

**The Palestinian- Israeli Peace Process in the
Alternative Palestinian Media:
A Case Study of Palestine Today News Channel**

Almuthana Deek

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2020
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Prof. Dr. Senih Çavuşođlu
Dean, Faculty of Communication and
Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Türksöy
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aysu Arsoy

2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Türksöy

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Sevilay Ulaş

ABSTRACT

On September 13, 1993, a peace agreement was signed between the government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization to end 45 years of conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, which began since the declaration of the state of Israel on the land of historic Palestine in 1948. This peace process was supposed to lead until establishing an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel within the borders of June 4, 1967, but things did not go well. Today after 27 years of signing the agreement, there is no clear horizon for resolving the conflict. The peace process received local and international media coverage and received a share of focus or marginalization according to the region's development of events. This study focuses on the coverage of alternative media for the peace process, considering Palestine Today's satellite TV news channel as a case study. It is one of the most famous Palestinian news channels, and the channel is distinguished as informal and has its own ideological and intellectual background. The study aims to fill in the gap in the literature, as there is a genuine absence of studies in this field, particularly in English. It aims to study how the alternative Palestinian media operate on issues that are conflicting with it.

The study dependent on testing three media theories, first, agenda-setting, second, gatekeeping, lastly, framing analysis theory. Additionally, the content analysis method was implemented to reach the results. The researcher analyzed the study sample that includes 43 newscasts broadcast on the channel from 2017 until July 2020 with 12 newscasts every year taken randomly. The main results of the current study can be summarized as follows: Within the channel's opposition to the peace process based on its ideological principles, it adopted only one point of view in all the news and interviews carried out by the channel, to reinforce the viewer's view that the peace

process is useless. It was never neutral in its coverage of the peace process and was a platform for all voices opposing the Palestinian Authority and the peace process.

Keywords: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Media power, Peace process, Palestine Today channel, Palestinian media.

ÖZ

13 Eylül 1993'te İsrail hükümeti ile Filistin hükümeti arasında barış antlaşması imzalandı. Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü, Filistin'de Araplar ve Yahudiler arasında 45 yıllık çatışmaya son vererek 1948'de tarihi Filistin topraklarında İsrail devletinin ilanından bu yana başladı. Bu barış sürecinin yanında bağımsız bir Filistin devleti kurulana kadar İsrail 4 Haziran 1967 sınırları içinde devam etmesi gerekiyordu ama işler iyi gitmedi. 27 yıllık imzalamanın ardından bugün anlaşma, anlaşmazlığı çözmek için net bir ufuk yok. Barış süreci yerel kabul edildi ve uluslararası medya kapsamına girdi ve odak veya marjinalleştirmeden olaylar bölgenin gelişiminde bir pay aldı. Bu çalışma, Filistin göz önünde bulundurularak, barış süreci için alternatif medyanın kapsamına odaklanmaktadır. Bir vaka çalışması olarak günümüzün uydu TV haber kanalı. En ünlü Filistin haberler kanallarından biridir ve kanal gayri resmi ve kendi ideolojik ve entelektüel arka fon olarak ayırt edilir.

Çalışma özellikle İngilizce alandaki çalışmalar, literatürdeki boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı alternatif Filistin medyasının nasıl kendisiyle çelişen konular üzerine. Çalışma, üç medya teorisinin test edilmesine dayanıyor; ilki, gündem belirleme, ikincisi, bekçi tutma, son olarak, çerçeveleme analizi teorisi. Ek olarak, sonuca ulaşmak için içerik analizi yöntemi uygulandı. Araştırmacı, internet sitesinde yayınlanan 43 haber bültenini içeren çalışma örneklemini kanal 2017'den Temmuz 2020'ye kadar her yıl rastgele alınan 12 haber bülteniyle analiz etti. Ana sonuçları mevcut çalışma şu şekilde özetlenebilir: Kanalın barışa muhalefeti içinde süreç ideolojik ilkelerine dayalı. Tüm haberlerde sadece bir bakış açısı benimsedi ve izleyicinin barış sürecinin olduğu görüşünü güçlendirmek için kanal tarafından yapılan röportajlar faydasız. Barış sürecini aktarırken hiçbir zaman

tarafsız olmadı ve tüm sesler için Filistin Yönetimi'ne ve barış sürecine karşı çıkan bir platform oldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: barış süreci, Bugün Filistin kanalı, Filistin medyası, İsrail-Filistin Çatışması, medya gücü.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents; I hope that this achievement is on the way to completing the dreams that you had for me all those years when you chose to give me the best education you could. To my brothers, mainly Muath Diek who gave me whatever he could to get this stage. To all those who contributed to the achievement of this thesis.

My warm regards and respect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe thanks to the Almighty, the maker of all who sustained me in sound over the years. I am indebted to some people who contributed in many ways to the accomplishment of my studies and this research. First and foremost, I would like to give special thanks to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Türksöy for her amazing guidance, advice, and support throughout this research. Also, I want to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayso Arsoy, and Asst. Prof. Dr. Sevilay Ulaş for their supervision and follow-up while working on this thesis.

I would also like to thank my friends Sara Ayman, Oraga Abed and family for their amazing support, encouragement, and help through this thesis. May the almighty bless you all abundantly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Problem For Study.....	5
1.3 Purpose of the Study.....	5
1.4 Importance of the Study.....	6
1.5 Research Methodology.....	6
1.6 Sampling of the Study.....	7
1.7 Research Questions.....	8
1.8 Limitations of Study.....	8
1.9 Motivation of the Study.....	9
1.10 Structure of the Study.....	10
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
2.1 The Previous Studies.....	11
2.2 A Look at the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	13
2.2.1 The Period From 1897 to 1917.....	14
2.2.2 The Period From 1918 to 1948.....	15
2.2.3 The Period From 1949 to 1967.....	16

2.2.4	The Period From 1968 to 1993.....	16
2.2.5	The Period From 1994 to 2019.....	17
2.3	Peace Process	20
2.3.1	The Road to Oslo	21
2.3.2	What Happened After Oslo?.....	23
2.4	The Official Media	24
2.5	The Alternative Media	25
2.6	The Palestinian Media	26
2.6.1	Palestinian Media During the Ottoman Rule	27
2.6.2	Palestinian Media During the British Mandate	28
2.6.3	Palestinian Media from 1948 to 1967	28
2.6.4	Palestinian Media During the Palestinian Authority Period	30
2.6.5	Palestine Today TV Channel.....	31
2.6.5.1	Palestine Today Broadcasting Policies	32
2.6.5.2	Palestine Today Channel Funds	32
2.7	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	34
2.7.1	Gatekeeping Theory	34
2.7.2	Agenda Setting Theory.....	36
2.7.3	Framing Analysis Theory	39
3	METHODOLOGY.....	44
3.1	Research Methodology.....	44
3.1.1	Content Analysis Defined.....	45
3.1.2	Advantages and Disadvantages of Content Analysis	46
3.2	Research Design.....	47
3.3	Data Collection Instrument	47

3.4 Study Sample.....	47
3.5 Data Collection and Analysis Procedures	48
3.6 Criteria Calcification	48
3.7 Data Presentation	49
4 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS.....	51
4.1 Media Content Analysis in Palestine Today Channel.....	51
4.2 The Nature of Media Coverage.....	51
4.3 Analysis of the Nature of Coverage	61
4.4 Coverage Content of the Peace Process	64
4.5 Results of the Positive Content	65
4.6 Findings.....	67
5 CONCLUSION	70
5.1 Summary of the Study.....	70
5.2 Conclusions Drawn From the Study	71
5.3 Concluding Remarks	72
5.4 Suggestions for Further Research	75
REFERENCES.....	77

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Journalistic Genres	52
Table 2: Nature of Guests	56
Table 3: Coverage Location	59
Table 4: Coverage Space.....	60
Table 5: Positive Implication	64
Table 6: Negative Implication	66

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Newscasts and Analyzed Sample 43 Newscasts	51
Figure 2: News, Reports and Interviews mentioned the Peace Process	53
Figure 3: Guests Spoke about the Peace Process	57
Figure 4: News, Reports and Interviews declared the Israeli Violations.....	63

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The media play an important role in modern societies; it has a strong influence on people. Media enhances our knowledge by providing access to any kind of information all over the world. It is a powerful source that provides the society with information about politics, economy, society, culture, and entertainment, hence affecting many aspects of people's daily life (Hibbert, 2006). Newspapers with different ideologies and political TV programs that discuss the daily issues in the society, for instance, have a positive and negative influence on society. They not only give information, but they also help in creating a linkage between politicians, government, and the people. The media is, also, known to change individual views and beliefs about a specific topic by providing sometimes false or misleading information (Curran, 2010).

Currently, the mass media have a strong influence on the society. Individual audiences spend a lot of time-consuming content from television or radio every single day, this provides a platform for governments, private advertisers, and institutions around the world the opportunity to send messages to the masses through mass media. Regardless, many scholars claim that the media should be independent from private or political interests for it to fulfill its mandate to the people (Bennett, 2015).

Curran (2010), for instance, states that the media must be transparent, committed to ethics, and responsible to its citizens. In reporting about events,

journalists working for the media industry obtain a large amount of information from different sources such as the police, military, private organizations, government agencies, etc. The issues that the media reports as news are most of the time selected on the basis of their significance and the public's interest. Topics that are not deemed important and relevant to society do not become news, therefore do not appear in media (Lischka, 2018).

The media also plays an important role in the political struggle between countries, such as the Palestinian and Israeli conflict. It is known that there is a long-standing conflict, primarily a conflict over territory, between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews since 1948, which is the establishment year of the state of Israel. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is considered as one of the world's most controversial and longest-running conflicts. This conflict is taking place between two self-determination movements: the Palestinian nationalist project and the Jewish Zionist project, both laying claim to the same territory. Furthermore, it is a struggle between two national identities with claims over the same area of land. Many endeavors have been made to broker a two-state solution, which would entail the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. At present, the vast majority of Israelis and Palestinians, according to many major polls, agree that a two-state solution is the best way to end the conflict (Khouri, 2008).

Many Israeli studies confirmed that the media coverage of the conflict between the two parties reflected the views of the Israeli political and military establishment. For example, the study by Matt (2003) analyses the New York Times and Ha'aretz newspaper portrayals of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The study of Avraham et al. (2000), similarly, analyzes the Israeli press coverage of the Arab minorities. The study of Elbaz and Bar-Tal (2016) on the conflict in the Israeli mass media, considering the

wars in Lebanon as a case study is another example of this kind. Alternatively, many Palestinian studies that have been conducted relating to the conflict reflected the point of view that supports the Palestinians' right to their occupied lands, so both the coverage of the two states in the conflict was biased and defensive (Vallone et al., 1985).

The media in Palestine operates with different principles in reporting the Israeli-Palestine conflict. After the Palestinian National Authority established the first official media to keep abreast of political events on the Palestinian scene, Palestine TV, founded by Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, singled out the events of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process that had started in 1991 (Nossek & Rinnawi, 2003). However, the official Palestinian media was viewed to convey the content that the Palestinian government wanted and did not give the Palestinian opposition enough space to express their views and opinions on the peace process. Therefore, the private and partisan media appeared to constitute a qualitative transfer in the follow-up of political events in general and the peace process in particular. Among the most prominent media channels that played a prominent role in shedding light on the reality of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process was *Palestinian Today (Pal-Today)* TV news channel. The alternative Palestinian media was so careful in reporting the other side of the Israeli – Palestine issue compared to the presentation of the official media, Palestine TV (Iman, 2018).

Following the peace process, which started with the Oslo agreement in 1993 in Washington DC, between the Israeli government and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), some terminologies have been changed or have acquired new use such as 'resistances', 'Palestinian land', 'Palestinian authority', 'Palestinian country', and 'peace process'(Amal, 2010). The alternative media have a different opinion about

all those changes appearing in Palestinian media after the *Oslo* Accords, which is an ongoing American-mediated effort to negotiate a peace treaty between Israelis and Palestinians. It is also known as the Oslo peace process. Most of the alternative media in Palestine do not see the Oslo peace process as a positive manner in solving the conflict, rather they see it as a surrender. This becomes evident today after 27 years of the Oslo agreement which does not bring any positive change. The Palestinian media consider the peace process as a wrong choice and distributed this opinion with the support of expert politicians and journalists who reported on the issue (Asma, 2011).

Bearing the above conceptualization in mind, this research depends on testing three media theories that influence the general view in Palestinian society. Firstly, the agenda-setting theory which argues that media sets the agenda to the masses (Freeland, 2012). Secondly, gatekeeper theory which is about people who control the media and what to publish or not in the wake of sifting the data as per a particular agenda (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008). Lastly, framing theory which possesses that the frame or the way that media presents specific matters is influencing the viewer's perspective toward it (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

This research concentrates on Palestine Today (Pal-Today) satellite TV channel, as an empirical case. Pal-Today news channel is an alternative Palestinian media with an ideological identity opposite to those who signed the peace agreement in Oslo. The study analyzes the significant newscasts on a channel broadcast at 20:00 by taking one newscast every month in four years respectfully: 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. The study investigates how the opposite, alternative, and alternative Palestinian media channel covers the peace process and how it informs the Palestinian public.

1.2 Problem of the Study

Most media platforms in Palestine are funded either by the Palestinian government, by other countries, and/or by private organizations, hence the media platforms are obligated to share the interests of their funders or donors (Amal, 2010). *Pal-Today* news channel sought to cover the news related to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process by preparing many news reports and hosting many political analysts and experts who took the position either of neutrality and/or of rejection. The channel did not build the official Palestinian position in favor of the peace process instead it worked on being neutral or against.

This study tries to understand the way Palestine Today news channel deals with the peace process and how this process was reflected in the messages transmitted to the Palestinian public. Also, this study addresses the various ways the Palestinian media utilizes religion in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study's main objective is to examine how the alternative Palestinian media (Palestine Today) news channel dealt with the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. The specific objectives that guide the study include:

- a) To determine the nature of messages that Palestine Today channel seeks to convey to the Palestinian public regarding the Oslo peace process.
- b) To reveal the foundations and principles upon which *Palestine Today* relied in drafting news related to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process.
- c) To find out the priorities of alternative media in Palestine, according to the ideologies and thoughts that followed by the media in writing and publishing news related to the Oslo peace process.

- d) To find out why the alternative media in Palestine was biased towards Israel when covering the Oslo peace process.

1.4 Importance of the Study

The study aims to clarify how the alternative Palestinian media, particularly the Palestine Today TV channel, deals with the Oslo peace process, and whether its content was presented based on journalistic objectivity and professionalism. The study seeks to investigate the rules that determine the credibility of the private media in dealing with fateful issues such as the subject of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and whether the private media gave an equal platform to supporters and opponents of the peace process in expressing their opinions, or is there a bias from one party to the other.

The study, also, seeks to understand why the alternative media in Palestine does not provide space for Jewish writers or supporters of Israel to speak through the official media, as the Israeli media does. Furthermore, the peace process is still going on especially after US President Donald Trump won the US elections and he pledged to find a solution to the conflict between Palestinian and Israeli authorities. Therefore, the research provides a basis for comprehension of how alternative media entities in Palestine report and analyze and engage in the Israeli-Palestine conflict discourse.

1.5 Research Methodology

This is a descriptive study, as it is concerned with describing the content and nature of media coverage carried out by the alternative Palestinian media represented by the Palestine Today news channel. The descriptive approach studies phenomena or problems by scientifically doing the description and then reaching logical interpretations with evidence being studied (Amaratunga & Newton, 2002). It does not answer questions about how, when, and why the characteristics occurred. Rather it

addresses the "what" question; what the characteristics of the situation are (Shields & Rangarajan, 2013).

Furthermore, the study uses the qualitative content analysis approach, which is a way to make conclusions by systematically and objectively identifying specific features in communication messages. As McNamara (2005) has stated content analysis gives a quantitative description of any influential behavior. These two methods are selected due to their relevance to the study's nature. The researcher will analyze all the positive, negative, and/or neutral content presented by the *Pal-Today* channel, especially about the Oslo peace process.

The study used a selection of criteria to conduct the qualitative studies was conducted in three steps, based on the procedures used by other qualitative researchers (Basu, 2003; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). First, the study established the categories of journalistic genres and guests' positions that were to be investigated and coded. Second, the study analyzed the news, reports, interviews, and pulled out expressions that addressed in Palestine newscasts and Guest's speeches. In the final step, the study indicated a positive or negative implication.

1.6 Sampling of the Study

The alternative media represented by the Pal-Today TV channel is selected as an empirical case study. The sample of the study is the "8th Newscast" that is broadcasted on the Pal-Today channel daily. The sample is chosen randomly, which is one program per month, which means 12 programs for each year. That is, from January 2017 to July 2020. In total 43 newscasts are selected.

1.7 Research Question

The main question that the research seeks to answer is how Palestine Today TV channel talks about the Israeli – Palestinian peace process. The study will, additionally, answer a set of sub-questions:

RQ1: What are the main messages appearing in the *Palestine Today* news during the coverage of the peace process?

RQ2: Does the Palestine Today channel give place to different views and voices?

RQ3: How did alternative media in Palestine portray the Oslo peace process during the negotiations between Palestine and Israel?

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study only focuses on how Palestine Today TV channel dealt with the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and analyze the main news bulletin, which broadcasts at 20:00 in the last four years through which the researcher took a random sample, which is program per week. Given this research considers only the Palestine Today TV channel and not others. Therefore, the findings could not be generalized to all alternative and alternative TV channels in Palestine. While collecting the samples to be used for the study, the focus is given to broadcasted content of the specified time; leaving out other channels owned by the alternative media like social media that might be used to further the discussions of the samples selected for this study.

Furthermore, the researcher only uses descriptive analysis as the methodology. Although the researcher might have considered conducting interviews, it was hindered by the unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic, logistics issues, and time constraints. However, this limitation might be addressed at the recommendations of the study.

1.9 Motivation of the Study

Some studies investigate the political stance of official Palestinian media (Ackerman, 2001). However, no study has been conducted to see how an alternative media with a different ideological viewpoint covers the peace process in the Israeli-Palestine conflict. The study is conducted with this motivation to fill the gap in the literature. Other studies have revealed the occurrence of bias in media coverage of the Israeli-Palestine conflict over the years (Issa & Al Hamarna, 2020). This research, therefore, reviews how much the coverage will be objective and professional without putting the adopted opinion on it. By so doing, this study can help the decision-makers to see how the different parties of Palestinian people think about the peace process after 26 years of its begging. Besides, this research can support academic studies with a new vision and analysis of the peace process from a different point of view.

What distinguishes this research from the other relevant studies is that it is the first study in this regard that covers the private media that is written in the English language by a Palestinian researcher covering the Arabic news and the peace process in the absence of the reliable information in English language. The researcher has formed a pool of experience by working since 2014 as a journalist in Palestine. Therefore, the researcher noted that there is a disregard for the voices that accept the recognition of Israel as an independent state alongside the state of Palestine, according to the peace agreement. Also, the researcher sought to scout and displayed how the alternative media in Palestine covered the peace process in terms of frame, content, the nature of the guests, or the positive and negative implications of covering the peace process, excreta.

1.10 Structure of the Master Thesis

This study contains four chapters distributed as follows:

1. The first chapter contains the background of the study and identifies the problem and importance of the study in addition to the methodology of the study.
2. The second chapter includes information about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the peace processes, the Palestinian media in general, *Palestine Today* TV channel, and lastly the theoretical framework of the study.
3. The third chapter includes the study methodology and the foundations that the researcher followed in selecting the study sample and how to analyze the sample.
4. The fourth chapter analyzes the media content of Palestine Today TV channel regarding the Palestinian-Israeli peace process.
5. The fifth, and last, chapter contains the results and recommendations of the study.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Previous Study

Many previous studies attempted to find out how Palestinian media works, and how Palestinian media has shown the conflict between Palestine and Israel. In one study by Alaa' Mohammad Naser (2018), for example, evaluates the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the official Palestinian media, Naser (2018) identifies how the official Palestinian media covered the peace process by taking the Palestine Today TV channel as a case study to reveals the standards that Palestine TV uses in editing the content of the newsletters. By using framing and content analysis of nine newscasts broadcasted between 2013 and 2017, the researcher concludes that Palestine Today TV channel covers the peace process in some years and ignores it in another. It just presents what the officials want and ignores any opposite opinion different than the official position. This makes the coverage unreal. That's why Naser (2018) says "the coverage was not comprehensive and not transparent; it depends on how official political leaders position it" (Naser, 2018, p.70).

Another study implemented by Amal Abed Toman (2010) looks at the Palestinian media and its impact on the political divide between 2006 and 2009. Toman (2010) applies a field study on a sample of university students in the Gaza Strip. This study aimed to find the real effect of Palestinian media through the interval of Palestinian political division in 2007, a conflict occurred between Fatah and Hamas over the presidency of the Palestinian government, which ended with Hamas's control

on the Gaza Strip and Fatah's control over the West Bank. Toman (2010) looks at the role of media in political and security crises. Also, how media worked after partition and its policy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The researcher used the descriptive, analytical, and historical approaches to analyze the study and come up with critical findings. The most important of it was that the Palestinian media have been working for parties since they started; they were established to serve every Palestinian movement opinion only. Moreover, after the division, there was no objectivity in their media coverage (Toman, 2010).

In 2011, the researcher Asma' Mahmoud Sultan conducted a study about the Palestinian party media and its impact on the national project. This study aimed to identify the reality of Palestinian party media. Moreover, it identified the difference between the study sample in how the Palestinian party media affects the national project. One of her main findings was that 86.17% of the people, who participated in the sample, agreed that the party media support the Palestinian political division and enhances it.

One more study by Imad Abu Rahma (2011) evaluates the impact of the political settlement process (also known as the peace process) on the Palestinian identity. From a slightly different perspective, Rahma (2011) identifies the trends of Palestinian university students in the Gaza Strip about the settlement process and Palestinian identity. Rahma (2011) discovers the possible relation between going towards the settlement process and Palestinian identity and knowing the difference between trends of students towards the settlement and identity related to sex, income, and politics. The researcher follows the descriptive, historical, and statistical approach to get results. Rahma (2011) found out that the student trends about identity have a positive trend and have dimensions firmly like national Islamic and Arabic identity.

However, their trend towards the settlement process was negative in common (Rahma, 2011). Furthermore, Britain Eakin (2014) conducted a study titled 'Peace versus war journalism framing of an Israeli/Palestinian related incident'. By applying Galtung's classification of peace/war journalism, Shahira Fahmy (2014) also tried to cover the conflict in the Middle East from the perspective of peace/war journalism. In another study, Fahmy (2014) examines the extent to which the 2010 Mavi Marmara incident is framed. 156 online news stories from the Haaretz, the Guardian, and the New York Times were analyzed in this study. The authors strongly advocated for the need to redefine indicators for peace journalism to reflect the concept as distinct from objective, and factual.

2.2 A Look at the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

In this part, the researcher will provide information about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, starting from the first Zionist conference in 1897 which decided to establish a national homeland for Jews in Palestine and to form the international Zionist movement (Alkhaldi, 1998), until the last plan of the president of the USA Donald Trump about his vision to the solution in the Middle East. This time is divided into five periods: (1) the period between 1897 and 1917 talks about the first Zionist conference held on Basel, and after decades of unfortunate circumstances for Jews in Russia and Europe; (2) the period between 1918 and 1948 talks about the British Mandate period in Palestine; (3) the period between 1949 and 1967 discusses the establishment of the State of Israel; (4) the period between 1968 and 1993 talks of the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the signing of the Oslo agreement; and lastly, (5) the period between 1994 and 2019 explains the political reality in Palestine. In the next section, these five periods are explained thoroughly to give a better understanding of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

2.2.1 The Period from 1897 to 1917

In 1897 the first Zionist conference was held in Basel, Switzerland, after decades of unfortunate circumstances for Jews in Russia and Europe. This conference declared establishing a homeland country for Jews around the world in Palestine and forming the international Zionist movement. From the conference, the Basel program was formulated to encourage Jewish immigrants to settle in Palestine. To achieve this, an executive body was formulated to implement the decisions of the conference.

According to Alkhaldi (1998), its mission was to collect money for the national fund to buy land and to send it to Jewish immigrants to establish their colony in Palestine. Theodor Herzl, the father of modern political Zionism, was an Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist, playwright, and political activist (Penkower & Monty, 1984).

Herzl organized a meeting of the first Zionism congress in Basel, Switzerland in 1897. In this event, he declared establishing the Jewish state in Palestine claiming that "it is land without people for people without a land" (Alkhaldi, 1998, p.101). This tagline has been used since then in the conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian people (Brownfeld, 1998). In 1914, the First World War broke out. The Ottoman Empire, which extended on the Middle East land, was a part of the war in a stand with Germany, the weakness of the empire was a sign of falling after the war. The Zionist movement used the weakness of the Ottoman Empire to agree with the British government to support them in the war with finance instead of that the government guaranteed that they would help Zionists in establishing their homeland in Palestine. On the 2nd of November 1917, the British government announced the Belfour Declaration under that condition (Aljazeera center, 2018).

2.2.2 The Period from 1918 to 1948

In 1918 British army entered Jerusalem and Palestine ultimately under British control after the surrender of the remaining Ottoman army there. In 1922, the League of Nations approved the British Mandate over Palestine. Britain convinced the League of Nations of the necessity to implement the Balfour Declaration (Segev, 2000). They facilitated the migration of the Jews to Palestine to change the demographic reality, as the number of Jews in Palestine in 1918 was approximately 50,000 (7.2 per-cent), while their number at the British withdrawal in 1948 was 650,000 (31.5 per-cent) (Al Thani and Alzo'by, 2005).

In 1947, the General Assembly of the League of Nations issued a decision to divide Palestine into three parts: a big state for the Jews, a small state for the Arabs, and a small area that includes Jerusalem and the holy places that remain under international supervision (British Mandate, 2011). On the 14th of May 1948, the British government implemented the withdrawal from Palestine despite the Arabs' rejection of the partition resolution and accused it of being in favor of the Jews as it gave them the most significant area as a state although they were a minority and do not own the land.

Likewise, the Jews rejected the decision because they want a more significant share of land to implement their state's project (British Mandate, 2011). The British government's latest biases to the Jews by handing them over to the British camps and bases of the Zionist military forces constituted a high power and military superiority over the Arabs. By this, the British government fulfilled its promises to the Zionist movement more than it was claiming bias towards the Arabs and their rights (Segev, 2000). A day later, on the 15th of May 1948, the Zionist gangs declared the establishment of the State of Israel, and war erupted between Arabs and Jews on the

land of Palestine. This was the first direct war between Jews and Arabs in which neighboring Arab countries such as Jordan, Syria, and Egypt participated.

The battle ended with the control of the Zionist gangs, about 77 per-cent of Palestine's area (Aref, 2013). This war was later named as the Nakba war due to the massacres committed by the Zionist gangs. As Aref (2013) has stated, more than 70 massacres committed, more than 770 villages were destroyed, and its residents were displaced.

2.2.3 The Period from 1949 to 1967

After the war ended in 1948, the remainder of the land of Palestine was divided into two parts: (1) the West Bank that Jordan controlled and annexed under Jordanian sovereignty as part of the state, and (2) the Gaza Strip controlled by Egypt. Hence, the Palestinians tried to unite themselves by establishing the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964. After establishing the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian revolution started by forming a movement called Palestinian National Liberation, which was known as Fateh in 1965 (Saleh, 2012). An escalation accompanied these events on the Arab-Israeli front that led to the outbreak of the six-day war in 1967 as Israel completed its occupation of the rest of Palestine, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip (Saleh, 2012).

2.2.4 The Period from 1968 to 1993

This period was the culmination of the armed action of the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation, which was approved by the United Nations Resolution 242 on the occupied territories in 1967, which allows, according to the United Nations Charter, the Palestinians of all forms of resistance, even armed against the occupation (Saleh, 2012). During this period many Palestinian liberation movements emerged (Saleh, 2012).

Some of these movements joined the PLO, and some did not join the organization, such as the Islamic Jihad movement in 1982, and the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, which emerged in 1987 as the successor to the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine (Aljarbawi, 1993). Hamas participated actively in the Palestinian uprising in 1987. In a short period, it was able to ascend the ranks in the mass action and the crowd through social and military action that culminated in the establishment of the Qassam Brigades that carried out numerous operations against Israel (Al-Jarbawi, 1993).

In 1993, a peace agreement was signed between Israel and the liberation region after secret negotiations in the Norwegian capital, Oslo. The agreement granted the Palestinians autonomy in some areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in preparation for a comprehensive peace via upcoming negotiations depending on developments on the ground (Shalem, 2016). Based on this agreement, the mutual recognition between the government of Israel and the PLO was the first time that the PLO, as a representative of the Palestinians, recognized the legitimacy of Israel on 77 per-cent of historic Palestine (Saleh, 2012).

2.2.5 The Period from 1994 to 2019

In 2000, the second intifada broke out due to Ariel Sharon's storming of the Al-Aqsa Mosque after the failure of the second Camp David summit in the same year (Lustick 2016). The reason for that collapse in the peace process and the intifada's outbreak was the Israeli right-wing opposing peace. Lustick (2016) observes that the failure of the peace process was again a punishment to the Palestinians for their violations against Israel in the intifada. After five years of the intifada and after the financial and military failure of Israel to protect the Israeli population in the Gaza Strip

from Palestinian attacks. Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon decided to withdraw from the Gaza Strip in August 2005 (Al-Mashharawi, 2013).

The Palestinians considered this withdrawal as a temporary victory that allowed them for the first time to regain control of a small part of historic Palestinian land as a result of their long struggle against occupation (Aladdin, 2013). The following year, January 2006, Hamas won the Palestinian Legislative Council elections to become the largest faction represented in the Council (Central Elections Committee, 2006). Israel refused to deal with the election results and imposed on Hamas complex conditions through the International Quartet for the peace process to continue supporting the government. The International Quartet is an advisory group that is made up of the European Union, Russia, the United Nations, and the United States. It was built up in 2002 to encourage the Middle East Peace Process negotiations (Brauch, 2008).

The new situation exacerbated the internal Palestinian situation, which ended with Hamas' control as a government in the Gaza Strip and the control of Fatah and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas over the West Bank (Al-Mashharawi, 2013). After the Palestinian division, the escalation between Hamas and Israel continued in the Gaza Strip, where the Israeli army imposed a siege on the Gaza Strip, as it controlled the vital crossings into the Strip. On the 27th of December 2008, Israel declared war on the Gaza Strip (Na'irat, 2009). The war lasted for 21 years, during which Israel send rocket attacks from Gaza and destroy the infrastructure of Hamas to weaken its control over the Gaza Strip (Jim et al., 2009). The war resulted in the killing of more than 1,305 Palestinians and wounding more than 5,400 people (Na'irat, 2009).

On the Israeli side, Israel has admitted killing 13 people and wounding about 100 people. But the Palestinian resistance said that the number of Israeli dead was

close to 80 soldiers (Na'irat, 2009). Israeli decided to attack the homes of Hamas leaders, hospitals, government buildings, universities, ministries, police stations, tunnels, and any place that is claimed to be a property of Hamas (Jim et al., 2009).

In 2012, the Palestinian President Abu Mazen approached the United Nations to obtain international recognition of the Palestinian state following the previous UN resolutions and the foundations of the peace process. However, the president received recognition from the General Assembly of an incomplete member state as an observer (Washington Post, 2012). In the same year, Israel assassinated Ahmed al-Jabari, the military official in Hamas, which led to a new war lasting for eight days in the Gaza Strip (France 24, 2012). During this war, it was the first time that Hamas used long-range missiles rockets that reached Tel Aviv since the Gulf War in 1991 (Palestine Institute for Strategic Studies, 2016). In 2014, following the kidnapping of three settlers in the West Bank, who were later found dead, a new escalation. Israel declared war again on the Gaza Strip. Israel accused Hamas of responsibility for them and carried out a large number of arrests in the ranks of the movement in the West Bank, which led to an escalation of conditions in the Gaza Strip after the resistance responded to the Israeli measures in the West Bank (Palestine Institute for Strategic Studies, 2016).

This was the longest war Israel was waging in the Gaza Strip that lasted for 51 days. This war was marked by the destructive power that Israel used toward residential neighborhoods and civilians, in an attempt to deter the military strength of the resistance in the Gaza Strip (Abu Amer, 2014)). These actions appeared at a level that exceeded expectations and lagged behind previous wars (Abu Amer, 2014). As announced by Al-Jazeera (2014), this war injured 8,700 Palestinians, killed more than 1,740 of them, most of them civilians, including more than 800 children and women.

Israeli bombardment with artillery and planes affected residential neighborhoods, hospitals, schools, universities, mosques, and cemeteries, and more than 100,000 Palestinians lost their homes. On the Israeli side, the death toll has reached 70, most of them soldiers, and wounded more than 720. In classified reports of the Israeli army, it is said that the number of dead had reached 100 and the wounded was around 2,000 (Palestine Institute for Strategic Studies, 2016).

In 2016, the then American businessman Donald Trump managed to reach the White House, and his election campaign was based on the complete alignment of Israel (US presidential election, 2016). Trump recognized Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem and the right of Israel to maintain its security in the West Bank. Later the US Embassy moved to Jerusalem. This action was considered by the Palestinians as a complete betrayal from the Americans who were supposed to be a mediator of peace, and not supporters of Israel (BBC, 2017).

The US President Trump's attitudes toward support for Israel reflected in the economic plan that he presented in January 2020 and became known as Trump's economic plan. The economic plan prohibits the establishment of a fully sovereign and non-contiguous Palestinian state bordering the territories of West Bank. His provision dictated that land will be transferred in favor of Israel. The Israel government welcomed the plan, but it was rejected by the Palestinian Authority. The European Union also expressed its adherence to the two-state solution (New York Times, 2020).

2.3 Peace Process

In the Norwegian capital, Oslo, after secret negotiations, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the government of Israel announced a peace agreement that would end the conflict in historic Palestine, since the beginning of the 20th century. The agreement was surprising and auspicious to end the last occupation in the world,

which makes the State of Israel a reality on the land of historic Palestine by the recognition from the owners of the land, and gives the Palestinians hope to establish an independent state for the first time in their history.

On the 13th of September 1993, an agreement called the Declaration of Principles was signed between Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel auspices of the US President Bill Clinton. In November 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated, and Likud (National Liberal Movement) a center-right to a right-wing political party in Israel, which rejected the peace process, returned to the Israeli government's leadership. The new leadership wanted to take gains only from the agreement, and there was no longer a place for the sovereign Palestinian state on their agenda despite the signing of many agreements following Oslo (Tesler, 2014).

2.3.1 The Road to Oslo

In 1979, Yasser Arafat asked Norway to try to open a secret communication channel with Israel. At that time, Israel controlled the entire historic Palestine and was not interested in relinquishing any piece of land under its possession. After that, Israel managed to expand its control and secure its borders in 1982 after invading southern Lebanon and expelling the PLO from the borders to Tunisia. However, in 1987, the first Palestinian popular intifada began from inside the occupied territories in 1967, and suddenly Arafat recognized the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 regarding the situation inside the territories of 1967, which constitutes a tacit recognition of Israel in 78 per-cent of historic Palestine (Oslo cost, 2013).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Soviet Union which was the biggest supporter of the Palestinians and was supporting the Arab nationalist regimes as well collapsed in Egypt and Syria. It seemed that the Arab-Israeli conflict was another

aspect of the liberal and socialist conflict. It was necessary to restore balance in the Middle East by bringing peace by the Soviet Union (Gewurz, 2000). In 1991, the Gulf War and the international alliance against Saddam Hüseyin reinforced the direction of the peace process. This happened, especially, after the development of the American-Saudi relationship and the increasing American influence in the region due to its leadership of the international alliance against Saddam Hüseyin with Israeli support.

It seemed that there is an implicit Arab-Israeli normalization, says Gewurz (2000). Arafat paid the price of his support for Saddam Hüseyin, as the Arab states cut material supplies and support for the PLO, and Saudi Arabia, which leads the Arab Gulf, the largest supporter of the Palestinians, supported the International Peace Conference that the United States called, later known as the Madrid Peace Conference (Al-Gegifi, 2019).

The PLO was suffering economically because of the cutoff of Arab support politically and because of the emergence of a rival popular trend through the emergence of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas. Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas linked to political Islam with the beginning of the Palestinian uprising from inside Palestine and its achievement of quick and robust gains from popular support. Arafat chose to participate in the Madrid conference to end the isolation of the PLO and to find a way back to contact with the Palestinian masses (Gewurz, 2000).

In 1992, during the Israeli government elections, the Likud party paid the price for fueling the situation and igniting the uprising, as it lost in favor of the labor-led left. The Israeli Labor Party saw the PLO less dangerous than the Hamas, hence the possibility of a partnership with it to end the conflict and renounce violence. Izak Rabin, who was the Previous Prime Minister of Israel, went to negotiate with Yasser

Arafat, the President of PLO, exploiting the weakness of disunity between PLO and other Islamic political parties (Oslo cost, 2013).

2.3.2 What Happened After Oslo?

After the failure of the Oslo agreement to achieve justice and comprehensive peace between Palestine and Israel. The international community sought a new opportunity for peace through the Camp David Summit in 2000. The failure of the Camp David Summit was the main cause of the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. "The President of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat accused former Prime Minister of Israel Ariel Sharon, for failing to uphold peace by visiting the Al-Aqsa Mosque. This was perceived as a sign of disrespect to the Palestinian faith"(Jeremy, 2003, p.115).

After the failure of the Camp David Summit, several attempts were made to revive the peace process, such as Aqaba Conference 2001, the Arab Peace Initiative 2002, the Annapolis Conference 2007, the US President Obama's peace plan, and finally Trump 2020 deal. So far, the peace process has not made any progress on the ground, and Israel is still proceeding with confiscating lands, building settlements, and increasing settler enemies on the West Bank, making the chances of peace more difficult. On the other hand, the Palestinian Authority continues to adhere to the peace process, and there is yet no alternative to negotiations for peace. Al-Shorafa (2015), for instance, argues that the Palestinian Authority implements all of its obligations in previous understandings towards the peace process despite the lack of Israeli commitment, and it is ready to negotiate with any party who believes in a solution as two states, and East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine.

2.4 The Official Media

Official media or State media is media for mass communication that is under financial and/or editorial control of a country's government, directly or indirectly (Webster, 1992). These news outlets may be the sole media outlet or may exist in competition with corporate and non-corporate media. State media is not to be confused with public-sector media (state-funded), which is "funded directly or indirectly by the state or government but over which the state does not have tight editorial control (Webster, 1992).

Its content, according to some sources, is usually more prescriptive, telling the audience what to think, particularly as it is under no pressure to attract high ratings or generate advertising revenue (Mihailidis, 2005). Therefore, may cater to the forces in control of the state as opposed to the forces in control of the corporation, as described in the propaganda model of the mass media. In more controlled regions, the state may censor content which it deems illegal, immoral, or unfavorable to the government and likewise regulate any programming related to the media; therefore, it is not independent of the governing party (McConnell & Becker, 2002). In this type of environment, journalists may be required to be members or affiliated with the ruling party, such as in the former communist countries, the Soviet Union, or North Korea (McConnell & Becker, 2002). Within countries that have high levels of government interference in the media, it may use the state press for propaganda purposes:

- to promote the regime in a favorable light
- vilify opposition to the government by launching smear campaigns
- giving skewed coverage to opposition views
- act as a mouthpiece to advocate a regime's ideology.

Additionally, the state-controlled media may only report on legislation after it has already become law to stifle any debate (Lueb, 2003). In more open and competitive contexts, the state may control or fund its outlet and competes with opposition-controlled and/or independent media. The state media usually have less government control in more open societies and can provide more balanced coverage than media outside of state control. (Bertot, et.al, 2010).

2.5 The Alternative Media

Alternative media are media sources that differ from established or dominant types of media such as mainstream media or mass media in terms of their content, production, or distribution (Downing, 2008). There are various definitions of ‘alternative media’ John Downing, for example defines ‘radical alternative media’ as media that express an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities, and perspectives (Downing, 2008). In his assessment of a variety of definitions for the term, Chris Atton notes repeatedly the importance of alternative media production originating from small-scale, counter-hegemonic groups, and individuals (Atton, 2001).

Christian Fuchs also argues that alternative media must have four distinct properties (Fuchs, 2010). The first being that the audience of these media must be involved in the creation of what is put out in alternative media. The second is that it has to be different from the mainstream. The third is that it should create a perspective different from that of the state and major corporations. The fourth property is that alternative media must establish different types of relationships with the market and/or the state (Fuchs, 2010).

The editors of Alternatives in Print present three simple criteria against which to test the publishers that appear in their pages. They hold that a publisher might be thought of as an alternative if it meets at least one of the following:

1. The publisher has to be non-commercial, demonstrating that a basic concern for ideas, not the concern for profit, is the motivation for the publication.
2. The subject matter of their publications should focus on 'social responsibility or creative expression, or usually a combination of both
3. Finally, it is enough for publishers to define themselves as alternative publishers (Atton, 2001).

2.6 The Palestinian Media

The Palestinian media became active early at the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, and after Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq (Khalifa, 2016). Over the years, the Palestinian media has witnessed different temporal and political eras. The Palestinian media has gone through several stages of rise and fall depending on the existing system of government and the existing political situation: from the Ottoman Empire to the British Mandate, to the Jordanian and Egyptian tutelage, and then the Israeli occupation. Currently, the Palestinian media is subject to the existing Palestinian Authority (Abu Thuhair, 2015).

The Palestinian media contributed to building public awareness about the Palestinian cause and tried to keep pace with the propaganda machine of the Zionist movement towards rights in the land of Palestine and warn the Arab world of settlement projects in Palestine (Al-Najjar, 2011). Nowadays, the Palestinian media continues to function, despite all the obstacles it faces at the internal level due to the Palestinian division and, at the external level, due to the Israeli occupation measures and restrictions it tries to play its role at the national level.

2.6.1 Palestinian Media during the Ottoman Rule

In 1876 in Jerusalem, the first newspaper Al-Quds Al-Sharif was printed in Turkish and Arabic as Palestine was under Ottoman rule. But Ottoman laws prevented the expansion of publishing and multiple productions of newspapers (Suleiman, 1987). However, Khalifa (2016) considered it a figurative beginning for the Palestinian press, as the Arabic version of it was a translation of the Turkish text only. Khalifa (2016) explains that the change in the Ottoman constitution and the publishing of the Al-Quds newspaper in 1908 is the milestone and beginning of the Palestinian press. While Abdel-Qader Yassin rejected this beginning for Palestinian media figuratively and realistically in 1876, he believes that the beginning was in 1907, after the rise of the newspaper Al-Taraqi, which was followed by the publication of Arab newspapers (Yassin, 1990). From this launch in the Arabic language until 1914 and the beginning of the First World War, 36 magazines and newspapers appeared in all political, literary, artistic, and social fields. However, the Ottoman authorities stopped issuing licenses with the outbreak of the war, disrupted existing newspapers, and chased many journalists because of their political positions and their opinion (Khalifa, 2016).

2.6.2 Palestinian Media during the British Mandate

The beginning of the mandate period was promising for the Palestinian media, as newspapers and magazines issued without restrictions or censorship. The media adopted national issues against the Zionist movement's projects in implementing the Balfour Declaration, inciting citizens against selling lands to Jews and supporting the national movement. This role made the British position aligned to Zionism restore the old Ottoman publications law full of restrictions and dealt with the Palestinian press very strictly until the British Emergency Law of 1945 applied to the Palestinian media (Khalifa, 2016).

The rise of the national movement at the beginning of the Mandate was helpful to the growth and development of the press because it was linked to Arabic media such as Egyptian and presented its issues to the Arab masses (Yassin, 1990). The number of Palestinian newspapers in the 20th century reached 48, The reason for the newspapers issued increased was the outbreak of the 36 of revolution. The newspapers wrote about the Palestinian national movement's strike against the British biases of the Zionist project (Al-Najjar, 2011).

The Palestinian media witnessed a qualitative shift during that period when the first radio station broadcasting from Jerusalem in 1936, launched in both Arabic and Hebrew. The Arab program presented special Palestinian programs in the Arabic language, and it continued to work until Israel established and its control over West Jerusalem, the radio then moved to Ramallah (Khalifa, 2016).

2.6.3 Palestinian Media from 1948 to 1967

After the end of the 1948 war, the Gaza Strip fell under the Egyptian administration, the West Bank annexed as part of Jordan, and the media was reporting to the laws subject to both countries. Work in the press flourished at the beginning of this period due to the high percentage of educated Palestinians. This led to the appearance of many newspapers. From 1951 to 1957, it was an era of journalistic prosperity in the Arab world (Teryan, 2008).

During that period, the establishment of some newspapers and magazines continued, the journalists at that time were free to talk about issues related to the occupation and the 1948 Palestinian exodus, In the 1948 war, more than 700.000 Palestinians were displaced from their lands and homes, also known as the Nakba. The expulsion of these Palestinian Arabs played a big role in public mobilization and policy on the issue of national liberation. This expulsion made Arab journalists ignore

internal events and topics for fear of government security checks and restrictions on press freedoms during that period (Khalifa, 2016).

In 1966, restrictions on the press in the West Bank escalated until the newspapers and magazines were closed and merged into only two press institutions, Al-Dustour and Al-Quds, which were both subject to censorship (Al-Louh, 2003). During that period, Palestinian radios appeared from Cairo and Damascus and the PLO radio, all of which broadcast outside of Palestine (Abu Shanab, 2002). After the defeat of 1967 and Israel's occupation of all of Palestine, the media almost halted, and the Israeli authorities tried to issue alternative newspapers for the Arab community, but they failed because of the boycott of these newspapers (Ashour, 1989). After this period, the occupation authorities granted licenses to the media organizations, but they were subject to military censorship, and publishing is permitted only through military approval of the content (Abu Shanab, 2001).

During this period, the Diasporas press appeared in the Palestinian exile. It was interested in talking about national liberation and national identity, and the media ideologies varied according to the organizations and factions that followed them (Karim, 1995). The Palestine News Agency called Wafa, the news agency of the Palestinian National Authority was established in 1972 by the Palestinian National Council for the unification of media of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This period is marked by the emergence and disappearance of many radio stations, newspapers, and magazines, according to a positive or negative relationship between PLO and countries where the media was broadcasted. This tense relationship continued until the Arab countries closed all Palestinian radio stations on their lands by the 1987's (Al-Dawawsah, 2002).

2.6.4 Palestinian Media during the Palestinian Authority Period

Since its establishment, the Palestinian Authority has worked to regulate the publishing law and give the necessary licenses to establish the media. For the first time, it has started creating local newspapers licensed by Palestine. Moreover, many governmental and non-governmental press releases and periodicals were issued (Abu Ayyash, 2008). Many local governmental and non-governmental radio stations such as Radio Palestine, Al-Aqsa, Al-Shabab, Ajyal, and others were also established (Dawood, 2005).

The launch of Palestine TV channel in 1994 was a shift in the Palestinian media towards the visual screen, followed in 2000 by the launch of Palestine TV via satellite to make broadcasting available to the international community (Abu Shanab, 2002). Likewise, news websites and social media platforms attracted more Palestinians, especially with the start of the second intifada to engage in political discourse over what was going on in Palestine without fear of censorship from the Israeli government. The Israeli violations of Palestinian rights was a trend on the news (Abu Warda, 2008).

Despite the decisive role that the Palestinian media played in presenting and defending the Palestinian cause and explaining the crimes of the occupation in the intifada, it had a negative role in the internal incitement that led to the Palestinian political division in 2007 (Toman, 2010). According to the Palestinian Center for Development and Media Freedoms 'Mada', the Palestinian media suffers from restricting freedoms, expressing an opinion, and practicing their work within the framework of the law internally and externally. Internally from the parties to the Palestinian division represented by the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and the Hamas authority in the Gaza Strip. Externally, however, there are violations of the right media and journalists from Israel and social media policies (Mada Center, 2019).

On the Palestinian side, in 2019, there were approximately 200 violations of media freedoms, 87 violations in the West Bank, and 113 violations in the Gaza Strip, including the Ramallah Magistrate Court closing 49 opposition news websites via the Internet, and the security in Gaza attack on a popular movement demanding better living conditions in the Gaza Strip (Mada Center, 2019). As for the Israeli violations against the Palestinian media and journalists, there were 297 violations in 2019, including 159 physical assaults on journalists by attacking them directly with gas bombs, direct beatings, or gunfire, such as the one that hit the journalist Moath Amarna, which led to the loss of one of his eyes (Mada Center, 2019).

In 2016, Facebook entered into an agreement with the Israeli government on the pretext of fighting incitement. With this agreement, Facebook became one of the main mediums that violated freedom of expression in Palestine (Mada Center, 2019). Facebook recorded the most significant percentage of violations of freedom of expression committed by social networks against Palestinians by 157 cases out of 182 cases reported from a social network side.

2.6.5 Palestine Today TV News Channel

Palestine Today TV news channel is established in 2008 and define itself as an Arabic satellite television channel, licensed in London. It is concerned with the issue of Palestine with its national, Arab, Islamic, and humanitarian dimensions. Arab and Palestinian businesspeople and media own the channel, and it is broadcasted 24 hours a day in the Arabic language. From an ideological point of view, Palestine Today news channel aims to support the right of the Palestinian people to achieve their freedom and return to their homeland. The channel emphasizes the depth and centrality of the Palestinian issue in the society, explaining its dimensions, correcting misconceptions

about it, demonstrating its justice, attracting international sympathy and support (M. Saif, Pal-Today, personal communication, January 10, 2020).

Palestine Today asserts that it provides diverse news programs in a balanced manner and has a policy that adheres to professional media principles take into account high-quality specifications. It is managed by qualified staff that uses the latest techniques and provides practical and rapid coverage of events through its offices spread in many Arab countries capitals such as Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Iran, Gaza Strip, Palestine, and the West Bank (M. Saif, Pal-Today, personal communication, January 10, 2020).

2.6.5.1 Palestine Today Broadcasting Policies

The Palestine Today news channel argues that it does not reflect the opinion of a particular group or movement. Its editorial team says that it is a channel for all Palestinians and a platform for all Arabs and Muslims. It tries to present the facts as they are and to attribute the news to its sources without distorting. It aims to avoid excitement and defamation, and all that may contribute to the disruption of Palestinian people and the nation. It also gives way to the voice and opinion of Palestinian people and discusses all the issues that affect the affairs of their lives. Since its establishment, the news channel has produced dozens of political, religious, social, and art programs and documentaries to serve the Palestinian society. It has the right to market hundreds of hours of scientific, cultural, religious, and political programs dubbed into Arabic.

2.6.5.2 Palestine Today Channel Funds

Palestine Today news channel is a non-profit channel, but it undertakes some business to cover part of its broadcasting and operating expenses, to name a few (M. Saif, Pal-Today, personal communication, January 10, 2020):

- Providing TV services of all kinds (broadcasting services, office rentals, and work crews from photographers, montage staff, and equipment) for TV stations and TV production companies.
- Providing the services of preparation, production, and marketing of programs and documentaries of all kinds from political, social, and economic to cultural, scientific, and dubbed films.

The company provides processing services for emerging TV channels, studios, production units, photography, sound, and lighting in Syria and Lebanon, through the technical and engineering department, which has a long experience in the processing satellite TV and studios from the ground up.

- a) Providing TV and graphic promotion services through a specialized department and designing publications, official papers, and logos through the latest programs and techniques in this field.
- b) Providing satellite broadcasting services through modern broadcasting and receiving stations with high efficiency and direct transport vehicles (SNG) via satellites equipped with the latest technologies.
- c) Has the marketing right of its television archive, which is rich in thousands of hours of pictures of Palestinian, Arab, and international events, as well as dozens of political, religious, social, and art documentaries and programs, and scientific, cultural, religious, and political programs dubbed into Arabic.
- d) The company operates in many Arab, Asian, and European countries through agents and partners, through the method of exchange of news and services. In return for achieving the same service for partners in the areas where the channel is located so that these partnerships achieve an excellent margin to achieve profits and benefits in kind.

- e) The channel is working on accepting sponsorship of some of its programs, by companies and legal persons, in return for money amounts that contribute to the production expenses.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The researcher has conducted this study by making use of three fundamental media theories. These theories will be discussed in detail throughout this chapter and their relationship to the content of the study will be explained thoroughly. The theories are the gatekeeping theory, agenda-setting theory, and framing analysis theory.

2.7.1 Gatekeeping Theory

The last media theory that is used in this study as a useful and effective way is the gatekeeping theory. This theory emerged at the hands of the scientist Kurt Lewin, who saw that the media message from the news occurrence until reaching the recipient passed through points that Lewin called the gates. These gates decided on what to enter from and what comes out, and the longer the chain of transmission reaches the news until the broadcast reaches through the media, many gates control its content and its nature (Makkawy & Alsayed, 1998).

In a similar line of thinking, for Shoemaker (1991), the gatekeeper theory is a process by which billions of messages around the world are cut and converted into fewer messages to deliver them at a specific time to a specific group of people. During this stage of cutting and collecting messages, Kurt Lewin sees an individual who decides whether to pass the messages to the other party as it is or modify and increase them (Makkawy & Alsayed, 1998).

There are numerous definitions for gatekeeping theory and several of researches were carried out by utilizing gatekeeping over the last 60 years. The researchers Arqoub & Ozad, (2019) adopted the following definition: “Dealing with

the data through a procedure contains to move the data through gates or channels. The gate-keeping process incorporates choosing, composing, altering, setting, scheduling of the data. Besides, each individual can work on gatekeeping separately in everyday life, for instance, the data you post in the blog or the email you send” (Arqoub & Ozad, 2019, p.27). The gatekeeping theory is monitoring the streaming of data in correspondence messages from into the media institutions according to the editorial standards and ideologies. Some researchers criticize it as such media censorship. (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008).

The gatekeeping theory got like another name for the individuals who have control over data in the newsroom and had an influence on what information will be published (Singer, 2014). One of the essential focuses or presumptions identified with the Gatekeeping is that there is gatekeeping in every aspect of our life, for example, establishments, news sources, association, in all these entities there are people who control the flow of information in or out of their positions. however, the people that control these channels can be conceptualized as gatekeepers, referring to their power to decide which messages may and may not pass through their channels (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018). In this manner, gatekeeping doesn't just choose what subjects or data will convey during news and media, but it dominates the message for the content of media (Singer, 2014).

Four main factors influence this theory. (1) Community standards and values where the gatekeeper or the media is affected by the surrounding social system. (2) The personal standard of the gatekeeper himself; personal traits such as age, marital status, degree of education, and ideology can influence his/her thinking in making decisions. (3) Professional standards for the media and when do gatekeeper decisions conform to the institution's intellectual policies and attitudes in which s/he works. (4)

The audience's nature to whom the messages addressed and the extent to which they accept or reject the type of message sent to them (Rodrigo, 2012).

The gate-keeping theory also has some disadvantages. Noam (2005), for instance, argues that gate-keeping has weaknesses, but that journalism today still needs this theory: "True, gate-keeping power is bad news, but so is disinformation. Screening and branding of information help but also lead to rumor and last-minute political ambush" (Noam, 2005, p.58). The researcher has chosen it in this thesis to examine the Palestine Today news channel gatekeepers who are controlling the media outlets and how they were working during the coverage of the peace process. The important issue is to find out what the contents pal-today allows to show or to hide in its newscasts.

2.7.2 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-setting now could be a widespread term that is utilized in discussion of politics and popular opinion. The phrase agenda-setting refers to the many and polemic role of mass media in setting the national agenda. The event of agenda-setting has emerged from the efforts of various academicians, like Walter Lippmann in a book that he published in 1922. Still, Maxwell McCombs is taken into account as the father of the agenda-setting theory. Baran and Davis (2014) on mass communication theory, argued that "agenda-setting pioneer McCombs has undertaken an endeavor to expand and develop the idea by linking it to a broad vary of alternative media theories, for example, framing theory" (p.297). McCombs gained his name from conducting an exploration in 1972 that provided a solution for Bernard Cohen's (1963, p.297) hypothesis, claiming that "mass media might not achieve success in dictating to the audience what to think, however, the media are prospering in informing the audience

what to rely on". For Soroka (2002), the Cohen hypothesis became what later to be known as the agenda-setting theory.

The importance of McCombs and Shaw's (1972) study has additionally highlighted that "there is a significant relationship between media reports and people's rating of public issues" (p.295). In an analysis review revealed by Maxwell McCombs (2005), the author bestowed a look at the agenda-setting theory's past, present, and future. McCombs (2005) argued "since that election, the principal finding in town – those aspects of public affairs that are outstanding within the news become prominent among the general public – has been replicated in many studies worldwide" (p.543). McCombs (2005) additionally discussed that the researches that followed Chapel Hill has moved beyond politics and the modern world: "these replications embrace each election and non-election settings for a broad vary of public problems and different aspects of political communication and extend beyond the U.S.A to Europe, Asia, Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Australia" says McCombs (2005, p.543). Stuart N. Soroka (2002) has also recognized the weight of agenda-setting research, he stated that "agenda-setting is certainly the only exploratory structure capable of incorporating mass media studies, public opinion, and public policy analysis into a single framework" (p.5).

The Chapel Hill study has inspired other scholars to conduct further research that could answer the questions that were generated by McCombs' Chapel Hill study. Soroka (2002) has also acknowledged McCombs and Shaw's contribution in advancing agenda-setting research and stated that "the results have motivated decades of agenda-setting analysis, the cumulative product of which provide strong evidence of the original Chapel Hill hypothesis" (p.7). Bran and Davis (2014), additionally, argued that "Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder attempted to overcome some of the

problems of earlier work in a series of experiments published in 1987” (p.295).

What is, then, the meaning of agenda-setting? There is a diverse definition introduced by various researchers. However, most of these definitions spin around the focal thought of the job of mass communication in setting a specific agenda for their audiences. Baran and Davis (2014), for example, characterized agenda-setting as "the idea that media does not mention to individuals what to think, but what to think about" (p.293). McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda-setting theory was dependent on their discoveries of the Chapel Hill study. They argued that "in picking and showing news, editors, newsroom staff, and supporters have a significant impact in molding political reality. Readers learn about a given issue, yet additionally how much significance to connect to that issue from the measure of data in a report and its position" (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p.176).

Stuart N. Soroka book's titled *Agenda-Setting Dynamics* in *Canada* has additionally offered a meaning to agenda-setting theory. Soroka (2002) defines that “agenda-setting is the investigation of issue striking nature the overall significance of an issue on an actor's agenda" (p.5). He proceeded with the meaning of agenda-setting and add that "it is the investigation of the ascent and fall of issue striking nature after some time, and of the connection between actor's agenda" (p.5). In his book about the elements of agenda-setting in Canada, Soroka (2002) clarified the agenda and argues that the agenda is “the ranking of the relative importance of various public issues, the order of issues, based on salience, is an agenda” (p.6).

The properties of the theory and its importance came through its ability to study individuals and their dealings with the environment. Study the relationship between individuals and the environment was challenging due to the vast diversity and complexity of the surrounding environment. For example, Fahmy (1998) argues that

this theory demonstrates the existence of complementarity between the media's priorities and those of the public and confirms that the media establishes the public's priorities and that the public indirectly affects the media.

According to (Shaheen, 2009), there are four types of agenda-setting: The first focuses on the public and the media's priorities, depending on the collection of information. The second focuses on a set of issues and moves the analysis from the collected information to the individual level. The third relies on studying one issue in the media and among the masses. The fourth, and final, study one issue but begins with analysis at the individual level.

Most of the studies on this theory were in the period between 1930 and 1980s when the traditional media was in control of setting the public's agenda. Today we are living in an age of information and communication technologies, which has changed the form of the media, the public has been searching for the information they want and the way they like it, and not the information that is imposed on them (Show, et.al, 2001). Because of these negative criticisms of the theory, recent studies have attempted to provide more accurate designs for how setting the agenda to achieve greater efficiency in its use (Hassouna, 2015). The researcher has chosen it in this thesis to find out how the Palestine Today news channel arranged the news in its newscasts and what are its considerations to important news regarding the peace process.

2.7.3 Framing Analysis Theory

Framing analysis started during the 1980s when analysts were developing reception analysis. It was then a new approach of audience research that had begun occurring in the United States of America. As indicated by Baran and Davis (2014), framing analysis had its underlying foundations in representative cooperation and social constructionism. Both contend that the desires we structure about ourselves,

others, and our social world are vital to public activity. McQuail (1994) contended that since the 1980s, a fourth phase of research began until today This stage is described by social constructivism. Also, mass media have solid effects by building social reality, that is, "by framing pictures of the real world in an anticipated and designed way" (McQuail, 1994, p.331). Goffman (1974) is viewed as the primary engineer of the framing analysis approach, as he created framing to give a methodical record of how we use desires to comprehend regular daily existence circumstances and the individuals in them (Baran & Davis, 2014, p.330).

Goffman (1976) argues that creating framing analysis is to analyze the human propensities in committing a similar error in everyday life, particularly those that people don't take note of. "Goffman was persuaded that everyday life is considerably more complicated than it shows up, and we have methods of managing these complications" says Baran and Davis (2014, p.331). Goffman (1976) contended that typically we don't have any cognizant or mindfulness as we continue changing how we characterize or encapsulate circumstances, activities, and other people while we are moving through existence. At the end of the day, "our experience of the world can be constantly shifting, sometimes in major ways, yet we may not notice these shifts" (Baran & Davis, 2014, p.331). Frame for Goffman is a "specific set of expectations used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time" (Baran & Davis, 2014, p.331). Baran and Davis (2014) expressed that Goffman was persuaded that social life is a continually developing and evolving wonder, but we experience it as having incredible congruity. Even though we can continually reframe our experience from second to second, the vast majority of us can keep up the feeling that our encounters are very predictable and schedule.

Goffman (1976) utilized the idea of frame and framing analysis, later on, to investigate how media may impact the audience's development and use of a frame. In his book *Gender Advertisements* (1979), Goffman introduced a wise contention concerning the impact advertisements could have on our perception of individuals from the opposite gender (Baran & Davis, 2014). As indicated by Goffman (1979), advertisements are working as meaningful gestures that could have cut off results, for example, utilizing the sex intrigue of ladies to pull in the consideration of men. Baran and Davis (2014), also, argued that "Goffman's theory provides an intriguing way of assessing how media can elaborate and reinforce a dominant public culture" (p.334).

Another idea of framing and data notability is by centering the audience's attention with explicit parts of a given reality and all the while directing the consideration away from different angles. Frame exerts power through the particular depiction and oversight of the highlights of a situation. Entman (1993), for instance, expressed that 'receivers' responses are affected if they perceive and process information about one interpretation and possess little or incommensurable data about alternative" (p.53).

The idea of framing produces the notion of dominant importance, which comprise "the problem, casual, evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed, processed and accepted by most people" (1993, p.53). Media framing is used to explain specific events. Symbolic and abstract adverbs, for instance, are used to express the framing through symbolic signs that give additional meaning to the communicated text. As Najem (2007) has highlighted, usually some aspects are addressed in-depth, whilst others are ignored according to the formulation and interpretation of the topic.

When we look at the functions of the framing theory, Reese (2007) argues that it plays an essential role in mobilizing support for an event or issue or providing opposition to it and effectively define the meaning of media messages. Reese (2007), further says that framing theory affects the public's actual awareness in a limited or continuous manner. Classifications of the media framing vary among researchers because there are many variables associated with them, such as editorial policies and intellectual orientations of the media, the public, and the society. There is a set of frameworks that are frequently used at the analytical and field levels. For example, in Lyengar and Simon (1993) media framing study, authors divide the frames into two: (1) episodic frames that focus on presenting controversial issues on realistic models and real events to make personal issues such as terrorism and assassinations; and (2) thematic frames that addresses issues raised in general and provides evidence and connotations broadly in an appropriate context.

Frame theory, also, has disadvantages. According to Tankard and Severin (2013), this theory has biased effects due to the lack of objective coverage. As for Carragee and Roefs (2004), they believe that the focus of studies researched in the framing directed towards the variables related to the vocabulary of the framing without taking into consideration other variables such as political and social forces. The media's role is centered on providing information on pressing domestic and international issues objectively, in a balanced fashion. Therefore, the theory of media framing provides us with the ability to study and analyze the content presented in alternative media and the relationship between the framework presented for the content and the ideology that controls the media.

The researcher chose this theory in his thesis to understand the features of the frame that the Palestine Today news channel used and how the Pal-Today framed the

press material and actions according to its ideologies and editorial policy. In addition to explaining how the Palestine Today news framed its coverage of the peace process in terms of terms, pictures, and technics of written press materials such as highlighting and blocking, flattening, and deepening. Therefore, by this theory, the researcher will be able to study, understand, and explain the content of Palestine Today news channel message.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In this section, the study sets out the descriptive methodology that is utilized to complete the research with the required details. This part has six headings about the methodology. Beginning from the research methodology, then the research design, data collection instrument, sample and population, data collection, and lastly analysis procedures of the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

This is a descriptive analysis using a qualitative content analysis method to analyze the alternative Palestinian media coverage about the peace process between Israel and PLO.

First of all, descriptive analysis is the process of describing what exists to find new facts by collecting data, events, and situations and then organizing and describing the results (Travers, 1978). According to Waliman (2011), descriptive analysis is one of the forms of scientific analysis organized to describe specific phenomena and problems by collecting data and information on these phenomena and then analyzing and classifying them. There are several ways to perform a descriptive analysis, one of them is the case study, which is clearly explained by Lawless and Heymann (2010): A case study is a form of qualitative analysis that contains a comprehensive observation of the analysis and attempts to discover all aspects of the situation under study in detail and then build the results.

Descriptive analysis is considered to be the possibility of observing the phenomenon in a completely natural and unchanging environment. "It is mostly done before an experimental or inferential study and is considered the first step for further complicated models and analysis" (Marsh & Stocker, 2010, p.272). The most important advantages of descriptive analysis are its high degree of objectivity and neutrality of the researcher (Lans & Van Der Voordt, 2002).

The analysis also has some disadvantages. Descriptive studies cannot test or research the problem statistically. Research results may reflect a certain level of bias due to the absence of statistical tests. Most descriptive studies are not repeatable because of their observed nature. Also, descriptive studies are not useful in determining the reason behind the described phenomenon (Lawless & Heymann, 2010).

3.1.1 Content Analysis Defined

Content analysis is a study analyzing documents and communication artifacts, which might be texts of various formats, pictures, audio, or video (Alan, 2011). This means that the results are repeatable that researchers who work on the same data in different circumstances and at a different time must obtain the same results. This is one of the forms of reliability in the content analysis technique (Krippendorff, 2004).

Qualitative content analysis utilizes research techniques such as interviews, observations, and analysis of text to extract meanings and themes. Text in qualitative research includes visual, spoken, written texts and a very good qualitative research provides a new and convincing interpretation of the texts and sample (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009). It also includes all types of 'textual analysis' especially content analysis, conversation, discourse, and narrative analyses (Jackson et al., 2007).

The researcher has chosen qualitative methodology because qualitative methodology follows an inductive approach which is "a process of reasoning in which observation precedes proposition of a theory, the generation of hypotheses, and interpretation of data" (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, p.306). Also, the inductive approach entails collecting specific data that its analysis leads to more explanation and understanding the case (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009). So, this approach is suitable to find out the frames that Play-Today used in its newscasts to present the peace process to the audience.

3.1.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of Content Analysis

The advantages of content analysis are that it is easy to work by researchers and leads to results with high reliability when it is repeated and can be done anywhere at a minimal cost (Duriiau, 2007). Besides, content analysis provides a replicable methodology to access deep individual or collective structures such as values, intentions, attitudes, and cognitions (Carley, 1997). Content analysis contributes to the interpretation of texts and increases social interaction through the text.

The disadvantages are that it needs a lot of time for analysis, and texts can be abbreviated in the event of complicated texts, which affects the quality of the analysis (Duriiau, 2007). Additionally, the researcher's interpretation sometimes may enter the results, too, which means it almost always involves some level of personal interpretation, which in turn affects the reliability and validity of the conclusion and results. Moreover, content analysis is time intensive. Manually coding large quantities of content is extremely time-consuming, and it can be difficult to automate or computerize effectively (Duriiau, 2007).

3.2 Research Design

This is a case study design. According to Zainal (2007), a case study is "widely recognized in many social science studies especially when in-depth explanations of a social behavior are sought after" (p.1). Tellis (1997) adds that it is important for a case study design to align with research questions as well as the theoretical framework to portray the full understanding of the phenomena in question. "Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships" (Zainal, 2007, p.2). This design of study is the most appropriate for answering the research questions and discover how the alternative Palestinian news media, especially Pal-Today, addressed the peace process in Palestine.

3.3 Data Collection Instrument

In this study, the researcher retrieves the materials from the online channel archive on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/c/paltoday1>). The researcher downloaded 43 samples for this study. Each of the sample consists of 50 minutes. The researcher watched all of the newscasts carefully and coded material accordingly. This means that the researcher watched 43 newscasts which were 50 minutes each, which summed up to a total of 35 hours and 9 minutes of screening.

3.4 Study Sample

The population of the study is the alternative media represented by the Pal-Today news channel. The study sample covers the 8th Newscast news program that is broadcast on Pal-Today daily. The sample is selected randomly, which means that one program is picked per month. Therefore, 12 programs for each year are selected. That is equal to 43 newscasts in total, covering 4 years, from 2017 to 2020.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

The qualitative content analysis of this study was performed in the spring semester of the year 2020. The data is gathered by the researcher from the Pal-Today news channel account on the YouTube page. For clarity, the researcher chooses a different newscast among the last three years randomly in different periods of the year, until he reaches to analyze 43 newscasts. Then the study uses a descriptive analysis approach and qualitative content analysis to get the result. The 8th Newscast is chosen from the Pal-Today news channel, because it is designed to include news details, analytical stations, and monitoring of all developments related to the Palestinian issue, whether small or large, and therefore provides rich material about the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, and contributes to achieving the goal of the study.

The method involves only Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel. The text is transferred from transcribed Word files into Excel, and by using a few common Excel functions, the text is organized for coding. After coding in Excel, the data are sorted by content and transferred back to Word.

Coding in Excel is a helpful stage for qualitative analysis and an important step in the method. Depending on the type of project and problem at hand, a single researcher or a multidisciplinary analytical team can conduct the coding. A multidisciplinary analytical team can generate unique insights from differing perspectives, engage in critical discussions of unclear or subjective data, and ensure consideration of multiple interpretations of the data (Curry et.al, 2009).

3.6 Criteria classification

To check negative and position implications the researcher classified the criteria to codes which included the editorial policy and the most useful concepts and words related to the peace process and the opposed opinion language, and the

background of the hosted speakers and commentators. in addition to the type of the questions made by the representors and reporters to the guests if they were directional or open answer questions because directional questions lead to one specific plan answer but open-ended questions give the space and freedom for the guests to answer and show her or his opinion and point of view. Moreover, the researcher took into consideration how the channel presented the peace news, as prime topics or sup-topic, besides that the researcher examined the space and time given for all the commentators on the *Pal-Today* news channel.

3.7 Data Presentation

The study presents a descriptive analysis of the data collected for the study and consists of two main parts. The first part covers the nature of media coverage of the peace process. In that same section, the researcher analyses the material and provides information about the report, interview, and news. Also, it looks at the guest in the newscast and addresses the guest position by analyzing are they supportive, are they opposing, or are they neutral in tone. Furthermore, the analysis looks at the coverage location; is it in the beginning, in the middle of the newscast, or at the end of the newscast. Finally, the analysis looks at the coverage length; is it short (e.g., in news format), or is it detailed (e.g., report or interview format).

The second part is the content analysis of the coverage of the peace process. This part has two titles: positive and negative. The first title covers the positive implications of covering the peace. The study tries to find out if there are emphasizing the importance of peace, demonstrating the possibility of achieving peace, calling for continued negotiations, talking about security justification of the relationship with Israel, highlighting the meetings with the Israeli side, and emphasizing the national principles.

The second title covers the negative implications, which include: highlighting the decline in the peace process, focusing on unilateral actions harmful to peace on the Israeli side, warning of the collapse of the peace process, calling to pressure Israel to return to negotiations, and the threat to take action against the Israeli side in international forums, and putting conditions on the continuation of negotiations.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Media Content Analysis in Palestine Today Channel

In this chapter, the study answers the questions that address the media content of the Pal-Today news channel presented to the Arab and Palestinian audience, and in analyses the ways in which it covers the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. These answers clarify the nature of media coverage and interpretation of the positive and negative content of the news broadcast by the channel. Furthermore, it answers if there is any ideology the channel follows in handling the peace process. In conclusion, the recommendations and results of the study are presented. The findings were analyzed using the Excel program. The analysis was resulted from using the descriptive analysis.

4.2 The Nature of Media Coverage

In this section, the study answers the extent of the focus of Pal-Today news channel on issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, through analyzing the journalistic genres, the nature of guests, their attitudes, the coverage, and the location of coverage.

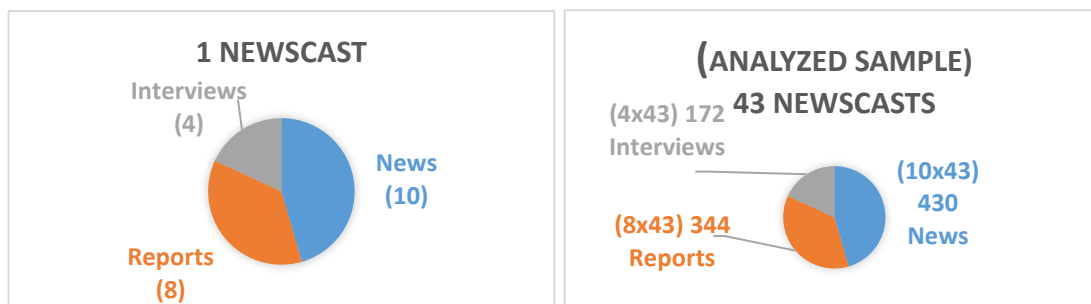


Figure 1: Newscast and Analyzed Sample 43 Newscasts

Table 1: Journalistic Genres

Year	Journalistic Genres		
	Report	Interview	Photo News
2017	4	2	7
2018	6	3	6
2019	0	0	15
2020	15	7	20

In this part, the study shows the sample that has been analyzed on the frequency of the peace process issue in 43 news newscasts presented by Palestine Today news channel. Each newscast contained several forms of journalistic genres. As the chart above shows, there are: 10 news, 8 reports, and 4 interviews in each newscast. According to the analyzed sample (43 newscasts) that contain 430 news, 344 reports, and 172 interviews, 11.2% of the news mentioned the peace process (48 out of 430 news). While the percentage of reports that spoke about the peace process was 7.3% (25 out of 344 reports). As for interviews, the proportion of interviews that mentioned the same topic is 6.9% (12 out of 172 interviews).

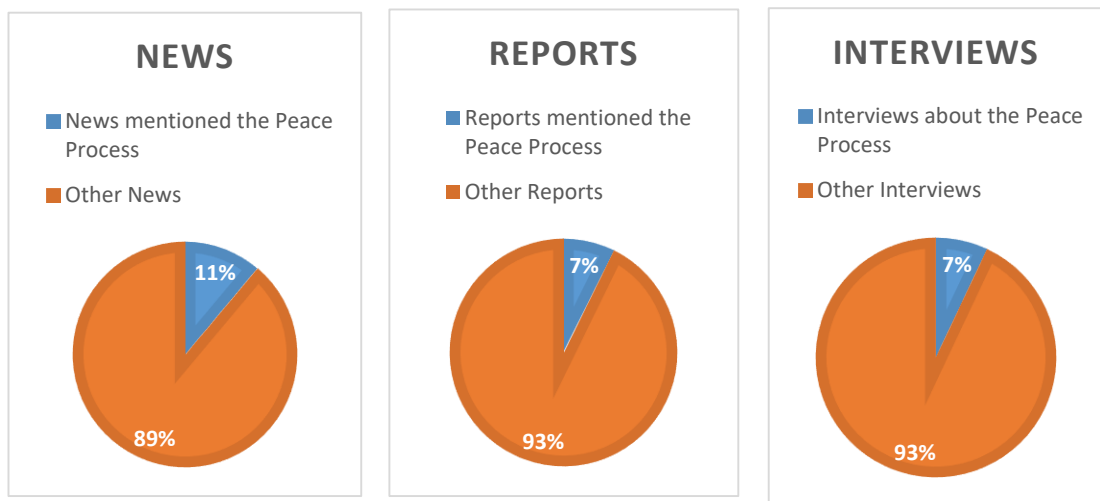


Figure 2: News, Reports and Interviews mentions the Peace Process

Pal-Today news channel relies on its newscast on providing a space for guests to comment on the news and reports, where the 50-minute newscast includes an average of 8 news reports and 15 news photographs. The reporter is required to meet at least two guests in each news report, and the number of guests increases according to the importance of the news. In general, Pal-Today hosts during the newscast in the studio or via satellite, two to three guests to comment on the overall news and reports covered in the bulletin.

According to Table 1, in 2017, and despite the lack of comprehensive daily coverage of news related to the peace process, Pal-Today variegated the use of journalistic genres. However, this does not reflect that the peace process is on the permanent agenda of the channel, as the channel broadcast four televised reports and hosted two guests to talk about the peace settlement between Israel and Palestine, and they have been hosted after broadcasting a report explaining the failure of the peace process in restoring the rights of Palestinians.

Regarding the sample analyzed in 2018, Pal-Today increased the number of news and reports that dealt with the peace process, but it did not gain much focus which takes into account the basic situation in Palestine, especially after the transfer of the

US embassy to Jerusalem and recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel.

It is worth mentioning at this stage that the channel is highlighting the future of nuclear spending between Iran and America more than talking about the peace process between Israel and Palestine. Also, in the same period, the channel gave a lot of space, news items to be more precise, in its news and reports to the Arab citizens' rejection of Arab governments' policy in the work of normalization with Israel without listening to the supporters of normalization or Israel, and this is due to the editorial policy pursued by the channel.

Pal-Today news channel has intensified the number of news and reports contained in its newscast, as a number of reports reached 12 reports per day, and it maintained the same number of news at an average of 17 news items. Pal-Today gave more space to focus on the peace process after the decision of the US President Donald Trump to move the American Embassy to Jerusalem, and after the city was declared as the capital of the State of Israel. It is worth noting that the researcher noticed that Pal-Today gave a lot of space to cover the political and economic situation in Iran and hardly present any report with any Palestinian official to comment on the peace process. This might be because of the financial support the Iranian government provides to the channel.

Moving to 2019, it was surprising that there was no report or televised interview talking about the peace process or its future in Palestine, especially with the increase of Arab-Israeli normalization and the emergence of Arab writers who recognize Israel and call for a peaceful agreement between the Arab countries and Israel. The channel was satisfied with broadcasting marches supported by the political opposition in the Arab countries or Palestine calling for rejecting or canceling the

peace process, without focusing more on the details, which reflects the channel's failure to provide journalistic genres in its coverage.

Despite the attempts of the United States and some Arab countries to move the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, the partisan media in Palestine, especially Pal-Today did not work on intensifying media coverage on the peace process, and it was almost non-existent and was satisfied only with publishing news opposing the settlement process, which has come to be known as Deal of the Century. Through the analysis of reports and news, it was found out that Pal-Today intensified its news and its reports that urge to stop normalization with Israel and urge the Arab citizens not to engage with Israel without talking directly about the peace process.

In 2020, after talking about America's proposing a political agreement between Israel and Palestine under the name of the deal of the century, the pace of events in Palestine accelerated. The Palestinian Authority decided to stop security coordination with the agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Therefore, the news and reports dealt with Pal-Today regarding the peace process increased. However, these reports were from one point of view, which is the failure of the peace process and its harm to the Palestinians. Furthermore, the Pal-Today news channel increased the talking about the future of the peace process in Palestine by focusing on opponents' reactions. The study found that these reactions followed the steps taken by Israel with the assistance of the United States of America in applying the century deal into reality. However, compared to the number of TV reports, the proportion of the space that was allocated to talk about peace is negligible, but it was specially covered by other TV programs to talk about the ineffectiveness of peace between Palestine and Israel, and that Israel does not have the right to exist in Palestine, and it is an occupying state.

It also set a wide space to criticize the Palestinian Authority and to show the Palestinians rejection of the peace process. Moreover, it criticized in its reports the role of Arab governments that support peace with Israel, and praised Iran’s role in supporting the Palestinians' right to their independent state, without supporting the right of Israel to have a state on the land of Palestine.

The reports about the peace process were very clear in defining the channel’s position in the peace process. Examples of these reports' titles: ‘Announcement of a plan between Palestinian parties to confront Deal of the Century’, ‘Israel's decision to annex the West Bank and its impact on the peace process’, or ‘Protests in many Arab countries rejecting normalization with Israel’, and ‘America bias the Israeli occupation at the expense of Palestinians.’ Furthermore, the terms the channel uses in presenting its news appears to oppose Israel. For example, the news channel uses: "Occupation state" instead of ‘The state of Israel’, ‘Occupation army’ instead of ‘The Israeli army’, or ‘Palestinian heroic war prisoner’ instead of ‘Detained’ and ‘Palestinian Martyr’ instead of ‘Dead.’

Table 2: The Nature of Guests

Year	Guest Speakers		
	Supporter	Opposing	Neutral
2017	0	2	0
2018	0	2	1
2019	0	0	0
2020	0	5	2

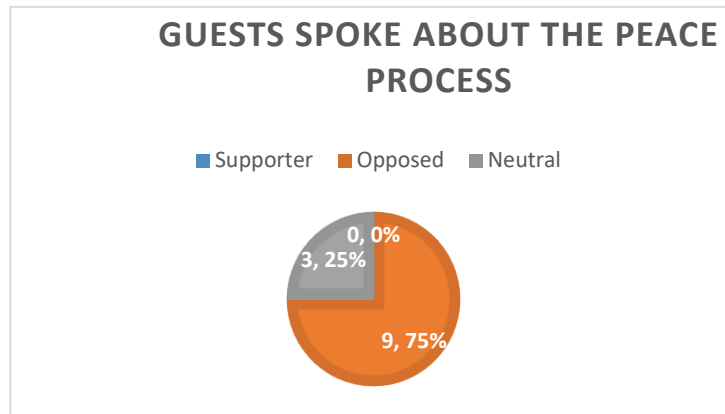


Figure 3: Guests Spoke About the Peace Process

By monitoring the attitudes of the guests and all the sound bites and the concepts that used by guests, the researcher coded and classified the guests as supporters, Opposing and neutral., the study found that the highest percentage of guests' attitudes was on rejecting the peace process. Through the sample analyzed, 12 out of 172 guests who spoke about the peace process in 43 newscasts, none of them were supportive of the peace process. The study noted that 9 guests out of 12 were opposed to the peace process, while 3 guests out of 12 were neutral in raising this issue.

The study also noticed the aggressive tone (such as expressions opposes the peace process and blames it for the failure in solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict), that these opposition guests used when they spoke about the peace process. For example, in an interview with a Hamas leader (one of the Islamic Palestinian parties), Dr. Khalil Al-Haya, he used expressions against them: "It is our right to resist the occupation, just as it is our right to defend our Palestinian people." Or this one "Peace with occupation is a betrayal". And another example of a guest in Pal-Today Khaled Mansour, a Palestinian politician, said during his interview with the channel: "Israel is a fascist occupying state." Another guest Khader Adnan, who is a Palestinian politician, also used phrases opposing the peace process: "There is no peace with those

who kill and displace children." The Palestinian writer Samer Anabtawi also said: "The peace agreements gave Israel more rights than they gave to the Palestinians."

The channel was a voice for opponents of the peace process, it was hosting experts and political analysts who have clear positions against the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. Pal-Today also tried to attract many guests whose opinions are compatible with the editorial policy of the channel. It is noticed that the channel gives priority in its news to the opinions that support the failure of the peace process and the necessity of circumventing Iran and abandon the principle of a two-state solution between Israel and Palestine.

In 2017, despite the poor coverage of the peace process, the channel opened the way for opponents of the Palestinian Authority's approach and did not allow listening to the other point of view, whether the Palestinian Authority or the Palestinian parties supporting the peace process's approach.

In 2018, according to the sample, Pal-Today gave little room for neutral guests' viewpoint, as it hosted the writer Fathi Bouzia, an expert in Israeli issues, to talk about the peace process. Fathi Bouzia used the terms "the Israeli side" and "the Palestinian side." In this way, he did not recognize Israel as a state, nor Palestine as a state. Fathi Bouzia also said that "the perpetrator must be held accountable for the increase of violence in Palestine" without indicating that the perpetrator is Israel or Palestine. He also called for the need of resorting to the International Criminal Court to resolve the conflict in Palestine and bind the Palestinian and Israeli parties to international agreements. Thus, this shows the extent of his neutrality in not blaming any of them. According to another finding in 2019, *Pal-Today* did not give any space, not to supporters or opponents, to talk about the peace process. Rather, its news reports focused on talking about the future of Israel under the political dispute in the Israeli

political arena due to the failure of the Israeli parliamentary elections and the inability of the Israeli parties to form an Israeli government.

In 2020, *Pal-Today* intensified the guests that are opposed to the peace process and the approach of the Palestinian Authority. The newscast allowed the guests to talk about the failure of the peace process and their focus on following the approach of liberation movements and the right of the Palestinians in independence. As well as guests who call for the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and canceling all international agreements with Israel. For example, the *Pal-Today* hosted the political opponent Dr. Abdel Sattar Qassem in more than one newscast. Dr. Abdel Sattar Qassem spoke frankly that the authority's approach is a failure and that President Abbas and his group are thieves who stole the Palestinians' rights through peace operations, and other analysts who described Israel as an occupying country, and that peace with the occupation is not permissible, as among the guests were those who foretold the demise of Israel based on religious interpretations. Depending on the analysis it is clear that no one of the guests was from the supporters of the peace process. that indicates to the non-neutrality in reflecting the opposite opinions.

Table 3: Coverage Location

Year	Coverage Location		
	The Beginning	The Middle	The End
2017	2	4	1
2018	1	5	0
2019	10	5	0
2020	20	0	0

Through the analytical study of the content of newscasts and the way of dividing the news and headlines, the peace process did not take the greatest importance

for 2017 and 2018, where most of the news received about the peace process was in the middle of the bulletin, without giving sufficient space to talk about the peace process. But after the US President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in 2019, this news and its subsequent reaction took great importance in coverage, as this news became one of the headlines in the bulletin. *Pal-Today* also gave importance to all activities that oppose the peace process, by importing them at the beginning of the bulletin.

As for the year 2020, *Pal-Today* focused at the beginning of its bulletins on the Arab and international voices that rejected the Deal of the Century, without broadcasting any report or news dealing with the supporters' point of view. Therefore, there was a bias in the way that *Pal-Today* arranged the news, which corresponds to the message that the channel is trying to deliver to the Arab and Palestinian audience.

Table 4: Coverage Space

Year	Coverage Space	
	Succinct	Details
2017	4	2
2018	6	3
2019	0	0
2020	10	5

As shown in Table 4, through the sample obtained in 2017 and 2018, it was found that the channel diversified in the space of coverage, as some news was covered in a detailed way, such as President Trump's decision to recognize Israel in Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This particular news was presented in detail, as the channel provided all the press arts, in addition to creating an open wave to talk about the

consequences of this decision. The channel also dealt with some news in a succinct manner, such as the decision of Arab moves to study Trump's decision which recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. In 2019, the channel reduced the coverage space, as it did not provide any details and did not show any reactions or views about the peace process. Rather, the news was a simple overview of the newsletter.

With regard to the 2020 sample, we can say that *Pal-Today* has provided space in its coverage through creating an open broadcast wave through which it presented the opinions that reject the peace process and Israel's decision to annex the West Bank. The channel also employed, through detailed coverage, various journalistic genres and listening to political analysts. But at the same time, *Pal-Today* did not give any space for the supporters of the peace process or for the decision of annexing the West Bank, from talking about the peace process. Supporting statements are negligible in *Pal-Today*, and if they were mentioned, they will be mentioned brief as a passing piece of news in the newscast. For example, the Palestinian President's response on the Deal of the Century did not gain much importance, but rather a passing news. So, in the half of 2020, coverage was large and extensive, where it included covering news, reports, interviews, and monitoring feedback. For example, *Pal-Today* provided a full media crew to cover the marches organized by Palestinian parties as opposed to the peace process, such as direct coverage, reports, and interviews.

4.3 Analysis of the Nature of Coverage

According to the question posed by the study, (What are the main messages appearing in *Pal-Today* news channel during the coverage of the peace process?) and based on the theory of analyzing the media framework and according to the statistics mentioned in the tables above. This study found out that *Pal-Today* has diversified in the nature of the journalistic genres that are used in the newscasts, but was not in the

inclusive form, as there was no condensation expressing the importance and the impact of the peace process on the Palestinian issue. Through the analysis it was found out that there is a disparity, in 2017, 2018 and 2020, it dealt with coverage based on the political situation in Palestine. But in 2019 it merely spoke about the peace process in a passing news in the newscasts without diversity in the journalistic genres (reports, interviews, news stories, etc.).

Likewise, the channel did not give any space to the Palestinian Authority or the Palestinian parties to talk about the peace process, and it was satisfied with one point of view, which is the complete rejection of the peace process and its failure to realize the dream of the Palestinians in an independent state. It has also been found, through studying the nature of the reports and news broadcast by the channel, that there is a clear media style in which the channel supports the opposing voices, whether to the Palestinian Authority or the peace process. Furthermore, according to the analyzed sample, it was found that 330 out of 430 news (76.7%) declared the Israeli violations. Also, among the reports, 250 out of 344 reports (72.6%) declared Israeli violations. As for the interviews, in 100 interviews out of 172 (58.1%), the guests spoke about the Israeli violations.

This news and reports were at the top of the 43 newscasts and classified the Israeli violations at the top of its agenda-setting.

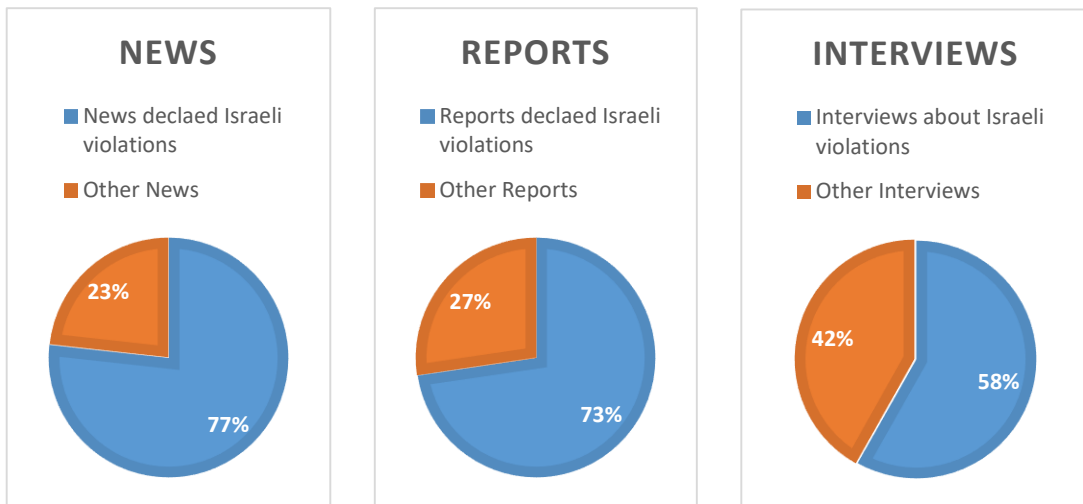


Figure 4: News, Reports and Interviews decaled Israeli Violations

There is no variety in opinions in the Pal-Today news channel, and this is evidence of the channel’s right-wing political ideology. Even when the channel tried to change views, it hosted neutral guests who did not give their views clearly about the peace process. Pal-Today also adopts religious rhetoric in its news and reports, as the channel considers that recognition of Israel is forbidden in Sharia, where the channel avoids during its broadcasts mentioning the name of Israel, but rather expresses it as an ‘occupation state’, ‘the occupation army’, or ‘the Zionist entity’.

Through the analyzed bulletins, it was revealed that the channel relies on many Israeli sources in its newsletter, specifically the Walah Hebrew site, from which the channel analyses many of the news that is published and broadcasted after its formulation in a way that is consistent with the policy of the channel. It is also worth mentioning that out of 43 newscasts analyzed on Pal-Today none of them accept talking or hosting any Israeli figure in its reports to talk about the peace process from Israel’s point of view because as its mentioned before, this is due to the religious approach followed by the channel.

4.4 Coverage Content of the Peace Process

In this chapter, the study answers the research question (How did alternative media in Palestine portray the Oslo peace process during the negotiations between Palestine and Israel?). A detailed explanation of the method, approach, and messages that Pal-Today tries to deliver to the Palestinian and Arab community are investigated.

Table 5: Positive Implications of Covering the Peace Process.

year	The importance of peace	The possibility of peace	Call for continued negotiations	Defend the leadership position	Highlighting the meetings with the Israelis	National constants are achieved in peace
2017	0	0	0	0	0	0
2018	0	1	0	0	1	1
2019	0	0	0	0	0	0
2020	2	1	0	0	3	3

Through the positive content that is set out in the sample study, and as demonstrated in Table 5, it was found out that Pal-Today hardly present any positive content in its messages addressed to the Palestinians or Arab people in its newscasts. Despite the minority of the guests who were on the neutral side of the peace process, and who used positive expressions explaining the importance of the peace process. For example, one of the neutral guests Fathi Bouzia is used when he supported the Palestinian Authority in achieving a better future for Palestinians. Munadle Hanani who is also seen as a neutral guest, said: "The aggravation of events in Palestine may lead to the possibility of Palestinian-Israeli side failure on finding a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict." However, the majority of guests were opponents of the peace process and did not indicate the importance of the peace process in providing security and political stability in Palestine, nor is it affirmed that the peace process is

the main reason for the tension in the political situation in Palestine. Consequently, Pal-Today emphasizes that the continuation of the peace process will not achieve the aspirations of the Palestinian people with an independent state. Whereas, it will give the Israeli people the right to an independent state.

In its news bulletins, the Pal-Today channel also focused on the fact that the security coordination between the Palestinian Authority and Israel is a protection for the Israeli people, not the Palestinians. It calls, through the majority of its guests, the need to stop the security coordination that harms the interests of the Palestinians. Likewise, the majority of guests did not defend the Palestinian Authority's position and its political role in achieving political and security stability in Palestine. Rather, they attacked President Mahmoud Abbas's position. Therefore, Pal-Today gave most of the space to the guests that underestimate the importance of the Authority's moves. By so doing, the channel imposes sanctions on Israel or recognize Palestine as an independent state.

The channel also showed that the bilateral meetings between the Palestinian and Israeli officials were a waste of time in submitting to the Israeli violations committed by the Israeli army against the Palestinians. Likewise, it became clear through the contents that the Palestinian principles that the Palestinian Authority follows in its negotiations with Israel do not represent the entire Palestinian people, but rather the factions that belong to the Palestine Liberation Organization and, also, do not represent the sons of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

4.5 Results of the Positive Content

Through the positive contents of the study, it is found out that the channel seeks to deliver a clear message that the peace process does not serve the Palestinians but rather seeks to achieve Israeli goals in a state on the entire land of Palestine, and this

is inconsistent with the goal of which the peace agreement was signed between Palestine and Israel. Also, the results show that the channel's editorial policy is a message of incitement to reject the peace process and to show that very few people want peace with Israel, and this is the result of the religious ideology that the channel follows in the fact that Israel is an occupation country and it is not permissible to agree or deal with the occupation.

The channel also excludes in its news the positives of the peace process and the role played by the Palestinian Authority in providing job opportunities and building the institutions of the Palestinian state. It also played an important role in revealing the faults that followed the peace process, such as linking the Palestinian security and Israeli security, focusing on Israel's violation of the peace process, and not respecting it, and Israel's relinquishing of its responsibilities as an occupying power according to international covenants.

Table 6: Negative Implications of Covering the Peace Process

Year	Negative Implications					
	The peace process receded	Linking negotiation to halting settlement	Warning of the collapse of the peace process	Pressure on Israel to return to negotiations	Going internationally to confront Israeli policies	Set conditions for the resumption or continuation of negotiations
2017	10	7	10	6	10	5
2018	15	8	9	7	8	7
2019	17	6	12	4	8	7
2020	20	4	17	0	15	6

By looking at the sample studied by the researcher, it was found out that *Pal-Today* confirmed in its newscasts the collapse of the peace process, by talking about the harmony of the American positions with the position of Israel and the lack of

commitment by Israel to the terms of the peace process. As the channel clearly stated that the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations aimed at providing stability, security and, political freedom for Israeli people. However, it appears that it hardly provides this to the Palestinians.

The channel also warned of the Israeli pressures on the Palestinian Authority to return or continue in the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations because Israel refuses to stop settlement in the West Bank lands, and this is contrary to the conditions of the Oslo agreement, as the channel claims. The channel also called the Palestinian Authority to resort to the International Criminal Court to confront Israeli policies which the channel represented in expropriating Palestinian lands and building houses for the benefit of the Jews. The channel also warned against the continuation of the peace process and demanded the cessation of agreements with Israel.

Pal-Today news channel tried to show the negative perspective of the peace process intensively during its coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, and this is evident in the complete alignment of the idea that Israel is an occupying country and should not be dealt with it. The channel also aimed, through the negative perspective, to emphasize the collapse of the approach followed by the Palestinian Authority in achieving the goal and aspirations of the Palestinians in a separate state, in addition to confirming the idea of an approach to fight Israel, not only political but also military.

4.6 Findings

In this section, the study illustrates the entire results of the analysis of Chapter 4. This part summarizes the significant findings that discussed the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the alternative Palestinian media.

- 91.6% of the coverage was not comprehensive, clear, and detailed, except in the content that is appropriate to the channel's vision through a clear selection process. Only 11.2% of the news mentioned the peace process. While the percentage of reports that spoke about the peace process was 7.3%. As for interviews, the proportion of interviews that mentioned the same topic is only 6.9%.
- 93.3% of the *Pal-Today* coverage of the peace process was greatly affected by the political stances of the channel's operators. It conveyed its view and the viewpoint of its supporters towards the peace process in an absolute and deliberate way without providing any opportunity for any party in the peace process to clarify its position and opinion.
- There was a clear strategy for the channel on managing its position on the peace process. It takes advantage of political conditions to enhance its views in front of the public. For example, 76.7% of news was about the Israeli violations against the Palestinians. This news was to emphasize that Israel is not serious about making peace with the Palestinians.
- The coverage was consistent in substance. However, there was a change in the priority of reporting news related to the peace process compared to other topics related to the political reality in the region. For example, 77% of news that talked about the Iranian and American agreement was at the beginning of most of the newscast.
- 94.78% of guests were selected in such a way that they opposed the peace process. There was a clear exclusion of all opinions that contradict the channel's point of view and any party supporting the peace process. Also, even if the channel wants to make a diversity in the nature of the guests, it has hosted

neutrals who did not present a clear position towards the peace process, such as rejecting or accepting it.

- 98% of *Pal-Today*'s content on the peace process was negative. *Pal-Today* news channel tried to show the negative perspective of the peace process intensively during its coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. At the same time, it ignored the positive implication for the peace process.
- There is a clear contradiction between what the *Pal-Today* channel is practicing in the content submitted towards the peace process and what it defines itself as a channel for all Palestinians.
- Palestine Today news channel used controversy and persuasion in its editorial policy. For example, published news and reports showing the failure of the peace process to achieve peace and security for the Palestinians and reinforced this with reports and news talked about Israeli violations against the Palestinians.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter will present the conclusions drawn from the study about alternative Palestinian media coverage for the peace process, Palestine Today news channel as a case study. Therefore, this part contains a summary of the study, the conclusions drawn from the study, and finally, the suggestions and recommendations for further research.

5.1 Summary of the Study

This research is summarized in the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in alternative Palestinian media, aiming to find out how the alternative Palestinian media cover the peace process by taking the *Pal-Today* news channel as a case.

There is a lack of research about this subject due to restrictions and violations of the freedom of the alternative media to operate in historic Palestine. It is deemed as significant and unique research because it talks about the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, which is still not reached to the end, after 27 years of declaration. This study conducted a qualitative content analysis as a data collection method. The researcher analyzed the study sample that includes 43 newscasts broadcast on the channel from January 2017 until July 2020 with 12 newscasts every year selected randomly. The present study proved that the alternative Palestinian media, especially the Palestine-Today channel covered the peace process, form their biased perspective by special

criteria appearing in the way of choosing the news or guests. The voices of the opposition to the Palestinian Authority and the peace process are opened.

The channel ignores any positive perspective achieved by the peace process and does not allow peace supporters to express their opinion in this channel. It was clear that Pal-Today supports opposition to the peace process from a right-wing ideological perspective. Most of its media material during coverage or interviews aimed to change the Palestinian public's view of the peace process negatively and inciting them to its results.

5.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study

This study answers the main question, which is how the *Pal-Today* news channel presents the Palestinian-Israeli peace process to the Palestinian public. The qualitative content analysis makes it clear that there is an opposition to the peace process. It is not a pointless opposition but a systematic strategy of the channel's editorial room and portrays the peace process to the public that it never intended to give the Palestinians any rights. The channel also intends to hide any positive aspects of the peace process and focuses on negative results or ignore the peace process in its coverage, according to the nature of political events in the region. The study also answered some of the sub-questions as follows:

RQ1. What are the main messages appearing in the *Palestine Today* news during the coverage of the peace process?

Pal-Today news channel seeks to change the image of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process to the Palestinian public, by strengthening its religious ideology, through which it believes that it is not permissible to make peace with Israel as an occupying country for the entire land of Palestine, and not only the territories of June 4/1964 (West Bank occupation). The main message in the channel's covers about the peace

process is that the peace process can never lead to Palestinian national independence, and that Israel's goal of going to the peace process is to gain benefits for Israel and not give rights to the Palestinians, and that historic Palestine is not entitled to give up what part of it is for Israel.

RQ2. Does *Palestine Today* channel give place to different views and voices?

According to the qualitative content analysis results, the channel does not present different voices or opinions, and it promotes one voice and provides narration about the peace process from only one point of view and does not provide any news content or interviews with multi-opinion guests. The largest openness towards the other opinion provided by the channel is hosting neutral people whose opinion of the peace process did not appear positive or negative. Consequently, almost no voice opposes the channel's orientations, and its editorial policy.

RQ3. How did alternative media in Palestine portray the Oslo peace process during the negotiations between Palestine and Israel?

Alternative media portrayed the peace process as a waste of time. They carried all the negatives related to the Palestinian issue today, whether in the continued building of settlements and the continuous arrests of Palestinians, or the confiscation of land and house demolitions and finally, the international bias in favor of Israel, represented by the American plan for the peace process. It is trying to deliver a message to the Palestinian public that the Palestinian negotiator's weakness and insistence on the peace process attempt to conceal corruption and waive Palestinian rights.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

The peace process is an essential issue for the Palestinians and the Palestinian public opinion. The degree of interest in it varies between supporters and opponents according to the political and social difference of the public. It may be considered a first-class priority for the official Palestinian leadership represented by the PLO, which sees it as the only way to establish a Palestinian state on the borders. On the other hand, it is not essential to opposition factions such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the largest opposition organization, which did not enter the membership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. These factions see the peace process differently from what the Authority sees, not only opposing the peace process but holding it responsible for the failure, political stagnation, and division that the Palestinian issue suffers from it.

This approach is an essential part of the *Pal-Today* news channel program. It seeks to persuade the public of the preference of its approach as an alternative to the peace process.

The media performance of the Palestinian opposition has evolved. It has access to satellite channels that have expanded its audience outside the Palestinian domain. Also, it has audiences in the Arab world. In light of the official Arab tendency to normalize with Israel and reach a comprehensive peace process, these opposition channels see their role in criticizing the peace process and showing its negatives in an attempt to influence Arab public opinion and show the right direction of the peace process from its point of view.

Nowadays, some Arabic channels give news space to supporters of normalization in Arab countries in media appearances made them convey a different picture of the reality of peace and its aspirations. Palestine-Today saw it is necessary to devote its media strength to the counteraction of this trend, especially since it has

ideologies that reject absolutely normalization with Israel. The strength of the ideology on which the channel is based has the power to influence the content provided by the channel between the communicator of the messages and the audience in the receiving end.

To achieve the goal that the channel seeks to oppose the peace process, it relied on hiding any positive role for the peace process. For example, the *Pal-Today* does not talk about the importance of the peace process in providing the security and stability of the Palestinian people. Also, it works to marginalize the peace process sometimes from talking in favor of other priorities that serve the ideology of the channel. For example, focusing on the US-Iranian tension regarding the nuclear file and dealing with the political and economic situation of Iran. Moreover, when there were Arab and American efforts to revive the peace process, these efforts were ignored and the channel focus merely on the disadvantages of the entire peace process.

The channel worked, through its systematic coverage, to frame content presented in a way that suits its orientations. Also, the *Pal-Today* used political and ideological terms that differ from the terms covered by peace supporters. Also, it broadcasted news about Palestine in a selective manner that is usually linked to violations against the Palestinians, such as arrests of resistance fighters or settlement to enhance the viewer's contradiction between the aspirations of the peace process and the resulting reality. Also, *Pal-Today* provided a warning in advance to the Arab and Islamic followers about the nature of the peace that Israel desires, the peace that gives Israel all rights without providing anything to the other party.

Despite the rise and fall of the trend towards reviving the peace process and the promises that are continually being made to solve the Palestinian issue through the peace process, *Pal-Today* gave space to all voices opposing the Authority in general

and the peace process in particular, without giving any opportunity to any voice from the supporters of the peace process. It was clear that almost all the experts and analysts who are hosted, and almost all the reports and news that are broadcast lead towards one opinion, one direction and one point of view, in deliberate marginalization of a large segment of the other opinion that leads the Palestinian decision and not to open the way for opposing or criticizing the framework provided by the channel's editorial policy. Furthermore, the Palestinian Authority rejected the proposed American plan for peace because it gives Israel the right at the expense of the Palestinians, this news was circulated as merely passing news. Analysts were hosted who exaggerated the accusation of the Palestinian President of corruption and failure to manage the Authority. That positive attitudes are an attempt to circumvent the failure of the stage only and not a fundamental change towards the nature of the peace process, and this brings us back to the established position of the channel based on a religious ideology that does not see any right for any party, whatever its character, to conclude a peace agreement with Israel.

In the end, it appeared that the coverage was witnessing ups and downs according to the general political situation in Palestine and the region. Also, the coverage was almost biased and one-sided only, and there was a very clear effect of the intellectual and political ideology of those in charge of the channel in influencing the content and its trends and other factors.

5.4 Suggestions and Recommendations for Further Research

The current research is addressing the coverage of alternative media of the peace process, Pal-Today news channel as a case study. The researcher suggests that the Palestinians need to a neutral and objective media content that present the peace process from different angles and is not limited to framing an ideology and political

thought for those in charge of the channel. Further studies should be conducted to focus on the religious discourse in the Palestinian media and its effect on increasing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Moreover, the future studies should be conducted on the Israeli media that covered the peace process and building a comparison between the Palestinian and Israeli media regarding Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

REFERENCES

- A Hana, H. (2002). Al-Quds, Palestinian Radio, Publications of the Center for Home Research Studies, Al-Qadisiyah Publishing Library, Gaza.
- Aalberg, T., Van Aelst, P., & Curran, J. (2010). Media systems and the political information environment: A cross-national comparison. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15(3), 255-271.
- Abdel, K.D. (2005). The Role of Palestinian Radio in the Gaza Strip in Political Education for Media Students in Palestinian Universities, Field Study, Palestinian Institute for Democracy Studies, Ramallah.
- Abu Amer, A, Gaza. (2014), The third Israeli war on Gaza causes, diaries, results. <https://adnanabuamer.com>.
- Abu Ayyash, H. (2008). The Role of the Local Print Press in Democratization in the West Bank, An-Najah University.
- Abu Dhahir, F. (2015). Media under of the Palestinian Authority, Studies in Experience and Performance (1994-2013). Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut.

- Abu Rahma, I. (2011). The impact of the political settlement process (peace process) on the Palestinian identity: "A study of the trends of Palestinian university students in the Gaza". Al-Azhar University - Palestine
- Abu Wardeh, A. (2008). The Impact of Palestinian News Websites on Orientation and Political Affiliation - An-Najah National University Students as a Model - (2000-2007), An-Najah University.
- Abu Watafa, M & Al-Rantisi, H (2016). The Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip.
- Ackerman, S. (2001). Al-Aqsa intifada and the US media. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30(2), 61-74.
- Ahmed, G. (2009). News production frameworks for websites in global crises: a case study for the BBC, Cairo University, Faculty of Arts.
- Al-Aref, A & Al-Khalidi, W. (2013). The Nakba: The Nakba of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise, Institute for Palestine Studies (1947-1949). Birzeit University.
- Al-Dawwasa, S. (2002). The Palestinian Audiences' Uses of Satellite Channels and Realized Rumors. The Islamic University.
- Al-Gegifi, S. (2019). The position of the Palestine Liberation Organization towards the Second Gulf War 1990-1991. *Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*, 6(1), 241-266.

Al-Jazeera Center for Studies. (2018). *The First World War and its Impact in Palestine: A Hundred Years Legacy*. Doha: Al-Jazeera Centre for Studies.

Aljazeera Net, (2013). The price of Oslo documentary film. <https://bit.ly/30R3oT8>.

Al-Khalidi, W. (1998). *Zionism in the Hundred Years in (1897-1998)*. Al-Nahar Publishing House, Beirut.

Al-Mashharawi, A. (2013). The political and security implications of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in September 2005. Al-Azhar University.

Al-Mazahra, M. (2012). *Communication Theories*. Dar Al-Masirah for Printing and Publishing, Amman.

Al-Thani, A & Al-Zoubi, M. (2005). Population in historical Palestine, Al-Jazeera Net, <https://bit.ly/39ycGrd>

Amaratunga, D., Baldry, D., Sarshar, M., & Newton, R. (2002). Quantitative and qualitative research in the built environment: application of “mixed” research approach. *Work study*, 51(1), 17-31.

Annual Report, (2019). Mada, Violations of Media Freedoms in Palestine, Palestinian Center for Development and Media Freedoms, Palestine.

- Arqoub, O. A., & Ozad, B. (2019). Israeli Media Gatekeeper during Gaza War 2014 Coverage: Case of Study of Yedithe ahronotho Newspaper. *Media Watch, 10*(1), 22-40.
- Atton, C. (2001). *Approaching alternative media: Theory and methodology. Scotland: Napier.*
- Baha, H. (2016). An introduction of descriptive analysis, its advantages and disadvantages. *Unpublished Thesis, Leuphana University of Lüneburg.*
- Barak, O. (2005). The failure of the Israeli–Palestinian peace process, 1993–2000. *Journal of Peace Research, 42*(6), 719-736.
- Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2014). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future.* Belmont, Calif.: Cengage Learning.
- BBC News Services (2017). US recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Retrieved on July 20, 2020 from <https://bbc.in/3f2n5wy>.
- Bennett, L., Chin, B., & Jones, B. (2015). Crowdfunding: A new media & society special issue. *47*, 777-780.
- Bertot, J. C., Jaeger, P. T., & Grimes, J. M. (2010). Using ICTs to create a culture of transparency: E-government and social media as openness and anti- corruption tools for societies. *Government information quarterly, 27*(3), 264-271.

British Mandate. (2011). Retrieved February 24, 2015, from Palestinian National Information Center - Wafa: Palestinian National Information Center – Wafa.

Brownfeld, A. C. (1998). Zionism at 100: The Myth of Palestine as "A Land Without People". *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 16, 29-32.

Bryman, A. (2011). *Business research methods*. Bell, Emma, 1968- (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, B. (1963). *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Davie, W. R., & Maher, T. M. (2006). Review and criticism: Research pioneer tribute—Maxwell McCombs: Agenda-Setting Explorer. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50(2), 358-364.

Davie, W. R., & Maher, T. M. (2010). Maxwell McCombs: Agenda-Setting Explorer. Review and Criticism: Research Pioneer Tribute—Maxwell McCombs: Agenda-Setting Explorer, 50(2), 358-364.

Diab, A, L. (2003). *The Impact of Journalism on Political Decision Making*, Planning Library, Gaza.

- Duriau, V. J., Reger, R. K., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2007). A content analysis of the content analysis literature in organization studies: Research themes, data sources, and methodological refinements. *Organizational Research Methods, 10*(1), 5-34.
- Enshirah, A. (1989). The Palestinian Press Under Occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, *Samed Economic Journal*.
- Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51-58.
- Fahmy, S. & Eakin, B. (2014). High drama on the high seas: Peace versus war journalism framing of an Israeli/Palestinian related incident, *The International Communication Gazette, 76*(1), 86–105.
- Fawcett, L, (2016). International Relations of the Middle East (4th Ed.), Oxford University PressPrint. Chapter13 (p. 285).
- Gewurz, I. G. (2000). Transition from conflict: The importance of pre-negotiations in the Oslo peace process. *Israel Affairs, 6*(3), 177-199.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Hamada, B, I. (2008). *Studies in Media, Communication Technology and PublicOpinion*. Cairo, Book World.

Hassouna, N. (2015). Media and Communication Theories. AL-Alukah Network.

Hibbert, A. (2006). *The Power of the Media*. Franklin Watts Pub. *Journal of Press/Politics*, 8(4), 114-120.

Hsieh, H. F, & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.

Hussein, A, S. (2001). Palestinian media experiences and challenges, Al-Qadisiya Library, Khan Yunis, Palestine.

Issa, T., & Al Hamarna, A. (2020). News frames of Israeli settlement in the American newspapers' websites. *News Frames of Israeli Settlement in the American Newspapers' Websites*, 6(1), 1-12.

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S., & D. R. Kinder. (1987). *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jarbawi, A. (1993). Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas). *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 22(3), 32-45.

Khalidi, R. (2010). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. Columbia University Press.

Khouri, R. (2008). America through Arab eyes. *International Herald Tribune*.
Published April 21, P.1.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). Reliability in content analysis: Some common misconceptions and recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30(3), 411-433.

Lans, W., & Van der Voordt, D. J. M. (2002). Descriptive research. In T.M. de Jong and D.J.M. van der Voordt (Eds.), *Ways to Study Architectural, Urban and Technical Design*, pp. 53-60. Delft: DUP Science.

Lasswell, H. D. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. *The Communication of Ideas*, 37(1), 136-139.

Lawless, H. T., & Heymann, H. (2010). Descriptive analysis. In *Sensory evaluation of food* (pp. 227-257). Springer, New York, NY.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan.

Lischka, J. A. (2018). Logics in social media news making: How social media editors marry the Facebook logic with journalistic standards. *Journalism*, 1464884918788472

- Lustick, I. S. (1997). The Oslo agreement as an obstacle to peace. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27(1), 61-66.
- Lueb, P. (2003). Karatnycky, Adrian, A. Motyl, and A. Schnetzer, eds. Nations in Transit 2001-2002: Civil Society, Democracy and Markets in East Central Europe and the Newly Independent States. *Naval War College Review*, 56(4), 171-173.
- Lynch, C & Greenberg, J. (2012). U.N votes to recognize Palestine as ‘non-member observer state’, *Washington Post*. <https://wapo.st/30MZ73f>.
- Macgregor, C. D., & Wilson, C. G. (2008). MANEUVER FORCES. *AMERICA'S*, 80.
- Macnamara, J. R. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1).
- Makkawi, H. & El-Sayed, L. (1998). *Communication and Contemporary Theories*. Egyptian Lebanese House, Cairo.
- Mazrou, R. (2013). Frameworks for handling public and Islamic channels for conflict between the active political forces regarding the constitutional referendum after the January 25 revolution - a comparative analytical study. *Journal of the Middle East Media*, Mansoura University, Faculty of Specific Education.
- McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge: Polity.

- McCombs, M. (2005). A Look at agenda-setting: Past, present and future. *Journalism Studies*, 6(4), 543-557.
- McCombs, M. E., & D. L. Shaw. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176–187.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- McConnell, P. J., & Becker, L. B. (2002). The role of the media in democratization. In *Political Communication Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research at the Barcelona Conference, July*.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 4th edition. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Milhem, S.M. (2007). *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*, Amman, Dar Al-Masirah.
- Mihailidis, P. (2005). Media literacy in journalism/mass communication education: Can the United States learn from Sweden? *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 60(4), 415-428.
- Muhammad, K. (1995). Resistance Journalism in the Diaspora, *Samad Economic Journal*, Seventeenth.

- Nagem, T. (2007). news frames of the Lebanese Islamic Resistance in the Arab press, *Egyptian Journal of Media Research* - No. 27, Cairo University, Faculty of Information.
- Nairat, R & Al-Shobaki & B, Bisharat, S. (2009). *The War on Gaza: Reading Reality and Implications for the Future*, Palestinian Center for Democracy and Studies.
- Naser, A, M. (2018). *The Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the official Palestinian media, Palestine TV as a case study model*, Al-Quds university.
- Nossek, H., & Rinnawi, K. (2003). Censorship and freedom of the press under changing political regimes: Palestinian media from Israeli Occupation to the Palestinian Authority. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)* 56(2), 183-202.
- One Palestine Complete (2000). *Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*. Tom Segev, Henry Holt and company, New York.
- Palestine Press and the National Movement in the Half Century (2005). Aida Al-Najjar, Arab Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut.
- Palestinian Central Election Commission. (2006). *Results of the Palestinian Legislative Elections*. <https://bit.ly/3hAqmF1>.
- Palestinian Media. (2015). *Origin and Development*, Mahmoud Khalifa, Ministry of Information, Ramallah.

- Penkower, M.N. (1984). Religious forerunners of Zionism. *Judaism*, 33(3).
- Pressman, J. (2003). The second intifada: Background and causes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Journal of Conflict Studies*.
- Qurei, A. (2005). On the way to the Palestinian state, Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut.
- Roberts, C. W. (1989). Other than counting words: A linguistic approach to content analysis. *Social Forces*, 68, 147–177.
- Rodrigo (2012). The Gatekeeping Process. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from The Write Pass Journal: <http://writepass.com/journal/2012/12/the-gatekeeping-process-includes-selecting-writing-editing-placing-scheduling-and-ect/>.
- Saleh, M. (2012). The Palestinian Issue: Historical Background and Contemporary Developments, Beirut: Zaytuna Center for Studies and Consultations.
- Salem, I. (2009). The Role of Egyptian Newspapers in Shaping the Knowledge and Attitudes of the Readership towards Political Issues, Zagazig University, Faculty of Arts.
- Sanchez, M., 2002. Agenda Setting. [online] California State University, Fresno <https://bit.ly/3jEyQwR>.

Schneider, G, (2020).EU reject Trump plan, *Reuters*. Retrieved on July 20, 2020 from:
<https://reut.rs/32XOopo>.

Shaheen, H. (2009). Standards for Building the Public Issues Agenda Presented in Opinion Programs in the Egyptian Governmental and Private TV Channels - A Study in the Contact List, *The Egyptian Journal of Media Research* –No. 33, Faculty of media, Cairo University.

Sharaf, G. (2004). *Methods of Covering Issues in Talk Show” Broadcasting Programs on Arab Satellite Channels*. Cairo University: Faculty of Media.

Shields, P. M., & Rangarajan, N. (2013). *A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management*. New Forums Press.

Singer, J. B. (2014). User-generated visibility: Secondary gatekeeping in a shared media space. *New Media & Society*, 16(1), 55-73.

Soroka, S. N. (2002). *Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Suleiman, M. (1987). *History of the Palestinian Press. (1976-1918)*. Bisan Press and Publication Nicosia.

The Israeli aggression on Gaza 2014, *Al-Jazeera Net*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from
<https://bit.ly/2EluaM6>.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Issue, 1991. A Historical Study.

Travers R. (1978). *Introduction to Educational Research*. 4th Ed. London: MacMillan.

Trump peace plan, (2020). *New York Times*. Retrieved online in 15 July, 2020 from <https://nyti.ms/3hDzHvG>.

Turban, M. (2008). *Palestinian Press and its Development*, Faculty of Media, Al-Aqsa University.

USA presidential election (2016). Result New York Times. <https://nyti.ms/30R5Mtl>.

Walliman, N. (2010). *Research Methods: The Basics*. London: Routledge.

Welbers, K., & Opgenhaffen, M. (2018). Social media gatekeeping: An analysis of the gatekeeping influence of newspapers' public Facebook pages. *New Media & Society*, 20(12), 4728-4747.

Yassin, A, Q. (1990). *Journalism and Political Life in Palestine 1948 - 1907, years (2008, 2012, 2014), reasons, operations, and results: A comparative study*. Palestine Institute for Strategic Studies.

Zanotti, J. (2010). *Israel and Hamas: Conflict in Gaza (2008-2009)*. DIANE Publishing.

Webster, D. (1992). *Building free and independent media*. Institute for Contemporary Studies.