتها .. بالله فيه وحده أبوها معززها أو زوجها ويتطالب بإسقاط ولايته
2062.	ترند ولو كره الدواش.
2063.	ح أستمر لسنوات من المطلقات كن يطالين ب #كرت_عائلة_للزوجة تمت الموافقة رغم رفض عقول والعقبى: #سعوديات_نطالب_بإسقاط_الولاية87
2064.	من المفرج جدا أن يوافقنا(رجل) على حقوقنا.. .. لكن .. من المخجل جدا أن تكون من تعارضنا(امرأة)
2065.	من تخلف بعض متابعيني لمن كنت اكتب عن الاتحاد كان يثق بعقلي وتفكيري لمن صرت اطالب بحقوقى صرت معتوها اللعنه
2066.	الولاية لها شروط وضوابط كثيرة وأهل الدين أولى في شرحها وتفصيلها من جهة العادات الولاية الكليه التحكم الكامل وهذا ما يرفض العقل
2067.	بمعنى أن يكون الولي فاسد ومستعبد وكان حياة المرأة لعبة في يده هذا غلط ولا يوافق الدين الولاية هي التقويم إلى الطريق الصح
2068.	ل امرأة رفعت راية الحرية واستمرت بالمطالبه بحقوقها كإنسان انتنّ فخر الأمة وجيل المستقبل
2069.	انتصارات صغيرة تمهد للانتصار الأكبر: دفتر العائلة بيد المرأة #السعودية #كرت_عايله_للزوجه
2070.	بالتوفيق لكل من دافعت عن كرامتها .. واكرر لاداعي لناقش من يعارض فالامر ليس بيدهم . ركزوا فقط على المطالبه
2071.	أتمنى ما احد يقارنا مع دول الغرب ياليت تشوفون الإمارات والكويت وقطر نبي مثلهم يس
2072.	حتى عمدة الحي صار لازم يوافق لابتغ البنت تطلع من الجامعه، ما هذا التهريج
2073.	الزوج ينتقم من طليقته بحرمانها لأبنائها لذلك تجدهم مهملين او تحت تسلط زوجة اب حاقدة
2074.	

أنا كوني بالولاية	سعودية الأصل والمنشاء مابي اسقاط الولاية اللي بالتاق شباب يبون الفتنة فقط راضين
2075.	زمن اصبح فيه توقيع ولي يسمى حمايه والحبس يعتبر كرامه فقط في بلدي
2076.	من دًا التاق تبين لي ان ١٥٪ من ذكور السعوديه فقط عندهم عقل ويستخدموه ك عضو استيعاب ،والباقي تنكات
2077.	ي اخي مجتمع عقيم يفكر اذا اسقطو الولاية ان السماء بتطيح وان الي تبي تسقط الولاية بتدشر
2078.	مايقهر إلا ردود بعض البنات المعبأه بالفكر الذكوري تعتقد انها خلقت لتخدم الرجل وليس لها أي رأي او حق فالحياة
2079.	المرأه القويه التي تستطيع ان تتحمل مسؤوليه نفسها والواعيه بمعنى هذا الكلام فقط هي القادره على هذه المطالبه
2080.	جاتني مسبات وقذف من معارضين تدخل الحساب تلقاه اباحي ! هذا وانا قليلة مشاركة لله دركم يا مواظبين متحملين سفلة
2081.	اسقاط الولاية ماهو بيد الذكور ولا رجال الدين ولا حتى الدرر عشان نناقشهم ونضيع وقتنا معاهم بيد الحكومة فقط.
2082.	حال شبائنا صعب جدا فهم مغلولون على امرهم لكن حقوقي خط أحمر فأنا لم أنكرها لهم
2083.	نحن نعاني مثله واكثر وحقوقنا مهضومه ونقذف وهذا لأنه ذكر لم يتم قذفه وشتمه هو بشر ونحن جماد
2084.	فشرقكم يا سيدي العزيز يحاصر المرأة بالحراب يبايع الرجال أنبياء ويطمر النساء في التراب
2085.	يغرسون بينات المجتمع ان الزواج قمة النجاح !
2086.	ن الحرية والدره بين من ترى نفسها إنسان مستقل ومن ترى نفسها جارية خلقت لمتعة الذكر
2087.	لولا النضال لما وصلت المرأة السعودية لشيء من حقوقها والقادم أجمل لذا ماضون ولن نبأس
2088.	ماتعنيني الحمله ابدأ . ولكن ممكن هي تعني لنساء فعلاً يعانون . ف ليش احارب حملتهم انا ما عندي مشكله مع احد
2089.	لدينا يصنع الدين بشرياً... وعندما تتم هذه الصناعة التي تخالف التعاليم الشرعية فهذا يعني أننا خنا الله ورسوله وجماعة الأمة .
2090.	من أين استمدوا شرعية الولاية ؟
2091.	لتعلمن أن كل حق مشروع للمرأة سيواجه بفئة (تدعي الدين) تلبسه لباس الباطل لتشويهه بحجج دينية واجتماعية كاذبة؛
2092.	أيها المجتمع : إلى أين المفر؟! الوعي من #امامكم والحقوق من #وراءكم فليس لكم والله إلا أن تصدقوا مع أنفسكم ;
2093.	لم أشارك في هذه الحملة واتمنى نجاحها لكن الملاحظ بذاءة وفجور شريحة كبيرة من المعارضين.السؤال الفلسفي،لماذا؟
2094.	مالذي يجعل الإنسان يطعن في شرف أناس لا يعرفهم إلا بتغريداتهم وكل ذنبهم انهم يرون الولاية فعل ينقص من إنسانيتهم؟
2095.	عملوا رابط بالهويه الوطنيه نضغط عليه ونعطي الموافقه على عريضه نزع الولاية ارجوكم
2096.	الترجمة : عندما اسخر من العنف الذي تتعرضين له سوف اجعلك تضطرين ان تصمتي حتى لا اجعلك اضحوكه !! نذالة
2097.	تولدين أنثى، فيحكمون عليك بأنك ناقصة غير مؤهلة لاتخاذ قراراتك! مذنية حتى يثبت العكس!
2098.	ملينا من إحساسنا بأن هنالك دائما ماينقصنا مقارنة بكل نساء العالم،مسلمات ومسيحيات ويهوديات كلهن وليات أنفسهن!
2099.	كلهم يستحقون جائزة نوبل في معاداة واحتقار المرأة
2100.	كل هالمشاكل اللي لعبت بالبلد حلها قرار واحد لكن العناد مشكله
2101.	تاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية لا يطالب باسقاط القوامه
2102.	تبدأ الحرية عندما ينتهي "الجهل" ف إعطاء الحرية لـ "جاهل" كإعطاء السلاح لمجنون!

2103.	الحكومة تعلم بكل ما يجري ولاكن لا تعلم متى ينزل الله رحمته علينا س نصبر ونحتسب كما يريد الله
2104.	الفرج قريب بإذن الله
2105.	الصحابية المجاهدة ام عمارة رضي الله عنها حسب كلامكم ومنطقكم الاعوج هي قاصر ناقصة عقل ودين
2106.	هناك من يناضلون من أجل الحرية وهناك من يطالبون بتحسين شروط العبودية.
2107.	طول عمرنا نبيكي يخوان فيه تاق له ثلاث شهور محد طالع فينا
2108.	<u>قائمة ب11 من المطالب الفعلية للمرأة #السعودية اليوم. أين تقف أين؟</u>
2109.	ليس من الإنصاف اتهام من يطالبون بحقوق مسلوقة وواجبات منقوصة بأنهم بعيدون عن الدين
2110.	أنا #مسلمة #سعودية و أطالب بحقوقتي .. #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية .. https://instagram.com/p/BLK #وجهة_نظر #روايات #روائع...
2111.	حملة تحت عنوان "أوقفوا استعباد المرأة #السعودية"
2112.	لنجمع اصوات النساء بالتوعية
2113.	إن ما نقوله منطقي ولكنه لا يشبه كثيراً ما يقوله الآباء والاجداد الذين يحكمون قبضتهم..
2114.	لا أريد أن تسلب القوانين ما تبقى من حياتي ماذا عن رغبتني في إتخاذ القرار الذي يخصني بنفسني
2115.	من ينكر الحرية الا ساذج/ة أو متخلف /ة عقلياً أرتضوا لأنفسهم الذل المطالبات أجتزن خطوات
2116.	لنساء تمكين بعضهن البعض بدلاً من الكراهية والحسد لبعضهن البعض
2117.	كأمرأة حرة يُفترض بك ان تنفجري كالبركانان من هذا النافه كإمرأة حرة اشطبي على اي ذكر https://twitter.com/i/status/784046326891905024 في حياتك من هذه النوعية
2118.	كبضاعة يراها البعض ، سلعة تباع وتسترد؟؟ من وضع بناتنا في هذه الوحشية؟؟ https://twitter.com/livein2030/status/783950711201628160/photo/1
2119.	قيادة_المرأة_للسيارة #الحكومة_تمنع_قياده_المراه_وليس_المجتمع11 انا اشهد # https://twitter.com/11art_dd/status/783990813391028225/photo/1
2120.	فتاوى السلف الصالح لا تخلو من الظلم عكس العلماء المجددين الذين يتصفون بالرحمة واللين!! متى نتحرر من السلف! https://twitter.com/moon_mahdi/status/784006687397187584/photo/1
2121.	الرخوم والدرر المصديه تري إسقاط الولاية مسأله وقت استعدادوا للصدمه
2122.	صاحب الحق لا يمل لا يكل لله دركن .
2123.	ثلاث شهور والنساء صامدات و متمسكات بحقوقهم اتمنى تستمر الحمله إلى ان يفرج هم كل مظلومه ومقهوره وألى لإمام
2124.	أتمنى من الدرر أخذ العظة والعبرة..مو لازم تتعرضين لمأساة عشان تحسين وتفهمين .
2125.	في الشرع الحلال والحرام على الذكر والانثى مافيه فرق أبد، مافيه شي إذا انت ذكر مرفوع عنك القلم ولو انثى حد
2126.	تفاصيل قصص النساء مع الولاية تفاصيل مؤلمة ومذلة ...تبا لمن يرضيه ذل إمراة
2127.	الذكر السعودي وما أدراك ما الذكر السعودي، يقيس قوة إيمانه بقوة سيطرته وتضييقه على المرأة .
2128.	الولاية التي نطالب باسقاطها ليست الولاية الشرعية بل الولاية العرفية الوضعية التي سببت في ظلم كثير من النساء
2129.	متي يفهم السعودي المعارض احترام الرأي الآخر ومدرني متي يتعالج من امراضه

2130.	هي عارفه كلامها ميمثل الواقع بس ماتبي تخسر خرفان السعوديه وبنفس الوقت تزيد شهرتها #روان بن حسين ماتيينا نسوق
2131.	المشكلة ان فيه اولياء جاهلين متخلفين عقولهم سقيمة هذولا مصيبه
2132.	وصل صوتنا لجميع الدول وفهموا ماهو نظام الولاية وكم هو ظالم الا ان مخ الذكر السعودي عجز عن الفهم
2133.	صدقا أنا لا أحترم أي شخص (ذكر او أنثى) يعارض اسقاط الولاية..لذلك انا لا أتناقش معهم أبدا..
2134.	بوعي أدركنا اليوم اننا نحارب كتل من الظلام ، ذكورية المجتمع العربي، ذكورية المنهج الفقهي. ذكورية النظام
2135.	استمروا وليباركم الرب في هذه الحمله..المرأة السعودية قوية جدا ولن تتنازل عن حقها بسهولة.
2136.	اسوء عدو لحقوق المرأة .. هن النساء الجاهلات..
2137.	اختي الدرہ المعارضه لحقوقك اخوي الغيور علي الدين وتقذف بنات المسلمين استريحو اهدو القرار من الحكومه
2138.	انا ماعرف كيف بنت سعودية مثقفة متعلمة تقبل تتزوج رجل الى الان يفكر قيادة المرأة فيها شي عيب او لا ؟!
2139.	https://www.erehnews.com/news/arab-world/saudi-arabia/576248
2140.	لك حرية التحطيم و لي قوة الاراده لك حرية الكلام والحد ولي عزة الفعل والمغفره لك حرية سوء الظن ولي أجر ربي
2141.	توقيع ولي الامر اذن اجراءات حقوقيه اذا تقدمت لفيزا لاي دوله اجنبيه يطلبون منك رجل او امرأه توقيع وتعهدات؟
2142.	ولي الامر بالسعوديه لا يحق له استلام بريدها ولا قيادة سيارة باسمها ولا استلام راتبها ولا سحب اموال من حسابها
2143.	ربطكم ل #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية ب كوهين هيزيد شعبيته لا اكثر ، و لا عمر العنجهية بالرد جابت نتيجة
2144.	قيادة المرأة للسيارة
2145.	ستظهر مطالب اخرى مادام هناك من ينجح بسيطرة الرجال وقوامتهم المطلقة وتفضيلهم على النساء بغير ما أنزل الله به
2146.	الولاية تدبير رعاية ارشاد توجيه حماية وليست فرض سلطة
2147.	انظروا للموضوع من الناحية الانسانية لا تنظرون له ان البنت متمرده وطالعه عن العادات والتقاليد للمعارضين
2148.	استغرب انانية الكثير من النساء اذا ربك الحمد لله امد عليك بالأب والأخ الصالح الي يقف معك ليش تقفين بوجه غيرك !
2149.	اسقاط هناك ضوابط كثيره يسقط الشرع الولاية ويعطي المراءه حقها لآكن للأسف المحاكم وانظمت الحكومه تتبع العادات
2150.	هالمبلغ تم تحويله من الشيخه موزا المسند كله عشان الهاشتاق #اسقاط_الولاية #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية و كثير من "السادجات" تفاعل معاه
2151.	فقط يثرثرون هنا وهناك إعتراضا على حقوقنا وحين نطلب سماع رأيهم يختفي الجميع
2152.	92سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية #
2153.	ياليت تسقط ونرتاح ، وندبر امورنا بنفسنا مانحتاج ولي يعل قلبي بكل حاجه ابوها
2154.	في التاق الاجنبيات هن من يريد وبكل حماس في إسقاط الولاية !!حلو مشاكل بلدانكم مالكم شغل فينا ماانتم احرص منا؟!
2155.	هروب فتاتين الى كوريا#
2156.	ماعندهم نظام ولايه .. ولا كرت عائله ولا له اي سلطه عليها ومع ذلك باره فيه وعلاقتها بابوها اقوى من بعض شعبنا
2157.	مصيبة لما تلاقي حملة مثل هاي انها بتطالب بأبسط حقوق المرأة ، تلاقي على نفس الهاشتاغ (مرأة) ضد هالحملة ؟
2158.	المراة المظلومة من طرف ابوها ولا اخوها ولا زوجها او حتى أبنها لها الاحقية ان تسقط الولاية غير كذا لا

2159.	قالت العرب : اثنان من حماقة: -ولاية الفقيه عند الشيعة -وحملة اسقاط الولاية
2160.	في الوطن (الذريعة) تسد باب الحقوق امام امرأة عاقلة! وتفتح الباب امام ذكر سافل حتى يهنا بسفالتة!!
2161.	المضحك ان المجتمع يعرف ان الولد لوطي وزاني ومدمن ومروج ومع ذلك يشوفونه ولي لاختواته ورادع لهن عن الرذيلة
2162.	منذ المالمى بالفكرة كنت من المعارضين بشدة، بعد مشاهدة الحقائق ونقاش الطرفين لم اتردد بمساندة المطالبين بشدة
2163.	في البداية صهينوه والان دَعَّروه والقادم اكثر نقاش المعارضين: سب وقذف وتصنيف وقناعتهم: هذا ما وجدنا عليه آباءنا
2164.	<u>نتائج استفتاء #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية 35% يرون مشروعية الحملة 65% يرون أنها علمانية يهودية لتدمير المجتمع.</u>
2165.	ماراح نستسلم والقادم اعظم باذن الله ... لانطلب الا حقنا كإنسان خلقه الله لعبادته واستعمره في الارض ..
2166.	ين قال كلنا ؟ انا عن نفسي راضيه عن اولياء الامر ابوي اخوي زوجي بالله من فضلك جميلهم ع راسي من فوق م قصروا
2167.	لو زوجك او اخوك او ابوك ماعطاك حريتك برضاه في امر ما لا تتوقعي انه لما تسقط الحكومة الوصاية بالغصب راح يتغير شي
2168.	يعني عليك اول شي تغيري تفكير ولي امرك اللي شايف انه لازم يكون وصي عليك لانك ناقصة عقل بعدها حاولي تغيري نظام
2169.	غير كذا الي متضررة حقوقيا وجسديا ونفسيا تطلب اسقاط الولاية في المحكمة
2170.	كيف تطلب في المحكمة وهي ما تقدر ترفع قضية الا بولي امر ؟ بالله اسكتي
2171.	ليس كل ولي امر كفؤ! قد يكون ولي امر المرأة ابن طائش أو زوج متسلط أو أب ظالم و من الظلم البقاء تحت رحمتهم!
2172.	الولاية على المرأة حماية ومسؤولية وصيانة وليست وصاية وعنف وتسلط..
2173.	تباً وسحقاً لقوانين أصبحت وضعية لا شرعية بما يرضي الله إلى أين؟! وماذا بعد ..!؟
2174.	<u>متابعة هاشتاغ #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية من شهرين وأكثر صدقاء، لم أر في حياتي أكثر بؤساً من نساء يدافعن على عبديتهن.. وبشراسة</u>
2175.	هذا الهاشتاق ماهو الا نوع من انواع الغزو الفكري الغير مباشر ليدمر فئة عمرية محدده مستهدفة
2176.	م احفظ بلادنا
2177.	اي رجل يحاول ان يتعاطف مع القضية ياريت يطلع برا الموضوع ، احنا حريم ونسقط مع بعضنا فلا تستعرض عزيزي الرجل
2178.	ارجع و اكر يا رجال اطلعو من الموضوع لحد يسوي حقوقي ويتميلج على حسابنا
2179.	لا يخافون الله ولهم من الدين الاسم فقط
2180.	<u>ويستغربون من #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية يا جعل كل من يسب ويعارض بغير وجه حق يذوق الويل ويتجرع المر والحسره</u>
2181.	ذنبك الوحيد انك خلقتي أنثى بهذا البلد
2182.	!يريدون فتاة بطهارة مريم.. دون أن يصونوا أنفسهم ك يوسف "
2183.	<u>معارضة أمانى العجلان أفضل تسويق لحملة #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية</u>
2184.	كل حق للمرأة يدخلونه بالفساد و الاخلاق والتربيه وو الى اخره .. انتم داخل عقولكم فساد وعهر وليس في حقوق الانسان
2185.	ولي امري حرمني من دراستي وعدت السنه بسبته هاذا الي تقولون عنه ولي امري!! لكن الله فوقه
2186.	ابوي بخيل الريال مايعطينا لكن الله رزقنا بأمر موظفه انا ما قول غير الحمد لله كيف الي ما عندهم احد موظف

2187.	لكل الذين يغردون ضد #ال_سعود و #الوهابية و#السعودية و#جرائم_ال_سعود هل تقبضون من أي جهة كانت على كل تغريدة؟ هل هناك من يحرضكم؟
2188.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية95 يا جماعة يا عالم با هووو 460 شهيد اغلبهم اطفال # ونساء و350 جريح مجزرة ارتكبتها نظامكم الا يتجرأ احد ويستنكر
2189.	عن أي حق تتحدثون وبأي حق تتطالبون وأنتم ساكتون عن جرائم نظامكم بحق البشرية
2190.	كامرأة سعودية، سأقاتل من أجل حقوقي
2191.	التصويت في تويتر ليس له أي فائدة أيها المسلمون، لذا احترموا الإسلام ومثله تمامًا كما هو
2192.	تمنى فقط أن يأخذوا هذه الحركة على محمل الجد. إن فكرة أن أكون سجين في بلدي لكوني امرأة تحطم قلبي
2193.	لا يوجد أحد في العالم مثلنا، لقد سرق القانون حريتنا.
2194.	ذا لم تكوني امرأة سعودية، فكن شاكرا لذلك، لأننا صغار إلى الأبد
2195.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية95#</u>
2196.	لن أقيد، وسأقاتل من أجل ما أؤمن به. أريد أن تزدهر البلاد، لا أن تتدهور
2197.	في بعض البلدان، تكافح النساء من أجل جذب انتباه الرجل. في بلدي، تكافح النساء من أجل الحصول على إذن الرجل.
2198.	يشفق على نساء العالم إلا نساء وطنه ويُعجب بالمرأة المستقلة القوية إلا ان كانت من https://twitter.com/zooztox/status/785933112127684609/photo/1 محارمة
2199.	متى نخلص من شناعة جاهزية المجتمع من معارضي الحقوق
2200.	نصيحة: كوني أنتِ .. من واقع رأيته لأحد مضمون بقاءه معك، الكل زائل ووحده الباقية تصارعين ما تبقى من الحياة https://twitter.com/Afnaldkheel/status/785823713119858688/photo/1
2201.	<u>فتاه تضرب متحرش يستاهل الضرب بالشيشب قليل الأدب#</u>
2202.	شي مخيب للامل عندما يصرح البعض ان المجتمع غير جاهز ويلام افرادة بدل الاعتراف بقصور القوانين
2203.	ارجو عدم شخصنة اي نقاش خاصة ما يدور حول الحقوق نحن جميعا نتلمس الطريق للوصول بوطننا الى بر الأمان حقوقيا
2204.	المرأة صوت الحياة..صوت الوعي..أيعقل أن يكون ابن 17 أو حتى 30 ولي أمر يحكم أما أنجبته ليكون سيدها لكونه ذكر!!
2205.	مالم يستوعبه المعارضون الذين يظنون أن خطاب موجه لهم ولأن بعض الظن وجب التنبية https://twitter.com/i/status/785799980565028864
2206.	حقوقكم لن تأتي على طبق من ذهب طالبو بها واسعو لها.
2207.	مرافضات القيادة أو أسقاط الولاية هؤلاء الفتيات هن الملكات ليس أنثام أنت لاشيء https://twitter.com/Amolh3solh/status/785819996861652992/photo/1
2208.	حتي الجدة يقبض عليها في السعودية اذا ساقطت سيارتها ويستدعون ولي امرها كانها قاصر https://twitter.com/Gadaa_12/status/785886888250994688 .
2209.	أخته في العناية المركزة مصابة بطلق ناري وتعرضت لعنف أسري على الأرجح جاء لزيارتها وأطلق النار على الحارس https://twitter.com/majedhmm/status/785786009942364160/photo/1
2210.	شيء مخجل ان المرأة السعودية تطالب بحقوق تتمتع بها كل نساء العالم!
2211.	لا يمكن أن يناضل أحد بقدر المرأة، كل ما يشتكي منه الذكر، تناله هي ضعفين كونها تواجه حياتها ثم كونها تحت رحمته
2212.	العباقرة ما يدرون إن عادي نسافر بدون "لو سقطت الولاية البنات راح يسافرون بدون محرم" محرم إذا عندنا تصريح سفر.
2213.	حق شرعي تمتلكه معظم النساء في بلاد العالم ويفتقد في بلدي تحت قانون سلطة العادات والتقاليد الذكوريه

2214.	يعني جدة جدة جدتي كانت تسوق هزولت مقطع عن قيادة المرأة السعودية عام 1990 على التلفزيون السعودي https://twitter.com/i/status/785794557623562240 أين كنا وكيف أصبحنا؟!
2215.	اغلب الذكور مواجهين لاسقاط الولاية لاعتباره انها رمز لرجولته فهو لا يحس بالرجولة الا اذ انفش ريشه على امرأه
2216.	المرأة تُقتل وتُفارق عن زوجها وتُعضل وتُضرب وتُفهر في المحاكم وترحل عن وطنها ثم يقولون بكل دناءة الولاية حماية
2217.	عزيزتي المعارضة لحقوقك تذكري انه لو اصغت الدولة لأجداك عندما عارضوا التعليم لما استطعتي ان تكتبي حرف واحد هنا
2218.	شيء مخجل ان المرأة السعودية تطالب بحقوق تتمتع بها كل نساء العالم!
2219.	يمنعون ويخافون من الاختلاط بالواقع وما يدرون إنتا عايشينه بالعالم الافتراضي !
2220.	والله محزن اننا نناقش احقية المرأة لحريتها .
2221.	التطور و النماء و التغيير لن يحدث مع كل هذا التعطيل و الظلم...
2222.	بالضبط.. نساء مغيبات عن العالم والتفاعل معه لذلك معارضات.. ضيق إدراك وفكر وأنانية غير معقولة
2223.	الحرية والقانون هما الضمان للكرامة والشرف .. السجون والأسوار والعنف لاحتفظ الشرف ولكم في واقعكم عبره
2224.	مجتمع يتعطى العادات و التقاليد و العيب ما تستحون على وجهكم و أنتم تشوفون تطور النساء بالأمارات و الكويت
2225.	كوني أطالب بحقي في القيادة وولاية نفسي انا اطالب بحرية الاختيار لا الفرض.
2226.	في بلدين مجاورة مطالبات النساء حقوق سياسية ووزارية وآخر وزيراته نساء. حالنا مخجل !
2227.	الإستقلال المادي والفكري من أعظم الأشياء التي يمكن أن تحققها المرأة طوال حياتها .. فأحساس التبعية لا يطاق
2228.	ما اختلفنا... ولكن لو ما اتجاهلنا والتفتنا لكل ما هو مستفز مارح نخلص... تويتر اصبح اشبه كالجحيم لهذا السبب
2229.	موضوع الولاية من وجهة نظر سيدة سعودية صوت وصورة وليس كما تفعل ويفعل خفافيش الظلام
2230.	باللهي انا اعرف الملكة عندها سواق وسياره خلي الحكومة تصرف لي سياره بسواقها عشان اقتنع اني ملكه طيب
2231.	معنفة أنت الطوارئ صدرها مخروق برصاصة، لكنهم انتظروا حتى تحدث جريمة حقيقية، ثم قتل الجاني حارس الأمن، الآن هذه جريمة.
2232.	ا (فلانة) ستحصل لنا على حقوقنا ولا (علانة) ستمنعها.. لكن للأولى شرف المحاولة وللثانية عار الخذلان
2233.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية#96</u>
2234.	بعد خمسين سنه #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية_50_سنه
2235.	شاب يحاول الاعتداء بسكين على شقيقته في #الجموم .. والشرطة تقبض عليه بعد بلاغ من والدته
2236.	<u>سقاط الولاية مطلب شعبي</u>
2237.	ي هاشتاق م يعجبهم يصير وراه اجانب ومجنسين واي هاشتاق يعجبهم يكون وراه سعوديين اصليين وعيال وبنات البلد
2238.	<u>التقطت هذه الصورة قبل قليل في أحد أحياء شمال الرياض! ما تسيبوا شغل (البخاخات) يا بنات!</u>
2239.	الإعدام عقوبة :النساء# لمنع العنف ضد «القومي_للمرأة» مشروع قانون الوطن #الاغتصاب#
2240.	الولاية أمر قطعي لامجال للرأي فيه ومن تعرضت للظلم فلها أحكام شرعية ترعى حقها اجتماع في
2241.	صغار السن ومدفوعين من الغرب
2242.	يش المثالية والتزييف؟ الحل مواجهة المشاكل مو الهرب منها! خلصت مشاكلنا تروحون للغرب؟
2243.	تطالبون باسقاط الولاية وماتبون الهيئته وتبون تسوقون !! اقول الله يرفع عنكم بس
2244.	قوامة الرجل مستمره على النساء مهما كانت اعمارهم ان يصرف عليهم ويكون لهم مصدر حمايه اما الولاية الا في الزواج

2245.	صباح الاصرار لابد للقدر يوما ان يستجيب
2246.	في هذالبلد منذ أزمنة غابرة ترك أبو الأنبياء ابراهيم عليه الصلاة والسلام زوجه وابنه بواد غير ذي زرع بأمر من ربه ..
2247.	لم تكن وقتها المرأة قد فقدت الأهلية تركها لمصيرها ولم يملك لها الا الدعاء.
2248.	الكائن البدوي لا يريد إسقاط الولاية لكي يعدد القاصرات ويردد كالبيعاء انها ملكة وهنا
2249.	كون ابوي وزوجي ضد الولاية بكل اشكالها ف ذا شيء جميل مخليني مرتاحه اني عشت وحكملي بقيت حياتي مع اوادم طبيعيه
2250.	مانبي المساواه كل اللي نطلبه هو العدل هناك فرق !
2251.	الولاية تمنع السفاهه
2252.	الذكور مانشيبننا على كل شي حتى تاقتا قلدوه
2253.	اقسم بالله ان ٩٩٪ من الاناث متضررين من الامر بشكل او اخر. انا وكل وحدة اعرفها او قد عرفتها تعرضت للظلم بسببه
2254.	أنا سعودية .. أنا ولية نفسي
2255.	<u>لمحو نمطية MsSaffaa صباح العزيمة و الإصرار #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية ١٠٠ عمل تضامني للفنانة @ الذكورة/ الأنوثة</u>
2256.	ماهو الهدف من إسقاط الولاية لم اعرف الى الان؟
2257.	لان المرأة إنسان كامل مثلك و لا تحتاج لإذن رجل لتقرر خياراتها و شؤونها
2258.	في تنظيم ولايه وانا أعلنت عن هذا في رمضان الولاية غير القوامه غير الطاعة غير التشريعات السلطانية غير العرف المقبول والمرفوض
2259.	لن تسقط خذي العلم ومافي سفر بدون إذن الأهل او القاضي في حالات معينه او سن فوق ٥٠
2260.	احزن عليكم لما اشوف الحماس هذا والسالفه منتهي اسألني اللي ارسلوا برقيات وين راحت
2261.	كلام الصحف لا يعتمد زيادة كلمه تحريف في المعني وهذا شغل الصحافه لذلك الامير في المؤتمر الصحفي قال مافي قيادة والمجتمع رافض
2262.	والولاية اسقاطها مستحيل لسبب مهم الأمن والسلم المجتمعي ولا أسره تقبل بتدخل في شؤونها الا بالقضاء فقط لو هي مظلومه
2263.	تتكلمون في شئ اكبر من حجم تفكيركم العاطفي هذا يهدم الاستقرار الاسري والسلم المجتمعي
2264.	لمحاميات تكهن منهم لكن انا متابعه مع اللجنة لأنني رفعت مقترح للام المعيله وأبناءها ومافي الا عن طريق القاضي ونفس الشئ المرأة
2265.	في لجان من عدة جهات وقبل الهاشتاق حقكم تناقش اللي في الدور وخروجهم قصة العمل والعلاج والدارسه والسكن في الداخل ما تحتاج موافقه
2266.	بعض الشركات تطلب معرف عشان وظائف معينه تتعلق بالمال والسكن صاحب الملك لو تطلب معرف او قريب هذا ماله هو حر الدوله ما شرطت
2267.	الحمله فشلت لأسباب كثيره المطالب هدفها الأساسي السفر بدون آذن هذا مستحيل الأمور الثانيه تتعالج من قبل الحمله وبحكمة
2268.	صعب اخرج مسجوناه أهلها ما رفضوها دون تأمين عمل لها وبعدها سكن على حسابها من خلال عملها وتأمين حياتها وفي حالات خرجت من خلال الام
2269.	الحمله عملت عشان سمعوا انه في تغيرات قادمه وانا سبق وغردت قبل الحمله وقلت في تعديلات قادمه بس حقون الحمله يبغون يقولون بسبينا
2270.	حن قويات بدون تمثيل ذلك بالشماع .
2271.	لابسه شماغ وعقال وطاقيه وتبين تسقطين ولاية الرجل ، انتي كذا بهاللبس تثبتين ان مالكم غنى عن الرجال ولا انك مسترجلة ؟
2272.	مافيش سقوط يا عيني مافيش سقوط .. تيرارارام ، مافيش سقوط يا ثلبي مافيش سقوط
2273.	قناة ألمانية استضافت فتاة تدعي أنها سعودية وتطالب بإسقاط الولاية وتشتكي من ظلم السعوديين، والعالم هنا تدافع عنها وتنقد الشعب وفي الأخير طلعت مغربية

2274.	ولي المرأة في البيت و متدين لا يقبل ان يهان دينه لكن بأقرب فرصة خروج خارج السرب يكون ما يريده من داخله
2275.	عندما أجد فتاه تطالب بإسقاط الولاية أشفق على سنين تربية والدها وعندما كبرت جددت مافعله وأتهمته بالتسلط.
2276.	الولاية يسقطها الشرع اذا اضررت او الحققت ضرراً بالمرأة، وهذا القانون بالسعودية ابخثوا عن مزايده اخرى
2277.	مرحباً ممكن تتكلمين عن السجينات المظلومات في سجون الكنائس المسيحية كل ذنبهن انهن اعتنقن الاسلام
2278.	لازلنا اكثر دوله تعيش المرأه فيها براحه لماذا نطلب الاسقاط وهي معززه ورغباتها منفذه
2279.	واذا على المعنفه والارمله والمطلقه وليست لها هوية لم تقصر الدولة تجاهها من ناحية الولاية
2280.	وهم أبلشونا كل ما قلنا نطالب قالوا كلكم إيرانيين والحين يقول ايران حاجية تويتر لما صارت مشكلته هههههههه
2281.	مدري له الجميع فجأة توقف عن المطالبة ما زال أمامنا مشوار طويل :
2282.	ما زال صامدًا بعد مرور 100 يوم على ظهور هذا الهاشتاج دون أي نية للاستسلام
2283.	https://twitter.com/i/status/789215162637180929 100 يوم
2284.	، 4 مقالة مكتوبة بشكل جميل بمناسبة مرور 100 يوم على المقاومة. @rima246 شكراً https://twitter.com/MsSaffaa/status/787436284075577344/photo/1
2285.	صور من داخل السعودية . لن نستسلم"
2286.	للمطالبة بحقوق المرأة 100 https://twitter.com/i/status/789225501533564928
2287.	لن نتخلي أبدًا عن حقنا في أن نكون أحرارًا!!
2288.	https://twitter.com/i/status/787653581499404289
2289.	https://twitter.com/si_uali/status/787720151714164740/photo/1
2290.	استاذة عزيزه تعطي درس لكل امرأة انانيه ماتفكر الا بحياتها الخاصه. القضية تتعلق بملايين النساء وليس بك وحدك https://twitter.com/i/status/787462557879701505
2291.	مئة يوم من https://twitter.com/LibertyForWomen/status/787559790427922432/photo/1 <u>الاصرار</u>
2292.	لا شيء سيوقف النساء.. حين يصبحن أكثر وعي حين يرفضن الاستعباد وحين يُقدّسن الحرية
2293.	كم فتاة قتل مستقبلها وطموحها من اجل ولي قال لا !!! كونك فتاه هنا هذي جريمه سوف تدفعين ضريبتها طول عمرك !!!
2294.	مجتمع يسلب حقوق المرأة مجتمع جاهل رجعي https://twitter.com/_mlllAKh/status/787749525830131714/photo/1
2295.	بالمشاركة في اي تاق معارض حتي ولو كان بالدفاع انتم توصلون فكرته تجنبوا المهارات وركزوا على هدفكم
2296.	التركيز هنا والبعد عن اي تاق لتشتيت الأفكار
2297.	يجب أن يُحدد سن الرشد للمرأة في كل القطاعات والإعتراف بأهليتها.
2298.	بنات إعتمدنا هذا الهاشتاق بعد المئوية راج نتواجد في هذا كلنا #انا_وليه_نفسى
2299.	مئة يوم ولا زالت القصة مستمرة وبالتأكيد لن تكون نهايتها الإستسلام لأن النهاية بعد هذا الظلام لن تكون إلا نورًا
2300.	مفرح مبكي الرقم الذي وصل له الهاشتاق .
2301.	بعد ١٠٠ يوم نكرر: إسقاط الولاية يعطي للبالغة الحق في تحديد قراراتها الشخصية مثل الرجل ولا يعني جحدها أهلها
2302.	١٠٠ يوم تخبر بها المرأة السعودية الجميع أنها عازمه على نيل حقوقها
2303.	التقدم بالهاشتاق اثبات مدى عمق المشكلة واحقية المطالب. بالتوفيق لكن وهنيئاً لاجيالنا القادمة انتن شرف.

2304.	لامانع شرعي في تغيير قانون وضعي، فاجتهادات البشر تصيب وتخطأ، فلا ولاية إلا على قاصر، والمرأة البالغة ليست قاصر
2305.	اسقطوها اسقطوها اسقطوها
2306.	في التوظيف لازم اجيب توقيع موافقة ولي أمري قبل الشهادة
2307.	DW برنامج عن اسقاط الولاية الآن على شباب توك في
2308.	المضحك مايقوله #الشيخ_سليمان_العجلان في #شباب_توك #المرأة في #السعودية اعطيت كامل حقوقها ، وهي سياره ماتسوق
2309.	اليوم_102_سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
2310.	انشاوا وسم #انا_وليه_نفسى بعدما سقط وسم #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية مع نفسهم
2311.	: "#اليوم_102_سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية on Twitter ساره آل علي #انا_وليه_نفسى رغم الظلم
2312.	ياجماعه اشفيكم ملخطين الدنيا اتحدوا وخلوكم علي تاق واحد
2313.	مؤلم أن كثير من النساء "وراء كل امرأة عظيمة رجل لم يفعل شيئاً سوى السماح لها بأن تكون" المبدعات اندثرت إبداعاتهن بسبب رجل جعل ولايته عائق
2314.	حال الدرہ المصونه.
2315.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية الي متى السكوت؟؟ اليوم_101_#
2316.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية101 مطالباتنا صدمه قويه لعقولهم المتحجره#</u>
2317.	<u>نا_وليه_نفسى</u>
2318.	نعم صحيح أطالب ولكن بقيود وضوابط
2319.	، الولاية ليست من الدين ، إنما ظلم واستعباد واستقواء على انسان كامل " ولا يظلم ربك أحدا" الاهلية
2320.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية يارب_اليوم_101_#
2321.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية صباحكم خير_اليوم_101_#
2322.	ونطالب وتغير ويصبح مجتمعنا جميل
2323.	للمعارضة شوفي كيف الشباب متكاتفين عند مطالبهم ليس انت ياغيبه واقفه ضد حقوقك
2324.	ياسبحان الله ،قدرو ينقصوا الرواتب ويلغوا التاريخ الهجري ويوقفوا الهيئة ،ولا يستطيعون اسقاط الولاية!!
2325.	ن المستفيد من تعطيل مصالحنا وحياتنا الطبيعيه كباقي نساء الارض ، هل من فائده في جعلنا محل شفقه !
2326.	عندما تمتاز العادات والتقاليد الوضعية مع تفسير خاطئ لأحكام الدين وسماحته ، يكون الناتج غير انساني
2327.	متى يجي هاليوم
2328.	منعوها من قيادة السيارة بحجة ان الصايغ راح يتحرش فيها، الحين جابو الصايغ يسوق فيها السيارة..! تتعرض للتحرش مو مهم، المهم فلوسها!
2329.	حسبنا الله و نعم الوكيل
2330.	انا_وليه_نفسى سمعو هالكلام للدرر #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية_اليوم_102_# و الملكات
2331.	حياتي جميله الحمدلله ولاكن انا كامله اعرف الصبح والخطأ
2332.	الله يفك سجننا وقيدنا من العبودية نناضل لنعيش بادمية.. المرأة السعودية الحرة تجاهد لتعيش في النور
2333.	واحد يقول حقوقها مطبخها ومايدي انه الشرع ما الزمها بالطبخ والخدمة يلا اطبخ لنا انت
2334.	لا تقولين كذا يزعلون اذا احد ذكرهم بحقيقة انهم عبادات
2335.	كيف تضمن لي ان زوجي بالمستقبل مثل عقل ابوي الرائع ؟! ابغا اضمن حقوقي محد له كلمه علي
2336.	الله يهدي الدرر و الملكات و نشوفهم يطالبو بحقوقهم

2363.	الحكومة السعودية تدفع تعويضات للعدو اليمني والحكومات والشعوب العربية وهم مالهم حق وحننا نطالب براواتب
2364.	أنا #مسلمة #سعودية و أطالب بحقوقى
2365.	بالصور.. حملة إسقاط الولاية تتجه للعالمية بعد 100 يوم في السعودية
2366.	سيتم اعتماد صيغة هذا التناق
2367.	للحملة من اليوم (#سعوديات_نطالب_اسقاط_الولاية103) #انا_وليه_نفسى
2368.	السفر الى الخارج محرم! لكن لما يكون العريفي بتركيا والشيوخ يتزوجون هناك حلالحسب رغباتهم الدين يكون
2369.	ابد ماكان مقصدي كذا، المقصد انه يروح ويتمشى "ببلاد الكفار" على قولهم وهو هناك يقع بالحب ويتزوج! لكن اذا جا عندنا حرم كل شي
2370.	هم يحرمون كل شئى علينا ويحللونها لهم
2371.	الحلال بين والحرام بين وكل شخص فينا يعرف الصبح من الخطا ربنا يهدينا جميعا الى طريقه المستقيم
2372.	كل منا يعلم تفكير هؤلاء ويحللون ويحرمون على مزاجهم ولذلك لاستمع لهم وافعل ما يحلو لى لكن بمايرضى الله ورسوله
2373.	نا مع اسقاط الولاية في موضوع المعاملات والدواير الحكوميه فقط
2374.	وضعتك ترا متوقف ع عقليه اهلك اذا هم والله منغلقيين لو يسقطون الولاية بتنتشرين مكانك طول عمرك .
2375.	فيلم حديث عن حقوق المرأة في الانتخابات البلدية الاخيرة من النيويورك تايمز
2376.	اولا الرجال قوامون على النساء ب المصروف والراعيه نحن لا نطالب ب اسقاط الدين الولاية قانون مستحدث من ٣٠ سنه
2377.	ياليت يكون إسقاط الولاية إختياري اللي عاجبها وضعها لاتسقطها.
2378.	ليش يمنعونا نشيش ؟ كيفنا ياخي خلونا حرين بنجرب بس
2379.	لعدم وجود محرم لها #حرامى_يعتدى_على_مواطنه صورة "بدون تحيه" الى اصحاب تاق #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل على كل مخرب
2380.	من يقف خلف "إسقاط ولاية الرجل على المرأة"؟
2381.	نزف القلوب والكرامة والارزاق مستمر مع منع #قيادة_المرأة_للسيارة ووجع #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية 101 بلا علاج
2382.	اليوم 101 سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية#
2383.	تأييد منال الشريف لحملة #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية105 أثناء محاضرتها عن المرأة #السعودية بمؤتمر "فورم ٢٠٠٠"
2384.	كل الحسابات مثل ذا الحساب اما تكون جاهله مطيه او انه حساب وهمى لغير سعوديين #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
2385.	صباحات_الهلال وذا #حلات_التويتري اذا شفت هالتاق# سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية#التاق
2386.	إذا أعتقدتي أن حدودي هذه لاتستطيع أن تُغير شي فإنت "غبية" فالقرار ليس إلا ورقة وقلم.
2387.	للسيدات: هل حملة #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية كشفت لك أن #ولاية_المرأة هو اختراع سعودي جائر ومتخلف؟
2388.	قزائين وانظمه وايضا عرف وتقاليذ وعادات ظالمه ربما تبقى المراه حبيسه للمنزل اومحدوده الحركه حتى تنزل لقبرها
2389.	بن سعود يستمد شرعيته المزعومة من قمع المرأة وهضم حقوقها لكي يقول عنهم السذج والمنافقين انهم يحكمون بشرع الله
2390.	<u>تستهيلون انتم والله ما حولكم اسقاط لكم كم ماغير تكتبون و اخر شئى #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية صار ترند</u>
2391.	عندما تتصرف المرأة كإنسان يقال لها انها تقلد الرجال

2392.	حقوق_المرأة أمرا سخيها جدا ، فاللوم على غطرسة الرجال التي جعلت منها #إذا كانت مسألة " موضوع يناقش
2393.	في نظره كل حره تطالب بحقوقها "سلق" فماذا نقول وحسابه قذارة هل هذا يستحق ان يكون ولي امر
2394.	كتاب عن حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام يوضح حقوق المرأة
2395.	انا_وليه_نفسى#انا_اقود_حياتي #
2396.	كمية إهانة للنساء مختزلة في عبارة دعوت تسليم امرأة للمحرم كرمها الإسلام بقوانينهم سحقوها
2397.	لنساء شاركوا الرسول في الغزوات و علاج الجرحى و عمر بن الخطاب عين امرأة وزيرة لتجارة ولم يحبسوهم في البيوت
2398.	المجتمع الذكوري المتسلط يعشق المرأة الجاهلة، سهل الكذب عليها وسهل ارضائها! ويكره المرأة المثقفة، صعب التحايل عليها وصعب التشويش على فكرها
2399.	<u>عاده اجتماعيه تتمنى زوالها ولاية الرجل على المرأة#</u>
2400.	ايش هذا الخمول وين الصباح واول صباح بأول ترند تيون حريه اشتغلووو حركو التاق
2401.	لاجئة في وطنها لما ؟
2402.	انعدمت الإنسانية بمجتمعنا
2403.	ابداع السعوديات في المطالبة بحقوقهن يزيدهن فخرًا ضد الظلم والبغي والتعصب والطبقية
2404.	هل اسقاط الحجاب هو اول ما تطالب به المرأة .. استغفر الله العظيم اللهم اهدي نساء المسلمين
2405.	تسقط الولاية على المرأة السعودية
2406.	اعوذ بالله من سهولة القذف الي بلسانك وربى مانسامحك لين ماربي ياخذ حقنا منك
2407.	تحسين يعني نعترف هو سيء بس نحاول نخفف من وقعه ! لايمكن للقيود ان تكون محسنة ايدا
2408.	والولاية ع المرأة هي شكل صريح من أشكال الرّق لن نصمت عنه ولا نقبل بتحسين شروطه مهما حاول "المستفيدين" منه تلميحه
2409.	قال لها أنتي دره أنتي كنز .. فدفنها
2410.	أنت إنسان عاقل بالغ مستقل مو تبعيه
2411.	نبي الحريه الشخصيه ومن حقنا نكون حرة انفسنا
2412.	حاول المعارضون أن يصدّوا هذه الحملة ويحبطوها لكنهم فشلوا ! عليهم أن يعيدوا النظر ويراجعوا حساباتهم .
2413.	لمطالبة باسقاط الولاية ليس من باب الترفيه .. بل من باب العدالة والمساواة في الحقوق بين الرجل والمرأة .
2414.	يسقط رق النساء لأننا أحرارولسنا عبيد
2415.	لماذا لا ترى مطالب النساء في اسقاط الولاية علمانية مسالمة مثل تركيا التي تدافع عن علمانيته.
2416.	ان قوتي تكمن في كون ليس لدي ما أخسره شكرا لكم فقد سلبتموني كل شيء مسبقا أعلامي ومستقبلي حتى بات امر الخوف من خساره شي لا يوجد في قاموسي
2417.	<u>معانتهى العنف #لاتصمتي عن تعنيفك</u>
2418.	كانت المرأة في العصر الجاهلي أفضل بكثير ، والتاريخ يعج بسيدات العصر الجاهلي ، لكن تاريخنا قام بتحويل المرأة من رمز الى ايقونة رذيلة.
2419.	اخ يا شعباً يرى ان حق المرأة رذيلة وكرامة امه واخته عاز وفاحشة عظيمة ! اخ يا شعب رضع الوضاعة جيلاً بعد جيل
2420.	المجتمع الذكوري المتسلط يعشق المرأة الجاهلة، سهل الكذب عليها وسهل ارضائها! ويكره المرأة المثقفة، صعب التحايل عليها وصعب التشويش على فكرها
2421.	اللهم غير حالنا إلى أفضل حال
2422.	لا تنزعج من عصفور يهرب وأنت تقترب منه وفي كفك طعام له، فالطيور بعكس البشر. تؤمن أن الحرية أهم من الخبز

2423.	تسقط الولاية!
2424.	لاني راجعه هالحزه السواق يقول لي الحريم المفروض مايتاخرون بالليل جميل الولاية صارت تشمل السواويق بعد :
2425.	لا نسعى لنزع الحجاب او الدين نسعى لنعيش افضل
2426.	https://twitter.com/sehamalnsr/status/789657776108830720/photo/1 قيادة المرأة للسيارة #
2427.	الصمت عن المعنف جريمه مشتركه معه
2428.	لم أخلق امرأة ليكسرني رجل و أنا لست عاراً أو ناقصة.ستسقط الولاية ويسقط معها كل ظلم https://twitter.com/moon_11188/status/789545957121810432/photo/1 ضد المرأة
2429.	دعوتسليم امرأة للمحرم،عفوا! ليست بضاعة أون لاین ولكن عقلية القانون السعودي ~ مؤلم
2430.	دعوتسليم امرأة إلى محرم،لأن أفكارهم في الحقيقة جاهلية اعلنوا صراحة في أن المرأة مُلك
2431.	لم اسمع عن فتاة قطرية هربت ! او كويتية سافرت هربا بدون علم اهلها ! او اماراتية انتحرت؟؟! هذا بالسعودية فقط
2432.	إذا طالبت المرأة بحقوقها تقذف و إذا هربت تقذف حتى إذا ماتت تقذف .لا تُرحم بكل الاحول لن نسكت سنطالب بحقوقنا
2433.	تبعا لرأي هذا الشيخ فإن المرأة التي تنفق على نفسها لا ولاية عليها فكم من امرأة تنفق على نفسها بل وأهلها!
2434.	عليكم مراجعة انفسكم يامعارضين
2435.	سد الذرائع كل الدول الخليجيه والاسلاميه مافيه ولاية وش صار عندهم؟
2436.	شيء مؤلم تقشعر له الأبدان ! إلى أين؟؟ وماذا بعد؟؟ وإلى ماذا سنصل؟؟!
2437.	بالفيديو: كلمة الداعية الإماراتي الشيخ #وسيم يوسف خلال مشاركته في فعاليات مؤتمر "المرأة الإماراتية .. المستقبل الآن". . https://twitter.com/i/status/789054293177434113
2438.	تنال المرأة حريتها وحقوقها عندما تذاب الأديان في أخلاقيات وتعاملات البشر .
2439.	ناقصنا / موافقة ولي الامر شرط لتنفس الاكسجين موافقة ولي الامر شرط قبول المرأة في دورات «الموسيقى»!
2440.	اهم اسباب السلوك العدواني للتهجم وشتيم الآخرين "الحرمان والإحباط والغيرة والشعور بالنقص"
2441.	يرفض او ان يعتبرها مساومة ليس كما قيل انها رعاية واهتمام فيساومها بمالها او جسدها او خدمته او التستر عليه
2442.	ولم يدوقو يوما كيف تتمنى المرأة ان تذهب لتجلب علاجاً او للمحكمة أو او ، ، فكلها تحت مزاج الولي حين يسمح او
2443.	يبتزون يظلمون يساومون هذه في كل شبه رجل يرى بنفسه عيب ويخشاه من اسرته فيفعلها مع كافة الفتيات
2444.	إذا سقطت وقتها كل شيء سيكون سهل وما يحتاج مطالبات ، لو بس تسقط
2445.	لون تقدر اذا الولاية موجودة وكل القطاعات تطلب الموافقة والسفر ايضا اذا الولاية ما اسقطت
2446.	هذي نظرتك تشوفين الذهاب للاسواق والصديقات وتمشين وتعلفين خلاص هي الحياه، اما انا اريد المساواه
2447.	واذا المؤؤودة #انتفضت !! #الوَأد الجديد
2448.	سعوديات_نطلب_اسقاط_الولاية106 يبرر المتلون والممسوخ اخلاقيا : أن الدولة في حرب # راح نفلسكم توقيته مناسب# وتوقيت مطالبية النساء خطأ بينما حملة
2449.	بو لهب ماكان يشدد ع زوجته كل شوي ابو لهب مادفنها ابو لهب كان يحترم هند بنت عتبه ويحترم قوتها وقرارها
2450.	السعودية وسط بلدها ومسلوب منها حتى الحقوق البديهيّة
2451.	البعض مهما بدا لك انه رافض لبعض الموروث الإجتماعي الذي لا يستند الى منطق، ستجده عند نقطة معينة غير قادر على الخروج من دائرة هذا الموروث!!
2452.	لنحتكم إلى الشرع فهو أدرى بمصلحة الإنسان .. هل الولاية بشكلها الحالي هي من شرع الله؟؟

2453.	ليش التعجب من متى لنا كيان أو حسبونا بشر مثلهم ؟ النوق أغلى منا و تعامل معاملة أكرم مما تعامل
2454.	ليس باسم التحرر ولا الليبرالية (إن صح المسمى) وليس رغبة في التمرد ورفضاً للستر والأخلاق . يل باسم الشرع .
2455.	رغم اني ضد اسقاط الولاية.. الا اني أرى بأن من يحتقر المرأة او يضيق عليها بأي شكل من الأشكال هذا ليس برجل
2456.	هناك الآف من الاخوات المعنفات ويجب علينا تقديم المساعدة لهم بأي شكل حتى وان كان توصيل صوتها لمن يهتم الأمر
2457.	صباح التفائل والصمود والكفاح
2458.	تجاهلوا قدر ماتشاؤون ، نحن هنا ولن نصمت
2459.	المرأة السعودية جعلوها فقط تحقق وتكمل أمنيات الرجل السعودي بدون استثناء حتى لو كان سكير
2460.	صبحنا واصبح الملك اللهم ارزقنا رضاك ورحمتك ، اللهم لا تولي علينا من لا يخافك ولا يرحمنا اللهم انزل عدلك
2461.	جميعنا النساء السعوديات تنازلنا عن احلامنا او لم تكتمل وحتى حق الدفاع عن نفسنا في كل موقف نلتزم الصمت
2462.	من قال لهم انو اذا سقطت الولاية بيرمونك بره البيت وتتشرذ ؟ ماني فاهم والله حاجتكم الملح لمواقفه الرجال
2463.	اللي يضحك انه جيل الذكور الحالي كان يدرس شي اسمه وطنية بالمدرسة
2464.	انها في دولة تقدر الشخص الذكي سواء رجل او امرأة و رجالها يثقون فيها و يقدروها وليسو مجرد ذكور
2465.	<u>ان شاء الله قريب ##سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية106</u>
2466.	مطالبة خاطئة تتصورالي طالبت بهذا تزوجتي وجات بنتك من اول خصام معك اخذت جوازها وسافرت والاطلعت من البيت ايش موقفك
2467.	كر اللي سقطت عنه الولاية عمل كدا ولا كيف ؟ تراها اسقاط لنظام مو اسقاط للعائلة
2468.	ضعفك وقبولك بأن تكوني تبيعه عايده لرجل لايقدرك قرارك الشخصي، لكن الحريه حق لنا.
2469.	هذه أخلاق الدرر، تعابير المبتلى بما ابتلاه الله!! هل تأمن حياتها أم تأمن مكر الله؟ تبرر لذلك تدخله بشأن المرأة
2470.	كما رفض التعليم والكثير من حقوق المرأة في بدايتها اصبحت الان حق تمارسه أي أمراه ستسقط الولاية وتُمارس الحريه
2471.	كميه التخلف الفظيع للي جالسين يعارضون حقوق ناس مستضعفين انتو ايش م في احساس ؟ انعدمت الانسانيه
2472.	تنال المرأة حريتها وحقوقها عندما تذاب الأديان في أخلاقيات وتعاملات البشر
2473.	يعني إذا عندك أهل يعزونك ويرفعونك فما عندك أحد .. لا محاكم تنصفك ولا دور رعاية ولا يحزنون.
2474.	محاسبه_دور_الرعايه_الاجتماعيه كنت اسولف مع الوالده واعلمها عن دور الرعايه والي # النساء ضحايا بالمجتمع " : يصير فيه قالت
2475.	حقنا كأخوات كأمهات كزوجات ان تُلبى مطالبنا فنحن الجزء الآخر في هذا المجتمع وأن كنا على خطأ فنحن نتحمل العواقب
2476.	كانت تقول أنها سعودية ومظلومه وتطالب بإسقاط الولاية لكن قفطوها وطلعت مغربية *MA*
2477.	دام الا سعود ماسكه الحكم مافي امل يعطونك حريتك لافي الكلام ولا في الولاية

2478.	انت مالك رأى على نفسك علشان يكون علينا !! هشتاق #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية للمسؤول الى يشرع القرار مب لكم
2479.	من الوئد في القبر الى الوئد في البيت هكذا تعيش نساء المملكة في 2016!! الجاهلية تلبس ثوب معاصر.
2480.	نحن نساء السعوديه اصبحنا كالعبيد للرجال أتمنى لولم اخلق سعوديه
2481.	أطالب بحقي في قيادة سيارتي الخاصة
2482.	أتمنى أن تتفتح العقول ويتم استيعاب شرعية مطالبنا
2483.	محد بيحب العيد في الديرة غيركم يا #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية
2484.	نقصان العقل والدين صفة غير محصورة بجنس معين. قد يكون هناك ناقص عقل ذكر أو أنثى أو حتى جنس ثالث
2485.	الذي يدعي ويلصق هذه الصفة بالنساء فهو مختل عقليا، غيرمتعلم ولايملك أدنى حس للمعرفة طالما أنه يعيش وسط المجتمع ويرى ويسمع ما يحدث حول العالم
2486.	لان ابسط حابه للانسان الحريه وغالبا تعتمد كل حياته عليها الا انه يأبى القذرين بتشويه هالقيمه العليا !
2487.	سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية#107
2488.	عليكم مراجعة انفسكم يامعارضين
2489.	لا نسعى لنزع الحجاب او الدين نسعى لنعيش افضل
2490.	الصمت عن المعنف جريمه مشتركه معه
2491.	تبعا لرأي هذا الشيخ فأن المرأة التي تنفق على نفسها لا ولاية عليها فكم من امرأة تنفق على نفسها بل وأهلها! الآلاف
2492.	يبتزون يظلمون يساومون هذه في كل شبه رجل يرى بنفسه عيب ويخشاه من اسرته فيفعلها مع كافة الفتيات
2493.	يرفض او ان يعتبرها مساومة ليس كما قيل انها رعاية واهتمام فيساومها بمالها او جسدها او خدمته او التستر عليه
2494.	ولم يذوقو يوما كيف تتمنى المرأة ان تذهب لتجلب علاجاً او للمحكمة أو او ،، فكلها تحت مزاج الولي حين يسمح
2495.	خليجية تقول /احنا ماعندنا ولايه على المرأة من سن ١٨ لاننا مؤدبات لكن السعوديات ق.... لزم عليهم ولايه.
2496.	الشيوخ واهل الدين والوطنية مع ازالتهما الليبراليه مع بقائها
2497.	بالطبع تستطيعين
2498.	شيء مؤلم تقشعر له الأبدان ! إلى أين؟؟ وماذا بعد؟؟ وإلى ماذا سنصل؟؟
2499.	احتياجك الدائم لغيرك يتولى امورك ابدًا مايعني انك "معززة ومكرمة"
2500.	دعوتسليم امرأةالمحرم،عفو!! ليست بضاعةأون لاین ولكن عقلية القانون السعودي ~ مؤلم
2501.	دعوتسليم امرأةإلى محرم،لأن أفكارهم في الحقيقةجاهلية اعلنواصراحة في أن المرأةمُلك
2502.	اللهم انصرنا على من عندنا لمطلب دنيوي
2503.	إن الأمور إذا التوت وتعقدت نزا القضاء من الفضاء وحلها فاصبر لها، فلعلها ولعلها ولعل من خلق الفضاء يحلها
2504.	موافقة ولي الأمر شرط قبول المرأة في دورات «الموسيقى»
2505.	ناقصنا / موافقة ولي الامر شرط لتنفس الاكسجين
2506.	!!اجتمعي جعلوا المقارنة بين (الرجل العاقل والمرأة الساقطة) كي يتم الذكر بحقوقه و مصادرة حقوقها#
2507.	الرضوخ للعبودية بالقوة
2508.	اذا مجتمعنا تطاول علينا ووصفنا بابشع الالفاظ ماتستغرب من الغريب
2509.	هذي نظرتك تشوفين الذهاب للاسواق والصديقات وتمشين وتعلقين خلاص هي الحياة، اما انا اريد المساواه

2510.	حتى ولو كان اسقاط الولاية حل لدى البعض وفيه حلول أسرية لكن اذا كان سلبياته اكبر فمن باب سد الذرائع رفضه..
2511.	سد الذرائع كل الدول الخليجيه والاسلاميه مافيهها ولاية وش صار عندهم؟
2512.	طيب شلون تقدر اذا الولاية موجودة وكل القطاعات تطلب الموافقة والسفر ايضا اذا الولاية ما اسقطت
2513.	الطيور التي ولدت في الاقفاص تظن ان الطيران مرض!!
2514.	اهم اسباب السلوك العدواني للتهجم وشتن الآخرين "الحرمان والإحباط والغيرة والشعور بالنقص" !
2515.	اذا سقطت وقتها كل شي سيكون سهل وما يحتاج مطالبات ، لو بس تسقط
2516.	اتوقع عزيزتي غفلتي عن (والمرأه راعيه) و ايضا ف فيه فرق بين راعٍ وبين وليغصب تحرفون بالاحكام
2517.	ماهي إلا حملة من أطراف خبيثة شنها مغرضون وحاقدون على هذا البلد انجرف وراءها من انجرف ولابد من ايقافها
2518.	<u>يحدثوننا عن عاقبة الظلم في المدارس والمساجد والمحاضرات والآن يقفون ضد #اسقاط الولاية -كذب وتناقض-</u>
2519.	يتم تعطيل الفكر بنشر الغيبات ونشر ثقافة الموت بين اطفال هذا الوطن منذ نعومة اظافرهم ليتم تجنيدهم لاحقا
2520.	<u>لا تصمتي عن تعنيفك#</u>
2521.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية108 شحت الحقوق البديهيّة#</u>
2522.	ستحقق مبتغاها و ستسقط
2523.	ايش السر في ان البنت السعوديه اذا وصلت لمستوى نجاح معين جحدت حقوقها وانكرتها
2524.	و تبغى تسوي انا سوبرمانه بجيب حقوقكم خلوني القائدة و بنفس الوقت الحقوق ماتحتاج إثبات ذات وش هالغباء مافي منهجية بالتفكير ولا منطق سليم غيبه
2525.	ياختي من وين هالعقليات المتخلفة رفعت ضغتي محد يتسلق على قضيتنا و اللي يحاول بينداس
2526.	«الشورى» يناقش تهيئة بيئة مناسبة لقيادة المرأة السيارة
2527.	خبر مع التحية لكل من قال محد يمكم و صايحوا خخ صايح انت يا شطور
2528.	المرأه اكثر من عار وشرف المرأه انسان يمكنها تحطيم الجبال تحتاج فرصه، المرأه ليست للزواج والبيت
2529.	اصحي يادرة لن تنالي شرف رضاء سيدك متدين او منحل مهما بلغتي من الطاعة العمياء وتكفنتي بالسواد لأنك سعودية
2530.	لا احد يستطيع ايقاف نجاحك الا نفسك وإحداث التغيير لا تتعامل معها بنعومة! بل بحزم دون تردد واستمر
2531.	احذر من قول هذا العذر لانه سيكون عذرك الوحيد - "الوقت جداً متأخر من ان اغيّر من نفسي"
2532.	من أغبى ماقرأت في هذا التاق أن إسقاط الولاية يعني خلع الحجاب وعدم إلزام المرأة بالواجبات الشرعية.
2533.	الولاية ع المرأة البالغة الراشدة يجب أن تسقط لأن سقوطها هو الحق الذي لا يستوعبه الذكر وإنما الإنسان المنصف.
2534.	شكلاً ومضموناً وتقول لا نحتاج هذا الحق
2535.	الى صدور القرارات على كل أنثى مسؤولية توعية نفسها وغيرها بحقوقها والتزيف الذي حدث بشأنها بالمناهج والمجتمع
2536.	و نحن نطالب ب ابتكار نظام يمنع معاملتنا كالمصابين بالشلل الرباعي
2537.	بلدنا يعاني من فئة المستشرفين اللي شافوا مقاعدهم في الجنة وهم مايصلون.

2538.	بما ان هناك هاشتاق مضاد لنا فاعرفوا ان الحملة اصابت الهدف
2539.	لو تستاهل المرأة السعودية لاسقطت الولاية اسألي نفسك مريام فارس و هيفاء كيف مالههم والي هذا لانهم يستاهلو
2540.	من المدينة أضرم صوتي لكم واقول خلاص كفاية استعباد للمرأة السعودية ، واسقاط الولاية لايعني ابدا اسقاط الحب والاحترام .
2541.	نسعى خلف المثاليه و ننسى اننا بشر ف نهين الانسانية عمداً
2542.	ذا ك تنبيه لكم. نبقي احرار سواء اليوم ولا بكر االي ببصير لازم تتقبله ايها المعارض الأحمق وسمعتني صياحك
2543.	طالب بحقك ولو لم يكن ضروري، اصنع سابقة قضائية
2544.	المرأة السعودية تحتاج لهذا الحق تحديداً ؟
2545.	شوفو اشلي صار #افعلها_محمد_بن_سلمان
2546.	تبون نكته؟ قيادة المرأة خطر لان الذكور يتحرشون فيها . الولاية حماية لان الذكور يحمونها متناقضين
2547.	<u>قياده المراه قادمه باذن الله تعالى قادمة...استمرن يابنات بالمطالبة واجلطوا المعارضين ولا تسمعون هرجهم#</u>
2548.	در قرار #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية بعدها يصدر قرار #قيادة_المراه_لسياره
2549.	!هل هذا المفهوم صعب الإستيعاب؟ "إسقاط الولاية يعني حرية المرأة الإنسان وليس تحررها"
2550.	باختصار القانون في الحقوق صيغ مضيقاع المرأة وحسب مقاسات الذكر الذهنية الضيقة، فهي قوانين استعبادية لاشرعية.
2551.	نساءالعالم المسلمات هل هن في نظرالقانون السعودي والمتعصب متحررات أم الحقيقة المرأة السعودية مسلوية حق المواطنة
2552.	ايحني عن حقيقتك كامرأة وكأنسان
2553.	<u>بسم الله نداء ..#سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية</u>
2554.	تبون نكته؟ قيادة المرأة خطر لان الذكور يتحرشون فيها . الولاية حماية لان الذكور يحمونها متناقضين
2555.	<u>قياده المراه قادمه باذن الله تعالى قادمة...استمرن يابنات بالمطالبة واجلطوا المعارضين ولا تسمعون هرجهم#</u>
2556.	طبعاً اذ صدر قرار #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية بعدها يصدر قرار #قيادة_المراه_لسياره
2557.	صرخات همسة هل يكون لها صدى
2558.	جزء من تربية المعارضات مشهدهنراه كثيرا(هنا) الضرب عادي والاعتذارل" بنت مصيبه
2559.	إذا المرأة يوما سعت للحياة فلا بد أنها ستعيش حرة ومن تتهيب صوت الرجال تعيش أبد الدهر وهي درة
2560.	لماذا يوجد ببلدنا سكرانين لا عقاب لهم !! يجب التحقق من الامر كيف نكون دولة مسلمة ويدخلها المشروعات المحرمة
2561.	<u>لا لكهنه الدين ابحتوا عن كل كتاب يمنعوه عنكم او يحذروا منه لأنه حتما يكشف عوراهم ولا تسلموا عقولكم لهم ابدا#</u>
2562.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية109#</u>
2563.	شوهوا الاسلام بخرافاتهم وجاهليتهم التي ورثوها من اسلافهم والقران برئ منهم ويكشفهم دوما
2564.	هم كذا اذا ما عرفو يردون عليك وافحمتيهم بردك يعطونك بلوك ولا يمكن يعترفون ان كلامك اقنعهم
2565.	إن لم نأن و نحزن لبعضنا نحن النساء فمن إذن؟ إن تعلمت شيئا فهو هذا قوتنا مع بعضنا فقط
2566.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية109 واصلوا ابتي#</u>
2567.	حزينين على جرائم امريكا ضد النساء وهم يرفضون ويحاربون حقوق النساء في بلدهم جملة وتفصيلاً.
2568.	إن كانت مؤامرة و يريدون استغلالنا لمصالحهم لماذا وضعونا في هذا الموقف وجعتونا نبث عن أي طريق ينصفنا غيركم

[illegible]

2602.	ستسقط وستسقط قوتكم الواهية وستكونوا ذكورا للابد
2603.	من أغبى ماقرأت في هذا التاق أن إسقاط الولاية يعني خلع الحجاب وعدم إلتزام المرأة بالواجبات الشرعية
2604.	انظروا لنساء الغرب وكيف يعاملن.. ومن قال أن الحقوق الوطنية للمرأة تتعارض مع الإلتزام الشرعي والأخلاقي!
2605.	الضيافة_صارت_سجن للأسف أصبح من المستحيل أن تجد رجل يُنصف المرأة يحاولون # التقليل من حقوقها ومعاناتها ، وحدها المرأة تفهم حاجة المرأة
2606.	الشكر للأستاذة سلوى ولا عزاء للرجال في استديو الثامنة تعودنا منهم عدم الإنصاف
2607.	ياحبة عيني ياللي زعلانين من الإعلام الخارجي ومناصرتهم للقضية! طيب ناصر القضية من اعلامكم يالله
2608.	الوضع خطير جدا بالسعودية تخيلوا أن الولاية معطلة حياة ملايين من النساء أغلبهم تعدو الثلاثين بدون أي انجاز
2609.	من حق المرأة ان تكون ولية نفسها ومالها قضايا السلب والنهب بالمحاكم للولاة ع الميراث وما شابه لا تحصى
2610.	حلقة #الثامنة الآن على mbc وشوفوا كيف البنت السعودية معززة مكرمة
2611.	أية عدالة أن يمتلك أحدهم حياة آخر
2612.	يوجد خلل بالمسؤول حينما يدع مصير بعض القوانين حلها بتقبل المجتمع
2613.	يبدو أن مجموعة جديدة من هوامير تويتر شربت شاي بالياسمين مؤخراً! القضية العادلة تبقى عادلة ولو أيدها ظالم
2614.	تخيل تشتري تيس.. وفجأة يقرر يروح ويحي لحاله والسبب: أنا ذكر هذا انت
2615.	والله بالدولة موعودة بحيل شرس يحللون لجين الهذلول عنده .. الغبي إلي ما يحتويهم
2616.	نزيلة سابقة في دار الضيافة تروي تجربتها المريرة مع الزميل محمد السلاطين #الضيافة_صارت_سجن
2617.	مستحيل هذا التفكير يعني كأنه اختك شي لازم تتخلص منه بسرعة واي واحد يجي يخطبها ننطيهها حتى لو هي مو راضية
2618.	لن نتوقف عن حقوقنا ابداً
2619.	الا لعنة الله ع من يماطل بنا
2620.	الى متى يا وطني وانتم لاتلتفتون لمطالبنا ؟
2621.	انا ولية أمر ابني وليس هو ولي أمري
2622.	آية(وقرن في بيوتكن)المخاطب بها نساء(النبي)(لستن كأحد من النساء) لهن احكام خاصة وعقوبات مضاعفة
2623.	الزوج لا يقتل بزوجه) هو مخالف لحديث (من قتل عبده قتلناه..الخ) العبد عند علماء أحق من (الزوجة!!
2624.	و كانت تستطيع العمل دون موافقة وليها المجرم وتستأجر غرفة دون خوف من تبليغه مابقت .هي ضحية الولاية الكافرة.
2625.	تسليم امرأة إلى محرم أحد الدعاوي التي يستطيع رفعها الولي ماذا لو هربت من ولي معتصب تجار مخدرات مختل .تبا
2626.	سالت كثير ولا كن لا مجاوب من اين أتى صك الولاية؟ لا يوجد حديث بذلك خاصة على ارملة ٧٠ سنة
2627.	مسالة منطق امراة وصلت سن الرشد تكون ولية نفسها فيما عدا الزواج هذا الشرع أيضا
2628.	احدهم يصف المرأة المطالبة بتيس!
2629.	هؤلاء هم عار ع الاسلام ليس الاسلام فقط بل ع جنس البشريه ككل ك فكر هذا ماهو حال زوجته و اخواته و بناته؟
2630.	مو كل ذكر صالح للولاية على المرأة هذا ظلم
2631.	سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية#111

2632.	لاني مسلمه متمسكه بأمر الله ورسوله اريد تطبيق شرع الله واكون انسانه حره مو علي صك ولايه كأننا بزمان الجاهليه
2633.	لايمكن لسعوديات المطالبه باسقاط الولايه لاننا مسلمات ونتمسك بأمر الله ورسوله عليه الصلاة والسلام .
2634.	لا نسعى وراء إقناعهم فقط تغيير القانون فهو كفيل بذلك
2635.	كل من يعلم بالظلم الواقع على النساء من هذا القانون و لا يشارك هينئاً لك لقب الشيطان الاخرس .
2636.	من هم المقصود بهم أولى الأمر منكم ؟
2637.	الرجال الحقيقيين من يدعمون المراه بحريتها ويجعلونها هي اساس نجاحهم فالرجل يحتاج امراه تقوده للنجاح والتفوق
2638.	إلى متى هذا القانون الهزيل الذي يكافيء الجلد (النذل) أن يستمتع بحياته بينما المعنفة تفتersh الدموع في السجن !!
2639.	اين العدل يا شعب الله المختار
2640.	يا وطني باسمك ودفاعا عن امنك القومي وحفاظا على مقدراتك .. تحججوا بؤاد نصف شعبك ..
2641.	في وطني نظام إسلامي ... هكذا قيل لنا !!!
2642.	في وطني .. كل شيء مباح .. إلا ممارسة الإنسانية
2643.	حسبي الله ع كل من أهان المرأة بأسم الدين و الإسلام "ما أكرمهنّ إلا كريم وما أهانهنّ إلا لئيم" تباً لكم
2644.	اول وزيرة للتجارة كانت في عهد عمر بن الخطاب الشفاء بنت عبد الله وكان يقدمها في الراي كان ينظر للمرأة كعقل ويحترمها
2645.	كلنا واحد ومطلبنا واحد واملنا واحد مع انو كل واحد في مكان بس احنا في الأخير واحد
2646.	وحق الدموع التي تذرفينها يراك العادل وسيقتص من الظالم والمجتمع ولو بعد حين صبرا.. "تحية لكل امرأة حرة"
2647.	الضيافه_صارت_سجن تفجرت مشاعرنا وأهتزت منابرنا بسبب دموع سورية مظلومة فماذا # سنفعل ونحن نرى
2648.	حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل المجرم حر طليق لانه ذكر والضحية مسجون ومظلومه لانها انثى كفى ظلما ي بلاد الحرمين
2649.	بعد تجربتي في قيادة السيارة التي لم اجد متعه بها ارى تمام الراحة في الجلوس في المقعد الخلفي و الاستمتاع بمناظر من بلادي و يتصفح جوالي/صدقوني
2650.	فيه احد دافع لها تقول هالتخريف/ صدقوني انا
2651.	كل ما أخشاه أن كثرة المزايدة على بعضكم البعض قد تؤخر إقرار هذا الحق!
2652.	اللي مسويه سعوديات والمغردات سعوديات يطالبون بحقهم وبينوا هوياتهم الوطنيه
2653.	<u>سنه مطالبه بقياده المراه ٢٦#</u>
2654.	إن نست هذه المظلومة نحن لن ننسى
2655.	المرأة التي ترى أنها أقل/ أدني من الرجل، هي امرأة ناقصة. والرجل الذي يرى المرأة أقل/ أدنى منه، هو رجل ناقص
2656.	مع العفن https://twitter.com/i/status/791515891640991748
2657.	https://twitter.com/Noran_H/status/791590329665351680/photo/1 غرض مو بني ادم
2658.	يجب ان يتحرك المجتمع والدولة لحماية حقيقية وتوفير مساكن لهذه الفئة وليس سجون
2659.	لك الغريب ويتنكر لك القريب السعوديه مقبرة النساء https://twitter.com/BananaTortilla/status/7915719752568
2660.	نطالب بالمساواة لأكثر ولا أقل.

2661.	عندما بدء دعوته سرا لمدة ٣ سنوات كانت تمهيدا وتليينا لمجتمع لم يعتد على التغيير وهذا فعله حقوقيات تويتر
2662.	داخل عباءة كل امرأة سعوديه باستثناء الدرر فهن جوارى لا يعرفن للحياة معنى
2663.	الحكومة ساهمت في خلق بيئة ظالمة وقاتلة للمرأة هل تعلم أن الفتاة عندما تشتكي وليها ويطردها من البيت ستسجن في هذا المكان التعيس #دار_الضيافة
2664.	الله أكرمنا بعقل الاسلام قدرنا الحكومة الرشيدة علمتنا وأتاحت لنا فرص عمل باي حق نعامل كقصر هذا غير شرعي
2665.	من اين أتت فكرة اصدار صك ولاية لارملة ٧٠ سنة لتسافر مع ابنها هل هذا شرع الله هل فيه حديث على ذلك؟
2666.	لا ولاية مطلقة على امرأة راشدة الا في الزواج
2667.	سعودية بالغة عاقلة الرجال ليسوا بأعقل ولا أكرم خلقاً مني وإطالكم بمعاملتنا بكامل الأهلية
2668.	سنه_مطالبه_بقياده_المراه نحن في أكبر خطر ممكن.بدءاًبحوادث الطرق المميتة_٢٦_# للسائقين المهملين وانتهاء بمغامرة الركوب مع غريب كل يوم
2669.	نجيبها من الآخر كذا، في هذه الأيام "النسوية" واجب على كل امرأة. ولا تهمني مشاعرك الرقيقة تجاه " النسوية"
2670.	سعوديات رداً على الاستطلاع الأمريكي: لنا ولاة أمر نعود إليهم لنيل حقوقنا..
2671.	يارب تسقط ونعيش بدون حكم الاولاد لنا
2672.	عندما تكون الثقافة الذكورية منعدمه
2673.	داخل عباءة كل امرأة سعوديه باستثناء الدرر فهن جوارى لا يعرفن للحياة معنى
2674.	نطالب بالمساواة لأكثر ولاقل..
2675.	الله أكرمنا بعقل الاسلام قدرنا الحكومة الرشيدة علمتنا وأتاحت لنا فرص عمل باي حق نعامل كقصر هذا غير شرعي
2676.	من اين أتت فكرة اصدار صك ولاية لارملة ٧٠ سنة لتسافر مع ابنها هل هذا شرع الله هل فيه حديث على ذلك؟
2677.	لا ولاية مطلقة على امرأة راشدة الا في الزواج
2678.	<u>سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية112#</u>
2679.	عك الغريب ويتنكر لك القريب السعوديه مقبرة النساء
2680.	<u>إحقيقة وين عايشين؟!حتى اليهايم لها حق قانوني اكثر من المرأة هنا "إعفاء وزير الخدمة المدنية اذ القصه فعلا#</u>
2681.	أي شخص يشوف ذا الفيديو ولسا معارض اسقاط الولاية هذا واحد خسيس ملعون طينه
2682.	للآن في ناس فاهمين ان اسقاط الولاية يعني البراءة من الأهل الأب أو الأخ
2683.	البنت السعودية تستاهل تنضرب العيب منها اما الأمريكية لا تتحمل الضرب
2684.	طبعاً المرأة السويدية عليها ولاية و تسجن في دار الرعاية اذا عنفت ولا تقود السيارة
2685.	<u>سجينات منسيات#</u>
2686.	<u>استمرو في#سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية112 البشائر بدأت ولو انها مقدار ذرة ما يضيع حق وراءه مطالب ومطالب باطرق الحضارية يدل على الرقي</u>
2687.	سعودية بالغة عاقلة الرجال ليسوا بأعقل ولا أكرم خلقاً مني وإطالكم بمعاملتنا بكامل الأهلية
2688.	الأول نطالب بالاحترام ونطالب بقانون التحرش ولا يهمننا الاختلاط
2689.	سنه_مطالبه_بقياده_المراه نحن في أكبر خطر ممكن.بدءاًبحوادث الطرق المميتة_٢٦_# للسائقين المهملين وانتهاء بمغامرة الركوب مع غريب كل يوم
2690.	انا أعرف بنات كثير ماتوا بحوادث طرق رايعين أو راجعين من عملهم كم بنت تطلع مع سواق سواقته زباله لأن مطرة
2691.	عندما بدء دعوته سرا لمدة ٣ سنوات كانت تمهيدا وتليينا لمجتمع لم يعتد على التغيير وهذا فعله حقوقيات تويتر
2692.	ماضاع حق ورائه مطالب
2693.	صدقتي واحنا نحاول نوصل للتوسط لكن فيه ناس اغبياء يقارنونا بالغرب
2694.	اعلم اللي ماتحركت لتنفيذ قرار اعلم ان معنفات والمظلومات برقبتهك يوم قيامه

2695.	نحن مظلومات برقبه من يتجاهل امرنا ويدعي انه امر محرم انت فهم معنى الايه غلط
2696.	ان لم نأخذ حقنا من بعض الظالمين سياخذ الله حقنا لو طال الانتظار
2697.	اجرب ايش ترا اسقاط الولاية تروح من الاب وياخذها الاخ ماصير ولية امر نفسي
2698.	مع ذلك يرجع له لان السنه الي عشتها عند اهل تعادل عشر سنوات من عمري
2699.	هذه الجرائم لابد أن تقف يقتل ويغتصب ويستجرم تحت مسمى ولاية ويهدد أن قادة سوف يزداد
2700.	هذا مانطالب من اجله رفع الظلم ولي الا امر عن بعض المظلومات ولمسلوب حقوقهن وليس دعم خارجي
2701.	ماذا ننتظر من مجتمع مشلول فكريا وحضاريا ،
2702.	ط اتفق مع د.عزيزة بشأن حق التصويت والانتخابات البلدية للمرأة
2703.	من الامور التي ذكرتها د.عزيزة يوسف بالوثائقي ، حقيقه مؤلمة صراحة
2704.	Thank you #NewYorkTime وثائقي اكثر من رائع .
2705.	نحن نطالب بتغيير قانون قابل للتغيير و ليس كسر الشرع ..!
2706.	الشرع واضح "الولي مطلوب بالزواج والسفر" وليس العمل
2707.	الدين لم يفرض الولي بكل امور الحياة الا على القاصر .. فقط في الزواج و المحرم في السفر لحمايتها
2708.	اسقاط الولاية مجرد اجراء نظامي
2709.	ناس غريبة منافقين حتى بتويتر يجيك بالهاتشاق الي فوق يعشق الوطن وبالهاتشاق الثاني يكرهه
2710.	<u>أعظم فوائد #سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية تلاشي زواجات المصلحة .. عندها لن تقبل الفتاة بالزواج للخلاص من الأهل لأنها تملك حرية الاختيار</u>
2711.	اسقاط الولاية ضرورة مقاصدية معاصرة شكرًا للاستاذ وحيد الغامدي
2712.	جامعة الملك سعود تلغي شرط موافقة ولي الأمر على زوار الطالبة في سكنها الجامعي، وعلى خروجها للمكتبة والعيادات والمختبرات.
2713.	سعوديات نطالب باسقاط الولاية #114
2714.	للمرأة التي لا تريد اسقاط ولايتها وبقناعة كاملة غارقة بالجهل !
2715.	لا داعي استهلاك كل هذا الوقت في التنفيذ والخوض في الاسباب ، تريد نسقط الولاية وانتهى.
2716.	للمرة الألف لن يُنقذ المرأة أحدا سواها
2717.	الى متى زمن العبوديه والقمع والتخلف
2718.	هذي حياة وبنعيشها مره وحده وخلص ليش اعيشها مكبله مقيدة على كيف ذكر مخه جاهل ومتخلف
2719.	ما بغى اعيش حياتي وانا تحت مزاج ذكر يذلني بتقلبات مزاجه الغبي اذا انبسط يبسطني واذا تنكد ينكد علي
2720.	كشف حقيقة #7سعوديات-نطالب-باسقاط-الولاية
2721.	<u>حقيقة هشتاق #سعوديات-نطالب-باسقاط-الولاية</u>
2722.	فسري لي وجود هذه الظاهره وهل يوجد في اي مجتمع آخر هذا الشي انتي تعتبري عوره هذا مجتمعك
2723.	قد يكون ولي امرك، عاد كل وحده وحظها.
2724.	ربما تختلف او تتفق بس عودوا نفسكم على سماع الطرف الاخر استمعوا لهم على الأقل لماذا وماذا يريدون ؟ حقهم هذا
2725.	المعارضة*هذي مكانتك بعيونهم،زي الشغالة بالضبط،ما أستحمل كون هذا ولي أو ممكن يكون!
2726.	يؤسفني أننا بدل ما نتعاون نتقاتل لكن لا نستطيع السكوت عن حقوقنا أكثر
2727.	لو انتي ياستي فكري بيناتك بمستقبلهم
2728.	لايوجداسوأمن امرأة لا تعرف حقوقها سوى امرأة لاتؤمن بحقوقها اساساًوالاسوأ هي من تهاجم اخرى تناضل لنيل حقها

2729.	Innovative Marketing سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية114 هذا الي يسمونه#
2730.	https://twitter.com/Abygaaal/status/792796829847064576/photo/1
2731.	نداء للمسؤول مكلومه تصرخ عجلوا بالفرج نطلب لاجل مقهورات متضررات مطلومات ارامل مطلقات
2732.	نحن لسنا اغبياء انتم يامعارضين من تحتاجون ان تقرأو وتعوو ماذا ترددون مطالبنا موجه https://twitter.com/Abygaaal/status/792796760074838016/photo/1 للحكومة الرشيدة
2733.	إذا لم تسقط الولاية يفترض ان يعاقب الولي عن وليته ويقاضى بدلاً عنها.
2734.	ليت الصحوة ماتت قبل أن تصحو عاكست يتا الطبيعة والفطرة وجعلت نساءنا مسخ مشوه لايعرفن أقل ما ينبغي لهنّ
2735.	والاسواء بان هو من يحدد مصيرك رغماً عنك
2736.	د.عزيزة اليوسف تطالب الدولة بإسقاط الولاية رسمياً: نحن دولة تطيع ولي الأمر وتتقبل القرار السياسي
2737.	هانت يا بنات بقي شوي ونتحرر
2738.	في الصورتين توضح الفرق بين مجتمع تربي على احترام المرأة رجوله ، وبين مجتمع تربي انتقاص وظلم المرأة رجوله
2739.	قديماً وقديماً جداً وفي زقاق بيت أهلي الطيني كانوا يختلطون وكل منهم يأمن الآخر بوائقه ..!
2740.	ترفض إسقاط الولاية الفاشلة الكسولة اللي ترضى بأن تُعامل كناقصة بس عشان يكون فيه شخص يقوم بأمرها بدالها
2741.	<u>لايقف لا يهدأ #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية115</u>
2742.	سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية116#
2743.	حن لسنا اغبياء انتم يامعارضين من تحتاجون ان تقرأو وتعوو ماذا ترددون مطالبنا موجه للحكومة الرشيدة
2744.	الحقوق لا يصوت عليها يامجلس الشورى د. الغيث اختصر الموضوع https://twitter.com/i/status/793491879149113344
2745.	حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل حتى بحضانه ظالمين لكل من اخذ حضانه وفرق بين الام واولادها https://twitter.com/amiiiiirax/status/793458725075972096/photo/1
2746.	واللامنطق وانعدام التهذيب هذا يعم غالب المعارضين و"المجتمع الغير جاهز" على قولة"الفايل"
2747.	نطالب بحقوقنا لأننا بشر قادرين على اتخاذ قراراتنا، والأهم أننا نطالب عشان نفيد مجتمع حنا https://twitter.com/Anouriii_/status/793493057215823874/photo/1 جزء لا يتجزأ منه
2748.	د. الغيث: الحل بيد (السياسي) وبكلمة أمّنا بما هو أت ..
2749.	تحية لكل بنت أمنت ان عقلها قد يغير الكون بأسره وان شخصيتها قد تصنع ألف حل متجاهلة الحمقى الذين يرددون نقصانها
2750.	في بلاد الاستبداد ولي الأمر صادق ولو كان فاجراً.
2751.	وين اصحاب الحلول الوهميه اللي تنظم تلجأ للمحكمة هذه لجأت للمحكمة وانسجت؟والحل الاخر؟
2752.	مجلس الشورى في #السعودية صوّت قبل قليل برفض توصية قيادة المرأة للسيارة #الشورى يرفض قيادة المرأة
2753.	أشياء عادية جدًا لا تستحق الذكر تتحول لأمنيات ولحروب وتصفية حسابات #الشورى يرفض قيادة المرأة
2754.	الأساسيات و البديهيات أمانى أيضا
2755.	سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية116 متوقع لكن لم #الشورى يرفض قيادة المراه # و لن نستسلم حقوقنا سترد لنا عاجلا أو أجلا
2756.	نعم للمرأة شريكة في الوطن
2757.	<u>كلنا مريم العتيبي#</u>
2758.	اخشى ان يصيب هذه البلاد قارعة بما ظلموا حسينا الله
2759.	<u>المجتمع جاهز للقيادة#</u>
2760.	اللي ضد التاق ويدخل يغرد شكرا على معاقبتك لنفسك بكل تغريده

2761.	خلاص قلنا كل الي نبغاه دخيلة عاهرة كافرة عميلة. حلو، دحين ممكن أسمع رأي الي سبوني في مأساة السجينة السعودية
2762.	من أكبر الصدمات بحياتي لما عرفت ان الاغتصاب غير معترف فيه عندما يقع على المرأة فقط على الذكر. تخيل أي شخص يقدر يغتصب بنت بدون ما يجرم قانونيا
2763.	نطالب بحقوقنا لأننا بشر قادرين على اتخاذ قراراتنا، والأهم أننا نطالب عشان نفيد مجتمع حنا جزء لا يتجزأ منه
2764.	حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل حتى بحضانه ظالمين لكل من اخذ حضانه و فرق بين الام واولادها
2765.	في بلاد الإستبداد ولي الأمر صادق ولو كان فاجراً..!
2766.	قبلها #حنان_الشهري و #احلام_الشمرى والعنود العيسى وينكن يا الي اصواتكن مسموعه ؟
2767.	القوانين الوضعية التي وضعت بيد الولي تخالف الشرع عزيزة اليوسف تضع النقاط فوق الحروف
2768.	تكلم عن قوامة الزوج على زوجته نحن نتحدث عن ولاية اب او اخ على امرأة راشدة مسؤولة ..وحالات الظلم من الولي لم تعد فردية
2769.	أسباب، منها أن غالب الإعلام المنظم موجه، أيًا كان مصدره . ومنها أن كثيرا من المناقشين الأكفاء يتجنبون مثل هذه المباحكات للأسف .
2770.	الفتوى ليست حكر على احد والالزام بفتوى محدده لا اصل له في الشرع
2771.	ربي يقويهم وينصرهم على أعداء المرأة والحرية والحياة ... نقف معكم جميعاً لتصلوا لما تستحقونه من عز وكرامه
2772.	الدين اعرف بمصالحنا كنساء والمحرم شرع الله لماذا الاعتراض
2773.	عقول تؤمن ان الدين كفل لها كامل حقوقها و انه لم يجعل لها والي إن كانت بالغه و راشده
2774.	عزيزة اليوسف اصبحت مرجع ديني في حريات النساء وهي عايشه خارج المملكة
2775.	الدين واحد ١٤٣٧ سنه لن يتغير مع تغير ظروف الزمان تملص واضح ومراوغه ذكيه ولكن لن تنفذ
2776.	لاحول ولاقوه الاباللة الناس مومستوعبه ان ذي المعاناه كبيره
2777.	البنات بالكويت عندهم #راح_نقاطع_البنزين وعندنا #سعوديات_نطالب_باسقاط_الولاية
2778.	كل دراستهم لفساد المراه لن توصلو لهدفكم راضيات بشرع الله
2779.	المطالبة حق ، وسيحصل كل ذي حق حقه ، ولن يتوه الحق في بلاد العدل . "
2780.	قمة السخف عندما تبرر إلغاء المرأة ككيان مستقل، راشد، كامل الأهلية؛ بحجة أنها ملكة ومُدلة، هذه إعاقة وليست دلال
2781.	عموما لا أتعجب عندما يأتي ذكر يستमित بالدفاع لعدم إسقاط الولاية ولكن أن تأتي أنثى تدافع عن عبوديتها! هنا كارثة
2782.	متى تشعر انك مزهريه#
2783.	انا مزهرية مع وقف التنفيذ حتى تسقط الولاية
2784.	لمؤامره الحقيقيه:إستمرار إقصاءالمجتمع عن الدين بإعتبره علم...
2785.	متاكدة لو عملوا احصائيات وشافوا كم عائلة سعودية تعتمد ع المرأة وقتها راح تعرفوا ان الذكر هو اللي يحتاج ولاية
2786.	صح نسبة كبيره مجرد اسم ذكر متواجد يلعلع في البيت
2787.	سة الدكتوراه على حسابي أملا في الأبتعاث أنتهى كل ماأدخرته وتم رفض أبتعاثي لأنني بلا محرم
2788.	بلدي وأن جارت علي عزيزة
2789.	يقولك اذا منعها من الزواج والتعليم اوالعمل تروح للقاضي ويحكم لها! الخادمة قوانينها أرحم ولها سفارة تحميها!؟
2790.	صديقتي راحت للقاضي يزوجها قال انتظري لين يكبر ولدك يتزوجك ولدها عمره ٥ سنوات
2791.	بالظبط لا عاقل ولا مجنون نريد أن نكون ملك أنفسنا
2792.	مستفزة فكرة أني بخير لأن وليي يسمح بهذا ، مخيفة فكرة أني تحت رحمة أحدهم.
2793.	هي تعارض لانها معززه مكرمه وانتي تطالبين لانك مظطهده كلا يتكلم عن نفسه

2794.	سقوط الولاية ما يبضرها بينما بقاءها يبضرنا.
2795.	الظلم والعزل محارب شرعا نطالب بالقضاء علي الباقي منه
2796.	وما زالت الشتائم تأتي ممن يردن اسقاط الولاية. والعكس صحيح. فالطبيبة والمبتعثة ووالخ اثبتت نفسها مع ولي امرها. وانتن ترمين فشلكن ع وليكن
2797.	الحقوق لا تنتزع بالإساءة للغير
2798.	المرأة في السعودية تحتاج لموافقة ولي أمرها لتؤدي ركن من أركان الإسلام
2799.	بس الأجنبية عادي تروح بدون محرم وبعد يخفضون لها كل شي بهالبلد لغيرنا
2800.	أنا لي أكثر من 15 سنه أخذ عمره بدون محرم الحين يطلع لنا شيخ ويقول كلها حرام على أساس أنه هو محاسب الكتاب الموكل من الله علينا
2801.	المرأة تتحمل مسؤولية وسند والديها ف كبرهم وعكازهم حتي لو تزوجت تخدمهم كيف جعلتوها قاصر
2802.	طها لجل تعمل اللي تعملونه برا؟! المرأة بالعربي تبي تخلص من الاهانة والضرب وعيشة الذل!
2803.	لا يوجد اسوأ ولا أذل من امرأة تربي إبنها الذي خرج من رحمها انه افضل منها وله حق التحكم فيها لأنه ذكر .
2804.	إيه ميركل اللي داqqه خشوم زعماء أوروبا كلهم أكيد ما تحبونها. ضعفاء وتستمدون قوتكم من التسلط على اللي تحت أمرتكم
2805.	وجاهل سياسياً بعد
2806.	عارض إسقاط الولاية إلا الجهلة و أسافل القوم
2807.	إذا ستر المرأة يتطلب منك دفع دم قلبك .. لازم تراجع وضعك
2808.	الرجل السعودي لا ينتظر موافقة والده أو عمه أو أخيه على زواجه ولا يرفع قضية عزل ويزور المحكمة خائفاً مقهوراً
2809.	أقدر كل امرأه تثق بنفسها خاليه الانانيه وتطالب بحقوقها وحقوق المعنفين والنساء المهضومة حقوقهن وتدعم حقوقهم
2810.	المطالبة بحقك ليست الا ثقة بذاتك وكيانك وقدرتك ع النجاح بكل صعب فلاتستسلمي ابدا وسوف تحظين بكل حقوقك
2811.	٥٠% من السعوديات معنفات باليد وبالعصا وبالعقال حسب دراسة قدمتها أستاذة علم الاجتماع دكتورة لطيفه العبد اللطيف
2812.	يعني بالوحدة تطالب بالأعلام وتشهر بنفسها وعائلتها بسبب ولاية ظالمة ولا أسكتوا وأنطقوا لا تشتكون
2813.	ليه التعقيدات من أساسه والتضييق ع حياة المرأة طالما ماهي من الدين في شي بالعكس الروابط تتحسن كذا
2814.	وين الإجراءات الخاصه ومين تضمنين أنه راح ينصفك من قاضي أو محامي ومثلك عارفه مجتمع ذكوري يستغلك
2815.	لا طبعاً فيه إستشارات أسريه ممكن بكل يسر تساعدك وتأخذ حقك غصب عنه وإذا كان الأب أو الأخ فيه إجراءات خاصه
2816.	الشيء الوحيد اللي نعتب عليه ان فيه بعض المقطوعات وأرامل مالهن مكان يؤيهن ويوضعن مع السجينات وجاري العمل
2817.	على إنشاء مراكز لهن فيه عندك جمعية جسد مثلاً بدأت ببعض المشاريع الخاصه بالأشياء
2818.	معليش عزيزتي أنت جالسك تتكلمين من منطلق مجتمع مثالي وهذا غير موجود ومعانا مشاركات تعرضوا للإستغلال
2819.	طالما هناك ظلم وقهر والمحاكم تشهد بذلك من تعسفات الولاية ولا من مجيب ليه الاعتراض ع إسقاطها بلا ضرر
2820.	وهذي مشكله تقريباً بسيطه مع وجود الاستشارات الأسريه المجانيه النسائيه اللي تساعدك

2821.	لا أعترف بالإحصائيات هذي أبداً خاصةً أني أدير مجموعة أعمال خيريه وأرافق عشرات المطلقات والأرامل
2822.	طيب ياأخت رتاج أسألك بالله مانتِ مطلعة ع أحوال النساء كيف يساء إستخدام الولاية طالما أنه مجال عمل
2823.	انتني كذا ولا كذا رح تنجلدين /ويقول المثل يابيتي ياساتر عورتني قال لا بيتي ساتر الكل
2824.	وأنت ليش تقيس ع محيطك الأسري هي دراسة قدمت ع شريحة كبيرة من المجتمع الولاية لها دور رئيسي في تمادي العنف الأسري وإن لم يكن جسدي
2825.	ت عاد قويه هالنسبه.. والله الحمد لله بالمجتمع المحيط فيه ماعرف معنفات الله يستر عليكن بس
2826.	والله اختي في جمعيه خيريه تجيها قصص تحزن كلهن معنفات ومعلقات والي اخذو ورثها ولا احد انصفهن
2827.	الله ينصر المظلومات... ويهدي الجميع
2828.	هذاك قلتيها بنفسك المحيط ألي عايشه فيه يعني تحكمي ع محيطك فمن غير المنطقي أنك تحكمي ع نساء دولة كاملة وهذا بحث شامل ماهو تجربه
2829.	اغلبهم يحكم عل محيطه عدد قليل ونسى اننا نتكلم عن شبه قاره صديقتي جاتها حاله نفسيه من كثر القضايا احس ماعندهم استيعاب
2830.	ي حياتي عليكن. والله إن المراه السعوديه مكرمه ومصانه من قبل الاب والاخ والزوج، الا اللي تهين نفسها فهذا شيء ثاني!!!
2831.	طبيعي بتقول فيه ما اعرف معنفات لانك ما تفهم يعني ايش نسبة وكيف يتم أخذها ولا تعرف انو مخالفة قانونيه طرح نسب خاطئة
2832.	نحن نحمد الله انا في مجتمع يخاف الله ولاحنا معنفات بس غيرنا يعاني الله يكون في عونهن
2833.	رسائل المواطنين: فتاة يقف الولي بين تحقيق طموحها وحلمها
2834.	من الخاص: رجل يحرق زوجته والحالة في مستشفى السليمانية.
2835.	كم أب و زوج يمنعون نساءهم من العمل؟! وكم أب وزوج يستغلون نساءهم بالعمل؟! الولاية أصبحت سلاح لهاالمرتزقه!
2836.	يخطر ببالي فكره ان اقترح على تويتر تُعيد هيكلت الحسابات برقم الهوية واعدكم هذا الهشتاق لن يغرد فيه الاثلاثه
2837.	خلطوا العادات بالدين فتوهموا أن فعلهم من الدين .. بل زاد بهم الحد أنهم يخرجون من يعارضهم من الدين !
2838.	طريق الفساد سهل على المراه بدون اسقاط الولاية ولكن من الصعب ان تجاهد بمطالبة حقوقها المسلوه ..
2839.	مانقولك مطالب بسيطة تتعرقل بسبب الولاية وتقول روعي للمحكمة ..أنت تدين نفسك..لماذا أقل حق نحتاج فيه للمحاكم
2840.	اسقاط الولاية اكبر تحدي يواجه المرأة السعودية لانها قررت ان تقف وتضع حدا امام العادات والقوانين الساذجة
2841.	أناضداسقاط الولاية ومع احترام المرأة وعدم التحكم بها واستعباد البعض لهاوالغاء رأيها وحقوقها الي كفلها دينها
2842.	واضح من وري هذا التناق ناس ملحده وشاذه الأمر أكبر من دعوة لإنصاف المراه
2843.	الإسلام بريء مما تنسبونه إليه من تخلفكم،حياة أمهات المؤمنين تفضح تخلفكم، كنّ أحرارا، اليوم تُستعبد المرأة باسم الدين زورا لتدافعوا عن الظالم
2844.	المضحك امنا في عام 2016 ومازالت المرأة السعودية تحتاج موافقة ولي أمرها للدراسة
2845.	كثير من الأمهات تربى البنات على انها خادمة لإخوتها الذكور وتابعة لهم مما جعل الذكر يراها جارية ووصي عليها
2846.	صح هذا الحاصل للأسف تربية الاغلبيه كذا يشوف اخواته مجرد جوارى عنده
2847.	انت ربها؟او خلقتها؟عشان تتحكم بحياتها وقرارتها؟بالنسبه للولاية ع اختك ايش دخلك بها؟

2848.	وبعد فضح الشيعة المندسين بدأوا يكشفون حقيقتهم
2849.	وش هالعصريه ترا الشيعيه عايشه معنا ف نفس البلد
2850.	إسقاط ولاية مافي حتى لو صار جدلا يعني في حالة رفض اباكي سفرك هل ستتمين طلبك غصب؟ اذا أصبح تحدي وعقوق وهروب
2851.	في هذا البلد ابسط الأمور محرمة على النساء و اعظم الذنوب مغفورة للرجال .
2852.	سعيدة جداً بمستوى وعي النساء في وطني ومعرفتهم حقوقهم هذه الفترة فخورة بكل شخصية قوية لا ترضى على نفسها
2853.	<u>هشتاق متخلف #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية38</u>
2854.	لن تسقط وسميعيني نباحك انتي وياها
2855.	اغلب نساء الخليج في المقدمة الا المرأة السعودية مازالت تبحث عن طريق الحرية
2856.	لقد استطاع هذا الوسم أن يكسر كل الأسوار و اخترق حاجر الصمت بوداعته و سلميته و بساطته كحق إنساني أصيل
2857.	الموظفه عندها صك أعاله على أمها والام صك ولايه على القاصر والاخ صك ولايه على امه واخواته هل هذا من الاسلام
2858.	مفخرة رجال العالم ماذا قدمت لنفسك وللعالم من إنجازات وعندنا فخرهم قبيلتهم وعدد نياقها وتسلطهم على النساء
2859.	كيف يُعقل أن هناك أشخاص راحتهم وطمأنينتهم عبارة عن أن لا يحصل الاخرين على حريتهم لأسباب تافهه! عقول مريضة
2860.	اقسم بالله ان ولي من افضل الرجال لكن للأسف اولياء خواتي وبعض صديقاتي وحكايات اسمعها تخليني اطالب وبقوة
2861.	أعتقد أن الحكومة لو تضع الأمر إختياري ويحظون الأقلية بحريتهم في اتخاذ القرار لأنتهت الولاية في يومين
2862.	لكي تعلمو انها شبكه تدار من الخارج لا يهتمهم وضع المملكه انها بحالة حرب ؟!
2863.	كثر الدق يفك اللحام،الإستمرارية سر النجاح.
2864.	المرأة السعودية تستحق جائزة أوسكار في تحمل الظلم
2865.	تسلط الذكور ناتج من امراض نفسيه زرعتها بينته المتناقضه بداخله وارهبته من المراه
2866.	يقولواخلف الهاشتاق مجنسة،لبراليةوما إلى ذلك الهاشتاق خلفه سعوديات يريدون حياة كريمة فقط
2867.	أنيث المحلات "هاتك الأعراض" . بالله عليكم هذولي ناس ينسمع لهم؟!
2868.	نصيحة محبة الدين لا يؤخذ من حسابات وهمية ولا أشخاص غير معروفين الدين يأخذ من أهل العلم الثقاة
2869.	انا انسانه كبيره اعرف مصلحتي بنفسي ولااحتاج لولي انا حره ومانى عبده لاحد
2870.	لن تسقط ابدا ، الدوله مازاح تغير شي من قانونها من اجل ملاحده وليبراليه يتحدونها - اظهروا لنا مالدكم ننتظر
2871.	بي شي انت هديت القضية و ركزت عليهم ؟ ياخي شوف المعنفات و المضطهدات التي يهمننا
2872.	بسبب وسبب وسبب الخ قلت لهاوهل يحتاج كل مخالف لهذه القضية أن يرى بعينه كل مشاركة هناياتعيش الظلم أو عملت معه
2873.	لي قريية قضت اليوم وقت تنتظرإجراء كان بينناأختلاف في وجهات النظرحول الولاية،تقول لي كم سيده خرجت باكية
2874.	اي ولاية اللي يطالبن بإسقاطها؟؟؟إذا كانن يقصدن ولاية الاهل من اب او اخ!! مآ أقول غير ي حسافة التربيه فيكن

2875.	ليه من اللي بيمنعها من العلاج،،،!! لا والله هذا اثار الغزو الفكري ماهو من روسهن اللي يخلف عليهن بخير
2876.	قذف المصلحات / عزيزة المانع
2877.	لي داخلين التاق وينابحون وش المصبيه اللي تحل عليهم من مطلبنا لن يتغير الا من طلب التغيير انتم كما انتم
2878.	مو بس ظلم عنصرية بحته فيجب على من تودالحصول على منصب ان تكون ذكر لايهم ما مدى عقلك وذكائك ودراستك تظلين انشى
2879.	تدرون ليه هي ظلم لانها تعامل على حسب "الجنس" لالعقل فوليك يصبح وليك لانه ذكر وانتبي تصبحين قاصر لانك انشى بس
2880.	كونك تحت الولاية لايحق لك التعليم والعمل وغيره لا يحق لك بل يحق لوليك هو بغى خلاك تتعلمين مابغى مالك تعليم .
2881.	لايد من وجود ضوابط واستثناءات فليس كل الرجال مؤهلين للولاية ولاكل النساء مؤهلات.
2882.	طالبني بإسقاط الولاية وحنا معك
2883.	مسكينه البنت السعوديه .. مقياس عفتها .. حقوقها !!
2884.	طلبت الرياضه قالو تدور الفتنة
2885.	طلبت القيادة قالو تدور عشيق
2886.	و طلبت اسقاط الولاية قالو تدور العقوق والانحلال
2887.	بالعموم كل كلامهم يعكس افكارهم .. كونهم اول من حصلو على حقوقهم .. بحثو عن الانحلال
2888.	لا يمكن أن يستقيم أمر دولة أو مجتمع حالياً إلا بفرض القوانين التي تحكم بين الناس.. هل لدينا هذه الشمولية في القوانين؟ الكراهية؟ التحرش؟ الخ
2889.	مز بلاء المرأة السعودية ان كل اهيل في السعودية يعتقد بولايته عليها حتى لو ما يعرفها
2890.	عنة الله عليك يا كلب..الله يكسر يدك..لو في الخارج والبنت لابسه بكيني ماتقدر تمد بوزك العفن مو يدك يشهد الله انك لا تمثل الدين
2891.	ما أكثر الهيلان في بلاد العربان ، يفترض منع هذه المخلوقات من الدخول للأسواق ماعدا سوق البهايم والأعلاف .
2892.	المفروض الدوله تحط لهلاشكال حد ...طالت وتشمخت وش قلة الآدب كل من هب ودب عمل حاله ولي ع المرأة وصاريمد أيده
2893.	ومن بلاء لمرأة السعودية أن كل رجل عاقل أقتصرت مهمته على التفرج
2894.	والمثل يقول السكوت علامة الرضى لك الله يا المرأة السعودية
2895.	رسالة مؤثرة من نساء سعوديات رائعات : لا يمكننا الرحيل أو حتى الهروب !
2896.	حقيقة تكريم الإسلام للمرأة
2897.	بل هي كثقب أسود يبتلع كل قيم الحرية و الإنسانية و الجمال .. و يستحضر كل أغلال العبودية و الإمتهان و القبح .
2898.	طيب والهدف من المقطع و موجه لمين؟ مثل هذي المقاطع هي اللي تخرب المطالبات يا عالم تعلموا من قضية لجين واللي حصل معها
2899.	الكل له الحق بالطلب، لكن اتمنى انهم يشوفون افلام وثائقية عن حياة المرأة العربية فقط للمعرفة والاطلاع لا اكثر.
2900.	فعلا مافي مهرب حتى
2901.	والله هذا حرام والله الترجمه والبنت يمثلون اكبر دليل على اعداء الدين وعلى دمار البنت السعوديه اصحي يابنت اصحي حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل
2902.	مع كامل احترامي لك مقطعتك ضعيف ولا راح تسقط ولاية الامر عنك الا في حالة وفاة ولي امرك اطلال الله في عمره ❤️
2903.	ك الإنسانية فقد ابتعثت المرأة السعودية واخرجتها من كونها فريستهم
2904.	لانريد لانريد ذلنا المؤيدا وعيشنا المنكدا
2905.	طبعا موضوع إسقاط الولاية كان جدي لغاية ما جات هذه وخربت عليهم أم القضية

2906.	بعد رقصتها هذه لا لاسقاط الولاية
2907.	دعكم من الولاية! زوجة " المواطن " الغربية لها الأحقية ومخولة لإصدار جواز بالأسف
2908.	وجة المواطن مكرمة أفضل من المواطنة
2909.	حالنا بالسعوديات مؤسف!!
2910.	أكد بس علينا الوصاية القانونية بتشرع ذكوري
2911.	كلما ازدادت وطنية الشخص وحب لوطنه ومواطنيه كلما حرص ان يكون هناك ثقافة حقوق تحمي الوطن من الاحتقان
2912.	لماذا عندما يُطالب أي فصيل من المجتمع بحقوقه يُتهم بالعمالة الخارجيه ؟ هل السعودي عاجز عن المطالبة بحقه
2913.	الام(المطلقة)تعيل وتربي ويجي الاب(مايدي عنهم)بكل بجاجة وقوة يتحكم بهم تحت مزاجيته.. نعم انه القانون الظالم
2914.	أبسألكم وجابوا اذا عندكم خلفيه الحين قدر اشتريلي بيت بدون إذن ولي أمري وأعيش فيه ؟
2915.	للتذكير فقط هناك ايضا اية القذف تمنعوا بها جيدا
2916.	قديمًا استعباد الأسود من السيد الأبيض الآن استعباد الفتيات باسم الولاية
2917.	وما الاهل رمز الامان.. الا بالسعودية للأسف بسبب نظام الولاية التعسفية اصبح الاهل رمز الالم و القهر والظلم لبعضهم...
2918.	خطاب ولي الامر مختوم من عمله
2919.	سمحتوا لها بالتعليم والعمل ، وطلعت واعية وشخصيتها مستقلة ، وقرأت وأنصدمت بالحقيقة ، فما حتطول ساكنه
2920.	سبب التمييز ضد المرأة في المجتمعات القبلية من منظور المادية التاريخية الاقتصادية
2921.	الغاءالولاية ليس الغاء للعقيدة وللدین فهي ستصلي وتصوم وتحج وستكون افضل ، لأنها حصلت على اهليتها في العيش
2922.	حتى تبرر سلبك لحقوق المرأة، اجعل المرأة تعتقد ان حقوقها حرام.
2923.	سيأتي بعد الليل المظلم صباحٌ مشرقٌ، وما بعد الضيق إلا الفرج، وإنَّ بعد العسر يأتي يسرٌ على إثره يسر.
2924.	استبدلوا كلمة "سعوديات" بـ "انسان" وستجدوا كم هو الموضوع "مخل" !!
2925.	بلقيس ملكة سبأ، شجر الدر والملكة سيوندوك، أثبتوا أن النساء قد يفوقون الرجال حكمة وذكاءً في إدارة الشؤون.
2926.	متى استعبدتم الناس وقد ولدتهم امهاتهم احراراً.. فكيف تستعبد الآن بالولاية من انجبتك خراً؟؟
2927.	أمهات المؤمنين كن قويات الشخصية والحجة والبيان ليه تربيون بناتكم ع(إبليها واسكتي)؟
2928.	و كأنما الدين نزل فقط على المرأة .. خيركم خيركم لأهله !!
2929.	هناك أمور غير منطقية ورجعية في التعامل مع المرأة .
2930.	إلزام الطالبات الراغبات بالخروج من #الجامعات قبل 12 ظهرا ببطاقة تصريح خروج . #السعودية #التعليم
2931.	اذا خرجتي قبل ١٢ بتكونين عاهره بس بعدها انتي درة مصونه
2932.	الولاية من سياسات ودستور الدولة وليست لعبة ملاهي ليتم العبث وايقافها في اي وقت من قبل شاكلة اطفال الاسقاط
2933.	تحية إكبار و اعتزاز و الكثير من الإحترام و التقدير للصامدات و الصامدين لإعلاء كلمة الحق
2934.	كل أب راحل عن بناته ؛ علم بناتك حسن التصرف وتحمل المسؤولية والاعتماد على النفس حتى لا يحتجن لأحد من بعدك .
2935.	اغلب المعارضين يرون ان المرأة ملك او اثاث او تابع وهذا بفضل التعليم والتلقين منذ الصغر الذي مارسه الصحويين!
2936.	سيؤكد العالم من العنف والظلم الذي تعاني منه المرأة السعودية بمجرد قراءة تغريدات المعارضين في هذا التاق.
2937.	وطنى الغالى لماذا كل هاالاستقصاء والنظرة الدونية للمرأة ليست هى الأم التى أن اعددتها اعددت شعبا طيب الأعراق

2938.	لام الارمله تعاني الامرين الولايه على القصر من عيالها وولاية الغريب على البالغين منهم والولاية عليها ايضا
2939.	دع النساء يطالبن بحقوقهن مالذي يغضبك إن كنت متأكداً من رفض مطالبهن واكتمال حقوقهن
2940.	النساء لا تفاحات ولا قوارير ولا جواهر ولا حلوى ولا بطيخ ولا منجا ولا يرتقال كائن بشري ويجب أن يعاملن كبشر.
2941.	إذا نجحت المرأة السعودية في انتزاع حقها بإسقاط الولاية، فهذا سيكون نقطة تحول عظيمة في التاريخ السعودي
2942.	ستسقط الولاية رغماً عن عباد الخرافة ، و المساواة قادمة ، اليوم أو غداً أو بعد قرن قاتلوا ادمه
2943.	عن اي رجوله تتحدثون وانتم ترون العبوديه والقتل بحق "انتم بمجتمع ذكوري يحمل فكر سام " ! المرأة حق لكم
2944.	شي يحبط تشوف الظلم و تتبجح بقدرك الجميل امام ناس قدرهم ينظلمون وتنهان كرامتهم ! اي وحوش قدره انتم
2945.	وأبن باز بشر يصيب ويخطيء اخطأ قبل صحابة وعلماء وله اقوال عن الكرة الارضية تبت خطأها
2946.	شكرا. العلماء كلامهم مو قرآن منزل لا يقبل الطعن ولا الخطأ
2947.	ولا حكمة وعلم الملك سعود رحمه الله كان أنت جاهله الآن . أخذ موقف حازم بالتعليم ،ونفت كل الفتاوى الزبالة .
2948.	<u>امس كنت بالبنك وسمعت موظف يقول لعميلة لازم يكون معاكى ابوكى او اخوكى مدري وش السالفه بس اكيد شى متعلق بـ #سعوديات نطالب بإسقاط الولاية40</u>
2949.	جب أن نضع أيدينا على العلة وهي ان بعض أفراد المجتمع ينظرون للمسائل بشهوانية فحتى الامرء لم يسلم منهم !!
2950.	المرأة السعودية ملكة .. مستقلة .. وتعامل معاملة كريمة يحسدها عليها نساء العالم أجمع
2951.	ليوم ال40 وصامدون. كل مازاد الرقم ازدادت حماستنا حتى نسقط الظلم بإذن الله.
2952.	<u>شييان لايجتمعان ايدا العبوديه و العقل#</u>
2953.	<u>فى #الحقوق لا يشترط أن أمر بنفس التجربة حتى أؤيد أو أعارض !</u>
2954.	دين السماحه : أمر بالولاية ، النساء شقائق الرجال ، كلاهما له تفضيل يتوافق مع سكيولوجيته، كفاكم سخافه .
2955.	حسدونها على النقاب الي ماتتعرف داخلة لة طالعة وهي عبارة عن قطعة قماش سوداء !! ام على حرمانها من سياقة السيارة !!
2956.	غريب الأخ الغير شقيق يعني من الأم ماله وصايه عليها وهو من المحرمين عليها وابن العم الي ما يعتبر لها محرم
2957.	المحتجات للولاية ليولوا عليهن من يحتجنه، هناك في المقابل من يردن أن يتصرفن في أمورهن بدون ولي لا أدري لماذا يحدث كل هذا الاستعداد لهن .
2958.	والاو مرررا انكسحنا... خلاص يابنات هونوا عن الهاشتاق
2959.	ياريت يخف الضغط على المرأة السعوديه عشان نحد من هالأمر
2960.	لن تسقط والمتحكم يحمل هذا العقل
2961.	وكيف تسقط اذا المرأة نفس العقل
2962.	المطالبة بالحقوق المسلوقة ردة فعل طبيعية من الاشخاص الذين يقدرن الحرية ويعرفون قيمتها،نعم انها ردة فعل الأحرار،الأحرار فقط.
2963.	لكل من شارك إيجابا و دعما لبناء وطن متساوي الكفتين شكرا كلي فخر بكم
2964.	القوامة:تكليف لاتشريف
2965.	المشكلة في الظلم وليس الولاية
2966.	الحياة تكاملية وليست ندية
2967.	معا للحرية
2968.	هؤلاء هم اولياء امور النساء لايعرفن حتى ماهي حقوقها..
2969.	الحمد لله احنا ملكات نحسد من نساء الغرب اللهم اتم علينا نعمة الأمن والأمان وأحسن خاتمتنا

2970.	اليوم جاني عرض وظيفي مرره تماما لكن صدمممني يوم قال هاتي موافقة ولي امرك .. هذي اخرتها ياجماعه ؟
2971.	انت من تختار من تكون
2972.	ارجوكم احترموا عقولنا
2973.	ارتقوا عن هذي الأساليب ليس لديكم حجج مقنعه ادلتكم تنم عن تفكير سطحي الولاية تحافظ على الكيان الاسري
2974.	الولاية أحد شروط الزواج في الاسلام ...
2975.	المصطلحات الصادمة مثل عنوان الهاشتاق يزيد من الحدة والنفور، والتخلي عنها واستبدالها قد يساعد على تفهم الموضوع.
2976.	سوف يعترفون أن المرأة إنسان عندما يتقبلون أنها تطالب بحقوقها ليس عهرا , وعندما تمزح ليس عهرا ..
2977.	كلما ازدادت وطنية الشخص وحب لوطنه ومواطنيه كلما حرص ان يكون هناك ثقافة حقوق تحمي الوطن من الاحتقان
2978.	لماذا عندما يُطالب اي فصيل من المجتمع بحقوقه يُتهم بالعمالة الخارجيه ؟ هل السعودي عاجز عن المطالبة بحقه
2979.	هذه نتائج عدم الثقة بفكر المواطن الذي اعتادوا تدجينه ، فهو لديهم منفذ وليس مفكر ومستقل !!
2980.	هنا المشكلة اذا أحد طالب بحق من حقوقه فيه ناس تنتقده ويتهمونهم إتهامات غريبة مع ان الملك حفظه الله فاتح بابه للجميع
2981.	المحاكم سجلت 50 قضية خلال العامين الماضيين تطالب فيها نساء بنزع الولاية
2982.	ين من الدولة وراج ترفعها مثل ماوضعتها وصحت كثير من القرارات السابقة
2983.	استبدلوا كلمة "سعوديات" بـ "انسان" وستجدوا كم هو الموضوع "مخجل" !!
2984.	https://twitter.com/i/status/768575634071252994 عاشت بنت بلادي الحرة والمناضلة
2985.	اليوم ال40 وصامدون. كل مازاد الرقم ازدادت حماستنا حتي نسقط الظلم بإذن الله. #قيادة المرأة
2986.	و كأنما الدين نزل فقط على المرأة .. خيركم خيركم لأهله !
2987.	تجسباتهن في مواقع التواصل الإجتماعي مراقبة من قبل الولي الشكاك" فلا تلمنهن عن عدم
2988.	عن اي رجوله تتحدثون وانتم ترون العبوديه والقتل بحق "انتم بمجتمع ذكوري يحمل فكر سام " ! المرأة حق لكم
2989.	الام الارمله تعاني الامرين الولاية على القصر من عيالها وولاية الغريب على البالغين منهم والولاية عليها ايضا
2990.	وطنى الغالى لماذا كل هالاستقصاء والنظرة الدونية للمرأة اليست هي الأم التي أن اعددتها اعددت شعبا طيب الأعراق
2991.	الدولة السعودية أمامها تحديات في التحول الوطني و ليست بحاجة لمواطنين لا يفرقوا بين "الحقوق" وبين "الدعارة"
2992.	لازم اسقاط الولاية لأن الرجل إنسان و المرأة إنسانة و كلنا لنا حساب. لو كان الولاية على الرجال لما كان للنساء حساب
2993.	هذا عرف و ليس واجب في الدين
2994.	لو الرجل هو المسؤول أمام الله اذن النساء ليس عليهم حساب يوم القيامة، صح؟
2995.	كيف ترفع أمرها للقاضي لو ما تقدر تخرج من البيت من دون اذن اللي بيعذبها؟
2996.	ا ثم لا. الولاية ليس له أصل في الدين. و هو مبني على مفهوم باطل: أن الرجال جوهرهم قوة و خير و النساء جوهرهم ضعف و شر
2997.	اللي وصفته هو طريقة معاملة المستعبده لا المسلمة الحرة و الرسول(ص) أبدا ما إتأمر علي امرأة و ما ساند الصحابة لمن حاولوا

2998.	الرعاية و الولاية مفهومان مختلفان. اذا استملنا فكرتك اذن للمرأة الولاية على زوجها لأنها ترعيه و تراعيه. أترضى بذلك؟
2999.	إذن قياسا، عندما تنفق المرأة على زوجها اذن لها حق الولاية عليه و عليه أن يستأذنها في كل شيء و لا يخرج الا بإذنها؟
3000.	عيش حياتها كما تفعل جميع النساء المسلمات العرب. أم أن بنات السعودية دينهم و عقلهم أضعف من غيرهن؟! نحن مسلمات لا عبيد