

Engineering of Consent: Analysis of the Israel Lobby's Facebook Discourse in the U.S.

Omar Ahmad Abu Arqoub

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

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2019
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Acting Director

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

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Agah Gümüş
Acting 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 Doctor of Philosophy in Communication and Media Studies.

Prof. Dr. Bahire Efe Özad
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Prof. Dr. Aysel Aziz

2. Prof. Dr. Peyami Çelikcan

3. Prof. Dr. Bahire Efe Özad

4. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy

5. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Anil I Kemal Kaya

ABSTRACT

The present study seeks to investigate the Israel-Zionist Lobby's Facebook pages' discourse in the U.S. in 2018. This study examines the Lobby discourse in terms of engineering the American consent process regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, discourse construction (language, power, and ideologies usage within the Lobby's discourse), themes that emerged from the discourse and media representation of the conflict and all its components.

The present study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis and NVivo program to analyze sixty most interactive Facebook posts of the most popular Israel Lobby's Facebook pages in the U.S. (StandWithUs, United with Israel, Stand for Israel, Christians United for Israel, and The Israeli Project). The posts include texts, images, and videos. In terms of the theoretical framework, the study examines the Engineering of Consent approach, and the Discourse Theory within the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook pages.

Findings show that the Israel Lobby applied Bernays's eight-steps system of the engineering of consent for their discourse. In addition, the study detects abuse of power within the discourse and, the discourse was constructed in a biased, ideological, and hegemonic way, that only serves the interests and narrative of the Jews and Israel, the powerful side of the conflict. The themes that were identified are; terrorism and anti-Semitism, the Holocaust, religious and national occasions, Israel and the U.S. relationship, world silence and support for Israel, humanization, Israel in the victim's status.

Additionally, on one hand, the discourse represents and reflects the in-group (Jews, Israelis, Americans) in a positive manner and on the other hand, it also represents and reflects the out-group (Muslims, Arabs, Palestinians) in a negative manner.

Keywords: The Israel-Zionist lobby, Palestinian-Israeli conflict, United States of America, Facebook pages, The engineering of consent, Discourse Theory.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, 2018’de Amerika’daki İsrail-lobisi-Ziyonistlerin Facebook sayfalarının söylemini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma lobinin söylemini Filistin-İsrail çatışmasında Amerikalıların onayını almanın mühendisliğini, söylem yapısını (dil, güç ve lobi söylemindeki ideoloji kullanımını) söylemden çıkan temaları ve çatışmadaki tüm tarafların temsilini incelemektedir.

Çalışmada Eleştirel Söylem Analizi kullanılmıştır. Amerika’daki İsrail lobisinin en popüler Facebook sayfalarındaki (Stand With Us, İsrail, Christians United with Israil Project) 60 en interaktif Facebook mesajı N-Vivo programı kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Mesajlar metin, imge ve videodan oluşmaktadır. Kurumsal çerçeve olarak çalışma Onay Alma Mühendisliği Yaklaşımı, ve İsrail lobisinin Facebook sayfalarındaki söylemle ilgili Söylem Kuramını ele almaktadır.

Bulgular, İsrail lobisinin Bernay’ın 8 adımlık Onay Alma Mühendisliği sistemini söylemlerine uyguladıklarını göstermektedir. Buna ek olarak, bulgular söylemde gücün suistimal edildiğini, söylemin yapısının önyargılı, ideolojik ve baskın olduğunu ve yalnızca çatışmanın güçlü yanı Yahudilerin ve İsrail’in çıkarlarına ve hikayelerine hizmet ettiğini göstermektedir. Tespit edilen temalar şöyle sıralanabilir: terörizm, Yahudi karşıtlığı, Yahudi soykırımı, din, İsrail’in milli olayları, Amerika ile olan ilişkiler, dünyanın suskunluğu ve İsraili desteklemesi, insanlaştırma, İsrail’e kurban statüsünün verilmesi.

Bunlara ek olarak, bir yandan söylem grup içindekileri (Yahudi, İsraili ve Amerikalı) pozitif yönde temsil ederken, diğer yandan grup dışındakileri (Müslüman, Arap, Filistinli) negatif olarak temsil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İsrail-Ziyonist lobisi, Filistin-İsrail çatışması, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Facebook Sayfaları, Onay Almanın Mühendisliği ve Eleştirel Söylem Analizi.

DEDICATION

*To people who have meant and continue to mean so much to me, my
beloved mother and family,*

*To my father, May Allah bless his soul, who I will make his memory lives
on as long as I live,*

*To the Palestinian martyrs who are no longer in this world, but their
memories are still in Palestinian's minds,*

*To the symbol of sacrifice and dove of peace, the Palestinian glorious
prisoners,*

To Palestine, where love and freedom are in the air,

*To all victims of injustice who suffered and endured shadows of torture
for the living, freedom, and decent life,*

To people who consoled my losses and celebrated my victories,

I am dedicating this work...

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Bahire Efe Özac, who has guided and encouraged me from the commencement of this work until the end, and she made this dissertation a very unique learning experience. I owe her my deepest gratitude because without her precious supervision all my efforts could have been in vain.

I would like to thank my friends, Dr. Adeola Abdulateef ELEGA for his incessant support and brainstorm during the preparation of this study.

I am also thankful to my entire thesis monitoring committee and defense jury members, Prof. Dr. Aysel Aziz, Prof. Dr. Peyami Çelikcan, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Anıl Kemal Kaya, for their valuable comments and arguments for this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZ	v
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study	2
1.3 Problem Statement	8
1.4 Research Aims & Objectives.....	9
1.5 Research Questions	11
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	11
1.7 Limitations and Scope of the Study	12
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Historical Background of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	14
2.1.1 Definitions of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	15
2.1.2 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (1897- 1947).....	16
2.1.3 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 1947 - 1987	20
2.1.4 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 1987-2000	21
2.1.5 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (2000- 2018).....	22
2.2 The Israel-Zionist Lobby in the United States.....	26
2.2.1 Historical Background of the Israel-Zionist Lobby.....	26
2.2.2 Birth and Definition of the Israel Lobby in United States	29

2.2.3 Israel Lobby's Influence	34
2.2.4 Israel Lobby and the Americans' Consent	37
2.2.5 Israel Lobby's Strategies to Control American Media.....	39
2.2.6 Israel Lobby's Media Discourse	43
2.2.7 American Media Coverage for the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict	45
2.2.8 Israel Lobby and Social Media.....	46
2.2.9 Most Popular Facebook Pages of the Israel Lobby	49
2.3 New and Digital Media	50
2.3.1 Social Networking Sites (SNS)	54
2.3.2 Facebook	55
2.4 International Communication	57
2.4.1 International Communications as a Research Field.....	61
2.4.2 Relevance to the Present Study	62
2.5 Orientalism and Western Media Representation of the East.....	63
2.6 Political Communication and Digital Diplomacy	66
2.6.1 Digital Diplomacy.....	68
2.7 Manufacturing Consent and Propaganda Modal.....	71
2.7.1 Manufacturing Consent and Social Media.....	73
2.8 Political Economy of Social Media.....	74
2.9 Media Representation.....	76
2.10 Theoretical Framework.....	80
2.11 Engineering of Consent	81
2.11.1 Engineering of Consent within Public Relations History: An Overview	81
2.11.2 Definition of the Engineering of Consent	83
2.11.3 Eight-step System of EOC Approach	87

2.11.4 Understanding and Searching the Publics on Social Media.....	91
2.11.5 Engineering of Consent and Social Media's Big Data.....	95
2.11.6 Progression of (EOC) Focused Research from 1947 to 2018	97
2.11.7 Most Frequently Used Words in Engineering of Consent Research	98
2.11.8 Engineering of Consent Perspectives.....	101
2.11.9 Abuse of Engineering of Consent.....	112
2.11.10 Relevance of Engineering of Consent to the Present Study.....	113
2.12 Discourse Theory (DT).....	114
2.12.1 Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe	116
2.12.2 Key Concepts of Discourse Theory.....	118
2.12.3 Discourse Analysis of Discourse Theory.....	120
2.12.4 Discourse in Media Studies.....	121
2.12.5 Relevance of the Discourse Theory to the Current Study.....	121
3 METHODOLOGY	123
3.1 Research Paradigm.....	123
3.2 Qualitative Research Methodology.....	125
3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	127
3.3.1 Micro-level of Critical Discourse Analysis.....	129
3.3.2 Macro-level of Critical Discourse Analysis	132
3.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Studies	134
3.4 Data Collection Process.....	135
3.4.1 Fitness Criteria.....	138
3.4.2 Data Coding and Analysis.....	140
4 ANALYSIS	143
4.1 Textual and Descriptive Analysis (Micro Level).....	143

4.1.1 Word Tag Cloud of the Israel Lobby's Discourse on Facebook.....	144
4.1.2 Use of Pronouns.....	148
4.1.3 Use of Modals.....	152
4.1.4 Use of Conditional Sentences.....	154
4.1.5 Use of Verbs.....	155
4.1.6 Use of Adjectives.....	157
4.1.7 Use of Adverbs.....	159
4.1.8 Types and Tones of Used Sentences.....	161
4.1.9 Use of Direct Quotations.....	166
4.1.10 Use of Capital Letters within the Israel Lobby's Discourse	168
4.1.11 Use of Interactive Posts.....	170
4.1.12 Use of Hashtags within Israel Lobby's Discourse	171
4.1.13 News and Information Sources Used within the Israel Lobby's Discourse	173
4.1.14 Use of Israeli and Jewish Symbols	174
4.1.15 Themes of the Israel Lobby's Discourse	176
4.2 Sociopolitical Context Analysis (Macro Level)	195
4.2.1 Representation of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.....	195
4.2.2 Power and Hegemony within the Israel Lobby's Discourse.....	205
4.2.3 Israel Lobby's Ideology toward the Palestinian-Israel Conflict	209
4.3 Use of Engineering of Consent Approach within the Lobby's Discourse.....	217
5 CONCLUSION	223
5.1 Summary of the Study.....	223
5.1.1 Summary of the Study Findings	224
5.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study	243

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research.....	244
REFERENCES.....	246

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The distribution of Jews who immigrated to Palestine between 1880 - 1948	19
Table 2: Israel affinity organizations (IAOs) in the United States.....	32
Table 3: Categories of Israel lobbyist organizations in the United States.....	33
Table 4: Public segmentation and public search variables	93
Table 5: Most 30 frequently used words within EOC-focused papers.....	99
Table 6: Main sources cited in Engineering of consent perspectives.....	111
Table 7: Five Facebook pages that have been chosen	137
Table 8: Types of the Israel Lobby's sample posts.....	140
Table 9: First 50 most frequently used words within the sample of study	146
Table 10: Use of Pronouns within the Israel Lobby's discourse	149
Table 11: Usage of modality within the Israel Lobby's discourse	152
Table 12: Verbs mentioned within the Israel Lobby's discourse	155
Table 13: Use of adjectives within the Israel Lobby's discourse	158
Table 14: Most frequently used sentence types and tones within the Israel Lobby's discourse	161
Table 15: Use of quotations within the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	166
Table 16: Capital Letters within the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	168
Table 17: Interactive posts within the Israel Lobby's discourse	170
Table 18: Hashtags mentioned within the sample of Israel Lobby's discourse	171
Table 19: Sources used within the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook.....	173
Table 20: Israeli and Hebrew symbols within the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	175
Table 21: Individual and political relations within the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	206

Table 22: Use of the EOC steps within the Lobby's Discourse 217

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: U.S. Jewish population from 1654 to 2010.....	29
Figure 2: U.S. aid to Israel since 1946 to 2017	36
Figure 3: Evolution of World Wide Web	52
Figure 4: Timeline of the launch dates of many major SNSs	55
Figure 5: Media representation as a process	77
Figure 6: The eight-step system of EOC approach	88
Figure 7: Progression of EOC focused research between 1947 to 2018	97
Figure 8: Word tag cloud of EOC focused research.....	99
Figure 9: Major perspectives explored within EOC focused papers.....	101
Figure 10: Freud's 'Iceberg Segmentation' of the human mind (McLeod, 2009; Walsh, 2002).....	105
Figure 11: Most frequently used words within the Israel Lobby's discourse	144
Figure 12: Major themes of the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	176
Figure 13: Video shows rockets launched from Gaza as a terrorist attack.....	177
Figure 14: Post of UWU page about the Holocaust	179
Figure 15: Religious discourse published by the Israel Lobby in the U.S.....	182
Figure 16 shows the playing of the Israeli anthem 'Hatikvah' in Jerusalem in the Holocaust Memorial Day	184
Figure 17: UWI celebrate the moving of the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem	186
Figure 18: Post by CUFU includes pray to bless Israel and the U.S. by Netanyahu. 187	
Figure 19: Israeli children hide from a Palestinian rocket.....	191
Figure 20: Post shows Israeli children hiding from Palestinian rockets.....	193
Figure 21: Post shows solidarity with the Pittsburgh victims.....	193

Figure 22: Representation of Hamas within the Israel Lobby's discourse.....	201
Figure 23: Representation of Jerusalem within the Israel Lobby's discourse	203

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Israel-Zionist Lobby in the United States of America (U.S.A) continues to play an effective role in the American internal and foreign policies, especially towards the Palestinian-Israel conflict (Lieberman, 2014). In 2000, one American official at Camp David agreement said, "Far too often, we functioned as Israel's lawyer" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006).

This role has been played by The Lobby for many decades and the primary goal is to get support from the Americans towards various Jewish and Israeli issues. Given the array of issues, the Lobby functions as advocacy groups, non-profit organizations, traditional and digital media (social media such as Facebook).

Over the last decade, the Lobby's organizations have become formidable in their effort to dictate their very own narrative of the Israel-Zionist conflict. This effort has led to the engineering of the American people's consent, opinions and attitudes when it comes to the Israeli and Jewish peoples' issues (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). In line with this, the present study explores The Israel Lobby's use of media, discourse, narrative, representation, embedded ideology, power relations, language and communication used on the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages.

The evolution diffusion of communication technologies into civilians' lives over the last decade have enabled politicians, organizations, Lobby and advocacy groups, etc., to control and have a major effect on the public opinion across various countries. Social media, especially Facebook, reaches a huge number of people, and Americans are no exception of this. By the first quarter of 2018, it had 2.17 billion monthly active users worldwide and around 230 millions of them were Americans (Kemp, 2018). This study focuses on the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages in terms of form and content of their discourse (discourse construction, form, themes, representation, ideology and power relations).

In order to achieve what has been stated above, the present study uses qualitative methodology and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to analyze the most active and interactive Israel-Zionist Lobby's Facebook pages which are: StandWithUs (SWU), United with Israel (UWI), Stand for Israel (SFI), Christians United for Israel (CUFI) and The Israeli Project (TIP). This study is theoretically guided by "the Engineering of Consent" (EOC) approach, and the Discourse Theory (DT).

This first chapter presents an introduction to this study. It consists of Background of the Study, Problem Statement, Research Aims and Objectives, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, and Limitations and Scope of the Study.

1.2 Background of the Study

The continuous Palestinian-Israeli conflict practically started in 1948 through Jewish occupation of the Palestinian land. This called for Israelis "declaration of Israeli state",

and what Palestinians consider it as "Al-Nakba"¹ meaning (the Catastrophe). The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been described as one of the most gruesome conflicts in the world. It is said that the Israeli occupies more than (80%) of the Palestinian land. The initiation and origins of the conflict can be traced back to the 1897 Basle Conference which was organized by the Zionist movement in Switzerland when the Zionist movement decided to choose Palestine as a national homeland for Jews and declare their intention to establish Israel in Palestine (Munayer & Loden, 2014; Neal, 1995).

The Israel Lobby in the U.S. is an alliance of mainly Jewish collectives or individuals who seek and make efforts to shape and influence the American foreign policy and Americans attitudes. The Lobby also is mainly concerned with the unwavering support for Israel, its interests, policies and attitudes especially towards the Middle East. Typically, the Lobby does not consist of only American Jewish people. It also includes seculars, Christians, and other groups (Lieberman, 2009; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007, 2009).

The roots of the Israel Lobby in the U.S. dates back to 1941 when the Jewish Agency and Israel was first represented in the United Nations. In the 1950's, American Jewish people established the American Zionist Council (AZC), and the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs (AZCPA) which in 1959 was renamed as American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Both organizations have been working as

¹ "The 1948 Palestinian exodus, also known as the Nakba (Arabic: النكبة, al-Nakbah, lit. "disaster", "catastrophe", or "cataclysm"), occurred when more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were expelled from their homes, during the 1948 Palestine war. The term Nakba also refers to the period of war itself and events affecting Palestinians from December 1947 to January 1949." (Zochrot Organization, 2014, para. 1).

the first Public Relations units of the Israel Lobby in the United States of America. In and around this time, other important Zionist organizations also operated e.g. Zionist Organization of America. All these organizations worked as the mouthpiece of the issues concerning the Jewish and Israel Lobby mission (Kenen, 1981; Verbeeten, 2006).

According to Malik (2017), the core agenda of most Israel Lobby's organizations in the United States are; aiding financial and ammunition subventions for Israel, seeking financial support and attempting to influence actions of the White House, influencing public opinion through academics and the regulation of media outlets such as The New York Times and C-SPAN.

Since the Israeli-Arabic October War in 1973, America has been supporting Israel much more than it does any other country, especially against the Middle Eastern countries. This support has been achieved through the influential role of the Israel Lobby in the United States (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). As of 2003, the total amount of financial support from U.S. to Israel is around \$140 billion dollars, given that U.S. provides Israel with about \$3 billion annually to develop its artillery concurrently with giving Israel an access to intelligent information and ignoring its nuclear weapons project (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). Moreover, the U.S has been notably supporting Israel diplomatically since 1982. And in 2017, the U.S. has used her veto power for forty three times against the United Nations Security Council's resolutions when they criticized Israel (Okhovat, 2011; The New Arab, 2017). In addition to this, the U.S.

has played a vital role in the negotiations of the 1993 Oslo Accords². They clearly supported and backed the Israeli agenda.

During Bush's presidency, the main strategy explicated towards the Middle Eastern issues aimed at improving the Israeli strategic relations and security. This was proved in the invasion of Iraq and the U.S.'s attitude in the last war in Lebanon. They opposed calls for ceasefire according to the Israeli demands. According to the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), "The United States and Israel have formed a unique partnership to meet the growing strategic threats in the Middle East. This cooperative effort provides significant benefits for both the U.S. and Israel" (AIPAC, 2015). The U.S. justified its support for Israel on the grounds that it is a weak state surrounded by enemies, and that it is the only democratic country in the region (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). They also justified it with the fact Jewish people have suffered heinous human rights violations and hence they deserve preferential treatments. This has made Israel to be morally superior to its enemies' behavior, and fighting "Islamic" terrorism, especially after 11 September attack (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). On the other hand, these justifications are contrary to the truth, that Israel today is the strongest power in the Middle East. It is the only state that has nuclear programs and weapons in the region. It refuses to grant Palestinians their own

² The 1993 Oslo Accords "Is an agreement signed between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on September 13, 1993, meant to effectively bring the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to its end by means of territorial concessions and facilitating the creation of the Palestinian Authority. The accords, representing a milestone in Israeli-Palestinian relations, were finalized in Oslo, Norway, on August 20, 1993. The official signing ceremony was held in Washington the following September, with then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat representing both sides and US President Bill Clinton serving as their witness." (Ynetnews, 2009, para. 1).

democratic state, and it is controlling the lives of roughly 6.5 million Palestinians in Gaza, occupied Palestine (1948), and West Bank (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006).

Consequently, during the first two years of America's president Donald J. Trump's time in the office, he adopted the Israel Lobby and AIPAC's agenda on the Middle East. He promised before winning the position of the American president election in 2016 that he'd move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem; pushing the Congress and America's allies to strengthen the nuclear deal with Iran, cutting funds to the Palestinians as a means of forcing them to align more with Israel and the West. In recent times, United States representatives are seen to be releasing strong statements against the United Nations members who oppose the U.S. policies toward Israel (Kampeas, 2018).

As it has been mentioned earlier, the Israel-Zionist Lobby in the U.S. has formed a good number of influential organizations that impacts the U.S.A foreign policy; AIPAC being one of the most powerful and well-known ones. It was ranked as the second most influential organization in the U.S. (International Business Publications, 2009). AIPAC and other key organizations of the Lobby are run by extremists who generally support major policies of Israel's Likud party (right wing) (AIPAC, 2017). The Lobby has two main strategies to get the U.S. support. First, it has the influence and pressure on both the Congress and the executive branch to support Israel in their decisions. Secondly, it ensures that the U.S. public discourse represents Israel positively way, by repeating the Israel-Zionist narratives and myths about Israel-Palestinian conflict to prevent critical comments that could make the Americans critique Israel (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006).

Accordingly, pro-Israel organizations work hard to influence the American media, think tanks and academic institutions. Numerous of those organizations are funded and ran by people who are committed to the Israeli agenda. The Lobby's perspective of Israel is widely reflected in the mainstream media because the majority of American commentators are pro-Israel. For example, Bartley, one editor of the Wall Street Journals, once stated, "Shamir, Sharon, or Bibi, whatever those guys want is pretty much fine by me" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p. 19). The Lobby devises numerous strategies in confronting the anti-Israel people. These strategies include writing letters, organizing campaigns, demonstrations and boycotts against these individuals, collectives and media outlets (Barringer, 2002). Some American mainstream media that prominently provide a pro-Israel editorial policy include: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Sun-Times, Washington Times, New Republic, and Weekly Standard (Lieberman, 2009).

One tool that has largely aided the efforts of all of the above-mentioned groups, strategies of the Israel Lobby in the United States is social media. It has been used in political actions, protest movements and public media campaigns, and it has become a coordinating tool for political movements and governments. Israel-Zionist Lobby uses the same technologies and platforms to mobilize and increase pro-Israel sentiments. For example, they convey a positive representation and coverage about the state of Israel (Ayalon, 2015; Nir, 2005). Since 2013, the Israeli government has collaborated with the Israel lobby's media to engage in recruiting social media and digital "cover units" to defeat a wide range of enemies who provide anti-Israel discourse in all fields. At a digital diplomacy conference in 2016, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said "Israel is banking on social media to win the hearts and minds of the

public" (Ahren, 2017, para. 1). It coordinates the lobby's media in the U.S. and supplies them with posts, publications, and messages, which indicates that the Lobby is linked to the Israeli government (Ahren, 2017).

The Israel Lobby constantly works on the national branding of Israel. These images include the assumption that Israel is the only democratic country in the Middle East and the defender of liberal democracy. It also portrays Israel as a global hub of technological and high-tech innovation, and it promotes Tel Aviv as a gay city with open and liberal mind, in other words a metropolitan city. They also portray the Palestinian terrorism as synonymous to ISIS's i.e. just like ISIS that targets European countries, Palestinian terror targets Israel. Also, the Palestinian National Authority and Hamas are both dedicated to harming Israel and there is no difference between them, Palestinian terrorists attack Israel not because of the occupation but because of its liberal democratic nature and finally, Israel is leading a global war of "light" vs. "darkness" (Manor, 2015, para. 10).

The Lobby uses social media strategies to keep the Israeli narrative alive through varied social media accounts for the Lobby's organizations, leaders, media, and members. They shut down social media pages that belongs to opposite groups or anti-Israel media. They also organize social media propaganda campaigns and secret campaigns etc. (Abunimah, 2019; Silverstein, 2018).

1.3 Problem Statement

It is unmistakable as mentioned in the Background of the Study that the Israel Lobby has an influential role in pushing the Israel and Jewish issues in the American society. Indeed, it has managed to engineer the American public's consent, opinions and

attitudes. They have done this through the discourse and narrative addressed in the traditional and new media platforms.

One of the major concerns and concentrations of this study is the representation of the Israel Lobby in the Palestinian Israel conflict. This representation helps to shape attitudes and perceptions of every element of the war. This representation also covers the attitudes and perception towards the Palestinians, Israeli, Jews, Muslims and other foreign involvements.

Despite the vital significance of the issue, there is dearth of scholarly focus on the Israeli lobby's role in the U.S. especially from the angle of engineering of the public's consent. This is largely because there is evident repercussion from studies like this because of the immense power and opportunities of the Lobby to influence academia across the world.

What is more, this study has even become even more indispensable with the use of social media by the Israel Lobby; hence investigating the discourse used by them has become a *sine qua non*.

1.4 Research Aims & Objectives

The current study aims to:

1. Contribute to the scarcity of studies in this area by adopting CDA.
2. Investigate how the language, discourse and communication of the Israel Lobby on Facebook pages is used in engineering the Americans consent regarding to the

Israeli narrative of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This study adopts the EOC approach in this regard.

3. Regarding the Israel-Zionist Lobby's position on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; this study explores discourse aspects such as, most frequently used terms, news sources, quotations, textual and linguistic features, symbols, ideologies and power relation.
4. Identify the abuse of power and ideologies within The Israel Lobby's discourse in the U.S. in respect to the Palestinian Israeli conflict.
5. Find out the themes and major topics that the Israel Lobby discusses and presents to its American audience.
6. Clarify the kind of relationship between the Israel Lobby and the U.S. in the Israeli perspective which made U.S. as the most pro-Israel country around the world.
7. Find out how the Israel lobby's Facebook pages represent the Palestinian-Israeli conflict including the representation of Palestinians, Arabs, Israelis, Jews, United States, and Jerusalem.
8. Define the prominent justifications highlighted by the Israel Lobby for the Israeli occupation crimes in Palestine.

1.5 Research Questions

This study aims to explore how the content of the Israel-Zionist Lobby is used in engineering the American people's consent, opinions and attitudes through the Israel-Zionist lobby's Facebook pages. In line with this, the researcher seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. How did the Israel Lobby in the U.S. construct their discourse and represent the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the selected Facebook pages in the year 2018?

RQ2. What are the main themes that emerged from the Israel Lobby's discourse in the selected Facebook pages in the year 2018?

RQ3. How did the selected Israel lobby's Facebook pages work to engineer the Americans consent regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during 2018 in the U.S.?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research is important for several reasons, the first of which is the lack of studies of scholarly efforts in this area and provide a deeper analysis and explanations about the Israel lobby; there is no study that has focused on the issue yet. Secondly, it is important because it examines the issue through the EOC approach. The third reason is that, a study like this will serve as an important resource for further studies in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Fourth, the study is expected to provide newer insights for researchers, journalists, Public Relations practitioners and governments etc.

What is more, this study will inform the Palestinians publics about the Israel-Zionist Lobby's narrative of their conflict and how it works. Also, the analysis of the Israel-

Zionist Lobby's social media content provides a clear understanding of the Israel Lobby and how it engineers the world in the Palestinian- Israel conflict.

This study would also provide insights into important events and issues such as the relocation of U.S. embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, pulling out from the Western-Iranian nuclear agreement and other decisions that he took regarding to the Palestinian-Israel conflict (Begley, 2016).

Fifth, the study is also important in the sense that it buttresses other studies that has talked about how social media, big data and new forms of technology are used in engineering the consent of the publics.

1.7 Limitations and Scope of the Study

The current study focuses on the discourse, of the Israel-Zionist Lobby's Facebook pages. It specifically centers on the English language content of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in 2018. The Israel Lobby's social media pages and websites of organizations are examined by the researcher and after scrutinizing it, the most popular and interactive five pages are selected for this study. These pages are (StandWithUs, United with Israel, Stand for Israel, Christians United for Israel, The Israel Project).

Furthermore, the researcher chose Facebook because it is the most popular social media platform that the Israel Lobby uses in the U.S.

This study is limited in its focus on content in the year 2018. The study focuses on this year because, first, it comes after the America's 2016 presidential election which enable the researcher to identify the new president's policies as it affects the

Palestinian-Israel conflict in favor of Israel (O. Abu Arqoub, 2018). Second, it analyze the discourse of 2018 which will reveal a recent and newest results about the Israel Lobby's work, role, and discourse.

This study is also limited to the Israel Lobby and the researcher focuses on the Israel Lobby because it is one of the most powerful and influential lobbies in the U.S. They date back to many decades and they've helped achieve numerous Zionist goals and hence deserves to be studied.

Furthermore, this study is also limited in its sample considering that it focuses on the 60 most interactive posts on the five pages selected. The content includes texts, images, videos, hashtags, links, and emojis etc.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains the historical background of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict hence this section presents the definitions, chronological arrangement of major events within the conflict. On the other hand, it presents an overview of the Israel-Zionist Lobby in the United States hence it provides the definitions, the historical background, the Lobby influence in America, media discourse, and the relationships of the Lobby with media and social media. In addition to, New Media, International Communication, Orientalism, Political Communication, Manufacturing Consent, Political Economy, False Consciousness, and its relationships to the present study. For theoretical framework, this chapter discusses the Engineering of Consent (EOC) approach and the Discourse Theory. The section also discusses the relevance of these theories to the present study.

2.1 Historical Background of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The background of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in this study helps to understand the aspects of the conflict and the role of Israel Lobby in the U.S. over the last century towards the conflict. This part is structured in a chronological order, the definition of Palestine, Zionist movement, the Israel Lobby in the United States, the Israel lobby's influence, Israel Lobby and the Americans' consent, the Israel lobby's strategies in controlling American media, the Israel lobby's media discourse, the Israel Lobby and

social media, the American media coverage for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the most interactive Facebook pages of the Israel Lobby in the U.S.

2.1.1 Definitions of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict can be best explained as a continuous struggle between Palestinians and Israelis which started practically in 1948 coinciding with the Israeli occupation. The Jews and Israelis called it as "Declaration of Israeli State". The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been described as one of the most gruesome conflict in the world. It is said that the Israeli occupies more than 80% of the Palestinian lands. As mentioned in chapter one, the initials and origins of the conflict can be traced back to the 1897 Basle Conference in Switzerland when the Zionist movement decided to choose Palestine as a national homeland for Jews and declare their intention to establish Israel in Palestine (Munayer & Loden, 2014; Neal, 1995).

Historical Palestine

The historical land of Palestine is located in a strategic location in the Middle East among Egypt, Syria, Jourdan, Lebanon, and the Mediterranean Sea. It is considered as a holy place in Islam and the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity. It has an area of 27.000 km, Sq. linking Asia with Africa, Mediterranean Sea with Red Sea, and Atlantic with Pacific Ocean. This region was controlled by numerous civilizations, such as Ancient Egyptians, Canaanites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Ancient Greeks, Romans, Sasanians, Byzantines, the Arab Rashidun, Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Ottomans, and the British (Saleh, 2012). The Palestinian population of the West Bank is three million, with two million at Gaza Strip and 1.8 million living inside Israel. It is estimated that around six million in other parts of the world (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2018).

Zionist Movement

One of the most significant elements of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the modern Zionist movement which can be defined as an international Jewish nationalist movement which was founded in Europe in the last decade of the 19th century by Theodor Herzl. The purpose of this movement is to confront anti-Semitism and to re-establish of what it is called "Jewish homeland" or "Historic land", or "Israel" in Palestine. This happened in 1948 and since then Israel has grown to be a powerful country hence this movement has changed its focus and it now solely concentrates on strengthen the role and position of Israel in the global space (Gelvin, 2014; LeVine & Mossberg, 2014).

The most important mission of the Zionist movement after 1897 was to encourage and motivate Jews from all around the world to immigrate to Palestine and these immigrations have continued after the creation of Israel. For the same purpose, the Zionist movement established numerous organizations to support its interests, especially after the Basle Conference, which was held in 1897 such as World Zionist Council, and The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) (Gelvin, 2014; LeVine & Mossberg, 2014).

2.1.2 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (1897- 1947)

In the first conference of the Zionist movement in 1897, the decision of establishing Israel in Palestine had been taken, and in the conference the infamous phrase the "land without people for a people without land" was coined (MidEastWeb, 1999). According to The Basle Program Resolutions of the First Zionist Congress, procedures for the decision were specified, some of them are as follows (MidEastWeb, 1999):

1. Unite the Jews all around the world through the suitable means, institutions, organizations according to each country laws.
2. Enhancing the Jewish religious and national pertinence.
3. Preparatory work for obtaining the permission of governments and political entities to achieve the Zionism goals and seeks.

Choosing Palestine as the Jewish Homeland

The choosing of Palestine as the holy homeland for Jews was enforced by Herzl, the ideological father of the Zionist movement following two main convictions. First, for all Jewish people to have a homeland that all Jews around the world can stay, visit and be entitled to. Second, the ability to convince and engineer the Jews' consent that Jewish people have the right to establish their own state in Palestine following the fact that it was mentioned Torah, in their holy book (Rovner, 2014).

Before choosing Palestine as the homeland, there were other choices which were discussed inside the Zionist movement such as "Uganda Proposal" in 1903. This proposal was suggested by Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary to establish Israel in East Africa, Uganda. This suggestion made splits and arguments in the 6th Zionist Congress. The Congress formed a new committee to look into this controversial suggestion. In addition to these, Argentina was another choice. It is evident that Herzl wanted a state for Jews no matter where it would be (Pasachoff & Littman, 2005).

Herzl rejected the above-mentioned homeland suggestions because he believed that Palestine would be the best place based on strong justifications. First, Palestine is

considered as the birthplace of the Jews, Hebrew Bible, Judaism, Christianity, and it includes Jewish historical and holy places. Because of this reason, Herzl's suggestion was agreed upon by both devoted Christians and religious Jewish people. Second, the population of Palestine wasn't high and that would enable Jews to be the majority. This was possible because Palestine was under the control of the weak Ottoman empire³. Third, the Westerners and colonizers needed an entity in the Middle East that will protect their interests (Pasachoff & Littman, 2005; Rovner, 2014).

During the World War I, Britain and France convinced the League of Nations to divide the Arabic world and the legacy of Ottoman Empire between them, and all that had been accomplished in the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement. On November 2nd 1917, the British government affirmed the Balfour Declaration after lobbying efforts which had been completed by Herzl, Jewish organizations, and other Zionist leaders such as Chaim Weizmann who was elected later as the Zionist movement's leader from 1920 to 1946 - except one presidential term (Saleh, 2012; The Palestinian Return Centre, 2017). In the Balfour Declaration, the British government granted Jews the right to establish their national state in Palestine with official support as follow:

His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country (The Palestinian Return Centre, 2017, p. 4).

³ The Ottoman Empire was considered weak politically, militarily, and economically from the late 18th to early 20th centuries for numerous reasons such as: Ottoman military defeats, Ottoman institutional insolvency, the ongoing Ottoman political and economic modernization program, the rise of ethno-religious nationalism in its provinces, and Great Power rivalries. The Empire characterized as the "sick man of Europe," the empire's weakened military in the second half of the 18th century threatened to undermine the fragile balance of power largely shaped by the Concert of Europe (Finkel, 2007).

In 1922, the League of Nations decided to adopt Balfour Declaration proclaiming that British government has the responsibility to apply the declaration and safeguard the religious and civil rights for all people there as "The Palestine mandate". At the same time, Britain cooperated with the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine by legal and illegal ways. Also at this time, concerns about anti-Semitism became an issue that the West were highly alarmed about (Marcuse, Beinin, & Hajjar, 2009; Saleh, 2012). After that, the immigration wave of Jewish people to Palestine increased. This was termed 'Aliya' which means pilgrimage to the holy land (Alsahly, 2004). The details of the immigration movement are represented in Table 1.

Table 1: The distribution of Jews who immigrated to Palestine between 1880 - 1948

Aliya Number	Time Period	Number of Immigrants
1	1880-1903	25000
2	1904-1914	34000
3	1919 –1923	35100
4	1924-1931	78898
5	1932-1939	224784
6	1940-1948	118300
Total	1880-1948	516.082

Table 1 shows that the population of the Jews reached more than 650.000; 31.5% of the whole people in Palestine. It is worthy of note that the only 8% of Jews lived Palestine in 1914 (Alsahly, 2004). As of 2018, it is estimated that the population of Jews in Israel amounted to 6.7 million; 74.4% of the total population (Aderet, 2018).

In 1947, when Britain declared its intention to end its mandate in Palestine, the U.N. took a decision that was called 181⁴ to divide Palestine to Arabic and Jewish states; Jerusalem will be an international enclave, which is the solution that got full support of the Zionist movement because it corresponded with their goal. On the other side, the Palestinian and Arabic leaders rejected the decision and the actual confrontations started immediately (Philo & Berry, 2011).

2.1.3 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 1947 - 1987

On May 14th 1948, the Britain declared the end of its mandate, and on the same day, the Jewish Agency announced the birth of Israel state which was first headed by the President David Ben Gurion. Arab countries tried to stop this. The first war against Israeli armed gangs had begun, Israel won the war which led to mass departure of more than 800.000 Palestinians. These group of people lost their lands and homes. The Israeli troops committed more than seventy massacres and killed more than fifteen thousand Palestinians and Arabs. It is stated that, in one of these massacres, 254 Palestinians were killed in "Deir Yaseen" ⁵massacre. (Philo & Berry, 2011; Saleh, 2012).

In 1956, the second war erupted between Israel in collaboration with France and Britain against Egypt. This war is called Sinai Crisis. In this war, Israel and its allies

⁴ United Nations Resolution 181: "resolution passed by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1947 that called for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, with the city of Jerusalem as a corpus separatum (Latin: "separate entity") to be governed by a special international regime. The resolution—which was considered by the Jewish community in Palestine to be a legal basis for the establishment of Israel, and which was rejected by the Arab community—was succeeded almost immediately by violence."(Lotha, 2014, para. 1).

⁵ Deir Yaseen massacre: "some 120 members of underground Jewish militia groups invaded the Palestinian Arab village of Deir Yassin, killing between 100 and 250 people including men, women, children and the elderly. With reports of mutilations, rapes and survivors being paraded through Jewish neighbourhoods before being summarily executed, the massacre remains one of the most brutal in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."(Hasan, 2018, para. 1).

failed to invade Egypt. In 1964, The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was established as the first official representative of Palestinians to lead the liberation efforts (Saleh, 2012). The conflict continued with meagre intervention from the Palestinians and Arabs against Israelis, meanwhile Israel continue to build a strong army, economy, and grow politically strong backed by European countries and the U.S.

In 1967, Israel won "The Six Day War" against the Arab countries (Syria, Jordan and Egypt). The results of this war led to more than 330,000 exiled Palestinians. More than 20,000 Palestinians were killed, and the official occupation of Gaza Strip, West Bank, Sinai, Golan Heights, whole Jerusalem, the holy places commenced. The aftermath of this war led to the U.N. Security Council's declaration of the 242 decision, which calls Israel to withdraw from the lands they occupied in the last war. In 1973, the October War launched between Israel with the full support from U.S. and for Palestinians, Egypt and Syria. This war was ended by both sides signing a truce (Philo & Berry, 2011; Saleh, 2012).

2.1.4 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 1987-2000

In 1987, the first popular Intifada (Uprising) broke out after an Israeli van ran over and killed five Palestinians in Gaza Strip. Palestinians, their political and liberation parties started an uprising against Israel. The Intifada resulted in 130,000 injured people, 1450 deaths and 116,000 prisoners throughout the six years of the first Intifada (Saleh, 2012).

After starting peace processes and negotiations, especially the Madrid conference in 1991, the Intifada ended by a political decision in 1993. The conference involved

signing a peace agreement called Oslo Accords in Norway which gave the Palestinians the right to create their own self-governing authority with numerous details and restrictions about political, economic, and military issues, and in return the PLO admitted the right of Israel to exist in Palestine (Gelvin, 2014; Marcuse et al., 2009; Saleh, 2012).

2.1.5 Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (2000- 2018)

In 2000, the second popular Intifada erupted after the sudden visit of Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Prime Minister, to Al-Aqsa Mosque yard in Jerusalem with 600 Israeli soldiers and policemen accompanying him. Sharon has been accused of committing numerous massacres against Palestinians (Philo & Berry, 2011). Hence, the confrontations started from inside Al-Aqsa Mosque and it spread to the whole Palestine. Amira Hass, a famous Israeli journalist, stated that "frustration of Palestinians and failures of Oslo Accords were the reasons" (Philo & Berry, 2011, p. 104). The Intifada is still going on, but some sources have said that it finished in 2005 after it caused the death of 4242 people (Saleh, 2012).

In 2002, the Israeli army invades West Bank and parts of Gaza Strip in a large military process called Operation Defensive Shield. At the same time, Israel started to build an apartheid wall in West Bank. Commenting on building this wall, The International Court of Justice took a decision in 2004 that it is illegal and should be removed (Saleh, 2012). Israel refused the decision, and the wall is existed until today. In 2004, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian President was assassinated by using poison in the Palestinian Authority Headquarters in Ramallah which was under the Israeli siege. Palestinian officials said that the poison (polonium) that was used to assassinate him can be traced to Israel (Sherwood, 2013).

In 2005 and few years later, Israel adopted the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, and the actions of the Intifada decreased because peace talks named RoadMap which was initiated to establish a Palestinian state, and this initiative had not been applied. In 2006, the Palestinian Islamic and resistance movement (Hamas) won the legislative election for the first time. Later on, the Palestinian division took place between Hamas and Fateh (Palestinian National Liberation Movement), ruling party in Palestine, and that division gave rise to in-group confrontations and shootings. As a result, Hamas controlled Gaza Strip, and Fateh controlled West Bank (Saleh, 2012).

In 2007, Israel declared Gaza as a hostile territory and since 2008, three Israeli-led confrontations have been declared on Gaza strip which is controlled by Hamas party. Gaza has been subjected to a long siege. Israel closed its outlets and the international aids. Living circumstances got worse (Hammoudeh, Hogan, & Giacaman, 2013). During the military operation in June 2006 between Palestinians and Israel, Hamas captured an Israeli soldier named Gilad Shalit and in December 2008, Israeli army declared war against Palestinians in Gaza by shooting an airstrike that killed 225 Palestinians and more than 700 were injured. The two main reasons they started this war is to undermine Hamas regime and to restore the Israeli soldier deterrence. The Israeli army bombarded the Headquarters of the Government, official Palestinian institutions, mosques etc. It is worth noting that those attacks were done by using phosphorus bombs⁶. The war lasted for 21 days, and it left 1430 Palestinians dead,

⁶ "Israel's repeated firing of white phosphorus shells over densely populated areas of Gaza during its recent military campaign was indiscriminate and is evidence of war crimes" (Human Rights Watch, 2009, para. 1).

5450 injured and 9000 homeless as their homes were demolished. For Israeli, 48 soldiers were killed and 411 were injured (Amditis, 2012; Philo & Berry, 2011).

In December 2012, Israeli army declared another war by assassinating Ahmad Aljabari, a military leader of Hamas, in Gaza. Hundreds of airstrikes were carried within eight days, Palestinians had 185 martyrs. On the other hand, Israelis who were killed during the war were just six. The main Israeli aims of the war were to stop rockets which were launched from Gaza, to examine the new regime in Egypt after the revolution (Cohen et al., 2017; Hammoudeh et al., 2013).

In July 2014, Israel attacked Gaza to start the toughest and longest war in the last decades. The war lasted for 51 days and it caused war crimes that Israeli army committed in Gaza. Also, the Palestinian resistance strongly increased during the war. The main reasons for the war was to "to stop firing rockets from Gaza to Israel and to destroy the infrastructure of the terrorists in Gaza" (O. Abu Arqoub, 2015, p. 18). The war left 2,147 dead Palestinians, including 530 children, and 10,870 injured people including 3,303 children. On the other hand, 70 Israelis were killed. Most of these were soldiers, and 740 were injured (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, 2014; Naami, 2014)

Moreover, the United Nation controlled by the western countries, including the U.S., which mostly uses its votes to support Israel, such as recognizing Israel as a state in 1949 one year after its establishment. On the other hand, the recognition of Palestine as an observer State "not even a full member" were in 2012, when the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to raise the status of Palestine as entity to the

observer state, the decision was supported by 138 states, and opposed by nine states including the U.S. (Charbonneau, 2012). As the background of the U.N. decisions to recognize Palestine, it began in 1974 when the U.N. recognized the PLO as the legal representative of the Palestinians with the right to attend sessions of the General Assembly. In 1988, the U.N. adopted the Palestinian independent declaration and replaced the name of PLO to Palestine in the U.N. system (Aljazeera, 2017).

In terms of the peace process, the Palestinians and Israelis got into many rounds of negotiations with the international communities overseeing it and numerous times, Israel has always been treated with preferential treatment. The main albatross of these peace talks till now are the following; the Israeli recognition of Palestinian state, borders, security, prisoners, water rights, controlling Jerusalem, movement freedom of Palestinians, Israeli settlements, and Palestinian right of return (The Guardian, 2014; United Nations, 2014).

The newest peace agreement between Palestinians and Israelis was suggested in 2017 by Donald Trump, the president of U.S, He called it as the "Deal of the Century". Palestinians rejected it because it is in favor of Israel and is biased towards Palestinians. The features of the deal are: to settle some of the Palestinians outside the occupied Palestinian territories such as Sinai and Jordan, to end the right of return of the Palestinian refugees, to annexure major Israeli settlement blocs in the West Bank to Israeli borders. The other features are that Jerusalem will be "the eternal capital of Israel" with full Israeli sovereignty over the Al-Aqsa Mosque, a Jerusalem village which is called Abu Dis would be granted to Palestinians as their capital instead of

ancient Jerusalem, and Palestinian should recognize Israel as a Jewish state (O. Abu Arqoub, 2018).

The historical background of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict indicates that the vital role of the U.S. is found in supporting Israel and the Zionist movement to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. In addition to what was mentioned above, the U.S. supported Balfour Declaration (1917), and it politically pressured the British mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine, and had made major efforts to get the decision of dividing Palestine into two states. In 1947, the U.S. used the term of 181 by using political pressure to force and to win voters. Also, it supported Israeli crimes and wars in 1948 and 1967, stood by the Israeli's side as an ally in all peace agreements such as Camp David Accords, Oslo Accords, and recently, in 2017 U.S president Trump officially affirmed Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (O. Abu Arqoub, 2018; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007; Saleh, 2012).

2.2 The Israel-Zionist Lobby in the United States

This part of literature review explains the issue of the Israel-Zionist Lobby in the U.S. in terms of historical background, the definition of the Lobby and the Israel lobby, American aids and its support for Israel, Lobby's power and organizations, Israel Lobby's strategies and tools, the impact of the U.S. on foreign policy towards Middle East, the impact of the U.S. on the governments, the impact of the U.S. on the Congress, Israel Lobby's media and public opinion, Israel Lobby's social media in the U.S., and most interactive five Israel Lobby's Facebook pages.

2.2.1 Historical Background of the Israel-Zionist Lobby

The origin of American Jews can be traced back to 1645-1820 when they came from Amsterdam, London, and several other countries that are scattered around the

Caribbean. During this period, Jews tried to form their own communities hence they lived in Jewish groups and they created the Jewish traditions and religion. Between 1820-1920, America became a new home to Jews from Europe, and that era was considered as a great era of Jews' immigration to America. This period contains of three major waves of immigration to America. First, the immigration of Sephardic Jews from Spanish and Portuguese region. Second, the immigration of German Jews after 1840. Third, the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, after 1880. As of 1920, the number of Jewish people in the United states reached 3.5 million (Diner, 2004).

While Americans worked in agriculture, Jews worked in commerce, exploiting the natural resources, and industry, which makes them richer than other Americans. Also, Jews built their associations, churches, schools, organizations, the Zionist Movement in the U.S, and they improved the political Zionist agenda by setting a clear aim to find a home for all Jews which later happened to be in Palestine. Also, some Jews held notable political roles in American internal politics. For example, "The Board of Delegates of American Jews was one of the first Jewish organizations in America in 1890 which successfully prevented a proposal for a constitutional amendment for declaring America as a Christian nation" (Malik 2017, p. 6).

Because the Jewish community in the U.S. primarily consists of various ethnic groups which are different in terms of culture, traditions, and political role. The 1820-1920 period was named the "Century of Jewish Politics". The Jewish population consists of, first, Ashkenazi Jews, the Jewish who immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, and they account for the majority. Second, Sephardi Jews, who came to the U.S. from

Spain. Third, Mizrahi Jews, who immigrated from Middle East , and they are called "Sons of the East" (Diner, 2004).

The 1920-1984 period named as the "Home and Beyond". The Jewish minority in the U.S. became more powerful, richer, larger, and they became the most important Jewish community in the world. This group aimed at supporting the Jewish from all over the world, directing the Jews to immigrate to Palestine, establish the Jewish councils, and support committees of the Jews that suffered from "The Holocaust" and "anti-Semitism".

The 1948- 2000 period was considered the most important period in the new history of Jews, and it is called "the golden age". In that age, Israel was established on Palestine, and American Jewish focused their support with cooperation with U.S government on their new home accompanied with advanced political practice of the Israel-Zionist Lobby (Diner, 2004).

The American Jewish have been generally Democrats rather than Republicans in the presidential elections, but that has changed in the last decades. Support for specific political parties is based on individual party's policies towards the Middle East and support for Israel. Overtime, numerous of the American Jewish people have been democratically elected as the representative of states in the Congress and senate council, which would make them help enforce laws and bills that support Israel. The terminal point of this history of nearly 350 years of the Jewish life in America was when the Democratic Party in 2000 election nominated loyal Jew, Joseph Lieberman for the post being the Vice President of America (Diner, 2004).

In terms of the population, Dashefsky and Sheskin (2017) states that the American Jews population between 1654 to 2010 has increased significantly as Figure 1 shows.

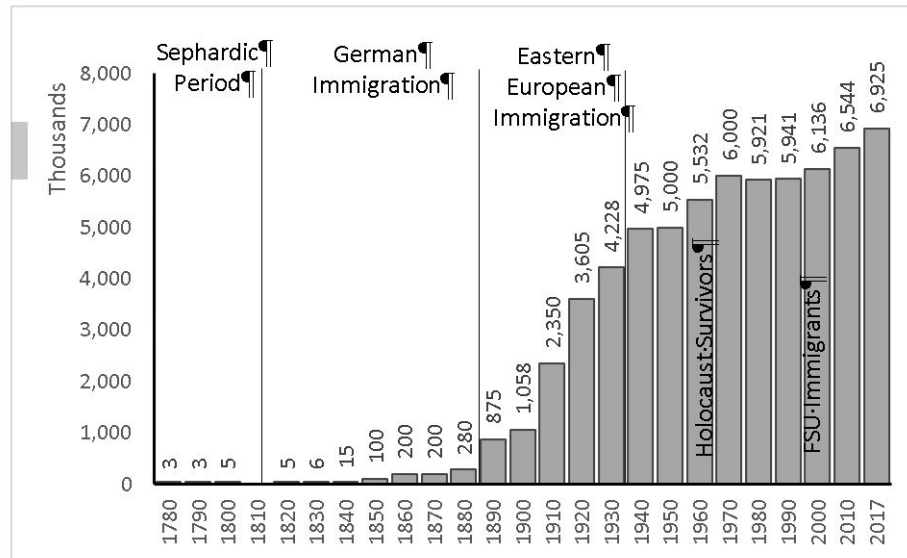


Figure 1: U.S. Jewish population from 1654 to 2010

As represented in Figure 1, the American Jewish population reached 6.9 million Jewish in 2017 (Dashefsky & Sheskin, 2017).

2.2.2 Birth and Definition of the Israel Lobby in United States

Lobby can be defined as "a group that seeks to influence a party regarding a certain issue" (Malik, 2017, p. 8). The Israel lobby, could also be called, "pro-Israel community" or "help Israel movement" which can be defined as the alliance of groups, organizations, entities, or individuals who seek and make efforts to shape and influence the U.S. foreign policy, especially towards their attitudes and aids in for the Middle East, in favor of Israeli interests, policies and attitudes. The Lobby does not consist of just American Jewish but also seculars, Christians, and other groups, while not all-American Jewish are a part of the Lobby. The activities of the Israel Lobby go beyond supporting pro-Israel candidates in elections, but also providing various services, such

as financial contributions, letter-writing, and supporting pro-Israel organizations etc. (Lieberman, 2009; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007, 2009).

The roots of the U.S. Israel Lobby refer to the Canadian Isaiah L. Kenen, a journalist who promoted Zionism and worked for the Jewish Agency in various positions and as the representative of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations by 1941. In the 1950's, he stayed in Washington to help American Jewish in lobbying as the representative of American Zionist Council (AZC), and he established the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs (AZCPA) which became the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) in 1959. They both worked as the first Public Relations organizations of the Israel lobby. Furthermore, there were other important Zionist organizations before that, such as Zionist Organization of America. All these organizations worked as a representative of the Major Jewish Organizations and involved in the Israel Lobby functions (Kenen, 1981; Verbeeten, 2006).

The following are the core agendas of Israel Lobby's organizations in the U.S.:

1. Attaining both military and monetary subsidies and their passage to Israel.
2. Fundraising local and political actions by attempting to maneuver the policy actions of the White House.
3. Influence of academia and intelligentsia in respect of formation of opinions and mindsets of the public and socializing the public to a certain manner of speech.
4. Censorship and regulation of mainstream media such as C-SPAN and The New York Times (Malik, 2017, p. 8).

AIPAC is the biggest and most important Israel Lobby's organization in the U.S for many decades. It started with dozens of staff, a budget that exceeds 60 million dollars, and more than 100,000 members. AIPAC is classified by the National Journal as "the second most effective and largest Lobby's organization in the U.S." (AIPAC, 2017, p.

2). AIPAC defined itself as:

A bipartisan organization of U.S. citizens committed solely to strengthening, protecting and promoting the U.S.-Israel relationship in ways that enhance the security of the United States and Israel.

An organization works to expand the U.S.-Israel alliance by cultivating relationships around shared values and by empowering pro-Israel leaders across America, including those from the Jewish, African American, Hispanic, Christian, Progressive, Veteran and student communities.

An organization urges all members of Congress to support Israel through foreign aids, government partnerships, joint anti-terrorism efforts, and the promotion of peace through a negotiated two-state solution—a Jewish state of Israel living alongside a demilitarized Palestinian state (AIPAC, 2017, p. 2).

Since the presence of the American Jewish and the Israel Lobby in the 20th century, various organizations have launched with the goal of supporting Zionist thoughts and Israel, such as the Jewish Agency. These organizations have been led by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and Christians United for Israel which worked as an umbrella organization for other pro-Israel groups, and they speak on behalf of an alliance of American Jewish groups and Israel Affinity Organizations (Smith, 2016).

Israel Affinity Organizations "IAOs" is a nonprofit and individual organization. This group is not traditionally Jewish in terms of their orientation, thoughts, members, leadership and donors but they actively support Israel. The Israel Lobby's archive

mentions that the organizations which are shown in Table 2 are considered and to take part under the "IAOs" (Smith, 2016; The Israel Lobby Archive, 2017).

Table 2: Israel affinity organizations (IAOs) in the United States

IAOs by Segment	Organization Number	Employees	Volunteers	Million \$ 2012	Million \$ 2020
Subsidy	117	1,984	287,810	2,005.3	3,831.6
Fundraising and Political Action	139	7,701	57,841	946.6	917.5
Advocacy	79	2,082	6,633	403.5	762.2
Education	14	2,309	1,053	316.7	762.4
Total	349	14,076	353,337	3,672.1	6,273.7

Table 2 provides the total numbers of the "IAOs" in the U.S. and the Table 2 shows that there are 349 of these organizations. While United Jerusalem Freedom Alliance lists 136 organizations under her umbrella as Pro-Israel entities (United Jerusalem, 2015): the estimated amount of money gathered ahead of 2020 would total 6,273.7 million dollars. This money will be spent following the advice and discussion with the Israeli officials. In addition, this large number of employees and volunteers expanded the Lobby in numerous states and granted the Lobby strategic positions in the U.S government (The Israel Lobby Archive, 2017).

In terms of categorization of Jewish Lobbyist Organizations in America, the Israel Lobby can be divided into three distinct sections (Left Wing, Centrist, Right Wing) based on the manner in which these organizations serve the interests of Israel

(Waxman, 2010). Table 3 presents the left, right wing, and centrist Israel Lobby's organizations.

Table 3: Categories of Israel lobbyist organizations in the United States

Left Wing	Centrist	Right Wing
Americans for Peace Now	AIPAC	Zionist Organization of America
Meretz	American Jewish Congress	Fuel for Truth
J Street	American Jewish Committee	Stand with US
Ameinu	JCPA	The David Project
Brit Tzedek v Shalom	Hadassah	The Israel Project
Jewish Peace Lobby	Anti-Defamation League	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
	Presidents Conference	American Friends of Likud
		Republican Jewish Coalition

Centrist Organizations: The main purpose of these organizations is to influence the United States governments' actions and policies regarding the alignment of American interests with Israel, and to ensure that the U.S. government performs policies in a manner that serves the survival and interests of the Jewish state (Waxman, 2010).

Right-Wing Organizations: They are more focused on the advocacy of aggressive Israel policies. They aim to maximize U.S. support for actions and polices, such as international war on terror and strict sanctions placement against Iran. "Morton Klein was one of the people who are in opposition to the decision of the United States government to refrain from military deterrence of the United States and is currently backing President Trump in his profiling against Muslims" (Malik, 2017, p. 14).

Left-wing Organizations: The main purpose of their existence is to support peace. The Jewish people have differed in their perceptions regarding the manner that would serve their state's interests. Thus, this group works as advocates of peace and the two-state solution. For example, the Israel Lobby left wing organization J Street was able to hold a national conference which included 44 congressmen and 500 supporters in Washington (Malik, 2017).

2.2.3 Israel Lobby's Influence

The Israel lobby's aim is to achieve success in the following sectors: first, politics. It is constantly in tune with what is happening in the American politics, Congress and other government parastatals. Second, financial and military support. Third, public opinion and media discourse and framework, which this section focuses on.

The American politics affect actions and attitudes all over the world, especially in the Middle East and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Because of the instability of the region, the U.S preaches about the merits of democracy but unfortunately in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, it is biased in favor of Israel. This makes the Arabic and Islamic world question the interests of the U.S. in the territory. The Israel-Zionist lobby's efforts in the U.S is credited as to why America is constantly supporting Israel over others in the region and of course especially in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007).

The political influence of these Lobby groups is the reason why America has used its veto power numerous times in favor of Israel (RT, 2017). The Lobby also has a strong power to influence the American Congress because there are a good number of Jewish congressmen and Congress staff who work from the inside to make things right for the

lobby. Certainly, the ultimate goal is to influence and control discourse of issues relating to Israel.

These Lobby groups are also highly influential during elections even though the population of Jewish people in America is less than 3%, they provide financial support for candidates from the two big parties. Washington Post estimated that democratic candidates have depended on the Lobby financial support for as much as 60% of the money spent donated during elections. The Lobby not only seeks to push pro-Israel candidates to win important positions in the state but also they defend departments. This is noticeable in the presidency of Bill Clinton and Donald Trump (Malik, 2017; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007).

Consequently, during the first two years of Trump's ruling era, he has applied the AIPAC's agendas on the Middle East as he promised in the *AIPAC 2016 Policy Conference in Washington, D.C.* before he won in the American Presidency Election in 2016. His main promises to AIPAC are represented in moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem, pushing Congress and America's allies to strengthen the nuclear deal with Iran, cutting funds to the Palestinians as a means for forcing them to align more with Israel and the West, and speaking forcefully to the United Nations members who oppose the U.S. policies towards Israel. All these promises have been accomplished later (Kampeas, 2018).

The U.S gives foreign and military aids to Israel more than any other country. It started after World War II, billions have been spent to provide a strong defense programs and strategic needs for Israel. The U.S. aids have played a significant role in strengthening

the power of Israel’s military over the last 50 years. Israel is the only country that the U.S. does not ask how they spend the aids. This is to give them the liberty to do whatever they would like to do. Even if aids used for activities that are against the core statement of democracy, the international, and the U.S laws, for example building settlements in West Bank (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007; Sharp, 2018)



Figure 2: U.S. aid to Israel since 1946 to 2017

As it is shown in Figure 2, according to the Greenbook of the U.S State Department, the U.S aid to Israel has reached 135 billion dollars as of 2017. This is because they get 3 billion dollars each year. What is more, 500 dollars is granted for each individual Israeli yearly. In addition, according to the Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) which was signed during Barack Obama’s administration in 2016, a sum of 38 billion dollar will be paid to Israel between 2019 to 2028 (Chughtai, 2018; Sharp, 2018).

The U.S. turn a blind eye to the Israeli military arsenal and its nuclear weapon project. Although, it prevents the Arabic countries and the International Atomic Energy Agency to list Israel in its programs and censorship, the U.S provides Israel with the

most advanced weapons. For Example, Israel became the first international operator of the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, and its last generation which is considered to be the most technologically advanced fighter jet ever made (Sharp, 2018).

All these types of U.S supports to Israel in politics, Congress, government, elections campaigns, financial and military aids are a big part of the Israel-Zionist Lobby's efforts in the U.S.

2.2.4 Israel Lobby and the Americans' Consent

One of the most important concerns of the Israel Lobby is the Americans' opinion and perception of Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Considering the fact that if the majority of Americans oppose Israeli views and actions and asked questions about the U.S unwavering support towards Israel, the U.S government, Congress, and presidency might be forced to reevaluate their support to Israel. Hence, the Lobby devises many policies, strategies, and techniques to engineer the consent and opinions of Americans' opinion through the media, think tanks, and other consent engineering tools (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). According to Malcolm Hoenlein, the leader of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in 2011, said: "Our polls indicate that 25% of Americans are hard-core supporters and 10% are hard-core oppositionists. We have to focus our efforts on that middle, with positive messaging, telling the story of Israel" (Smith, 2016, p. 106).

The Lobby established and penetrated numerous academic institutions and research centers with the aim of shaping the political policies of the U.S., foreign policy, and it provided scenarios for the decisions that should be taken to support Israel. Some of the most important institutions and research centers in this regard are; Washington

Institute for Near East Policy (1985), Brookings Institution, Jewish Institute for National Security of America, Foreign Policy Research Institute etc. (Al-Sherbini, 2018; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007).

The Israel Lobby imposes sanctions on freedom of speaking and opinion in academic discussions regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It works to aid and provide intellectual publications that can influence public opinion leaders, officials, thinkers, educated people towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and it prevents, criticism and attacks who provide the opposite academic view (Al-Sherbini, 2018). The Lobby monitors academia and pushes to withdraw the government funding from universities and institutes that opposes the Israeli agenda and views, and what had happened to Professor Joseph Massad, who was accused of racially stereotypical and hate-oriented deeds and attitude towards Israel and Jews during teaching his course "Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies". Also, Neve Gordon, a teacher at Ben-Gurion University, published an article about "saving Israel from its own self". The President of Ben-Gurion University condemned the act with the claim that he abused freedom of opinion and speech which could be considered as betrayal of Israel (Malik, 2017).

It is noticeable that this 'engineering' by Israel Lobby is really working because as reported in the February 2019 Gallup Poll result shows that: "76% of Republicans, 60% of independents and 43% of Democrats sympathized with Israel" (Bard, 2019, para. 1). Also, 2019 Gallup Poll found that there is "a dramatic difference in support for Israel and the Palestinians between Conservatives 76%-11%, Moderates 43%-30% and Liberals 43%-30%." (Bard, 2019, para. 1), and that confirms the idea that Liberals are more critical about Israel and supportive for Palestine than Conservatives.

Meanwhile, polls also indicate that Americans see Israel as a U.S ally, "friendly", or "close ally". Also, since 2007, Americans favor the U.S pressure on Palestinians to accomplish peace more than pressure on Israelis. 2018 Gallup Poll discovered that "50% favored to put more pressure on the Palestinians while only 27% said that the U.S. should put more pressure on the Israelis." (Bard, 2019, para. 1). Taking into consideration that the Lobby manipulates polls in the U.S, and that happened through granting aid and censoring poll organizations to present Israel positively. In addition to this, the Lobby ignores and criticizes other poll organizations that present negative results towards Israel. The aim of the Lobby is to prove Americans' support Israel in highly proportions which means extraordinary foreign aids and support for Israel without hesitation (Smith, 2016).

2.2.5 Israel Lobby's Strategies to Control American Media

The most notable sector that the Lobby have used in engineering the consent and opinion of Americans is the media. The media is used in shaping the discourse about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict so that it is consistent with Israeli and Jewish views. The American Jewish Congress stated in 1983 that they have to send edited messages to all media platforms about Israel to correct media mistakes and to present Israeli discourse (Al-Khawaldeh, 2013). The Lobby seeks to control media by controlling the flow of information, advertisements and paying journalists either directly or indirectly. The Lobby has become the assets' owner of the CBS and other media companies partially (Beckerman, 2007; Smith, 2018). According to Mearsheimer & Walt (2007), the Israel Lobby doesn't control the media. It is the media.

The Israel lobby's views are reinforced in the U.S. media through commenters, program presenters, and editors-in-chief, who are typically pro-Israel. Journalist Eric

Alterman mentions that there are 61 journalists and presenters who are pro-Israel. Most of the editors of the biggest newspapers and journals are pro-Israel; for example, Wall Street Journal, The Chicago Sun Times, The Washington Times, Commentary, New Republic, and Weekly Standard (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). The U.S. media coverage is clearly biased; they always favor Israel which is proved by the study conducted by Allison Wei in 2001. The researcher points out that the U.S. media coverage is significantly inaccurate in its coverage in the national newspapers when it comes to the number of deaths in the Palestine-Israel conflict. The coverage focused on Israelis who were killed and ignored Palestinians, especially Palestinian children whose numbers are higher than Israeli children (Bias, In, & Use, 2017).

The following are some of the notable strategies adopted by the Lobby in the media sphere to support the Israeli agenda;

1. Owning and controlling the media companies: The Lobby seeks to prevent mainstream media, influential speakers, journalists to present discourses against Israel to keep Americans on one side of the story. They ensure that Israel will always be the winner of any open-ended debate in the U.S. Fifty companies that lead the U.S. media in 1983 consolidated in the recent days within Six huge Jewish companies that control 90% of American media which are: Walt Disney, CBS, Viacom, News-Corp, Comcast and Time Warner. Those companies also include digital and print media such as The New York Times, ABC, NBC, CNN and the Wall Street Journal. These are led by 232 media executives controlling and shaping the discourse and the image of Israel in the U.S. The total revenue of these media companies in 2010 was estimated to about 275 billion USD. This tells us that the media companies is a core source of the Israel-Zionist Lobby's power (Malik, 2017).

2. Media censorship policy: Henry Ford, the Jewish billionaire, stated that the Lobby need to censor each story about Israel. He said "if there are 10 independent newspapers we need 30 Lobby allied newspapers to face it, without letting people know that they belong to us."(Al-Khawaldeh, 2013, para. 8).

The lobby's censorship for the media can be divided into pre-publishing censorship and post publishing censorship. Pre-publishing is when the Lobby tries to prevent materials that are against Israel to get published, such as preventing an undercover investigation about Israel Lobby in the U.S. which is conducted by Al Jazeera Network, called "The Lobby,". The AIPAC and other Lobby groups decided that Americans should not see it. So, they worked to push the U.S. government to threaten Qatar Airways and also boycott, and deny Al Jazeera crew's access to the U.S. government. Also, leaders from the Lobby met the Emir of Qatar. Haaretz newspaper stated that "the Qatari Emir himself helped to make the decision to spike the film" (Hedges, 2018, para. 4; Smith, 2018).

As for the post-publishing censorship, the Lobby watches all what American media publish about Israel and if there are stories that did not align with their narrative, they try to stop or change it. Specialised Lobby's organizations, such as the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America and Facts, Logic About the Middle East and The Israel Project are mainly concerned about who comments on Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN) every morning if anyone is not particularly gleeful about the U.S.'s Israel policies, then they react directly or indirectly (Smith, 2018).

3. Silence the criticism about the Lobby and Israel: Israel Lobby has immunity in the American Congress and Government. No one can criticize Israel, and if someone does that, s/he will be attacked by American and lobby's officials, media, and activists. American officials and congressmen could criticize numerous American related issues but not Israel because many of those who criticized Israel are subjected to counter campaigns (Malik, 2017). Edward Tivnan, the American journalist, stated in his book *"The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy"* that AIPAC functions to weaken and deter the critics of Israel (Tivnan, 1988). The most recent example for that is Elhan Omar, the Muslim congresswoman, who criticized the Israel lobby, and she was attacked by numerous officials and mainstream media, including president Donald Trump (Sakuma, 2019).

In the same context, an ex-congressman who was victimized by the Lobby wrote in 1985:

Whoever criticizes Israeli policy can expect painful and incessant reprisals and even loss of his means of existence by the pressure of the Israel Lobby. The President is afraid of it. The Congress gives in to all of its demands. The most prestigious universities see to it that in their programs is nothing that opposes it. The media giants and military chiefs give in to its pressure (Malik, 2017, p. 11).

4. Boycotting and protesting campaigns: the Israel Lobby organizes campaigns against the mainstream media, organizations, and groups in case they publish stories that contradict their discourse and views, and that includes writing letters, organizing demonstrations, boycotting news institutions, and using their relations and contacts to attack the medium credibility and professionalism. CNN executive manager stated that he received more than 6000 emails in one day, and all of them contain opposing messages about one story that was published about Israel. Other media executives

stated that the Lobby incites Americans to cancel their advertisements because the medium has anti-Israeli tendencies (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007).

2.2.6 Israel Lobby's Media Discourse

To ensure that the media presents a positive image of Israel especially in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, media discourse guide book conducted by The Israel Project one of the most important organizations of the Israel Lobby in the U.S. (The Israel Project, 2009a). The guide explains the recommended strategies and tactics of the Israelis' and Lobby's leaders who speak to the media. Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi, the Founder and the President of The Israel Project said;

We offer this guide to visionary leaders who are on the front lines of fighting the media war for Israel. We want you to succeed in winning the hearts and minds of the public. We know that when you achieve your mission that you are helping both Israel and our global Jewish family (Smith, 2016, p. 251).

The Israel Project book consists of eighteen chapters containing pertinent issues such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Iran nuclear project. The opening chapter which is noticeably one of the most important chapters provides twenty-five rules for effective communication in support for Israel. The researcher summarizes the rules as follows:

1. Show sympathy for BOTH sides; the Palestinians and the Israelis. The goal of pro-Israel communication is to win new minds and hearts without losing ones that we already have. Mutuality of humanity and empathy is a key notion which both sides need for a better life.
2. Explain your principles, causes, and justifications. Americans understand much better when they know why. For example, why is there a separation wall? Because terrorists who came from that area have killed 250 innocent people, and we have to protect our citizens.

3. Differentiate between Palestinians and Hamas. Americans sympathize with Palestinians, and they already define Hamas as a terrorist organization.
4. Do not pretend that Israel have no mistakes or faults, which is not correct, and Americans will not believe it.
5. When you talk about how Iran backed terrorists, the Jihadist goals and the militaristic tone by using their particular words, you will get more sympathy for Israel.
6. Remind Americans again and again that Israel demands and wants peace. Also let them just know the positive side of Israel.
7. Show more similarities between America and Israel, and that will help you to win the minds of neutral Americans, such as the need to fight against terrorism. If terrorists had crossed American lands and killed 50 children, what would America do?
8. Hope, provide a better future vision and expectations for peace because who presents more hopeful future will win minds and hearts of Americans because that is, indeed, what American people would hear.
9. Use rhetorical language and questions, such as asking: "How do I make peace with a government who wants me dead?"
10. Do not just give people what you are against but present what Israel is looking for because that's what matters. Americans demand progress and want to know how Israel will achieve the peace.
11. You have to simplify, clarify, and provide acknowledgments about the complexities of the Palestinian-Israel situation.

12. Use the right medium to direct your discourse to people, television, newspaper social media etc. and keep looking for opportunities to appear in interviews, programs, reports etc.
13. Keep using particular phrases, words, and concepts that shape pro-Israeli frame for efforts of pro-Israeli communication that Americans want to hear and can understand better, such as accountability, building, children, "come to Jerusalem to work for peace", "cooperation, collaboration, and compromise", deliberately firing rockets into civilian communities", economic diplomacy and prosperity.

Other sources talked about other tactics of the Israel lobby's discourse such as accusing and demonizing anti-Israel media, individuals, groups, and organizations as anti-Semites. Israel Lobby frames claims that groups or individuals who criticize Israel or its Lobby should be regarded as a racist and someone or committing hate crimes. This strategy is useful because no one wants to be framed as an anti-Semite (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007; Smith, 2018).

2.2.7 American Media Coverage for the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

American's favoritism towards Israel has been clearly portrayed in the media especially in the case of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Over the last two decades, various studies focusing on the American Media Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict has showed that the coverage is unbalanced and in numerous cases favors Israeli discourse (Deprez & Raeymaeckers, 2010). For example, New York Times framed Palestinians as aggressors rather than victims and dehumanized them in contrast to their counterparts in the conflict. They focused on the suffering of Israeli "victims", and they humanized them (Viser, 2003). Ross (2003) explores the biases based on

quantitative indicators and found that New York Times at different periods of time favors the Israelis, and its bias has become clearer by the time.

Alkalliny (2017) finds that the coverage (news sources, selection pictures and videos) of CNN and FOX news to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not objective and, in fact, very biased in favor of Israel. In addition, their coverage is influenced by the U.S. political interests in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict hence it manipulates the discourse to suit the structure of the agenda.

Abu Aisha (2013) states that New York Times, Washington Post, and U.S. Today cover the conflict through the following frames. They displace the conflict from its historical context. Also, these newspapers refuse to use the word "occupation" and they attempt to portray the bright and favorable image of Israel. They also claim that Jewish settlements are the cause of the exaltation of the Palestinian desert and lands, and also, they allege that Israel's targeting of the West Bank and Gaza is a "reaction", but from their perspective, the Palestinians reaction is labelled "terrorism".

2.2.8 Israel Lobby and Social Media

Social media has become increasingly instrumental for political groups across the world. For politicians, it is a sophisticated tool to reach and target a large group of audience. After the U.S. presidential election in 2016, Facebook is accused of aiding the sponsorship of propaganda messages to influence American opinion (Liberini, Redoano, Russo, Cuevas, & Cuevas, 2018). As for the Israel Lobby worldwide, they use social media platforms, tools, and algorithms to mobilize the public towards the Israel agenda. This process is called the "Hasbara" process which means (The Israeli Public Diplomacy) (Aouragh, 2016). Israel Lobby's leadership identifies that social

media is the newest form of communication and political gains if used correctly can be achieved through the platforms. They understand that that social media can help in shaping and impacting the public opinion in a specific country (Silverstein, 2018).

The Lobby used some effective strategies and tactics to keep the Israeli discourse alive on social media and the following portrays how they have used over the years and how scholars have described them.

1. Most of the Lobby's organizations, leaders, media, and members created accounts on various social media platforms to enable them to be more active and to reach to large audiences. The Lobby started to use the same discourse strategies and tactics on social media, which enable it to direct discourse to the public effectively (Silverstein, 2018).
2. The Lobby worked to shut down Facebook pages that belongs to Palestinian media, journalists, or activists that presents another point of view about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Numerous meetings have been held between Facebook, Israeli and Lobby's officials to discuss that. Facebook till now did not explain why it targeted these pages. Journalist Richard Silverstein stated that Twitter suspended his own account because he tweeted that "foreign and Israeli media were misleading readers in coverage of the murder of an Israeli-American settler by a Palestinian attacker" (Silverstein, 2018, para. 13).
3. The Israel Lobby over the world and particularly in Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre organized propaganda tours for social media influencers and

bloggers to Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Ramallah to acquaint them to the Israel experience, situation, views and narrative (Winstanley, 2012).

4. Organizing social media propaganda campaigns against leaders, congressmen, activities, and organizations that criticizes Israel. That what has happened in the case of the congresswoman Ilhan Omar 2019 when she talked about the power of Israel Lobby in the U.S. Numerous numbers of verified and anonymous twitter accounts aggressively criticize and accuse her of anti-Semitism and being anti-peace (Abunimah, 2019).
5. Techwashing, greenwashing, and pinkwashing: the Lobby's members and supporters uses these three tactics to change any subject that criticizes or harm Israel. Techwashing; is the attempt to change the conversations on social media to highlight Israeli technology and its impact on the world. Greenwashing; is a way for marketing Israel as the supposed friendly environment for business, life, tourism etc. Pinkwashing; is used in marketing Israel as a supposed ally of the (LGBT) "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender." Community (Winstanley, 2014).
6. The Lobby plan and execute social media campaigns by using anonymous ads on non-lobby's social media pages particularly on Facebook. The Lobby control the content of these anonymous pages but appear like they have no connection with them. For example, the page called "Cup of Jane" with half million followers, attempted to portray Israeli militarism in 2016 as empowering women friendly through an advert they did. This was denoted from the use of a pink military aircraft (Abunimah & Winstanley, 2018).

2.2.9 Most Popular Facebook Pages of the Israel Lobby

The total number of social media users in the U.S in 2018 were estimated to about 243.6 million people and the vast majority of them use Facebook. These people amount to about 220 million. This makes Facebook the most popular social media platform used in the U.S. (Statista, 2018).

Below is the description of the selected Facebook Pages of the Israel Lobby discussed in this study.

1. **StandWithUs (SWU):** This is an international educational organization which was founded in 2001 in response to the sparse amount information as well as misinformation that surrounds the Palestinian-Israel and the Middle East conflicts. It also focuses on the inappropriate and anti-Semitic language which is used towards Israel or the Jewish world. SWU has 18 offices, 120 employees, and thousands of volunteers around the world. It is dedicated to empower Israel's supporters in universities, schools, and communities with training, materials, resources, and tools. They provide the above mentioned to educate and elevate the level of consciousness in communities around the world about the Israeli agenda (StandWithUs, 2007).
2. **United with Israel (UWI):** is an independent global movement which was founded in 2010 by Jewish families. They describe themselves as:

Our mission is to foster worldwide unity with the People, Country and Land of Israel and to demonstrate how Israel is a great source of blessing to the world. By distributing timely information, initiating pro-Israel advocacy, introducing innovative Israeli products to the global market and donating greatly needed funds money to vital charities, we strive to broaden the worldwide network of Israel supporters and promote the urgency and privilege of standing United with Israel (United With Israel, 2010, para. 1).

3. **Stand for Israel (SFI):** was founded in 2009 to mobilize churches and individuals to support Israel through prayer and advocacy initiatives. According to the group, they said "We provide information about current events and history in Israel, information about the Jewish roots of Christianity, and a place to join the discussion about why you support Israel" (Stand for Israel, 2009, para. 1).

4. **The Israel Project (TIP):** is a non-profit organization that was founded in 2009 to secure Israel's future by publishing the truth about Israel and the Jews. The information on the group is "Welcome to our online community for the latest news on Israel, home of the Jewish people -- her natural beauty -- the strength of the Israeli people -- Jerusalem -- the threats she faces from Gaza, Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, hatred, anti-Semitism" (The Israel Project, 2009b).

5. **Christians United for Israel (CUFI):** This was founded in 2006. It is considered to be the largest organization of pro-Israel⁷ people in America. It has four million members. The information on the page is as follows;

The voice speaking truth to power, making sure that the evil of anti-Semitism and the darkness of hatred that spawns war, terror, and persecution of the Jewish people is defeated by the unity of God's people. Our goal is to protect Israel against lies, boycotts, bad theology, and political threats in much the same way that the Iron Dome protects Israel from enemy rockets. (CUFI, 2008, para. 1).

2.3 New and Digital Media

The new media term expresses all media forms that are depending on computers and computation such as telephones, websites, and computer etc. It is the use of digital tools that link media together and make the mediated information more easily to

⁷ The term "pro-Israel" is used routinely to describe Americans who are sympathetic toward the state of Israel.

process, transform, store, retrieve, and access (Logan, 2010; Mitra, 2011). New media is also defined as:

those digital media, which are interactive, incorporate two-way communication and involve some form of computing as opposed to 'old media' such as the telephone, radio and TV... Many 'new media' emerged by combining an older medium with computer chips and a hard drive... Some describe 'new media' as the ability to combine text, audio, digital video, interactive multimedia, virtual reality, the Web, email, chat, the cell phone, a PDA like the Palm Pilot or Blackberry, computer applications, and any source of information accessible by one's personal computer (Logan, 2010, pp. 4–5).

The term of Digital Media is used to express any media that are machine-readable, encoded to digital formats, and can be accessed and modified by digital devices, such as software, digital videos and images, web pages including social media, digital audio, data and databases etc. Digital Media are always combined with the internet which causes new innovations in media publishing tools, journalism, public relations, education, entertainment and numerous other fields and professions (Mitra, 2011).

Also, digital media is defined as:

products and services that come from the media, entertainment and information industry and its subsectors. It includes digital platforms (e.g. websites and applications), digitized content (e.g. text, audio, video and images) and services (e.g. information, entertainment and communication) that can be accessed and consumed through different digital devices. (Nayyar, 2016, p. 5).

The history of digital media is traced back to the first digital computer innovation around 1948 by using the binary codes (ones and zeroes) and other systems that enable computers to do numerous tasks at the same time through digital software that can control the computer processes. This type of digital media started to be common used during the 1950s. The prominent engineer named ,Vannevar Bush, was the first one

who contributed the foundation of the digital media through his essay "As We May Think," which was published in 1945 (Friedman & Friedman, 2008).

Evolution of the World Wide Web

One essential reason for the rising digital media platforms is the innovation of the internet which the World Wide Web (WWW) is considered as a part of. World Wide Web functions to connect and link websites and documents together which enables us to search for documents through the web research engines, such as Google. The World Wide Web firstly was developed for the use of public in 1989-1990 by Tim Berners-Lee. When that happened, the people were able to access internet content. The Evolution of the World Wide Web (WWW) is considered as a crucial change that develops the new media, hence, this part shows its evaluation From Web 1.0 to Web 5.0 as the following Figure shows (Benito-Osorio, Peris-Ortiz, Armengot, & Colino, 2013):

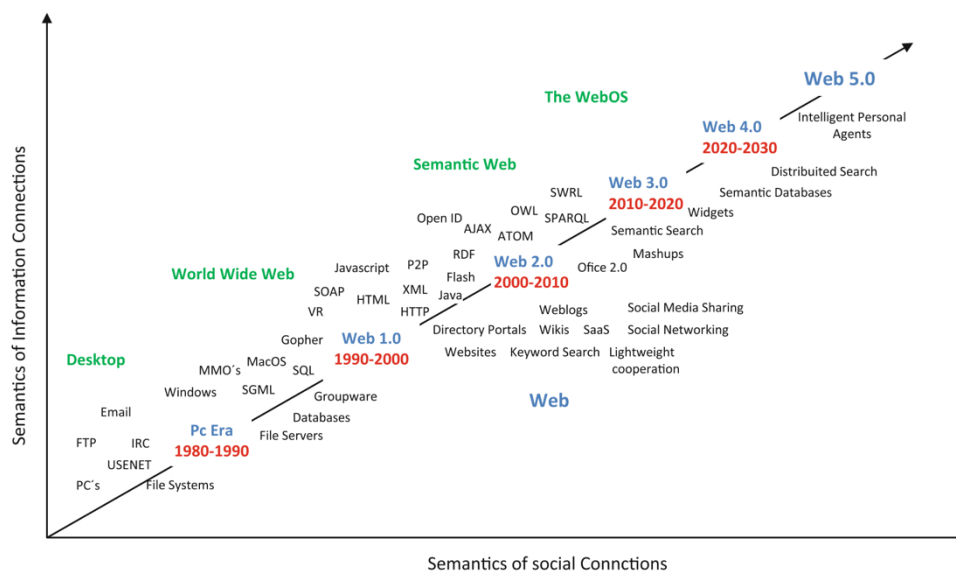


Figure 3: Evolution of World Wide Web

1. **Web 1.0 (1990-2000):** is the first stage of the WWW which was existed for reading only. In this stage, users were not able to interact or engage with the websites (Benito-Osorio et al., 2013).
2. **Web 2.0 (2000-2010):** the second stage is for reading and writing on the WWW. Also, it is known as the "Social Web" because users are able to interact and engage with the content of the websites and the other users, and also they collaborate and share information. In this stage, most of the fundamental social media platforms, such as Blogs, YouTube, and Facebook etc. were emerged (Benito-Osorio et al., 2013).
3. **Web 3.0 (2010-2020):** known as the semantic WWW. It is more advanced in organizing and structuring data. It provides an automatic processes for the data within multiple applications and concentrates on the users' data and machines. This stage focuses on creating intelligent connection between machines and public through allowing computers to make decisions automatically according to some reasoning data. This invented what we call "Internet of Things" (IoT) that focuses on creating connections between people and devices by using the WWW (Benito-Osorio et al., 2013).
4. **Web 4.0, and 5.0 (2020-2030 and beyond):** it depends basically on the use of Artificial Intelligence which enables the computers and machines to communicate and behave like a human. The webs and computers are designed in these two stages to act as a personal assistant of the humans; accompanied with technologies such as virtual realities and house appliances etc. Web 5.0 is described as a highly

intelligent and telepathic web which could reach the level that if you think about question the web will answer you directly (Benito-Osorio et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Social Networking Sites (SNS)

SNS is a rapidly changing phenomenon that has enticed a huge number of followers and become a central part of our daily life, especially with the development and heavy use of smartphones (Meng, Martinez, Holmstrom, Chung, & Cox, 2017). SNS use Web 2.0 technologies "to share a user-focused approach in design and functionality, where users actively participate in the content creation and editing through open collaboration between members of communities of practice" (Jaffar, 2014, p. 199).

Also, SNS defines as:

web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. The nature and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 211).

SNS have four types of services that make them most popular which are; socializing the web with the existing friends. It is decentralized and distributed to the each user's location, networking services through interpersonal communication with career and job providers, and it works as social navigation for finding specific information and sources (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Meng et al., 2017; Valerie, 2012).

The agreed history of SNS is traced back to the first Social Networking Site which was invented in 1994 and called GeoCities and SixDegrees.com which was launched in 1997. Both sites allowed users to create personal profiles and freedom for optimize profiles. Then other sites were lunched and raised, such as AsianAvenue in 1997, BlackPlanet in 1999, MiGente.com in 2000, Friendster in 2002, LinkedIn in 2003.

Facebook as a corporate company and Twitter in 2006 as the following Figure shows (Boyd & Ellison, 2007):

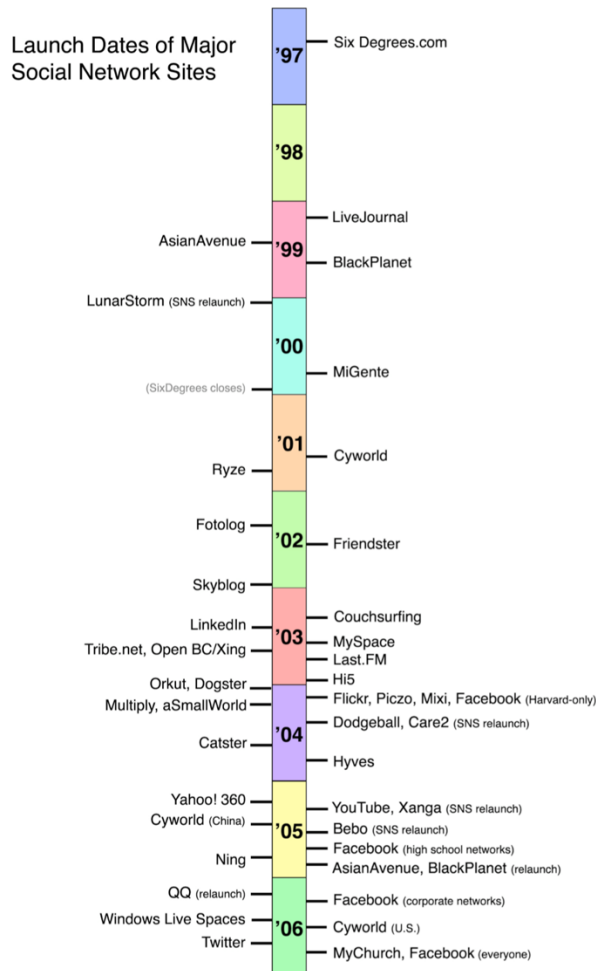


Figure 4: Timeline of the launch dates of many major SNSs

2.3.2 Facebook

Facebook is an American social media website that was introduced firstly at Harvard University as a social networking site for students in 2004. The website expanded to other universities in the U.S. quickly and widespread across the world by 2006-2010. By 2017 Facebook has 2.13 billion active users monthly, and 1.4 billion daily users. Facebook enables its users to create (personal profile, Timeline, Groups, chat, Pages, and to share their information (Jaffar, 2014). Regardless of the Facebook censorship

on some contents, it provides uncensored, unexpected, and two-way conversations between users (Valerie, 2012).

Facebook pages enable organizations, figures, businesses, political parties and normal users to communicate and collect fans from people who are interested in the content that pages provide. In addition, Facebook audience is capable of interacting and engaging with these pages. Each page has an admin who manages the page's content by posting, sharing, modifying, and answering the questions of the audience using the name of the page. The Facebook page is like a separated platform works as speaks-person of the organizations and represents its attitudes and opinions. The page can provide a specific demographics insights about the page's audience and insights about the page performance (Jaffar, 2014).

In the same context, Facebook provides important functions that help users to improve their page performance, such as creating symbols through Hashtags, providing an app for managing more than one page from mobile phones, being able to schedule posts according the specific timetable, promoting posts by targeting a specific audience with specific features, and numerous other functions that make pages more efficient (Cvijikj & Michahelles, 2013).

SNS; especially Facebook, becomes an important tool in the political processes. For political communication and election campaigns which are in one hand, they serve the role of social media to enhance media democracy and democratize media participation (El-Badawy & Hashem, 2014). For example, during the Arab spring (Tunisian and Egyptian) revaluations in 2010 and 2011 protesters used Facebook to organize protests

and facilitate gathering activities. On the other hand, politicians use it for manipulation, propaganda, and falls conciseness purposes (Wolfsfeld, Segev, & Sheaffer, 2013). For example, Facebook was used for political campaigns in the U.S elections since 2006 (Bronstein, 2013).

The usage of social media; especially Facebook, has grown dramatically which enables American politicians to get demographic information about the voters during the 2008 presidential election. In addition, it used to create polls and measure the reactions of the Americans to specific posts, opinions, and attitudes. In the last American election in 2016, Facebook provided political campaigns by the American voters' data which help the republicans to win the elections (Bronstein, 2013; Lin, 2017).

2.4 International Communication

Due to the communication technologies developments and the new international and global media means such as Facebook, the communication process became international, not just between those who stay in the same geographical places but also between two countries, nations, continents that have different cultural backgrounds which express the idea of the International Communication. There are many definitions of the International Communication or Global Communication. Some scholars define it as a mean of state foreign policy that provides the international audience with information to support the state or nation issues and views (Fortner, 1993). Hanson (2017) defines International Communication as:

International communication (also referred to as global communication or transnational communication) is the communication practice that occurs across international borders. As a field of study, international communication is a branch of communication studies, concerned with the scope of "government-to-government," "business-to-business," and "people-to-people" interactions at a global level. Apart from journalism, international communication also occurs in other areas and the nature of the "information"

that is circulated can be classified in a wide variety of categories, such as cultural, scientific, and intelligence (p. 1).

International Communication is considered as a phenomenon of exchanging knowledge, information, thoughts, and interaction of people across the world. The International Communication scope can be explained in three levels; First, government-to-government communication. This level takes action between the governments of different countries by discussing the related issues or conflicts. Second, business-to-business is based on the economic interest between intercontinental companies. Third, people-to-people communication refers to the ordinary people who live across the borders such as the friends who one of them lives in Palestine and the another in the U.S. (Hanson, 2017; Phienout, 2013).

Other scholars define the term as "a communication interaction and scope of cross-country and takes place between people of different nationalities and has a range of delivery of messages across the boundaries of the territory of a country" (Phienout, 2013, para. 7). Also, it is "the communications made by a communicator who represents a country-to convey messages related to the interests of his country-to the communicant who represent another country" (Phienout, 2013, para. 1).

The International Communication is a result of the increasing influence of globalization, especially in its political, economic, social, and cultural aspects in our society (Chitty, 2005; Hanson, 2017). The term was affected also by the free flow of information from north to south and west to east regardless the unbalanced information flow (Phienout, 2013). "International communication persists as the conventional term

to include all types of communication that occur across national boundaries or affect international outcomes" (Hanson, 2017, p. 1).

The history of the International Communication can be traced back to the first important development that has been risen the International Communication, such as the invention of the Telegraph and Telephone in the first decade of the 21st century. This also led to the emergence of the international news agencies and institutions in the U.S and Europe, such as the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union, and the League of Nations (Madikiza & Bornman, 2007). Also, it can be traced back to the:

Ancient empires such as Rome, Persia, and China all utilized writing in collecting information and creating enormous postal and dispatch systems. By the fifteenth-century, news had been disseminated trans-nationally in Europe. During the post-Cold War era, the intense relations of super powers halted with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of the Third World countries meant that the unequally developed communication order can no longer exist. But the moment international communications stepped into the information age, the convergence of telecommunication and computing and the ability to move all types of data—pictures, words, sounds—via the Internet have revolutionized international information exchange (Hanson, 2017, p. 1).

It is evident that International Communication raises because of the new technologies' development around the World War II period when International Communication was concerned about the important issues such as war and peace (Chitty, 2005). As Chitty (2005) states, the founders of the field are Harold Lasswell and Daniel Lerner who were influenced by the dark side of the political propaganda and the light side of the spread of modernity. Lasswell widely acknowledged International Communication process through his famous formulation (Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?) (Fortner, 1993; Hanson, 2017).

The Cold War period was an important period for the evolvement of the International Communication for propaganda purposes. By the 1960s, International Communication became a global power issue because it brings the third world countries and the Soviet Union issues to the forefront of debates in the global public sphere. With the widespread diffusion of technological innovations borders between countries, East and West have been erased, and the world has been transformed to the global village (Madikiza & Bornman, 2007).

The important modern form of the International Communication is the commercial news media agencies and the internationally media systems such as Reuters, Associated Press, AFP, CNN and MTV. They became important due to publishing their contents across the world, nations, and culture within a moment. This leads to media imperialism which is can be explained as when the specific media conglomerates control and monopoly the information flow, views, and discourse production in the global public sphere (Hanson, 2017; Volkmer, 2013).

The International Communication has two main levels; official transaction which expresses the government and formal communication activities, and unofficial transaction which expresses the non-governmental and people communications and interactions (Phienout, 2013). In the same context, Phienout (2013) explains the three main criteria of the International Communication; First, the messages and discussed issues are global; Second, communicators who target different nationalities; Third, media channels which are used to convey messages are international channels (Fortner, 1993; Hanson, 2017).

2.4.1 International Communications as a Research Field

International Communication is a growing field of research focuses on the flow of information process out the borders of the state (Charles, 2007). It is "the study of various kinds of Mass Mediated Communication between two or more countries of different cultural backgrounds. Background differences may be differences in ideology, culture, economic development, and language differences" (Phienout, 2013, para. 5), Which pushes the International Communication studies to focus also on specific issues such as media imperialism, privatization, globalization, the information age. "The intellectual impetus for international communication research has come from a variety of disciplines, notably political science, sociology, psychology, social psychology, linguistics, anthropology, and, of course, communication science and international relations" (Phienout, 2013, para. 1).

For the scope of the International Communication, it can be researched from three main perspectives which are; journalistic through mass media and information flow process, diplomatic communication between states, and propagandistic through targeting minds and consent of other countries to affect them by ideas, feelings, actions, and ideologies of the state.(Hanson, 2017; Phienout, 2013).

Stevenson (1992) conducted a study to find out the main trends of International Communication and define it as a research field. He found five main trends which are: "Anglo- American dominance (but with increasing competition), a resurgence of culture, including global culture, the triumph of independent journalism; and the growth of some powerful media moguls around the world" (p. 543).

In the recent days, the importance of International Communication is increasing because it has numerous functions such as making International Relationship implications between countries more dynamic in terms of enhancing the international cooperation, preventing conflict, preventing misunderstanding, and clearing the image and attitudes of the state. International Communication is a technique that empowers the foreign policy implementation in order to attain its interests (Fortner, 1993; Phienout, 2013).

International Communication is an essential means for the foreign policy, and it functions as a channel to communicate with the lobbies, parties, groups, Congress members, and institutions that are related to the political decision-making cycle in other countries (Gilboa, 2002; Lee, 1989). In addition, International Communication works as media diplomacy of the foreign policy ministry which defines as "uses of the media by leaders to express interest in negotiation, to build confidence, and to mobilize public support for agreements" (Gilboa, 2002, p. 741).

2.4.2 Relevance to the Present Study

The present study is analyzing an international discourse of the Israel Lobby that has been written in English language, and published by an international medium which is Facebook. The Israel Lobby's discourse targets not just the Americans but also the global public who speak English, which indicates according to what mentioned in the above literature that the lobby's discourse can be classified as an international communication.

In the same context, the Lobby's discourse discusses issues that could get the international attention, such as The Holocaust, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and anti-

Semitism. Also, the lobby's discourse is considered as an ideological and political discourse that is used for international relations proposes and aims to mobilize an audience outside the borders of Israel and the U.S. Hence, the International Communication helps to explain the Lobby's discourse and enables the deeper understanding of the Israel Lobby work.

2.5 Orientalism and Western Media Representation of the East

The Palestinian American theorist, Edward Said, who was born in Jerusalem, invented the term of Orientalism in his famous book "Orientalism" which is published in (1978). In his next works such as "The Question of Palestine" (1979), "Covering Islam" (1981) and other works, he asserts on the same idea. These works and ideas made him one of the foundational of the Post-Colonial studies (Ranjan, 2015; E. Said, 1978). He built his dialectics based on the structuralism especially of Michel Foucault and Gramsci (Habib, 2005). The main idea of Said's Orientalism was how the West studied and false culturally represented the East especially Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians negatively, which influenced the whole image and perception of the East in the Westerns' minds, culture, politics, and economic aspects (Ranjan, 2015; E. Said, 1978). He sees Orientalism as a cultural discrimination against East and biased to the West civilization in order to dominate and colonize the East countries. He defines Orientalism as:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism (E. Said, 1978, p. 10).

Orientalism is a way of seeing that imagines, emphasizes, exaggerates and distorts differences of Arab people and cultures as compared to that of Europe and the US. It often involves seeing Arab culture as exotic, backward, uncivilized and at times dangerous. The West construed the East as extremely different and inferior and therefore in need of Western intervention and rescue... It means the misrepresentation of the people and the culture of the Eastern countries Like Middle East, Asia and North Africa. Said used the

word 'Orientalism' to refer to the West's perception and depiction of Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies (Ranjan, 2015, p. 85).

He also indicates that Orientalism dates are traced back to the European colonization period of the Arabic World. He asserts that his interest in Orientalism was because the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and how the Arabs were misrepresented during the war in the West. In addition, the case of American cultural and indirect occupation of the East made it a case that deserves to be studied (Jhally & Talreja, 1998).

Misrepresentation of Islam in the Western world is a major feature of Orientalism. Islam was represented as a religion of racism, hate of culture, terrorist threat, and sexual hater. In addition, many of Western study the Islam civilization from a political perspective and affiliations not from an academic perspective (Desjarlais, 2014; Ranjan, 2015). Said thought also about the U.S foreign policy regarding the Middle East, and criticized it, especially invasion of Iraq in 2003. He expected that America intends to change the Arab World through dividing and nominating it friendly political regimes (E. Said, 2003).

The most area of the Western world where Orientalism manifests is in media by all its forms, especially news reports, films, flow of information regarding the Middle East and Islam (E. Said, 2003). Said believes that the West fictionalizes the whole discourse and the image of the Orient which is operates by the ideology to sustain the capitalist in favor of the dominant bourgeoisies. For him, the use of new media and communication technologies by the West aims to reinforce the negative stereotypes of the Orient, "The postcolonial discourse which spreads in the electronic environment

nowadays intensifies the clichés which are the instruments to look at the East." (Mora, 2009, p. 423).

Said indicated to three points that have contributed in creating the present perception and representation of the Islam and Arab in the West which are:

one, the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West, which is immediately reflected in the history of Orientalism; two, the struggle between the Arabs and Israeli Zionism, and its effects upon American Jews as well as upon both the liberal culture and the population at large; three, the almost total absence of any cultural position making it possible either to identify with or dispassionately to discuss the Arabs or Islam (E. Said, 1978, p. 34).

In his book "The Question of Palestine" (1979), Said reasserts on the Orientalism problem. He thinks that one of the problems of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is that the West still sees the Palestinian side from an Orientalist perspective and stands with Israel and Zionism (Gabr, 2014). Said tries in his book to express the Palestinian issue from Palestinian perspective. He also provides the Western culture by the real history of Palestine. In addition, he criticizes the role of the Zionist movement and its colonial ideology because it was influenced by the colonialism culture in the nineteenth century in Europe (Desjarlais, 2014; E. W. Said, 1992).

2.5.1 Relevance of Orientalism to the Present Study

Because this study talks about the International Communication issue and its media representation, it is important to look for how the Israel Lobby in the U.S represents an important part of the East which is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict including Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians. Indeed, understanding Orientalism and how the West thinks about the East help to understand the representation of the East within the Israel Lobby's discourse from an Orientalist perspective because the Israel Lobby coverage

for the Jews and Israeli issues is based on the Orientalism view that expresses the West civilization against the East and Islamic civilization (Malik, 2017; Mustafa, 2018).

An important reason for Said to write his book is that the colonialism culture of the West especially towards the Palestinian issue, and how the image of Arabs, Islam, and Palestinians in the Western minds has been shaped, which the Israel Lobby exploits to assert the negative sides of the East and demonize its image. However, new forms of media Orientalism are located on social media in the recent days, especially Facebook. This has been practiced by the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages that cover the conflict. This is a new case study to examine the new media tools that the Israel Lobby uses to build an Orientalist discourse.

2.6 Political Communication and Digital Diplomacy

Political communication defines as "an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public. The process operates downward from governing institutions toward citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and also upward from public opinion toward authorities" (Norris, 2001, p. 11631). Also, political communication defines as a subfield of political science and communication concerns about spreading political information and messages to a specific receivers (McNair, 2011).

Political Communication as a research field is concerned about production, procession, dissemination, and effects of information and the media tools that were used in the whole process (McNair, 2011). The field was emerged in the early of 1970s, but its roots revert to the emergence of the mass of communication research in the early of 20th century. The field contains of three main disciplines (social psychology, mass

communication research, and political science), which were studied by communication scholars such as Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Kurt Lewin, Carl Hovland, Walter Lippmann, and Gordon Allport. After the World War II, scientists in politics and communication accepted the idea of developing theories about political communication by using observable and quantifiable facts (Ryfe, 2001)

The crucial elements of the political communication are the content and purpose of the communication process. Nimmo (1990) defines political communication as "the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters." (as cited in Muhingi, Agonga, Mainye, Mong'are, & Maranga, 2015, p. 57). Also, McNair (2011) provides a similar explanation that political communication is "purposeful communication about politics" (p. 4).

For McNair (2011) political communication includes:

1. "All forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives." (p. 4).
2. "Communication addressed to these actors by non-politicians such as voters and newspaper columnists." (p. 4).
3. "Communication about these actors and their activities, as contained in news reports, editorials, and other forms of media discussion of politics." (p. 4).

One aspect of political communication practitioners is political organizations, political parties, and political lobbies which aim to influence the decision-making process. Also, political communication reflects the organizations' ideologies, goals, and

interests in purpose of persuading the targeted audience which could be both broad and local (McNair, 2011).

The use of the term and analysis of political communication arises since the emergence of WWW and social media, Facebook, and Twitter. All these platforms allow information to spread rapidly and help the political discourse and actors to deliver their content to the desired audience more efficiently, which makes the new media role in the political communication crucial (McNair, 2011). In addition, political marketing is an important aspect of promoting the political discourse and messages which are used in the political campaigns and elections campaigns. Recently, political marketing and targeting audience became a counterpart for social media technological developments, and political actors are depending on it (Savigny, 2008).

2.6.1 Digital Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy (PD) as political communication is one of the governmental foreign policy tools which has evolved since 2001 and as a research phenomenon (Ociepka, 2018). New Public Diplomacy (NPD) is:

understood as a version of PD that converges with cultural diplomacy, puts the accent on ‘engaging with foreign audiences rather than selling messages’, that is different from propaganda, giving ‘ordinary individuals’ (Melissen, 2005: 21, 23) more visibility. NPD might be described in the terms of communication models as more symmetric and dialogical than Cold War PD, which was focused on international broadcasting (Ociepka, 2018, p. 291).

Public diplomacy aims to utilize new technologies to engage them with the internal and external audiences to influence them by country messages and views (Manor, 2016; Natarajan, 2014). This was titled by digital diplomacy which can be defined as Adesina (2017) explains according to the use of the term from other scholars:

use of social media platforms by a country in order to achieve its foreign policy goals and proactively manage its image and reputation... the use of digital tools of communication (social media) by diplomats to communicate with each other and with the general public... diplomatic practices through digital and networked technologies, including the Internet, mobile devices, and social media channels.... the use of the internet and new Information Communications Technologies to help carry out diplomatic objectives (p. 3).

Adesina (2017) based on Lewis (2014) outlines digital diplomacy goals as: knowledge sharing and management; public diplomacy by keeping contact with the audience; information management and flow; consular communications and responding directly to specific issues or audience; disaster response; enhancing internet freedom; providing external information resources for publics; policy planning through effective coordination.

The development of public diplomacy and technology contributed to emerge the term of Digital Diplomacy that Israel uses efficiently (Aouragh, 2016). Digital diplomacy is defined as the use of Foreign Ministry and its embassies to the Internet and social media tools to achieve diplomatic and political objectives; in addition to improving the image and reputation of the state through contacting and interacting with targeted foreign audiences (Manor & Segev, 2015).

For the case of the present study, since 2013, the Israeli government has been engaged in recruiting "cover units" to defeat a wide range of enemies from the anti-Israel discourse in all fields. At digital diplomatic conference in 2016, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said "Israel is banking on social media to win the hearts and minds of the public" (Ahren, 2017). It coordinates with the lobby media in U.S. and supplies it with posts, publications, and messages, which indicates that the lobby

is linked to the Israeli government (Ahren, 2017). Also, since the establishment of Israel in 1948, it has practiced networked diplomacy collaborating with foreign communities and organizations to promote national goals (Manor, 2015b).

Recently, Israel uses many tools to reach the target audience and create lobbies. These tools include establishing contacts with the Jewish Communities to maintain the relation that could influence the U.S. through using social networking sites (SNS) by the Israeli embassies that target Jewish communities and Jewish youths and diaspora's role in diplomacy that has risen to the prominence that is given to the growth of migrant communities. That is to say, Israel covers the important political events and provides its consultation with required information for enabling the Israeli experts to involve in the public diplomatic activities. Finally, NGOs and individuals are connected to promote the Israeli causes online and coordinate social media campaigns (Manor, 2015b). Israel and its Lobby worldwide are using technologies and platforms to mobilize and increase pro-Israel sentiments. For example, they apply public diplomacy of Israel to disseminate, abroad, positive information about the State of Israel.

According to the director of the digital diplomatic unit in Israel Yoram Morad "In a recent survey conducted of 86 countries over the world, Israel was found to be the tenth of most active country on twitter and the fifth of the most popular in the sample" (Manor, 2014). In 2014, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published a guide to social media best practices in times of calmness and crises. This guide offers a diplomatic insight into various social media platforms and the suitable content for them (i.e., text or images), rules of engagement with followers, the languages to be used,

and specific information regarding how to formulate messages and the usage of hashtags (Manor, 2017).

2.7 Manufacturing Consent and Propaganda Model

The term of Manufacturing Consent is discussed in Herman & Chomsky's (1988) book which provides a "critique of the corporate media at the time and described how a propaganda model, comprising five filters, shapes the communication technologies that manufacture consent" (Obar & Oeldorf-Hirsch, 2018, p. 6). The term can be reverted to the first use of the phrase "Manufacture of Consent" by Walter Lippmann in 1922 in his book "Public Opinion". Obar & Oeldorf-Hirsch (2018) states that Lippmann used the term:

to explain how propaganda processes shape public opinion. Lippmann argued that new communication technologies, coupled with psychological research, produced new techniques for manufacturing consent. These techniques shape our opinions, our views of the world, and our behaviors, and present new conceptualizations of self-governance (p. 6).

The main idea of Herman & Chomsky (1988) book "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media" is that the mass of communication, especial in the U.S, is an ideological institutive, powerful, and effective which enables it to carry out the propaganda function through controlling market forces, media ownership and political economy, and self-censorship without direct or clear coercion by using elements of the propaganda model of the mass communication that they explain in their book. Chomsky thinks "The myth is that the media are independent, adversarial, courageous, struggling against power" (Henderson, 2018, para. 2). Herman & Chomsky (1988) explain their propagnnda model as:

A propagnnda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter the news fit to print, marginalize

dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public (p. 2).

Herman & Chomsky (1988) specify five main filters for the propaganda model on communication which are: ownership, advertising, sources, flak, and anticommunism. These filters are closed to the meaning of media gatekeeping model in terms of how the media content and effect are shaped by money and power. The five filters can be explained as follow:

1. **Size, Ownership, and Profit Orientation:** mass media outlets must care about the interests of the owners and financial investors and mobilize audience by what does not oppose to investors' ideologies and interests (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In the age of social media, ownership is concentrated in companies such as Google, YouTube, Twitter, (Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram) (Podur, 2019).
2. **The Advertising License to Do Business:** main media outlets revenue is advertising, and they mean by advertising here the financial support and legal authority of the medium which media cannot be viable without it. Media in this situation must cater what they can gratify the advertisers political and economic desires (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).
3. **Sourcing Mass Media News:** the more subsidizing to the media outlets from large entities the more special and privileged access to the media news that can be gained within the coverage of the related issues. Editorial decisions in the mass media are aggravated to private and governmental sources that the medium depends on, and they have to accept information from friendly and subsidize news sources (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). "Media companies like Fox News have staked their fortunes on Trump's ability to draw audiences to their networks. They have made Trump the ultimate official source and the ultimate news story" (Podur, 2019, para. 5).

4. **Flak and the Enforcers:** flak and media criticism for specific entities and personalities are expensive for media outlets because it could lead to lose advertisements and financial support, or cause a legal problem. Media require to defend their public image. Indeed, flak works as a deterrent for stopping reporting about specific issues and silence the media (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Podur, 2019).
5. **Anti-Communism or War on Terror:** this filter is related to the main social control mechanism that can work as a peg and justification for the actions and manipulation (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Podur, 2019).

2.7.1 Manufacturing Consent and Social Media

Recently, after the internet and new media rise, Chomsky describes social media such as Facebook as a double-edged sword, "Sometimes, they are used for constructive purposes. But they have also become major forces for undermining democracy" (Henderson, 2018, para. 6). He adds that social media can supercharge the propaganda system. In the same context, Podur (2019) mentions a new powerful filter for the propaganda model that is compatible with the social media, which is algorithms that use our social instincts and direct specific discourses to our minds. He adds:

An opaque algorithm controls what you see: Many researchers have pointed out how social media algorithms work to boost conspiracy theories, move users to more extreme content and positions, confirm the biases of the searcher, and incentivize the outrageous and offensive...They have hacked your social brain: When you receive news on Facebook, even though it comes from a small number of corporate sources or advertisers, you are receiving it from your friends, and so it comes with additional trust that you never had (Podur, 2019, pp. 13–14).

Internet provides cheap and effective ways to influence and manipulate public opinion. It is notable that the new and social media news sources became preferred news sources in the recent era, especially among youth and digital natives. The ownership

of Algorithms is centralized in the hands of the huge companies such as Google and Facebook which are able to control the new media market, and what people can say and see or cannot, which leads to the political economy meaning (Fuchs, 2018; Rongbin, 2015).

2.8 Political Economy of Social Media

As Iosifidis & Wheeler (2016) mention that:

political economy investigates the social whole, or the totality of social relations, that make up economic, political, social, and cultural areas of life (Mosco, 2009: 3–4). The marriage of politics and culture with the processes of resource production, distribution, and exchange helps in understanding social processes. The economic analysis of the general laws of production, distribution, and circulation of goods blends well with the political focus on social inequalities produced by these processes, highlighting issues of power and inequality to that of market deficiency or failure, and explaining social change (p. 51).

Platforms and algorithms of new and social media became the modern media business with a technical infrastructure. This leads the world to what we called "algorithmic turn" which expresses a new paradigm for media analysis (Couvering, 2017). This new paradigm could be named as the political economy of the new media which interested in analyzing the commodity form of the new media's ideologies, and how the huge companies that control big data and algorithms transform it as a commodity for the advertisers and politicians who termed it as "audience commodity" and "colonization of social media" (Howell, 2018, para. 4). In the same context, Google and Facebook as a capitalist companies are selling their users data to the advertisers, political organizations and parties through allowing them to target the audience and promote their content. The more users they get the more money and advertisements they get (Fuchs, 2018; Rongbin, 2015).

In the same context, it became clear that we as social media users and audiences are the digital labor who work for Facebook for free through the interaction and engagement with the business and brands posts or by giving a permission to social sites to get our data to sell it. For example, "Analysis of the ten most viewed videos on YouTube shows that transnational media corporations, the organized exploiters of artists and consumer's surplus value-generating labor, control YouTube's political attention economy" (Fuchs, 2014, p. 78).

For Facebook, it allows users to produce their content through uploading and updating posts, status, photos, comments, links, send messages, and playing online games. "This activity traditionally has not been understood as labor, yet Facebook's business model relies heavily on what we argue should be understood as the free labor of users" (Mahmoud, 2015, p. 5) Social media are associated with concentration of power, commercialism, corporatism, censorship, surveillance, privacy, and data protection. The recent community is concerned about new issues such as, fairness, privacy, accuracy, transparency, and policies for credible information. Hence, what can be concluded is that we as social media and Facebook users are interring a commodification process that transforms us to not just consumers, but consumers-producers (Fuchs, 2014; Hamati-Ataya, 2015).

The present study is interested in analyzing the process of engineering the Americans consent which also meets the meaning of manufacturing consent. It also interested in analyzing the ideology, power relations, and hegemony in the Israel Lobby's discourse on the Facebook's pages that owned by the Lobby's organization which controls its discourses, tendencies, and representations for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In the

same context, Herman & Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model seems suitable for looking at the Israel Lobby's work and discourse because the Lobby uses money, power, and media to mobilize the American public opinion in favor of Israel and Jewish issues. Talking about manufacturing consent, political economy, and propaganda model are explaining the case of the Israel Lobby's discourse in the U.S and providing holistic understanding.

2.9 Media Representation

The present study is interested in the representation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook. Media representation centers on the construction of aspects of reality including places, people, events, objects, cultural identities etc.). Representation could be included in the texts or oral or visual discourse types. In addition, representation process includes relations of the key social categories such as class, age, gender and ethnicity. Also, representation explores how identities are constructed or represented in the discourse or media coverage (Alvarado, Gutch, & Wollen, 2015; Visual Memory, 2014).

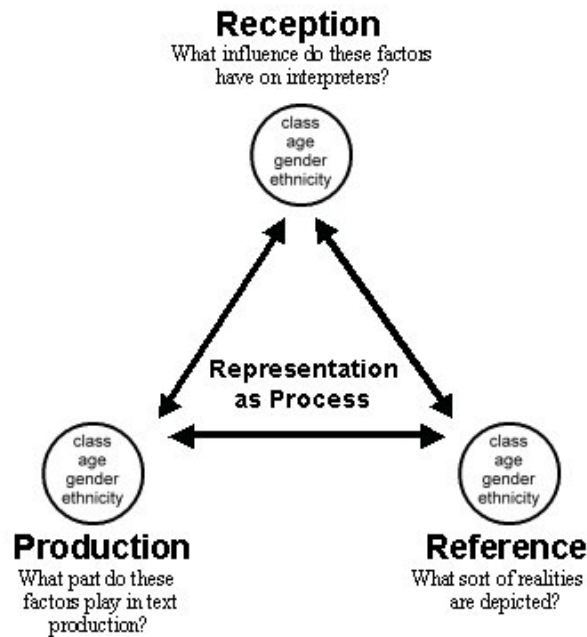


Figure 5: Media representation as a process

As Figure 5 shows representation works as process of three factors. First, production, which is based on who produces the media discourse, their affiliations, gender, political and social views that mostly will be reflected within the discourse. For example, in the 1960's, the representation of women was unbalanced because most of the media workers were men. Similarly, in 1990's, the representation of Africans in American was greatly affected by the African Americans who worked in the industries of American television and film (Kowaltzke & Stewart, 1997).

Second, reception of the media message by the audience. Each audience member has certain characteristics that enables them to understand media messages differently. For example, the meaning of the movies which are produced in 1917's is different from the movies which are produced today from the audience's perception. According to Kowaltzke & Stewart (1997), the big question that should be asked is should the media focus on how the target audience will understand media message?

Third, context and realities, and media representation cannot be analyzed or understood without understanding the social, historical, political contexts that the media discourse operates in. Context has to be analyzed because media messages work as part of the social system. So, whatever is happening in the targeted society is bound to affect the subject's representations. For example, the representation of women may be affected based on the society's traditions, rules, religion etc. Peoples' value system and their social and cultural backgrounds are constituting a significant part of who they are (Kowaltzke & Stewart, 1997).

Media representation operates through repeated media discourse and message elements. The more public see the same ideas, messages, discourse elements, the more they accept it and its meanings. In addition to that, media representation divides the society into categories such as the unemployed, the aged, businessman, political tendencies etc. These categories have become part of our everyday lives and our thought process. It is evident that the representation presents the ideas of discourse producers (Boomgaarden, 2017; Kowaltzke & Stewart, 1997).

Representation analysts have to be aware of the conventional and symbolic codes within a specific discourse. They also have to be aware of the full understanding of the discourse elements and components to be able to explain how it works. In addition to this, it is important to understand the frames that it is intended to portray a specific issue. Furthermore, representation should focus on the whole narrative of the issue or the subject story and patterns. The narrative is built from embedded ideas, symbols, stories, actions, word choices etc. that serves the understanding of the media discourse (Ahmed & Matthes, 2017).

The media representation analysis process has to answer key questions which are:

1. "What is being represented?"
 2. "How is it represented? Using what codes? Within what genre?"
 3. "How is the representation made to seem 'true', 'commonsense' or 'natural'?"
 4. "What is foregrounded and what is backgrounded? Are there any notable absences?"
 5. "Whose representation is it? Whose interests does it reflect? How do you know?"
 6. "At whom is this representation targeted? How do you know?"
 7. "What does the representation mean to you? What does the representation mean to others? How do you account for the differences?"
 8. "How do people make sense of it? According to what codes?"
 9. "With what alternative representations could it be compared? How does it differ?"
- (Boomgaarden, 2017; Visual Memory, 2014).

There are few important elements that could be examined within the representation process and they are the news bias, negativity and positivity etc. For the news bias, representation studies especially the representation of the political elites and parties mostly draw on the idea of news bias regardless of the media clearly states it or infuses it in their discourse in a subliminal manner. So, representation analysts are saddled with the responsibility of revealing the ideological bias of media by looking at its content and comparing it to another media coverage because, the prominent ideas becomes the most available information and discourse in the public sphere and overtime, it influences the public's judgment on the issue (Boomgaarden, 2017).

For media representation and news bias it is significant to identify whether the coverage of the issue or political factor, or group of people, are presented in a negative or positive tone. This gives a general account of the whole coverage. Also, how will this message be received, is it negative or positive? (Boomgaarden, 2017).

In the same vein, the way the media presents places informs the populace about the specific geographical places, including cities, countries, territories, tourist destinations etc. because it is repeated overtime. This shapes how people think about these places.

Drawing from Avraham (2000), media representation of places and cities have four categories and they are as follows;

(1) cities that receive a great deal of negative coverage; (2) cities that are ignored by the media unless they are being covered in a negative context; (3) cities that receive much positive coverage; and (4) cities that are mainly ignored by the media but when covered receive primarily positive coverage (Avraham, 2000, p. 364).

In conclusion, the present study explains the representation of the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages discourse regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This representation analysis includes producers' points of view and ideology, embedded meanings, news biased, negativity and positivity, places and ethnic groups such as 'Palestine, Israel, Jerusalem, U.S., Jews, Christians, Arabs'.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

The section discusses the theoretical framework that guides this research. This study adopts the Engineering of Consent (EOC) approach and Discourse Theory (DT), to explain how the Israel Lobby in U.S. through constructing social media discourse engineers the consent and opinion of the Americans.

2.11 Engineering of Consent

Considering that this researcher is the first to adopt the engineering of consent approach to study the Israel Lobby use of communication and language forms to sway the American public towards the Israeli agenda, a systematic review of EOC literature was conducted by the researcher to clearly identify the EOC approach. The research found 34 scholarly papers which were published between 1947 to 2018, and they were obtained from 14 academic databases (O. A. Abu Arqoub, Özad, & Elega, 2019).

To explore the depth of this approach, this researcher presents, this section highlights the most important results of existing EOC literature analysis, engineering of consent approach within Public Relations history, definition of the engineering of consent approach, the eight-step system of EOC approach, progression of (EOC) focused research between 1947 to 2018, the most frequently used words in engineering of consent research, the engineering of consent perspectives, the abuse of engineering of consent, and relevance of the engineering of consent to the current study.

2.11.1 Engineering of Consent within Public Relations History: An Overview

There is a consensus between most of the Public Relations schools that started in the modern Public Relations era in U.S after 1900. It coincided with the opening of the first agency for Public Relations "Publicity Bureau" and the Public Relations principles declaration in 1906 by pioneer Ivy Ledbetter Lee. In world war I, united states established the "*The United States Committee on Public Information*" by president Woodrow Wilson, also known as the Creel Committee that was headed by investigative journalist George Creel (Bernays, 1971; Harlow, 1977). Through a combination of advertising, PR and propaganda, the committee aimed at swaying public opinion towards supporting America's entry into World War I. (Gabay, 2009,

p. 10). The committee attracted numerous Public Relations practitioners such as Pioneer Edward Bernays, a bright 23-year-old press agent (Gabay, 2009).

Bernays worked with Ernest Poole who was a head of the Foreign Press Bureau in New York. He described the committees' work as "bolstered the morale of our citizens and of our allies and helped to break down enemy morale. Its propaganda efforts were so effective that one historian was later moved to write that words won the war" (Bernays, 1971, p. 300). Bernays served governments, trade associations, for-profit and nonprofit organizations as a PR specialist. He was the author of "*Propaganda, Crystallizing Public Opinion*", and other publications that greatly contributes to the PR field (Harlow, 1977).

Bernays categorized the PR modern history into four time periods before 1941; 1900 to 1914 when businessmen tried to fool the public; 1914 to 1918 was the EOC approach on a wide scale; 1919 to 1929, when businesses sought to get public trust and to do good things to get the public's attention; 1929, when social responsibility was reinforced in the private businesses (Lamme & Russell, 2010). In 1955, in his edited book *Engineering of Consent*, Bernays said, "Public Relations is the attempt, by information, persuasion and adjustment, to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement or institution" (Hutton, 1999, p. 20).

According to the period Bernays tagged the EOC period 1910's-1920's, Bernays mentioned that the desire to engineer and to manipulate public's consent started to rise following new theories developed by psychologist Sigmund Freud who appeared later as the core of the EOC (Lamme & Russell, 2010; Tanoue, 2000). Edward Bernays was

also was the "double nephew" of Sigmund Freud. His mother was Freud's sister and his father was Freud's wife's brother. During his visits to his uncle Sigmund, "Bernays slowly formulated groundbreaking ideas on how to merge theories of mass psychology with techniques to help commercial and political corporative bodies creditor consumers" (Gabay, 2009, p. 9).

2.11.2 Definition of the Engineering of Consent

The Engineering of Consent (EOC) is one of the most significant approaches in understanding of peoples are swayed towards an idea or program through various communication and media platforms (Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947; Kelly, 2014).

Leaders may be the spokesmen for many different points of view. They may direct the activities of major organized groups such as industry, labor, or units of government. They may compete with one another in battles for public good will; or they may, representing divisions within the larger units, compete among themselves. Such leaders, with the aid of technicians in the field who have specialized in utilizing the channels of communication, have been able to accomplish purposefully and scientifically what we have termed "the engineering of consent" (Bernays, 1947).

Nowadays "it is impossible to overestimate its importance; it affects every aspect of our daily lives" (Bernays, 1947, p. 115). This approach can is used in Public Relations, mass Communication, and politics. Governments officers have also used EOC to influence peoples' decisions towards a particular program (Carter, 1984; Givel, 2007).

Edward Bernays, an Austrian-American journalist and pioneer of the Public Relations and Propaganda field, first used EOC term in his article entitled *The Engineering of Consent* which was published in 1947. Bernays adopted this approach when he worked for tobacco companies to sway the women towards smoking publicly. Also, the approach was adopted when he worked as a member of the Public relation council during and after the World War I. In his work. He implored people in the field about

the techniques of engineering the public consent and he mentioned that it is an unavoidable part of the twenty-first century democratic societies (Bernays, 1947; Mitchell, 1989; Tufekci, 2014).

The EOC approach can be traced back to Bernays first book, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923) where he mentioned the term first time. In that book he highlighted the primary principles of the Public Relations practice. He said, "Some fifteen years later in the light of my experience I refined the approach and called it the engineering of consent" (Bernays, 1971, p. 297).

Edward Bernays defined the term "engineering of consent" in his 1947 first article as:

The use of an engineering approach—that is, action based only on thorough knowledge of the situation and on the application of scientific principles and tried practices to the task of getting people to support ideas and programs. Any person or organization depends ultimately on public approval, and is therefore faced with the problem of engineering the public's consent to a program or goal (Bernays, 1947, p. 114).

Okigbo and Nelson (2003) declared that the audience is a fundamental element in PR and the EOC strategy. They suggested that clear-cut targeting is an important factor in this process. The following are important factors; cultural knowledge, attitudes, demographic profile are important in the achieving an successful campaigns.

Greenbaum et al. (1986) described the EOC as a newly revised version of Bernays' 1947 "eight-point plan" for developing a successful PR program. The EOC strategy and political advocacy essentially focus on a risk-averse strategy, third-party and group advocacy approaches through lobbying (Bennett, 2004). They assume that elites can shape policies through traditional lobbying and advocacy approaches for the goodness

of society, i.e., political and social stability, by promoting policies that avoid regime redistribution of political power and wealth (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Givel, 2007).

Bernays explained the relevance of EOC. He said, "Any person or organization depends ultimately on the public approval and is therefore faced with the problem of engineering the public's consent to a program or goal" (Bernays, 1947, p. 114). He also added that "The engineering of consent should be based theoretically and practically on the complete understanding of those whom attempt to win over" (Bernays, 1947, p. 114). And that "In certain cases, democratic leaders must play their part in leading the public through the engineering of consent to socially constructive goals and values." (Bernays, 1947, p. 114). Bernays (1947) believes that ideas (political, ideological, or social action) are as viable as the extent to which audience members are convinced about it. He also believes that governments and states use the EOC approach to influence people decisions towards a particular outcome (Bernays, 1947). In addition, Givel (2007) adds that "a small group in a representative democracy through Public Relations specialists attempts to scientifically mold public opinion to support a client's preferred public policy agenda" (p. 340).

Bernays believe in the desirability and feasibility of psychology in influencing the masses. He also believes that, to influence the masses, the campaign has to be well planned and executed by trained practitioners based on the findings of social scientists. In addition, he thought that "any person or organization which depends ultimately on public approval and is therefore faced with the problem of engineering the public's consent to a program or goal." (Bernays, 1947, p. 114).

William Graebner (1987) defined the EOC as "process of generating consent around a set of social goals, around definitions of key terms like democracy around a basic ideological convergence between the governed and the governors, and around rules of individual and collective action that" (Mitchell, 1989, p. 169). He further named this new system as "Democratic Social Engineering". He explained that it is the central theme of the (EOC), and "it is a process to transmit a normative definition of democracy that sets the boundaries of political discourse and political action through what microcosmic social organizations were designed and constructed" (Mitchell, 1989, p. 170) .

The (EOC) assumes that the elites can shape the policy along with traditional lobbying and advocacy approaches in the best interest of society for social and political stability by promoting policies that avoid government redistribution of wealth and political power and also by applying the (EOC) to corporate counterinsurgency, managing resistance, lobbying and advocacy, and securing the support of political leaders to win the hearts and minds of people in the mine "Hambach" coal in German (Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Givel, 2007).

EOC is not limited to Public Relations field, according to Abu Arqoub, Ozad and Elega (2019), Bernays's EOC was studied and explored across diverse disciplines. The Majority of the studies that focused on the EOC are in the areas of Communication, Public Relations, and Politics. Then the other disciplines such as: Health Sciences, Psychology, Management, and Information Technology (Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947, 1986; Brandt, 1996, 2009; Gunder, 2011; Henisz, 2013; Iyengar, 2004; Kelly, 2014; Klapper, 1948; Linning, 2005; Okigbo & Nelson, 2003; Parmar, 2000; M. B.

Petersen, 2005; Saravanamuthu, 2002; Sharone, 2002; Tanoue, 2000). In addition, Qualitative research methodology are the most used, and vast majority of EOC focused research studied cases and issues in the U.S.

2.11.3 Eight-step System of EOC Approach

EOC is an organized approach within Public Relations field that comprises eight-steps that first article and the edited book of Bernays which was titled "*The Engineering of Consent*" (Bernays, 1947, 1955) and (Bernays, 1986) article which has the title of "The Engineering of Consent: An organized Approach to PR efforts" focused on.

The EOC eight-steps plan chronologically aims at accomplishing a Public Relations idea or program and how targeted publics' consent can be engineered towards these programs (Greenbaum et al., 1986). "This framework represents a broad generic model for the strategic management of Public Relations which arguably remains as one of the most comprehensive examinations of the subject to date" (Kaid, 2004, p. 307). Figure 6 shows EOC eight-steps plan (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

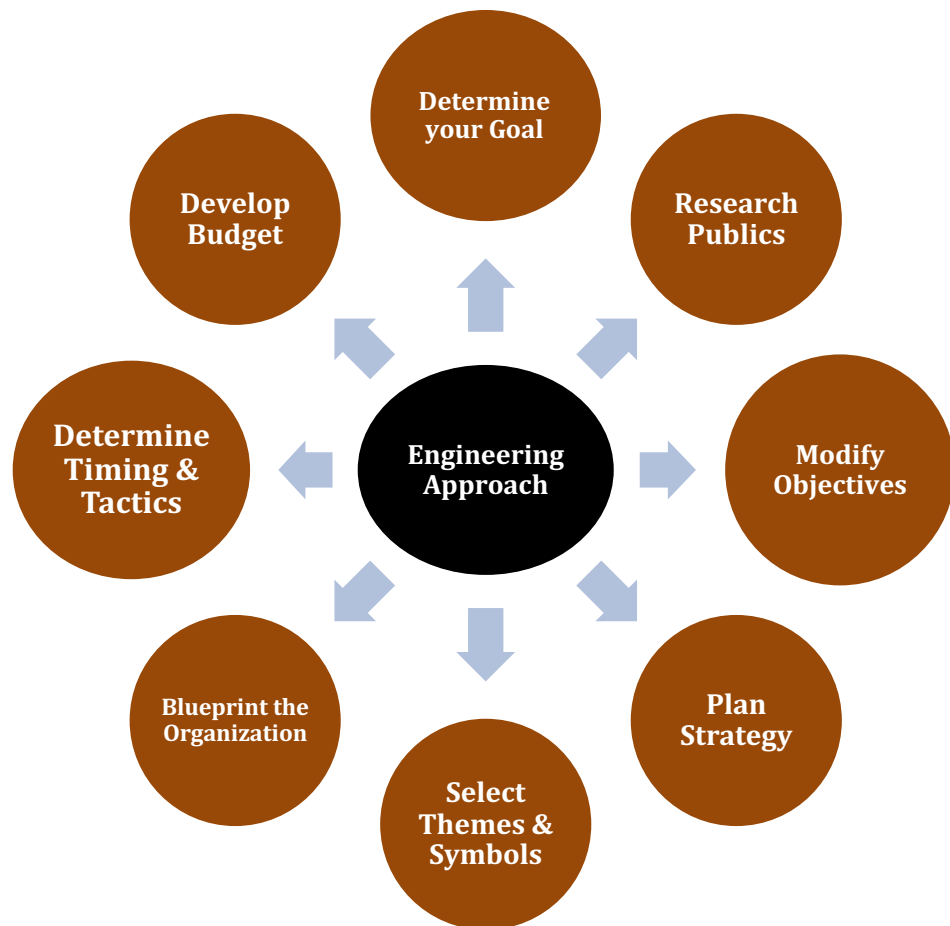


Figure 6: The eight-step system of EOC approach

1. **Establish goals and objectives:** Goals should carefully be chosen and must be attainable. It could be different according to each case and timeline. Goals have to consider: brainstorming, realistic approach, recent circumstances to balance interests, and targeted publics' needs and desires (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

2. **Research publics:** A complete understanding of targeted public is needed in terms of public attitudes, aims related to the public, publics knowledge, ideas that public prepared to absorb from whom do they get their ideas, publics opinion molders or group leaders that impact them, their level of acceptance for evidences, precision, reasons, and emotion. Data gathering tools should be used such as, polls, personal visits, questioners for group leaders who know their publics or opinion molders

who know the publics, and the new communication technology analytical tools such as big data and algorithms. This step helps to intensify favorable attitudes, convert people to specific goal, and negate negative attitudes (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

3. **Modify objectives:** Research public maybe discloses that achieving determined goals is impossible, and that requires to modify goals to meet reality and be achieved.
4. **Plan strategy:** By determining strengths and timing of proceeding towards goals based on research and the use of available resources which Bernays called the four "m's" elements (manpower, mindpower, mechanics, and money) (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).
5. **Selecting themes and symbols:** Suitable themes "story line" should be identify, including ideas that have to be conveyed and influence the targeted publics, variety of objectives, could request variety of applicable themes. Symbols are shortcuts to understanding, and its frequently means effectively expressed. A symbol may be anything that stands for an idea (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).
6. **Blueprint the organization:** The organization will carry out the campaign which depends on the proud of the objectives, the organization meets the need of people and facilities Sometimes the organizations could be one or two people or some sympathize volunteers with reinforcements according to the objects and time line (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

7. **Determine timing and plan tactics:** As a civil engineer, every phase of operation must be planned in detail and advancing. Plan includes safety reserve in terms of time, money, staff and techniques to take care and taking advantage of the unforeseen and the unexpected. In addition, special tactics of campaign include media usage (such as TV, newspapers, radio, direct mail, word-of-mouth etc.), how to use them, and what to give each one (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

8. **Develop budget:** Budget will be proportionate with total Public Relations plan. The budget should be developed depending on available and prospective funds. Additional expenditures are minimal, except for postage, duplicating, and, of course, the salary of the Public Relations professional (Bernays, 1947, 1955, 1986).

The EOC eight-step plan is essential to the Public Relations profession, it is significant to say that these steps work together, and they cannot be separated. The aim of this eight-step plan is to build a persuasive discourse that can affect public's consent. As proposed, if all steps are appropriately used, ideas and messages will be more conceived to the targeted publics (Bernays, 1955; Greenbaum et al., 1986).

The most important example EOC approach which was mentioned by Bernays is the "Torches of Freedom" in 1929. Brandt (1996) consents that between the period of 1900 to 1940, cigarette advertisers and (PR) experts were keen on making women on making sure that women smoked in public, something that was formerly unacceptable. Cigarette ads meant for the campaign were branded in a such fierce way through slogans and advertisements during a famous parade in New York City that it exuded and represented rebellion, independence, glamour, seduction, sexual allure, freedom,

power, and also it served as a symbol for both feminists and flappers (Brandt, 2009; Givel, 2007; Tanoue, 2000).

The advertisers and (PR) experts succeeded in Engineering Consent of women and changed the negative stereotype surrounding the smoking of cigarette in public by women (Brandt, 1996) and this is still noticeable today in cigarette ads (Givel, 2007). As a result, the early 1900's marked a new beginning for smoking it was no longer considered socially unacceptable, displaying traditionally male behavior, challenged social convention, and dirty behavior for women to smoke in public. In 1924, the number of women who smoked rose by 6%. In 1935, this number had risen to 18.1% and continued to rise steadily until 1964. Smoking prevalence in women peaked at 34.2% in 1965 and has been declining. At present, 21.3% of American women are smokers. Even though cigarette smoking is still considered one of the main cause of death in the United States, more than 20% of all Americans still smoke (Tanoue, 2000).

2.11.4 Understanding and Searching the Publics on Social Media

It is clear that understanding and searching public is one of core steps in the EOC eight step plan. In recent times, searching the public and segmentations of the public has evolved more than what Bernays proposed. With the intervention of new technological tools, the way to search and understand the audience is completely different and that this is what this section focuses on.

Searching the publics in this new era is largely based on the clear identification of audience categories because each group shares specific characteristics (Plowman, Wakefield, & Winchel, 2015). According to Wilson and Ogden (2014) (as cited in Plowman et al. (2015, p. 276), there are six elements that should be identified in each

public category, which are "demographic and psychographic profile, objectives the key public will help accomplish, motivating self-interests, status of current relationship with the organization or issue, third-party opinion leaders, and viable communication channels." (p. 276).

Public Segmentation

Larsen, (2010) and Paulo (2015) indicates that there is a consensus within the public segmentations and marketing literature about specific segmentations that should be considered when analyzing public in this era of direct messages. This categorization is based on demographic, geographic, psychographic and behavioral characteristics of the public. This division enables us to study, analyze and identify publics and their important features and provide us with an efficient and effective public that suitable for our media messages (products or ideas) that meet a specific publics' unique need. Once the above discussed is understood, it could be used for other groups of people (Larsen, 2010; Paulo, 2015).

Psychographic segmentation of the public is mostly adopted and used on social media platforms given that it is based on the use of algorithms. Psychographic segmentation is an approach which is used to identify segments of the public based on subjective criteria such as values, personal features, attitudes, interests etc. (Larsen, 2010). "The psychographics is the use of psychological, sociological and anthropological factors to determine how the market is segmented according to the trends within it and to take a concrete decision on a product" (Paulo, 2015, p. 55).

Larsen (2010) and Paulo (2015) stated that psychographic segmentation was originally based on the work of Emanuel Demby who worked on lifestyle and psychographics which was published in 1974. He defines psychographic segmentation as;

The use of psychological, sociological and anthropological, such as the desired benefits (from the behavior under study), self-concept and life style (or style will do) to determine how the market is segmented factors for propensity of groups within the market - and reasons - making a decision about a particular product, person, ideology, or to stop an attitude [...] The demographic and socioeconomic factors are also used as a constant control to see if psychographic segmentation improves segmentation in other forms, including groups of users/non-users (Paulo, 2015, p. 55).

Psychographic segmentation provides a new methodology to fill gaps in other segmentations of the public because it presents consumers and audiences as combination of activities, interests, opinions, lifestyle etc. The Psychographic segmentation which constitutes numerous variables should be considered under each one of the major categories as the Table 4 shows.

Table 4: Public segmentation and public search variables

Category	Description
Geographical	The publics are divided into geographical units, such as: country, states, cities, districts, climate, relief, or neighborhoods, and so on.
Demographic	The publics are classified considering variables such as: age, sex, education level, income, civil status, Generation segmentation (Each generation is influenced by the times in which they grow up), religion, profession, Social Class segmentation (their preferences in cars, clothing, home furnishings, leisure activities, reading habits and retailers), and so on.
Psychographic	The publics are classified in a more subjective and psychological way, in this case the important matters are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opinions and interests to find out the similar public and groups toward certain issues or products. • Activities: helps to identify the activities that influence on public and what they are interested in. • Values and attitudes: traditional, social objectives such as family, friends and community. indicates to the

	<p>commitment of the public by the traditions, religious, and the idealistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desires: to identify what public need and want, and what is important and what is necessary for them in terms of ideas or products. • Personality: how the person behaves in society as they choose to spend its time, money, efforts, i.e., their choices. It is important to gather public who has the same personality, characteristics and address them certain discourse, such as (open mind, happiness, nervous, positivity, negativity, critical, fear, love etc.). Also, it considers the five personality factors (Extroversion, Instability, Socialization, Openness to Experience, and Conscientiousness). • Life style: helps to recognize the relationships of people, their environments, attitudes of people around them, and elements that affect them., • Social position: it helps to identify the social leaders and their attitudes, relations, influence, which serve targeting the elites and public leaders.
Behavioral:	<p>Based on the customers' attitude towards a product, behavioral variables such as occasions, benefits, user status, usage rate, loyalty status and attitude are important points of segments. The publics are segmented according to the behavioral characteristics that observed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how do they take their decision to act? • how do they act within the activities and occasions? • Is there a response and feedback for the ideas and products? • User status: how much do they use product, tool, or an idea, non-users, light, medium and heavy, normal, or light users? according to nonusers, ex-users, potential users, first-time users and regular users of a product or ideas • loyalty: divide the public in terms of their loyalty to the product or idea, support, opposite, neutral, and their percentages which helps to form messages for each part of them. • Benefits: due to the different benefits, people may seek to a certain product or idea which helps to find out the suitable benefit they need to convince them. • Occasions are when the customers are divided into segments based on the time of day, week, month and year on which they get the idea to act or take a decision, including holidays and peak active time. • Attitude: attitude toward a product. whether they have an enthusiastic, positive, indifferent, negative or hostile attitude toward a product.

(Larsen, 2010; Paulo, 2015)

Psychographic segmentation adopts five personality variables to identify public as Hawkins et al. (2007) explained, which are: Extroversion: people who prefer to stay in a large group, communicative with others. Instability: moody, sensitive. socialization: sympathetic, gentle with others, educated. Openness to experience: imaginative, evaluator arts, find new solutions careful. Conscientiousness: careful, accurate, efficient) (Paulo, 2015). As the above table shows, psychographic segmentation focuses on the factors that could affect the public's behavior to consider a program or idea. This helps marketers to predict how the public would respond to a campaign (Larsen, 2010; Paulo, 2015).

2.11.5 Engineering of Consent and Social Media's Big Data

The whole mentioned process of understanding, searching for public and targeting their unconscious mind has become easier in the age of social media big data. According to Centric Digital (2015), social media and big data shape today's world. Data is gathered from our activities on social media hence these large media companies, marketers, social media platforms, intelligences, public relation practitioners and politicians are able to predict our priorities, preferences, activities, interests, searches results etc. They understand our behavior better, classify us and they target us as a potential audience. Ivanov, (2018) believes that big data goes along way because it also enables scientists to deal with major global issues hence it can be used for positive causes too.

The term big data is all encompassing term that details the process of collecting a huge combination of data from various open sources such as social media platforms. It is also used for analyzing and visualizing huge number of databases. All of these processes cannot be done through the traditional ways of processing data. They are

mostly done through computational tools and software such as data mining software (Dhawan, 2014). In recent times, big data has thrived in monitoring of online users' behavior. Big organizations and companies invest in projects for gathering and analyzing these data especially on Facebook and Twitter and sell them or their results (Dhawan, 2014).

The importance of big data is that it enables digital marketers through big data analysis to target individuals accurately based on their digital behaviors. Big data goes beyond basic demographic information such as users' race, age, gender or social standing. The analysis of big data today is able to specify if those users are supporting any political parties and if they do, they target specific kinds of information to them.

Today, it is possible to target someone through advertisement based on metrics, such as likes, post replies, post reactions, shares etc. Interestingly, this is not considered as an unethical marketing tactic. In addition, sites like Facebook only censor violence and sexual messages however all other content are allowed. Talking about the abuse of big data and privacy or system exploitations, micro targeting with the help of algorithms and artificial intelligence enables marketers to connect with large public who are interested in specific products, services and ideas (Ivanov, 2018).

In the same vein, big data enables marketers to follow their media campaigns keenly given that it produces important metrics about their brands, campaigns, posts, and audience response and interaction with their products etc. (Ivanov, 2018). Predictive analysis is the most powerful part of the big data; it enables marketers to predict the future of the content and its public. Algorithms, data mining, and predictive analytics

give us high insights about the potential outcomes of our content and targeted public besides avoiding the catastrophic marketing mistakes (Centric Digital, 2015; Kh, 2015).

Social media analysis and big data is not limited to product marketing. Politicians and schools are also adopting it to publish, promote their programs to a specific audience. This is considered as the golden change in the political communication, election campaigns, political activists etc. (Dhawan, 2014; Tamimi, 2018).

2.11.6 Progression of (EOC) Focused Research from 1947 to 2018

The evolution of EOC-related studies from 1947 when the first EOC related article was published by Edward Bernays is one important piece of this study given that it highlights how much of scholarly productivity regarding this subject matter has been harnessed. In Figure 5 The progression of this study is presented as published in a milestone study Abu Arqoub et al. (2019) leading up to this comprehensive study adopting EOC as a guide in the discourse of Israel Lobby in the United States of America.

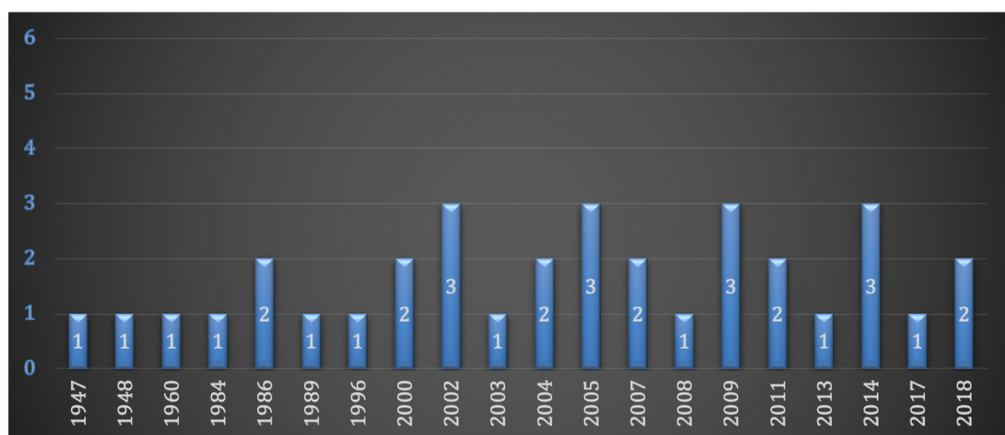


Figure 7: Progression of EOC focused research between 1947 to 2018

In terms of yearly progression as shown in Figure 7 The first paper was published in 1947. From 1947 to 2000 EOC was studied rarely, only eight papers were published during 53 years and 3 of them were written by fundamental authors who are (Bernays, 1947, 1986; Klapper, 1948). Number of papers which were published in this field have continuously increased and doubled after 2000 to the first quarter of 2018, the number of articles between this period is 26. These results indicate that despite its significance, EOC is only just becoming more important in the last decades.

This study improves it by adopting it to study the Israel Lobby's language communication and discourse regarding the Palestinian Israeli conflict.

2.11.7 Most Frequently Used Words in Engineering of Consent Research

According to Abu Arqoub et al. (2019) The Word Tag Cloud Diagram depicts the most used words by size, in a descending order, with the largest words representing the most frequently used ones. The most 100 words which are frequently used in the EOC-focused research that has been detected by NVivo 10, as Figure 6 Shows.

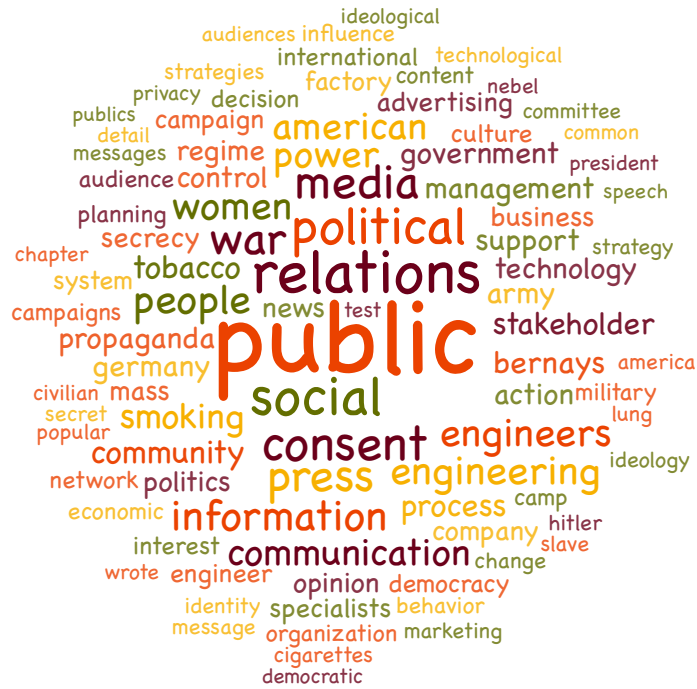


Figure 8: Word tag cloud of EOC focused research

Table 5: Most 30 frequently used words within EOC-focused papers

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Word	Count	Weighted Percentage
Public	1590	0.95%	Communication	399	0.24%
Relations	810	0.48%	Smoking	363	0.22%
Social	699	0.42%	Community	307	0.18%
Political	659	0.39%	Tobacco	303	0.18%
Consent	607	0.36%	Process	300	0.18%
Media	585	0.35%	Bernays	288	0.17%
Press	550	0.33%	Stakeholder	286	0.17%
War	546	0.33%	Propaganda	265	0.16%
Information	483	0.29%	Management	264	0.16%
People	452	0.27%	Army	263	0.16%
Engineering	438	0.26%	Germany	261	0.16%
Engineers	432	0.26%	Support	261	0.16%
Women	431	0.26%	Government	260	0.15%
Power	416	0.25%	Control	253	0.15%
American	414	0.25%	Technology	251	0.15%

As the above Table shows, the top five words within EOC-focused articles are "public," "relations," "social," "political," and "consent" (n = 4365; 2.6%). The words "media," "press," "war," "information," "people," "engineering," "engineers," "women," "power," and "American" were repeated between 585 times to 414 times respectively (n = 4747; 2.85%). The remaining most repeated words were "communication," "smoking," "community," "tobacco," "process," "Bernays," "stakeholder," "propaganda," "management," "army," "Germany," "support," "government," "control," and "technology," which accounted for 2.59% (n = 4324) of the thirty most frequently used words within the selected set of EOC-focused papers.

Based on the results in Figure 8 and Table 5, the researcher developed the main perspectives in the EOC discourse. First, publics (public, consent, opinion, people, audience, influence). Second, propaganda (propaganda, opinion, support, campaign, influence, change, strategies, ideological). Third, its focuses on communication and media studies (public, relations, media, Bernays, press, communication, news, mass, campaign, messages, advertising, marketing). Fourth, engineering of consent (Bernays, engineering, engineers, tobacco, planning, consent, management, action, strategy, propaganda, stakeholders, women, smoking, company, cigarettes). Fifth, Politics (political, social, power, government, America, democracy, Germany, Hitler, support, control, regime, interest, military, ideology, president). Sixth, Consciousness and Unconsciousness Mind (persuasion, consent, information, engineering, process, behavior, influence, change, audiences, awareness). Seventh, Technology and Networks through (information, technology, network, system).

2.11.8 Engineering of Consent Perspectives

Following Figure 9 shows the most important perspectives in the EOC.

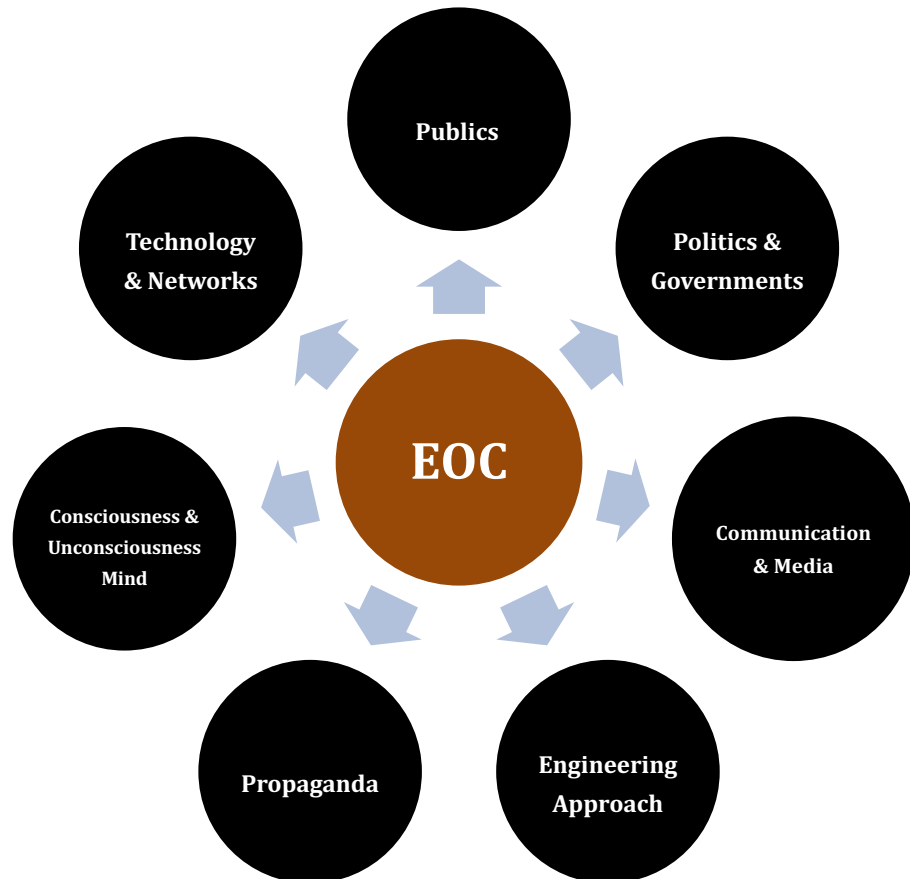


Figure 9: Major perspectives explored within EOC focused papers

Publics

Bernays dedicated his efforts to shaping public opinion in support of his clients (companies or governments). Walter Lippmann in 'Public Opinion', his 1922 article that also mentioned that it is important to defend how the consent of the governed is manufactured (Parmar, 2000).

Bernays said, engineers of consent should know the groups whom they aim to engineer. Knowing them means the appropriate media for reaching them, the valid

appeals, their political, demographic, religious, ideological stance etc. (Bernays, 1947, 1986). Freinberg (2008) also adds that engineers of consent must study institutional outsiders carefully and work with people to assure their support regardless of people's backgrounds or opinions. Consent engineers should have access to the standard knowledge about PR, publicity, and public opinion (Iyengar, 2004).

Politics and Governments

The EOC approach is used by numerous politicians, leaders as well as governing bodies across the world. It has been used to influence targeted audiences who are inundated with strategic messages which are designed to confuse, to discourage, and to misinform them. The new forms of communicative technologies have been used to mediate most relationships between the elites and public. In addition, governments used their power to falsify and manipulate information (Carter, 1984). Furthermore, the government needs political advocacy to be able to engineer public opinion to accept new public policies (Givel, 2007).

William Graebner (1987) defined the EOC as a "process of generating consent around a set of social goals, around definitions of key terms like democracy around a basic ideological convergence between the governed and the governors, and around rules of individual and collective action" Graebner's 1987 study (as cited in Mitchell, 1989, p. 169). According to the EOC strategy, "Public Relations specialists play a key role in the political process by adjusting and redefining public opinion and intentional causal stories through Public Relations approaches to be congruent with a client's position" (Givel, 2007, p. 350).

Communication and Media

Bernays (1947) concluded that communication is the key to the EOC. He mentioned that the words, sounds, and pictures which are used in a well-developed plan can accomplish the intended social action. Greenbaum et al., (1986) adds that If the plans are well-formulated, the ideas which are conveyed through words will be internalized by the people. The EOC campaigns can be expressed through communication such as newspaper, magazines etc. (Bernays, 1986; Givel, 2007; Greenbaum et al., 1986). Iyengar 2004) adds that consent engineers are the "spokespersons who make their daily rounds on television news programs and the editorial pages of our newspapers" (p. 2) defending and disseminating specific ideas and programs.

The new communication technologies and developments such as blogs, Facebooks, twitter etc. have allowed for a new way to for Public Relations practitioners practice, tactics and strategies (Tufekci, 2014; Valentini, 2015).

Engineering Approach

In the simplest term, Bernays described the engineering approach as a way of swaying the publics towards an idea or program. And like civil engineers who analyze each element of a space before starting to build a bridge, good planning is essential to achieve a worthy social objective (Bernays, 1947; Kelly, 2014). According to Bernays, engineers of consent must be versatile. First, they have to be creative and they must have clear knowledge about their scope. Second, they must be well-equipped with facts, truths, and evidence before presenting themselves to the public. Third, they should be able to accomplish the task by setting realistic and attainable objectives (Bernays, 1947, 1986).

Bernays summarized his basic approach in the following three steps: (1) to intensify the attitudes of an already favorable public, (2) to convince the publics who haven't been persuaded of the communicator's point of view to get them to undertake actions and, (3) to disprove members of the public that is against the communicator's idea or program (Bernays, 1947; Philbin & Keepnews, 2014).

Propaganda

Considering that the EOC was developed in the propaganda era (during World War I and World War II), a few studies investigated propaganda from the perspective of EOC. Other scholars such as Klapper (1948) considered the EOC to be propaganda. According to him EOC "is nothing new, nor is its use confined to persons of sinister intent. Whoever seeks in change another's mind, or to have him think in a certain way, is attempting, whether ill or well, to engineer consent" (p. 420)., Peter Odegard, "an academic who became the primary architect of the U.S. Department of the Treasury's big war bond campaign during World War II" (Kimble, 2005, p. 212) also described propaganda as EOC.

Conscious and Unconscious Mind

Bernays believed in the feasibility and desirability of psychology to influence the masses, and that process should be well planned and executed by trained experts based on the social scientists' findings. Humans are considered are irrational beings who are motivated primarily by desires which are hidden in their unconsciousness. If those unconscious desires were understood, then this information could be valuable for the sales of more products. This is a core statement of the EOC (Tanoue, 2000). According

to Richter (2002) Bernays pioneered the use of psychological techniques to influence the subconsciousness of the masses and opinion leaders.

Freuds' Idea of the Unconsciousness Mind

Sigmund Freud (1900-1905) developed the idea of the conscious and unconscious mind within his iceberg theory (McLeod, 2009; Walsh, 2002). In his theory, he categorized the human mind in two major sections, the conscious and the unconscious mind as Figure 10 presents.



Figure 10: Freud's 'Iceberg Segmentation' of the human mind (McLeod, 2009; Walsh, 2002)

The iceberg is a perfect metaphor to describe how the two sections of our mind works and show the relationship between them. The iceberg usually floats in the sea or ocean but the massive mass of the iceberg is hidden below under the water surface, and just a small part of it is can be seen above the water surface. So, the conscious mind is the

part that we can see above the water, and the unconscious mind is what we cannot see (McLeod, 2009; Walsh, 2002).

The Conscious Mind

In 1915, Freud defined the conscious mind as the first level of our mind which contains processes that makes us aware. Only 10% of our mind is considered the conscious mind and the rest 90% consist of the preconscious and unconscious mind. Conscious mind represents our analytical and logical mind and encourages us to plan and think critically. In addition, it is the short-term memory, thinking processes, and part of making judgments and decisions (McLeod, 2009; Walsh, 2002).

The Unconscious Mind

The unconscious mind is the second level of our mind that powerfully influences our judgment, behaviors, motives, decisions and feelings by all our previous experiences whether it is mental or behavioral expectances (memories, past learnings, beliefs, feelings, conflicts etc.). Indeed, it is called our 'deep mind'. Also, it is considered as the main primary source of our behavior, the most significant part of our human mind, and the part that we do not see. This part works as a reservoir of our thoughts, feelings, memories, and needs. The importance of the unconscious mind is that it can be influenced without us knowing. Even when our attention is called to it, we still find it difficult to manage it. In addition, this part of our mind contains much of the unpleasant emotions such as internal conflict, anxiety or pain etc. (McLeod, 2009, 2018).

The unconscious mind dominates human brains and automates our body functions that it enables us to be alive. It is reflected in our breathing, digestion, heart rate, physiological responses etc. The unconscious mind deals with millions of information and it hosted our long memory. Freud believes that the unconscious mind can be controlled. Indeed, humans do things unconsciously every day such as tongue slipping and psychological symptoms. In addition, the unconscious mind is the base of most of our Id, Ego, and Superego to work (McLeod, 2018).

Unconscious Mind and the Media

A new scientific approach in media, political and marketing advertisements has emerged based on targeting the unconsciousness mind of the publics. Psychological research of audience members enables marketers to influence beliefs and behaviors of a specific audience without them being aware. For example, the background music is used to entice the customer to shop in the mall or to eat in the restaurant (Walsh, 2002).

The above mentioned is just an example. Other mediated ways in which the media impacts the unconsciousness minds is through words, symbols, drawing, photos etc. Each one of these forms consists of numerous codes that work hand in hand with the connection of the unconsciousness mind to the conscious mind (Pomerantz, 2007). For example, the use of emotional appeal within a media message connects our emotions to our mind and it makes us to be empathetic (Chang, Ivonin, & Rauterberg, 2016). Chang et al., (2016) believes that the audience members are quick to react or even pay attention to emotional messages more than rational messages. One recent is the U.S. 2016 presidential elections, where the Trump campaign organization used these kinds of messages to sway the public to vote for him as opposed to Hillary Clinton.

False Consciousness

False consciousness is defined as "a way of thinking that prevents people from perceiving the true nature of their social or economic situation - as a particular kind of media effect" (Van Zoonen, 2017, p. 1). The theoretical roots of the term are reverted to the Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories specifically the Frankfurt School that discussed the covered ideology, commodity, and fetishism, in terms of critical feminism and psychology in 1970s and 1980s. Then it was used to criticize and analyze media and communication effects on societies and individuals. False consciousness brings critical media and critical psychology studies together. The real starting of the concept was in the 19th century when the Marxist theory discussed the conflict between the ruling and working classes (Augoustinos, 1999).

The term also defines as the systematic misrepresentation of subordinated classes (workers, peasants, serfs) by the dominant of social powers (Augoustinos, 1999). Later on, Frankfurt school took up the studies of false consciousness to a psychological level, and psychologists define false consciousness as "not recognizing injustice, blaming oneself or others for it and denying or actively resisting change" (Van Zoonen, 2017, p. 19).

False consciousness as a term is accredited to the Marx's friend, thinker Friedrich Engels, he defines it as "the rise of particular knowledge and ideas because of social changes and conditions especially the economic one". Later Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno have an important role in the development of the term through interrogating the media complication in the ideologies and false consciousness (Van Zoonen, 2017). Georg Lukács, the first Marxist philosopher, reintroduced false

consciousness and obviously distinguished between the ideology and false consciousness. He thinks that false consciousness is distorting people perceptions and beliefs while the ideology offers explanations about how to resolve the capital and social problems based on Bourgeoisie class views (Eyerman, 1981).

False consciousness works as the process has three main components that can be operated together to manufacture false consciousness in the society, which are: power, ideology, and media (Hamati-Ataya, 2015). False consciousness is considered as a phenomenon in the 19th century that links directly to the power and groups who give the priority to their interests, control others, and prevent small groups of questioning their social relations and interests (Thompson, 2015). According to Marxist theory, ideology refers to a system of ideas that enables people to understand their reality. This system plays a crucial role in supporting powerful classes and helping them to dominant other classes. Media and cultural institutions aim to shape the people's ideas and frame them to generate false consciousness and ideology (Augoustinos, 1999; Eyerman, 1981).

The present study is related to the false consciousness concept because it analyzes the ideological discourse which belongs to a powerful group in the U.S who is the Israel Lobby. Israel Lobby aims to engineer Americans consciousness and generate false consciousness in respect to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indeed, the Israel Lobby has the ability and possibility to apply the false consciousness process through practicing the three main components (power, ideology, and media).

Technology and networks

The emergence of the Internet, social media provide us access to an incredible amount of data of Internet users (Henisz, 2013; Petre, 2018). This availability of data is contributing to a new way of engineering the publics. Consequently, big data and the new analytics tools make the EOC processes more effective in the social media era (Tufekci, 2014).

Bernays (1947) explained the root of the issue in his discussion of the effects of the broadcast media on politics. He stated: "the world has grown smaller." (p. 114). Tufekci (2014) disagrees with this statement, arguing that the world has actually become much bigger because of big data, but it seems smaller partly because modern communication gives greater power to political and public opinion leaders who control the data and algorithms. They can communicate and persuade vast numbers of people to engineer the public's consent more effectively. Tufekci (2014) said that "If the 20th century engineers of consent had magnifying glasses and baseball bats, those of the twenty-first century have acquired telescopes, microscopes and scalpels in the shape of algorithms and analytics" (p.11).

Tufekci (2014) examined new digital dynamics and digital EOC dynamics: (1) the big data rise, (2) the shift to individualized targeting, (3) the power and opacity of computational modeling, (4) the persuasive behavioral science use, (5) dynamic present experimentation empowered by digital media, and (6) the growth of new power agents who own the social media platforms. Social movements over the world, such as campaigns of the American elections and Arab uprisings, have used these dynamics

to organize opposition against local, national, and global powers. "Some proponents have even claimed that 'big data' can predict such events" (Tufekci, 2014, p. 32).

Table 6: Main sources cited in Engineering of consent perspectives

Perspectives	Publications Number	Main Sources
Publics	13	(Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947; Carter, 1984; Givel, 2007; Greenbaum et al., 1986; Gunder, 2011; Linning, 2005; Okigbo & Nelson, 2003; A. Petersen, 2007; Philbin & Keepnews, 2014; Richter, 2002; Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Tanoue, 2000)
Politics and Governments	11	(Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947; Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Carter, 1984; El-Mahdi, 2011; Givel, 2007; Henisz, 2013; Iyengar, 2004; Parmar, 2000; M. B. Petersen, 2005; Richter, 2002)
Communication and Media	11	(Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947, 1986; Carter, 1984; Gunder, 2011; Iyengar, 2004; Kelly, 2014; Klapper, 1948; Linning, 2005; Petre, 2018; Tufekci, 2014)
Engineering Approach	9	(Bennett, 2004; Bernays, 1947, 1986; Brock & Dunlap, 2018; Greenbaum et al., 1986; Gunder, 2011; Henisz, 2013; M. B. Petersen, 2005; Freinberg, 2008)
Propaganda	8	(Bennett, 2004; Brandt, 1996; Gabay, 2009; Givel, 2007; Kimble, 2005; Klapper, 1948; M. B. Petersen, 2005; Richter, 2002).
Consciousness and Unconsciousness Mind	8	(Bernays, 1947; Brandt, 2009; Carter, 1984; Gunder, 2011; Iyengar, 2004; Kerr et al., 2009; Sharone, 2002).
Technology and Networks	5	(Carter, 1984; M. B. Petersen, 2005; Petre, 2018; Saravanamuthu, 2002; Tufekci, 2014)

As Table 6 Shows, these are the main perspectives the EOC which focused on research and the most sources that cited and generated these perspectives. The table shows that majority of the EOC papers are divisible across the seven perspectives.

2.11.9 Abuse of Engineering of Consent

Bernays was concerned about the misuse of his idea. And over the years, we have seen that politicians, activists, and organizations practice ill-used of EOC for their own gains (Bernays, 1947). Bernays hints that "The techniques can be subverted; demagogues can utilize the techniques for antidemocratic purposes with as much success as can those who employ them for socially desirable ends" (Bernays, 1947, p. 115). He proposes a morally responsibility of accomplishing activities of Public Relations and the Public Relations practitioners must not abuse power(Bernays, 1971). Smudde & Courtright (2010) clearly states that the abuse of power in Public Relations field. For them, power is derived across relationships with targeted publics. They added that;

We believe power is a community-based phenomenon that people confer on each other through their relationships with one another. This conferring of power is based on hierarchical positions they hold, the rhetorical manifestation and recognition of relationships and positions through communicative acts, and the social implications these dimensions have on individual and, especially, communal views of the system of relationships that exist and evolve among people (p. 177).

The EOC is normatively used in connection with intentional and sinister manipulation to control masses. Bernays coined the term to describe the manipulation of the Americans. He stated that manipulation occurs through advertising across media, TV, film industry, and more (Kelly, 2014). Mass media are often used to engineer public belief of desired planning issues by using the psychological insight (Gunder, 2011), so mass communication media attempt to manipulate the processes of consent, and that leads to false consciousness which allows individuals to be repressed without they becoming aware of it. And it is possible to manipulate the flow of information and the mechanisms of consent (Carter, 1984). However, the period around World War I was

a turning point in the history of political manipulation (Gabay, 2009). The EOC is defined also as the art of camouflage, deception, manipulative dialogues, hidden and manipulative communication. Bernays was a pioneer in discovering the use of psychological means to influence the subconscious mind of the masses and opinion leaders (Richter, 2002).

The EOC approach has been used recently by political Public Relations company Cambridge Analytica, a British political consulting firm using data brokerage, data mining, and data analysis plus strategic communication, to sway people in the election processes. The firm engineered the American electorates consent during the 2016 U.S. election. Cambridge Analytica and other companies are taking advantage of readily available data to affect the public's beliefs and behaviors (Tamimi, 2018).

This abuse of engineering of consent is a violation of the human rights. Cambridge Analytica isn't the only noticeable example in recent times, during the Brexit referendum, numerous fake news were also used to sway the public towards the UK leaving EU (Tamimi, 2018). As Bernays (1974) have rightly said, In contrast, techniques of (EOC) can be subverted, and demagogues can these utilize the techniques for anti-democratic purposes to control and sedate audiences

2.11.10 Relevance of Engineering of Consent to the Present Study

The EOC is a Public Relations approach and model that can be adopted to guide Public Relations activities and practice and given that this study focuses on how the Israel Lobby is swaying the U.S. public towards a specific idea which is supporting everything Israel (Especially the Palestinian-Israeli conflict), this approach seems well suited for this present study.

The application of the EOC approach enables the Israel Lobby to construct a solid discourse to sway the American Publics towards supporting Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The EOC is considered an important tool is studying the following factors; studying public characteristics, divisions, understanding their conscious and unconscious minds, choosing tactics, themes, symbols, core ideas, modifying goals, and improving the budget for all that.

Furthermore, given that the EOC approach has been abused in their approach towards the Palestinian-Israel conflict as affirmed by the international human rights organizations, this approach seems like a good fit to discuss this issue.

Lastly, based on the findings of *The Engineering of Consent: A State-of-the-Art Review*, the only milestone study EOC literature, result shows that EOC focused studies are divided into two areas. First, a handful of articles that focused on the messaging of engineering of consent such as the use of symbols, themes in swaying people towards an idea adopted methods such as discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, rhetorical analysis. On the other hand, studies that centered on the impact of EOC on the publics mostly adopted in-depth interview, survey and other positivist approaches. So, to achieve methodological prosperity, this study employs the messaging aspect of engineering of consent as it focuses on the use of language, hegemony, power relations etc.

2.12 Discourse Theory (DT)

Discourse Theory (DT) is a combination of evolved thoughts of many philosophers and thinkers during the last century. The DT is famously known to be drawn from the works and thoughts of Michel Foucault (1926-1984), the most known theorist in this

field. The French sociologist and philosopher is considered the father of (DT). According to Marianne and Phillips (2002), Foucault believed that our world and life is structured by knowledge. In other words, when certain groups or individuals formulate thoughts and ideas about the life of another group of people, overtime, it becomes the truth.

Foucault's work especially 'archaeology' or 'genealogy' about knowledge production, focuses on asking and answering significant questions about how discourse influences and forms publics' mentality, opinions, and perceptions and also push them to govern themselves in specific ways in a process which he called "governmentality". This becomes the dominant viewpoints in the society, this he "called the hegemonic discourse" (Schneider, 2013, para. 11).

Foucault defines discourse as a form of power within a social field. He improved on discourse as part of his process to understand relationships between social institutions, subjectivity, power, and the language (Pinkus, 1996). Foucault defines discourse as:

Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (Weedon, 1987, p. 108).

According to Schneider (2013), "discourse is the expressions of human thoughts, and consequently has its roots in the interaction between our minds and our physical and social environments."(para. 18). Whisnant (2012) discussed discourse as " the term that scholars have developed to analyze the systems of thoughts, ideas, images and

other symbolic practices that make up what we are following anthropologically ;generally it is called "culture "(p. 1).

Foucault believes that power is an important part of discourse. For him; "a dynamic of control and lack of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents. Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects" (Weedon, 1987, p. 113). Power shouldn't be used to dominate the public but to network relations and hierarchies. The role of discourse analysisists is to emancipate publics by revealing ideology which stands beyond the discourse (Schneider, 2013). "Power is responsible for creating our social world and for the particular ways in which the world is formed and can be talked about, ruling out alternative ways of being and talking."(Marianne & Phillips, 2002, p. 14).

2.12.1 Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe

DT emerged in the 1970's. It arose as an intellectual reaction to the problematization of theories which were prevalent in the late of 1960, such as: the critique of culture and society, structuralist theories of language, and Marxism crisis of facing the early neoconservative and neoliberal hegemony.

Laclau and Mouffe have constructed their theory by combining and modifying two major theoretical traditions, Marxism and structuralism. Marxism provides a starting point for thinking about the social, and structuralism provides a theory of meaning. Laclau and Mouffe fuse these traditions into a single poststructuralist theory in which the whole social field is understood as a web of processes in which meaning is created (Marianne & Phillips, 2002, p. 25)

DT does not intend to provide a new theoretical equipment with a set of core assumptions, new concepts, and arguments about society change, but it proposed a

new analytical perspective concentrates on the rules and meanings of social construction and cultural and political identity. The analytical instruments of DT in terms of assumptions are concepts, ideas, and arguments, all these instruments were developed in a suitable theoretical and empirical context based on the framework of scholars who discussed DT according to post-modernist and post-structuralist insights (Hajer, 2005).

DT of Laclau and Mouffe is based on other social theorists work that discussed discourse in a direct and indirect way, for example, (Gramsci, 1971; Foucault, 1972, 1984; Žižek, 1989, 1994). DT of Laclau and Mouffe also draws mainly from their previous book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (1985)* and other works that have been written individually by of Laclau or Mouffe such as: (Laclau, 1990, 1993, 1996; Mouffe, 1993, 2008) and explanations of these works written by (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002; Howarth et al. 2000; Torfing, 1999; Sjolander and Payne, 2011). The theory is considered as a corpus of Laclau and Mouffe theory of hegemony, social theory, identity, myth and social imaginaries (Rear, 1995).

DT lives within the ideas of poststructuralists who believes that discourse constructs the meaning of our social world. The instability of the language and meaning leads to instability of our social world. Hence, discourse is not a stiff entity, rather, it was transformed and evolved by combining other different discourses in a process called discursive struggle, and the label of this process is considered as an important keyword in this theory. DT aims at understanding the society as a discursive construction, so all social phenomena can be understood and analyzed by using discourse analytical instruments. DT was applied first as a theoretical approach to the language, but then it

extended to cover the whole social fields. The crucial idea of DT is that social phenomena and meanings will never be permanently fixed and completely understood.

2.12.2 Key Concepts of Discourse Theory

The constitution of a discourse involves linking of signifiers into specific meanings to the omission of other meanings. It is a diminution of possibilities, which can be seen as practicing of power. For Laclau and Mouffe, DT introduces an important analytical concept which can be analyzed and described to fix a network of meanings in a particular discourse, such as hegemony, myth, social imagination, and power.

Gramsci (1971) argues that dominant classes in our society use discourse to manufacture public consent towards the unequal power and wealth distribution. The term hegemony was used to describe this discursive construction process of consciousness and identity. Laclau and Mouffe's concept of hegemony is following Gramsci's (1971) definition: "social consensus achieved without recourse to violence or coercion, and, like discursive closure, it is achieved through articulation." (Rear, 1995, p. 7). Laclau and Mouffe took Gramsci's ideas about hegemony and the socialist strategy and added that our perception and awareness of reality is mediated totally by discourse. And as humans, we cannot perceive the objects outside reality. When discourses successfully practice hegemony, society members fail to see themselves as a result of hegemony practices, and discourse here reaches the highest level which is called 'common sense' (Rear, 1995).

Through the production of meaning, power relations can become naturalized and a huge part of common-sense that they cannot be questioned. For instance, through a process of nation-building, people who are from a particular geographical area may

begin to feel that they belong to the same group and share the same conditions and interests irrespective of class barriers. (Marianne & Phillips, 2002, p. 32)

Another important concepts that DT introduced is myth, which means:

A complex type of floating signifier that seeks to construct society as a totality with a positive and fully sutured identity. The formation of a myth is an attempt to overcome the dislocation by suturing the dislocated space into a new structure (Rear, 1995, p. 10).

In the same context, social imaginaries concept which were constituted through the logic of equivalence that serves to remove social boundaries between publics who have different interests throughout linking them to a "common issue" or establishing new boundaries that they all should oppose to it, such as "enemy", and the classic example for this is the "construction of national identity" in a certain society (Rear, 1995, p. 11).

The Laclau and Mouffes' DT Power concept is understood as forces and processes which produce our social world, knowledge, identities and create its meaning for the society members, and it explains how we are related to each other. Power cannot be disappeared because our society depends on social orders which always established through power. In Laclau and Mouffe's DT theory "power and politics are two sides of the same coin", power produces society, identity etc. Also, politics serves the continuity of these objects (Marianne & Phillips, 2002, p. 38).

Discourse analysis allows analysts to explain, understand, and fix the discourse meaning in all levels of our social world (Marianne & Phillips, 2002). In addition, based on the above mentioned, the aim of analyzing the discourse is not just to discover

the 'truth' about our social reality and knowledge, but also to describe how discourse and discursive struggle to construct this reality which appears for us as natural. Laclau and Mouffe explain the discourse analysis as an attempt to map out the processes of meaning creation by discourse (Rear, 1995).

2.12.3 Discourse Analysis of Discourse Theory

Approaches of DT assumes that language and its usage do not just represent our mental and social realities, but also it helps to construct these realities (Karlberg, 2011). Also, discourse is not limited to the language, but it contains of numerous forms of communication, and overwhelmingly discourse analysts focuses on the language and text, but other scholars expand discourse to include sounds and visuals, expressions, signals, and even tastes and smells. Multimodal discourse approaches include all written or verbal expressions even social actions as an articulation of the discourse. Also movies, pictures, food, physical artifacts, games, buildings, statues, and public spaces are listed under the title of discourse depending to the public usage for media and its types (Rear, 1995; Schneider, 2013).

DT focuses on specific expressions in terms of articulations and relationship inside the discourses, and it answers the following questions according to Marianne and Phillips, (2002):

- 1) "What meanings do they establish by positioning elements in particular relationships with one other and what meaning potentials do they exclude?"(p. 29)
- 2) "What discourse or discourses do a specific articulation draw on, and what discourses does it reproduce?" (p. 29)
- 3) "Does it challenge and transform an existing discourse by redefining some of its moments?" (p. 30)

- 4) "Which signs do a privileged status have , and how are they defined in relation to the other signs in the discourse?" (p. 30)

In general, DT focuses on human expressions, especially in the language form. Furthermore, it studies how expressions and language is connected together to build human knowledge (Schneider, 2013). Answering these questions enables us to investigate how the same signs are defined by other discourses. Laclau and Mouffe's DT is concerned about analyzing how the structure and forms of discourses are formed and changed.

2.12.4 Discourse in Media Studies

DT and discourse analysis are necessary in media studies because media are not just expressing social phenomena, but also, they are a machinery that constructs, reproduces and transforms our social phenomena. They work as discourse systems through specific rules of formation (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007). According to Carpentier & De Cleen (2007) and Torfing (1999) differentiated between three domains of DT regarding to media. First, "studying discourses about the media and their place and function in society" (p. 273). Second, "focusing on discourses of mass media, i.e. on the form and content of the discourses which are produced by the media" (p. 273). Third, "defining media as discourse, the audience as identities, community as media identities, and media as professionals' identities" (p.273). Hence, the audience cannot be understood in separation from discourses that are trying to construct them as citizens, consumers, or masses.

2.12.5 Relevance of the Discourse Theory to the Current Study

DT is a theoretical framework that perfectly fits the analysis of analyses of the Facebook pages of Israel Lobby in the U.S. This discourse analysis and DT application

helps the researcher to answer important questions regarding how the Israel Lobby engineers the American people's consent towards the Palestinian-Israel conflict through their Facebook page.

DT and discourse analysis of the Lobby's discourse will provide a clear image of the use and abuse of power relations. It will also explore ideology and hegemony within the American society. DT aims at revealing the meaning and the knowledge that the Lobby intends to construct through every Facebook posts. In addition to that, DT also helps at identifying the most prominent issues that constitutes the Lobby's discourse especially in the Palestinian-Israel conflict case.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to discursively analyze five Israel-Zionist Lobby's Facebook pages that supports Israel especially in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This is done through a qualitative research methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis put forth by Van Dijk is used for analysis. This study aims to explain how the Israel Lobby engineers the Americans' consent to support Israel. This chapter contains seven sections; research paradigm, qualitative research methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), data collection process, fitness criteria, and data coding and analysis.

3.1 Research Paradigm

Considering that this study aims to answer research questions regarding how the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages engineer the Americans' consent to support Israel, the present study adopts the critical paradigm as the research methodology's philosophy. This paradigm which belongs to post-modern perspective. The critical paradigm initiated the Critical Theory which draws on the work of various thinkers' work such as: Marx, Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas, Friere and Foucault. One of the founders of the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory, Max Horkheimer defines critical theory/paradigm as it "seeks human emancipation to liberate human being from the circumstances that enslave them" (Ashgar, 2013, p. 3123). Horkheimer suggests three criteria for an adequate critical theory: "It must be explanatory about what is wrong

with current social reality; it must identify the action to change it; and it must provide both clear norms for criticism and transformation" (Ashgar, 2013, p. 3123).

The critical paradigm's ontology is historical realism which describes reality within the political, cultural, and economic context that constructed it historically (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). "Social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender shape the reality. And since this reality is crystallized over time, the researcher needs to examine it critically bearing in mind the issues of power and politics" (Elshafie, 2013, p. 9). The epistemology of critical paradigm is subjective and transactional. It aims to expanded level of consciousness, empowers confronts of ignorance, hegemonic practices, and oppression. The knowledge of critical paradigm's epistemology constructed historically and socially in a complex cultural background (Elshafie, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1994).

Ashgar (2013) states that, in order to achieve the emancipatory target, critical theorists have used various of research methodologies and approaches in critical theory which could help in suggesting betterment in the unbalanced social system. Critical Paradigm accepts qualitative and quantitative methodologies as valid research methodologies, but qualitative research approaches and methodologies that provide dialectic dialogue, and researchers could modify theories based on their biases and worldview are more popular among researchers. In addition, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) which is a tool used by researchers under the critical paradigm has been quite popular and considered as an appropriate approach with critical researchers and paradigm in social sciences (Ashgar, 2013).

The researcher has chosen critical paradigm for the present study because, first, it situates in issues of social justice, explains the current social reality, and seeks to address the social and political issues which cause conflict, social oppression, and structures of power, which is needed to be uncovered in case of Israel Lobby in the U.S. Second, it emancipates and liberate people and their thoughts which achieves the emancipatory target of critical studies regarding to Israel Lobby's discourse and reality. Third, it provides ideological critique of powerful groups and lobbies who exploited particular values and practices to practice their power to control publics especially suppressed class (Elshafie, 2013). Fourth, it provide clear norms for criticism and struggle to expose conjunctions of politics, morality, and ethics, in addition to, the researcher's thoughtful efforts to encourage human rights, and increase social justice (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Which will identify paths to change the suppressed reality about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict issues in the U.S.

3.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

This research follows a qualitative research methodology with the aim to understand in a comprehensive and holistic manner and to complete the inquiry of this study. The engineering of consent process that happens in Israel lobby's Facebook pages. The researcher focuses on particular Facebook pages and posts in the year 2018.

"Qualitative research focuses on the meanings of experiences by exploring how people define, describe, and metaphorically make sense of these experiences" (VanderStoep & Johnston 2009, p. 165). It focuses on understanding meaning construction socially and culturally. "The aim and function of qualitative inquiry is to understand the meaning of human action by describing the inherent or essential characteristics of social objects or human experience" (Jackson, Drummond, & Camara, 2007, p. 23).

Qualitative research explores the processes more than the outcomes. It assumes that communication and interaction shaping knowledge are constructed by people. Also, individual cases cannot be examined without examining them within their larger contexts and social interaction that take place within them. It is also more descriptive because in an in-depth manner, it aims to understand the research participants. Qualitative research methodology do not necessarily apply statistics or numbers either (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009).

Qualitative methodology 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 for numerous reasons. Firstly, qualitative methodology follow 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, inductive approach entails collecting specific data that its analysis leads to more explanation and understanding the case (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009).

Secondly, in addition to what Ryan (2006) mentions, the study adopts qualitative research methodology because it seeks to get the deep and holistic picture and analysis of Israel Lobby's Facebook discourse, with interpretation of the historically and

culturally context. Thirdly, considering that this study focuses on Facebook posts in a group, qualitative methodology seems appropriate. Fourthly, given the nature of the research questions that the researcher asks, qualitatively methodology seems suitable.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The present study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its approach. According to Van Dijk (2004), CDA is "a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts" (p. 352). CDA has tenets similar to Frankfurt's School. Before 1940, Frankfurt School focused on discourse, language and "critical linguistics" and its counterparts in the developments of psychology, sociolinguistics, and the social sciences at the end of 1970's (Van Dijk, 2006b).

A lot of the CDA's success is attributed to Teun Adrianus van Dijk through his first edited book *"Handbook of Discourse Analysis"* (1985); Norman Fairclough by his book *"Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language"* (1995); and Ruth Wodak, by her edited book *"Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity"* (2003). They attempted to bridge the gap between the linguistics, and politics, sociology, culture, and history. The crucial role of the CDA is to raise awareness inside the society (Alhumaidi, 2013). CDA research have to satisfy few requirements to achieve its aim, such as primarily focusing on political issues and social problems. It is usually considered as multidisciplinary analysis. It provides explanations about social structure; not just to describe the discourse structures but for the "empowering the powerless, giving voice to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Finally, it also focuses on power relations or dominance in the society (Van Dijk, 2006a).

In the 1970's and 1980's, CDA got massive scholarly attention. However, Van Dijk states that in the area of mass media research, few scholarly attention was noticed. Since the early 1990's, a considerable number of research have been conducted on power relations, discrimination, uncovering dominance, and power abuse in media (Alhumaidi, 2013). Powerful social groups use media outlets, social media and religious institutions in order to normalize their discourse (Blommaert, 2005). This is primarily because the media play a crucial role in constructing the ideologies and helping to sustain elite power. Institutionalized media stations for example, represent the ideology of the state and, a primary tool for shaping public opinion and social beliefs especially when this institute are restricted to social groups (Van Dijk, 1998).

As far as the Critical Discourse Analysis of the media is concerned, it is important to distinguish between media types: traditional media such as TV or radio, digital media such as news websites, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter, because each channel in communication has potential implications and meanings (Alhumaidi, 2013). To understand how media organizations represent the reality through media discourse, this study will analyze the discourse of Facebook posts. The posts include a variety of issues that maintain the same editorial policy of the main organizations, because dominant groups use media to reproduce their point of view and interpret events (Alhumaidi, 2013).

According to Van Dijk CDA can be conducted at two levels of analysis which are macro and micro. According to Van Dijk (2006b) "Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the microlevel of the social order" (p. 354). He also states that; "Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macrolevel of analysis" (p. 354). Macro-level is used for making a wide-ranging claim about the case study, mostly in terms of language, ideology, knowledge and power in the society.

In CDA, there are numerous ways to bridge and analyze these levels; first, members–groups analysis which includes (language of users engage in discourse of social groups, institutions or organizations, etc.). Second, actions–process (social acts of individuals that constitute social actions and processes, such as news making, legislation, or the reproduction of racism). Third, context – social structure "Situations of discursive interaction are similarly part or constitutive of social structure" (Van Dijk, 2006a, p. 355). Fourth, personal and social cognition: such as personal memories, knowledge, and opinions, which are shared with groups and represent their social collective actions (Van Dijk, 2006a).

3.3.1 Micro-level of Critical Discourse Analysis

This study uses the micro level of CDA to examine the language aspect within the discourse. By extension, it uses textual analysis to describe the properties of representations. The micro level involved lexicalization, a linguistic toolkit that operates under the textual analysis aspect of CDA. Van Dijk (1998) asserts that "opinions may be conventionalized and codified in lexicon" (p. 205). So, words could be used to deliver a negative or positive meaning about the issues concerning in-groups and out-groups. This could also have ideological implications and biases, so

lexicalization is basically about the analysis of the word choice, verbs, modality choice, clauses, sentence construction, major dimension, discourse meaning, denotations and connotations. For example the usage of "freedom fighter" or "resistant" vs. "terrorist" or "terror" is different in the map of meanings hence with the analysis of the microlevel of CDA, one could reveal the intent of the discourse producers (Shojaei & Laheghi, 2012).

Pronoun analysis is one of the semantic strategies in discourse and it is used to identify the in-group, out-group and the direction of the discourse. In addition, pronouns show personal responsibility and authority, politicians use pronouns to present their ideas and ideologies. For example, detecting the political perspective of a person or group can be sensed through their use of "I", "we" and "our". And "you" could be used in a complicated way, it can be used to direct an idea or used to threaten others in general way, or even to address a message to the audience (Alavidze, 2017; Shakoury, 2018).

Modal verbs such as can, will, shall, may, must, could, would, should and might and adverbs such as possibly, likely are used in the discourse to express a person or group's comment, opinion, and attitude towards an issue and to show the degrees of certainty or uncertainty. Because the use of modality and adverbs is subjective and reflection of the writer's ideologies and ideas. For example, the verbs "might" and "can" expresses tentative possibility, and doubt. And the use of "must" and "should" indicates obligation, while "can" and "may" expresses permission etc. (Shakoury, 2018). In addition, adverbs could give meanings such as disagreement or disagreement to the idea, express uncertainty and certainty, sustainability, and choices (Liu, 2015).

In terms of verbal processing, Alhumaidi (2013) expresses that Chen (2004, 2005) develops an important tool for analyzing verbs within a discourse based on classification of verbs into positives, negative, and neutral impression and usage. For example, positive include: "grant", "help". Negatives include: "hit", "kill", "denied". And neutrals include: "said", "described", "told". And identify the effect of this usage of verbs to the whole discourse and the aim beyond the specific usage of positive and negative verbs. Also, the number of repeated verbs within the text has its own importance. It reflects the attitude of the discourse producers. In the same context, the significance of the use of adjective within the discourse shows how one can be for or against a specific side or group. It also expresses the semantic views of the discourse producers, and it is one of the main tools of the discourse persuasion and propaganda. It can also be classified as negative, positive, and neutral which indicates the imbedded meanings of the discourse (Shojaei & Laheghi, 2012; Van Dijk, 1995).

Furthermore, the first level of CDA involves the syntax of the discourse, the order of words and sentences and the meaning that it conveys. This also leads to the identification of the language style and the tone of the discourse which indicates the meaning that the discourse producers want to achieve. It draws conclusions about the discourse direction and tendencies. In addition, it reveals the results of the writer's decision about the word choice and sentence structure. For example, the sentence types could be classify as declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory which express the attitude to the subject, and the sentence tone could be classified as reverence, love, joy, happiness, sadness, anger , hate, fear, sympathetic, supportive etc. (Erdentu, 2010; Van Dijk, 1998).

Finally, the exploration of language aspects also involves the strategies used such as the direct and indirect quotations within the discourse. This involves power, the symbols that helps in constructing specific meanings, information sources, capital and small litters. In addition, it is important to find out the main topics and themes that emerge from these language aspects (Liu, 2015; Van Dijk, 1998).

3.3.2 Macro-level of Critical Discourse Analysis

The second level of the CDA focuses on the social and political contexts of the discourse. It represents a larger-scale of the analysis, and it addresses main ideas such as power, ideology, and hegemony within the discourse, and it connects the results of the first level of the analysis (micro) to the current reality, society, political institutions, culture, of the targeted public. Context is defined as "the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk, 2006a, p. 356). This consists of important elements such as, situation, issue, time, place, ongoing actions, participants, institutional role, representation, goals, attitudes etc. It also focuses on providing a critique to these aspects of the discourse especially the abuse of power, unequal power relations, dominance ,manipulation etc. within the discourse (Alhumaidi, 2013; Van Dijk, 1993).

Power is the use of language and discourse by some individuals and collectives to control, manipulate, and dominate others intentionally for their own goals which could be person or social groups oriented. This enables the discourse to represent and misrepresent the issues, social groups, places according to the hegemonic ideologies. To get a comprehensive understanding of a discourse, it is important to analyze aspects

of power; for example, analyzing the most active people in a group, understand its goals, agenda, ideology, and context (Goodseed, 2015).

Power and control in CDA are central notions. They are related to the social and political powers that have more or less control for the minds and acts of the group members. Power has various forms and types such as the political, economic and social. The power of people to control other groups is called hegemony. Power can be shown by analysis of discourse access to the politicians, classes that enable discourse producers to manipulate and control public thoughts, beliefs, and consent (Van Dijk, 2006a).

Ideology is an important element in the CDA. It represents a set of ideas that constitutes entire beliefs and value system that provide a specific perspective for the world. This also helps those who are in the power to control and legitimize attitudes, knowledge actions and ideas about a specific group (Van Dijk, 2006c). The analysis of the ideology works as interpretational framework for the attitudes of a social group and clarify their goals and interests. Ideology "mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources" (Goodseed, 2015, p. 33). It helps in the organization process of specific groups of people, to protect their own power resources, to get access to the other group's resources, and coordinate their actions and social goals. One important point of the ideology indicates that ideas and opinions that are endorsed by the dominant ideology are typically not subjected to questions and the people perceived it as "common sense" (Goodseed, 2015, p. 33).

Following, Van Dijk's Ideological Square approach, he "expressed in terms of emphasizing the positive actions of what a media institution considers the in-group and deemphasizing its negative actions, while, on the other hand, deemphasizing the positive actions of the out-group, and emphasizing its negative actions" (Alhumaidi, 2013, p. 55). The Ideological Square emphasizes positive things about 'us', negative things about 'them'. On the other hand, de-emphasizes negative things about us, and positive things about 'them'. Van Dijk's ideology is considered significant in construction of meaning, set text and context as main dimensions of CDA (Alhumaidi, 2013).

3.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Studies

Numerous significant media studies have used Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical method considering that it is considered as a sophisticated framework to analyze media texts and discourse (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007). CDA focuses more on political issues within media discourse such as nationalism, racism, antisemitism, warfare, and gender. Van Dijk, through his work published in 1988; 1991; 1993, and through his socio-cognitive approach develops a framework of analyzing media discourse especially news and newspaper articles. Fairclough (1995), Wodak (2004) and other seminal studies on CDA of media focuses on the language and structure of the news especially the written news genre which has been the most prominent in CDA media studies. In addition, the focus on CDA has always been in traditional media such as newspapers, radio, television, and television footage. Recently, the attention to CDA clearly remains on the linguistic features of media discourses and texts. Also, the images and visuals are consequently analyzed from the point of linguistics depending on the social semiotics approach which has evolved to include the visual

analysis in the study of discourse which makes it suitable for analyzing television and visual dimension of the discourse (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007).

The researcher has chosen CDA approach to analyze the Israel lobby's discourse regarding the Palestinian - Israeli conflict because; first, it is important to know the strategies, techniques, power relations of the Lobby's discourse and its impact. Second, we cannot analyze the Israel Lobby's discourse without understanding political and media contexts, historical backgrounds, and a qualitative CDA approach seems well suited. Third, the Israel Lobby's discourse is based on the ideologies of the Zionist movements and Israel. It is an ideological discourse of an ideological institutions which Van Dijk has discussed in his work. Fourth, the Lobby's discourse is trying to influence a specific audience with specific ideology power and hegemonic. Explaining theses and how the U.S. audience's views are being engineered is the one of reasons driving why CDA is employed for analysis in this study.

3.4 Data Collection Process

The present study's data is taken from secondary data source, the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages in the U.S. and adopts macro and micro levels of CDA put forth by Van Dijk. In addition, this research is designed as a case study that is deemed important because it enables the researcher to examine and understand the data within a clear and precise context. According to Zainal (2007), 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 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 understanding the discourse of the Israel Lobby. What is more, qualitative methodology and critical discourse analysis highly align with the testing of the EOC approach.

Data Collection

The data of this study has been collected carefully via four phases that leads us to reach the Facebook posts of the Israel Lobby's institutions during 2018. It consists of five phases, phase one, the researcher collected and accessed the Israel Lobby's institutions, nonprofit organizations, and NGOs that did not belong directly to the formal Israeli government. The most important criteria here is that these entities should be opined, operated or managed from the U.S. and directed its services inside America. Also, it should not be a media station such as TV, radio or newspaper because it will have a different criterion. In this phase the researcher got (473) Lobby's institutions according to the websites of (The Israel Lobby Archive, 2008) and (United Jerusalem, 2015).

Phase two, the researcher creates a specific criterion to investigate the Lobby's institutions. The aim is to choose appropriate Facebook pages that belongs to these institutions and addressing Lobby's discourse to American people. Each singular institution is checked to access its Facebook page, then the researcher chose the most interactive Facebook pages, with the largest following. In this phase, the researcher got (50) Facebook pages.

At the third phase, I choose the five most active and interactive pages from the aforesaid 50. Also, all five pages has more than one million followers; all of the pages are verified pages except one page that the researcher check and make sure that it is an active page that belongs to a verify Israel Lobby's institutions, this page holds 5.5 million followers. The five pages that have been chosen as follows:

Table 7: Five Facebook pages that have been chosen

Page	Total Fans	Page Posts in 2018	Year of Creation	Page Link
StandWithUs	1 276 131	950	2007	https://www.facebook.com/StandWithUs/
United with Israel	5 595 493	719	2010	https://www.facebook.com/unitedwithisrael/
Stand for Israel	1 204 721	886	2009	https://www.facebook.com/StandforIsrael/
The Israel Project	1 039 324	869	2009	https://www.facebook.com/theisraelproject/
Christians United for Israel (CUFI)	1 767 726	940	2008	https://www.facebook.com/ChristiansUnitedforIsrael/

The fourth phase is the last data collection stage and it started by searching the archival data of these five pages in a systematic way by two researchers. Both researchers sorted all posts in the whole year in review (2018). The total number of the population is $(950 + 719 + 886 + 869 + 940 = 4364)$ posts). Then, the most interactive (Total number of reactions + comments + shares of the post) singular post in each month has been chosen among these. In other words, there are 12 most interactive posts yearly on each page and we have five pages $(12*5 = 60)$. 60 is number of the most interactive posts

on the five pages. This was collected between December 1st2018 to January 4th2019. The collection data technique of this phase used Facebook research features and result filters by specify (page, date, top posts).

It should be noted that the researcher checked the lobby's discourse and profiles on other media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram, and he found that the selected Israel Lobby's pages have accounts on such platforms by same names and publish almost the same content, ideas, hashtags and narrative.

3.4.1 Fitness Criteria

Due to the large number of the population of this study, and to get a credible result about the Israel Lobby's discourse on Social Media, the researcher prefers to do triangulation as a technique for choosing the present sample from five different Facebook pages. Triangulation "refers to the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods or investigators in one study" (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012, p. 156). Consequently, the mixing of data types and sources known as data triangulation, "that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic" (Olsen, 2004, p. 3). Triangulation can be applied in both qualitative and quantitative studies, getting several different types of sources and data generally considered as a replacement for the reliability and validity of the results and conclusions. Also, it provides a clear scope for the further research and data analysis (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012).

The population of this study is a corpus of Facebook posts that has been collected from the verified and official five Facebook pages of the Israel Lobby in the U.S. in 2018. The whole posts of the pages during 2018 were $(950 + 719 + 886 + 869 + 940 = N$ **4364**). As for the sample of the study, purposive sampling strategy has been preferred.

The researcher collates the most interactive posts on the five pages in the year 2018. This is for accounted according to each month and it resulted ($N=60$) posts which are analyzed. All entries analyzed in this study are in English language which is also the original language of the posts. The process of choosing the sample is subjected to a few criteria such as, the most interactive posts monthly which means (total number of reactions + comments + shares of the post). Posts that talks about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict or that can be linked to it or express the Zionist and Israel Lobby's political and religious tendencies and attitudes. Posts that are not repeated according to the same criteria, and lastly posts that are not sponsored which enable us to know the real content that got a high interaction.

The whole sample of study is based on the most interactive pages and then most interactive posts because; first, according to the social media and Facebook algorithm, the most interactive is the most reached posts, which contain the most effective media messages that deserve to be studied (Bucher, 2012). Second, it serves the main idea of the research of engineering American's consent by directing engineered discourse to specific audience. Through the most interactive posts, audience's tendencies can be clarified. Also, why they interact with it, and how it reveals the most effective and important discourse of the Israel Lobby. Also, it serves the Discourse Theory which the present study tests to understand the Lobby's discourse and how it is constructed. Thirdly, it ensures that the sample is distributed overall the period of study and has various subjects and actions that it covers with avoiding repetition of the content.

The sample of the present study (posts) contains texts, photos, videos, and links. All posts' contents are analyzed. This gives us a variety of media messages that are

published by a variety of media tools and how the Israel Lobby tries to use these tools' advantages to serve its ideologies, power relations and discourse. There are numerous posts that contain videos which push the researcher to analyze it after writing its content down and screening its content because it is very important and serve the idea of the present research. Cautiously, the post types are investigated for describing the sample and the chosen posts are divided as follows:

Table 8: Types of the Israel Lobby's sample posts

	Text & Video	Text & Link	Text & Photos	Total
Types of Sample Posts	28	9	23	60

The average of each post interaction can be calculated through (calculation of each post interaction\ dividing it the number of posts '60' = 20893.718). This means that all the posts have reached a large and scattered audience.

3.4.2 Data Coding and Analysis

The data analysis is based on theoretical framework consisting from EOC approach and Discourse Theory. The goal is to understand and explain the Israel Lobby's discourse that has been observed. Also, the analysis is based on frameworks provided by Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis in two levels (micro and macro) as aforesaid. To complete this inquiry, the collected data was analyzed in a systematic way using NVivo 12 software. So, all patterns, frames, relationships, and trends were obtained systematically and accurately.

The whole posts are converted to PDF files including text and photos. All entries are read and analyzed through NVivo 12. For videos, they have text in it which makes it

possible for NVivo to read them. NVivo software is one of the most widely used programs in academic research. It is a qualitative analytical tool. It is used for content analysis, descriptive, thematic analysis, word frequency analysis and cluster analysis (Hoover & Koerber, 2011).

NVivo is very helpful for data management but the input and the role of researchers cannot be overemphasized (Hoover & Koerber, 2011; Zubair Haider & Dilshad, 2015). Data analysis using NVivo 12 happened in three stages. At the first level, important texts and ideas are classified to the relevant themes (nodes). At the second level, text coding and ideas are arranged into sub themes (child nodes). Coding categories (nodes) included main frame that emerged from the posts to shape a holistic image of topics of discourse from all angles. At the third level, writing up and visualizing results which analyze coded texts and report findings to be done (Al-Kharusi, Miskon, & Bahari, 2016; Jafni, Bahari, Ismail, & Radman, 2017).

In this process, an open inductive coding is conducted to build a discourse model. For each post on the Israel Lobby's page, there are categories and they are analyzed to interpret meaning from the content of the posts following the three coding functions of NVIVO 12 (Amaral, 2015; Miller, McAdam, & McAdam, 2016; Robins & Eisen, 2017). Coding queries and cluster diagrams are used to explore and test results and extract information via reports. Specific matrix-coding queries are done to support categories with specific results of references and citations.

The researcher has chosen NVivo 12 for analyzing the data of the present study because; firstly, it collects all the data in one place and enables the researcher to do all

the analysis in a collective and systematic way. Secondly, it has special features such as word cloud and frequency words for all the sample of the study, which gives a proper context to prominence. Thirdly, it enables the researcher to take a quotation and refer to the original reference and post. In addition, it also provides a concise method of presenting the results of the study. Fourth, it is the most suitable way that can help the researcher conduct a critical discourse analysis for Israel Lobby's Facebook pages' posts, which enable the researcher to create frame and themes, hid lines, sub-hid lines.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS

The present chapter presents the results of the analyses of 60 Facebook posts published on different five Facebook pages of the Israel Lobby in the U.S. during 2018 in regard to the Palestinian-Israel conflict. This chapter, following Van Dijk's CDA, groups this analysis into two main parts; firstly, textual and descriptive analysis which comprise the micro level of CDA (focusing of the language and discourse construction). Secondly, sociopolitical context analysis which follows the macro level of CDA. It focuses on the contexts of the discourse, representation of the main factors, power beyond the discourse, and ideology. Then, the third part examines the use of the EOC eight-steps system within the Israel Lobby's discourse.

4.1 Textual and Descriptive Analysis (Micro Level)

This part of the analysis focuses on the textual and descriptive analysis of the Israel Lobby's discourse published on the selected Facebook pages. Also, this part is presenting the first level of Van Dijk's CDA which is the micro level; the one that is interested in analyzing and describing properties and characteristics of the all forms of the discourse. In addition, opinions and meanings as Van Dijk (1998) suggests are conveyed and codified through language and linguistic aspects, negative and positive impressions, and attitudes, embedded in textual analyses.

To achieve that, this part focuses on analyzing the discourse of the Israel Lobby on Facebook pages in the U.S. in terms of lexicalization, semantics, and syntax all of

which this study examines through word tag cloud of most frequently used words, the use of pronouns, modals, the usage of if clauses, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, capital letters, quotations, and sentences type and tone. In the same context, and based on the textual analysis, the descriptive analysis focuses on finding out the uses of sources, interactive posts, hashtags, and symbols) which used within the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook.

This part has two purposes, first, to understand how the Israel Lobby used the language to construct its discourse and represent itself and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Second, to provide a detailed analysis of how the Lobby used Facebook as a communication tool to produce its discourse.

4.1.1 Word Tag Cloud of the Israel Lobby's Discourse on Facebook



Figure 11: Most frequently used words within the Israel Lobby's discourse

The word tag cloud featured in Figure 11 is a sophisticated tool used in discovering the most frequently used words within a text (Facebook posts of the Israel Lobby's

pages), and it shows the words that dominates the discourse. It is arranged in a descending order and the most frequently used word is the biggest word in the diagram. This reveals the term "Israel" is the most frequently used term within the sample of this study, and it is word that dominates the Israel Lobby's discourse focuses on. Also, it indicates that the core idea of the Lobby's discourse is all about Israel, the Jewish people's homeland. As it can be seen in Figure 9, every other term operates around the key term "Israel" which discuss actions and events relating to Israel.

In the second stage, words such as "united" "attack" "Christians" "Jews" "remembering" "memory" "terrorist" "holocaust" "murdered" "Hamas" "Gaza" "Palestinian" are the most used words after the word "Israel". This, to a very large extent, indicates that most of the discourses relates to are about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Jews case. Other words are presented in Table 9.

The words used within the Lobby's discourse convey ideological aspects and revealing the attitudes of the Lobby toward the discussed issues. For instance, the word "Israel" and other words such as "terrorist" in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict automatically suggests that the discourse is pro-Israel; it indicates the actions committed by the enemies. The terms "Jews and Jewish" represent the identity of the producers of these discourses. "Holocaust" is also repeatedly used because it indicates solidarity for Jews who were killed and murdered by the Nazi regime, whereas terms such as "Hamas, Gaza and Palestinians" refer to the other side of the conflict whom are terrorists.

Based on the word tag cloud of the most frequently used words that is generated by NVivo program, the next table mentions the first (50) words of it. It can be grouped within the major topics to give clear glance of the tendencies of the discourse.

Table 9: First 50 most frequently used words within the sample of study

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
israel	114	3.42%	#israel, israel, israels
united	42	1.17%	unite, united
attack	21	0.57%	attack, attacked, attacks
christians	21	0.57%	christian, christians
jews	19	0.52%	jews, jews'
jewish	17	0.46%	jewish
remembering	15	0.41%	remember, remembering
israeli	14	0.38%	israeli, israelis
memory	13	0.35%	memorial, memories, memory
lives	12	0.33%	live, lived, lives, living
terrorist	12	0.33%	terrorist, terrorists, terrorists'
holocaust	11	0.30%	holocaust
loved	10	0.27%	love, loved, loves
murdered	10	0.27%	murder, murdered
hamas	10	0.27%	hamas
world	10	0.27%	world
gaza	9	0.25%	gaza
family	9	0.25%	families, family
now	8	0.22%	now
people	8	0.22%	people
palestinian	8	0.22%	palestinian, palestinians
states	8	0.22%	state, states
arab	7	0.19%	arab, arabs
comes	7	0.19%	come, comes, coming
nations	7	0.19%	nation, national, nations
terror	7	0.19%	terror, terrorism

victims	7	0.19%	victim, victims
pittsburgh	7	0.19%	pittsburgh
answer	6	0.16%	answer
blessing	6	0.16%	bless, blessing
children	6	0.16%	children
hate	6	0.16%	hate
jerusalem	6	0.16%	jerusalem
prayer	6	0.16%	prayer, prayers
synagogue	6	0.16%	synagogue, synagogues
truth	6	0.16%	truth
celebrate	5	0.14%	celebrate, celebrating, celebrations
fires	5	0.14%	fire, fired, fires
happening	5	0.14%	happen, happened, happening
refugees	5	0.14%	refugee, refugees
resolution	5	0.14%	resolution, resolutions
responsible	5	0.14%	response, responsibility, responsible
shooting	5	0.14%	shooting, shoots
support	5	0.14%	support, supporters
take	5	0.14%	take, taking
times	5	0.14%	time, times
wounds	5	0.14%	wound, wounded, wounds
back	5	0.14%	back
daniel	5	0.14%	daniel
hatikvah	5	0.14%	hatikvah

The most salient used topics that can be detected from the generated word tag cloud are, Arabic and Palestinian terrorism which emerged from the following terms "Palestinian", "attack", "terrorist", "murdered", " Hamas", "Gaza", "Arab", "hate", "fires", "shooting", "bomb", "kites", "injured", "stabbed", "Hezbollah", "Islamic", "victims", "rockets", "antihuman", "heartbreaking", "hit". Remembering Holocaust and the painful actions against Jews and Israel is demonstrated through the use of

words such as "Yom Hashoah", "Jews", "Jewish", "holocaust" "memory", "memorial", "Nazi", "Germany", "anti-Semitic", "Pittsburgh", "hate", "terror", "victims". The celebrating of Israeli religious and national occasions can be seen in words "celebrate", "menorah", "anniversary", "Hatikvah", "Passover", "Yom Hashoah", "national", "Chanukah", "pray", "Shana Tova". The U.S.'s support to Israel and the relocation of U.S. embassy to Jerusalem is reflected in these words "united", "states", "Jerusalem", "support", "capital", "eternal", "America", "sympathies", "stands", "American", "embassy". Pray to Save Israel and religious information is seen in these words "Christians", "Jewish", "blessing", "god", "prayer", "synagogue", "western wall", "synagogues", "Passover", "prophecy", "eternal", "faithful", "menorah", "Chanukah", "pray". World silence is reflected in the following words "world", "silence", "defend", "demonize", "mainstream", "media", "violating", "violence" and finally, showing support for Israel reflects in these words; "Christians", "god", "support", "prophecy", "gather", "pro", "sympathies". These topics and most frequently words are controlling the tendencies of the Israel Lobby's discourse and frame the Palestine-Israeli conflict.

4.1.2 Use of Pronouns

Pronouns are used in the political discourse going beyond the normal language usage of pronouns in a such a way that it shows the attitudes and ideology of the discourse producers. In the case of the Israel Lobby's discourse, the researcher observed the use of pronouns (See Table 10).

Table 10: Use of Pronouns within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Source	Usage of Pronouns
CUFI	We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord to be with us .
SFI	The Lion of Zion We Just Lost
CUFI	We are watching history be made!
CUFI	Today, we remember the 2,978 victims murdered by terrorists. We remember the first responders We remember and pray for the families And we stand together as a nation fighting terror and evil.
SFI	That's what we're here in Israel to find out! Learn more here...
SFI	We now know at least 8 are dead and more are injured ...
UWI	Our hearts and prayers with 11 murdered and 6 injured ...
SWU	we end the day with "HaTikvah," HOPE.
SWU	Today we remember his legacy as we continue to speak
SWU	If we held a moment of silence for every victim of the Holocaust we would be silent for eleven and a half years. ... we remember the six million lives...
SWU	We collectively mourn his loss together with all of Israel ...
TIP	We remember the 11 victims who were killed We stand with the community...
SFI	Christians in China need our prayers.
SFI	the Jewish people's fight for survival by downloading our free
TIP	it's our duty to SHARE and make sure the memory is not forgotten.
SWU	Now let us contrast this with the situation of those descended from Arab refugees...
CUFI	" They are guarded forever, but the children of the wicked are eliminated"
SWU	today they persevere celebrating the miracle of light.
TIP	women and children murdered just because they were Jewish.
TIP	They asked for forgiveness and repentance ahead of the upcoming Jewish new year.
CUFI	We remember the first responders who put their lives in danger to save others .
SWU	Israel, the U.S., Canada, France and others opened their doors, offering citizenship and equal rights.
TIP	4 children will never see their daddy again for the rest of their lives. 4 children will miss their father forever.
SFI	a reminder of the Jews' freedom from slavery and journey to their homeland.
SFI	Not for their lives. But for the dignity of the Jewish spirit.
CUFI	for every person that lost their life yesterday in Pittsburgh
SWU	Although the Nazi's wanted to eradicate them
TIP	We remember those who perished, we will NEVER forget them .
SWU	with 2 of the men he rescued for a heartwarming
CUFI	He will never leave his faithful all alone. They
SFI	He lived as a hero,
SWU	simply because he was Jewish.
SWU	the question he asked the Arab states in the UN last year, "
SWU	The Israeli father, explained to the media that he ...

SWU	He succumbed to the knife wounds at the hospital.
TIP	but he did it his way.
SWU	denied integration in the Arab countries they were born in and denied resettlement elsewhere.
SWU	"to enjoy the game with my family and they attacked me like animals"
TIP	but they will demonize the Jewish state when Israel is forced to defend herself.
SFI	If you're going to be a racist, anti-Semite...at least learn how to spell...
SWU	"Where are your Jews?!...Today"
SWU	Hatikvah As You've Never Heard It
CUFI	Our thoughts, prayers and love are with you .
UWI	Here's your chance to tell billions of people around the world why you love Israel.
SWU	Thank you to the Belgian fans who rescued the Israeli family!
TIP	Did you know Frank Sinatra was an old friend to the Jews and to Israel?
TIP	take a photo of yourself holding a sign with the words
TIP	Send your sympathies to the survivors of the Pittsburgh shooting. Show your support at: Peacenoathate.com

The pronouns are mostly used to indicate the dichotomy of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. On the one hand, these are Israel, U.S., Jews, Christians and on the other side, these are Palestinians, Arabs, Islam. Majority of the pronouns used are in favor of the first side and their ideology. For example, "On the 27th **we** commemorate International Holocaust Remembrance Day", "4 children will never see **their** daddy again for the rest of **their** lives".

The use of pronouns within the Lobby's discourse reveals the bias and hegemony in the texts of the discourse. Most of the pronouns are used in favor of the first side of the conflict (Israel) with omission of the second side (Palestinians). In addition, the use of pronouns relating with the first side are used in a positive tone such as "We encourage our supporters to do something to bring light into the world", while the usage of pronouns for the Palestinians have a negative tone" If the Arabs put down **their** weapons today, there would be no more violence."

In the same context, the usage of "I", "we", "us", "our" are used just to serve the first side of the conflict (Israel) and no one of these pronouns are used in the context of the other side of the conflict (Palestinians). This use aims to personalize the discourse of the Israel Lobby to show the Lobby's responsibility, commitment, and involvement in the issues of the Jews nation. Also, to speak from their own point of view and enable them to express their ideology, ideas, thoughts, such as "I can say that everything we just heard here is a complete distortion of the truth." Above all the use of "we" which indicates a sense of shared responsibility is important. This is done to make the publics feel included. For example, "**We** stand with **our** Jewish brothers and sisters now and always. **We** remember and **we** stand against hatred".

The use of "you" and "your" within the Lobby's discourse aims to address questions and talks relating to the audience. It is mostly to make them feel connected to the issue at hand. Such as, " This is what it looks like when **you** don't have a bomb shelter in Israel. **You** sleep in the stairwell to say safe", " TIP is standing with Israel, will **you**?" "If **you** stand with Israel, take action at iSupportIsrael.com".

The usage of "he" "they", "their", "them" within the Lobby's discourse aims to tell a story about Jews and Israelis and to create a clear image about Jews. Such as, "We remember those who perished, we will NEVER forget **them**." which also reflects the attitudes and ideologies of the Israel lobby, "If the Jews put down **their** weapons today, there would be no more Israel." "May **their** memories be a blessing."

4.1.3 Use of Modals

Table 11: Usage of modality within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Source	Modal Verb
TIP	"Israel is crying out. The world must hear Israel's pain - and break its silence."
SFI	"The mainstream media continues to HIDE THE TRUTH!!! terrorists MUST STOP!! This video is heartbreaking!!" "Why is no US media outlet sharing the attacks happening in Southern Israel!?!?!? The Palestinian #Terror MustStop "
UWI	" Must -watch! At the recent U.N. lynching of Israel, Nikki Haley dared to speak the truth."
CUFI	" May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America."
TIP	" May their memory of the victims be forever a blessing."
SFI	"He lived as a hero, and died as a hero. May his memory be a blessing."
SWU	"The victims of the Pittsburgh attack have been named. May their memories be a blessing. "
SWU	"I can say that everything we just heard here is a complete distortion of the truth. "
SFI	"How can the UN fail to pass a resolution against a terrorist organization"
CUFI	"We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord to be with us. "
TIP	"TIP is standing with Israel, will you? "
UWI	"Israel Will Never Surrender to Terror"
TIP	"Heartbreaking: 4 children will never see their daddy again for the rest of their lives. 4 children will miss their father forever. "
CUFI	"all over the nation sirens sound in remembrance of those lives lost, Israel will stop and remember."
CUFI	"He will never leave his faithful all alone. "
UWI	"Israel will soon be celebrating it's 70 birthday! Here's"
SFI	"all the nations will recognize God's glory' Prophecy is real."
TIP	"they will demonize the Jewish state when Israel is forced to defend herself. "
TIP	"We remember those who perished, we will NEVER forget them."
TIP	"did everything he could to make sure the Jewish state thrived-- but he did it his way. "
SWU	"we would be silent for eleven and a half years. "
CUFI	"If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence. If the Jews put down their weapons today, there would be no more Israel. "
UWI	"No child should have to grow up like this! "

The use of modals is subjective to the discourse producers, and the analysis of modality within the Israel Lobby's discourse reveals and reflects the Lobby's attitudes, opinions, ideologies and speculation toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and issues that have been discussed. The researcher noted that the Lobby used the modal verbs "must", "may", "can", "will", "could", "would", "should" as shown in the table presented above. The most used modal verb is "will" which indicates the willingness and degree of prediction of actions to happen.

The usage of modals such "can", "will", "should", and "could" within the Lobby's discourse is subject-oriented which means the ability or willingness toward the subject of the sentences such as "Israel Will Never Surrender to Terror". This means the Lobby is willing to not to surrender the terror, and "We cannot turn our back on Israel", means they do not have the chance or ability to turn their backs to Israel.

In the same context, the usage of modals such as "may" and "must" are discourse oriented which are related to the events and actions to lay down an obligation or make a promise such as "May God bless the state of Israel" hoping the God to bless Israel and "terrorists MUST STOP!!" giving an obligation toward terrorists to stop.

In addition, the use of modals can be classified in the Israel Lobby's discourse into three categories; in the first category, the use of modals is limited in the discourse and most of it does not use modals which indicate that the discourse talks about actions and events that have been done and they are real. In the second category, the use of "must", "should" indicate the obligation that the Lobby has put on itself to make certain decisions. For example, "terrorists MUST STOP!!". In the third category, the use of

"can" and "may" indicate permission, ability and possibility such as "May their memory of the victims be forever a blessing.". Forthly, the use of "will", "could" indicate the possibility of something happening and the certainty that something will happen. For example, "4 children **will** miss their father forever", means absolutely these children going to miss their father.

The use of modals in the Lobby's discourse reflects the attitude of the lobby. They stand with Israelis and Jews across the world, hoping that God blesses them, sympathizing with them considering that they've been victims to numerous crimes.

4.1.4 Use of Conditional Sentences

The use of conditional clauses within the Israel Lobby's discourse is rare. Only five sentences throughout the whole sample used two types of conditional clauses (zero and second) types. The use of zero type aims to give instructions and advices to the Israel supporters by taking an action to express their support, and telling the followers what to do (to support Israel). Also, it is used to explain the followers why it is okay to be pro-Israel. For example, "If you stand with Israel, act at iSupportIsrael.com", and "If you're going to be a racist, anti-Semite...at least learn how to spell...". At the same time, it intends to use "if" in these places to express that those who are not supporters of Israel and Jews are against it, racist and anti-Semite. Also, it describes those who are against Israel as illiterates.

Furthermore, the other conditional clause used is the second conditional. It expresses the attitudes of the Israel Lobby in describing the ideas as unreal with no possibility or a dream which unlikely to happen. For example, "If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence. If the Jews put down their weapons today,

there would be no more Israel" and "If we held a moment of silence for every victim of the Holocaust we would be silent for eleven and a half years." This also expresses that the Lobby's discourse is a hoped discourse that still talks about the future of Jews and Israel. In addition, the use of "if" in these places is used to state ideological bias that the Arabic violence is the problem, and Israel weapons are justified and for Jews safety. Also, "if" is used to make audience imagine the unbelievable suffering of Jews because citing examples such as the Holocaust.

4.1.5 Use of Verbs

Verbs play a crucial role in building discourse and creating messages. The Israel Lobby's discourse uses numerous verbs such as "lived", "think", "rise", "born", "change", "make", "bring" generate a vital and active discourse that encourage the audience to follow and engage. The following Table shows all verbs that have been mentioned within the Israel Lobby's discourse.

Table 12: Verbs mentioned within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Negative (Count)	Neutral (Count)	Positive (Count)
Attack, Attacked (18)	Take, took (5)	Love, loves (5)
Murdered, Murder (10)	Thinks, think, thought (3)	Support (4)
Hate (6)	Demand (3)	Celebrate (2)
Killed (4)	Remember (3)	Donate (6)
Shooting, Shoots, shot (5)	Gather (6)	Lived, Living, live (7)
Surrender 3	Send (4)	Stand (5)
Holds, holding (10)	Show (2)	Breath
Bomb (3)	Speak (2)	Built
Defend (3)	Started (2)	born
Hit/ hits (4)	Stop (2)	encourage
Injured (3)	Learn (4)	endured
Shouting	bring	enjoy
Suffering (2)	came	grow

Demonize (2)	carried	hope
Denied/ deny (3)	change	instigated
Fled (2)	dared	Thriving, thrived (2)
Forced (2)	descended	served
Fought/ Fight (3)	entered	Play, played (2)
Losing\ losses (2)	explained	pray
Rips (2)	find	restored
Stabbed (2)	finished	rise
shocked	gives	Saved, save (2)
Armed	governed	offering
blows	looked	provide
break	happen	
burned	observed	
chased	turn	
collapsing	forget	
crushed	paused	
defeat	repeated	
demolished	require	
threat	respond	
hide	saw	
destroyed	Telling/tell	
devastated	addressed	
Die, died (2)	Email	
eliminated		
trapped		
violating		
Leave, left (2)		

Based on Shojaei & Laheghi (2012) all the verbs in the Table above are classified in three main categories; positive, neutral, and negative. This was grouped based on the context and the meaning or impression that the verbs create. Majority of the verbs have negative impressions and implications such as "Attack", "Murder", "Hate", "Killed",

"Shooting", "Bomb", "Injured", "Suffering". The use of negative verbs shows the tendency of the discourse and its core. It expresses that resistance of the Jews and Israelis against Arabs, Islam, Palestinians, and Nazism. For example, "Palestinian and Gaza resistance 'attacks'", "Islamic attacks to Jews temples", and "the Holocaust".

The use of positive verbs within the Lobby's discourse is focused on Jewish and Israeli occasions, asking for support and talking about the future of the Jews inside and outside Israel. Verbs here such as "loves", "support", "celebrate", "donate", "built", "born", "encourage", "enjoy", "hope" and "thrived". Also, the positive verbs exclude the other side of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and did not talk about Arabs and Palestinians. The neutral verbs used in the Lobby's discourse that did not give an impression or embedded meaning, they help in constructing the discourse and make it clearer. They reported all sides of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict using words such as "take", "demand", "remember", "gather", "send", "show", "speak", "started", "bring".

In addition, the researcher notes repeated use of imperative verbs used for giving an order to the audience and followers to act according to the Lobby and Israel interest. This type of discourse is suitable for the social media, considering this social networking communities allow the audiences to be close to the issue. For example, "CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM!" "SIGN the Jerusalem Declaration NOW!" "Email us a 10-second video telling us why you are United with Israel".

4.1.6 Use of Adjectives

The use of adjectives within the Israel Lobby's discourse tends to make audience to be narrow-minded. It puts them in a position where they are either for or against the action

or name that it describes. The researcher classifies the adjectives within the Israel Lobby's discourse into two categories, positive and negative adjectives as Table 13 shows.

Table 13: Use of adjectives within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Negative (Count)		Positive (Count)
Terrorist (6)	mortal	Great (3)
Palestinian (7)	Old (4)	western (4)
Arab (6)	Heartbreaking (3)	eternal (2)
Silent (4)	Nazi (3)	Faithful (2)
International (5)	blind	British
Victim (6)	Refugees (3)	American (2)
wicked	Dead (2)	Belgian (2)
anti-Hamas	worst	Christian (2)
anti-Semitic		southern
armed		supporters
crushed		survivors
different		anniversary
Not eligible		heroic
heartwarming		historic
horrific		Israelis
Iranian		Italian
terrible		largest
Tunisian		monumental

It is found that the use of negative adjectives within the Lobby's discourse is more than the positive ones. These adjectives are used to describe the attacks that targeted Israelis/Jews around the world. The common examples cited are; Holocaust, Palestinian resistant actions and, Arabic-Islamic countries attack on the Jews in support of Palestine. The adjectives used here for example are "terrorist",

"Palestinian", "victim", "heartbreaking", "Nazi", "armed", "anti-Hamas", "anti-Semitic" and they were included in sentences such as "Antisemitic attacks continue with SEVEN arson attacks in New York City at Jewish schools and synagogues" and "The Palestinian terrorists MUST STOP!! This video is heartbreaking!!".

The use of positive adjectives within the Lobby's discourse were mostly used to discuss actions that are related to reflect the positive side of Jews, Israel, and their celebrations of religious and political occasions. They also sympathize with their base using words such as "Great", "Hero", "American", "Christian", "eternal", "Faithful", "heroic", "historic", "supporters", "survivors". As it can be seen in these two sentences, "Ari was an Israeli-American, an active and avid lover of Israel" and " On this historic day show Israel's eternal capital support ...".

The use of adjectives within the Israel Lobby's discourse on the one hand, is used to convince the publics to stand for Israel and support its position; and, on the other hand, these adjectives suggest that the Arabs and Palestinians are the terrorists, the haters, and the people that stand against the Jews' hope and dreams.

4.1.7 Use of Adverbs

The Israel Lobby in the U.S use adverbs to support their cause. The adverbs that are used in the Israel Lobby's discourse are analyzed in the following paragraphs. The adverbs "brutally" and "tragically" are used to show the ugliness of the crimes committed against Jews and Israelis and, the sadness of such actions. For example, "The memory of the 6 million who were so brutally murdered in the Holocaust", "An American-Israeli journalist was brutally murdered in the first horrific attack of its kind by Islamic terrorists", " Tragically murdered: Ari Fuld, a 45-year-old husband and

father of 4". Also, the adverb "deadly" has been used for the same purpose "Jews fled as refugees after suffering persecution and deadly pogroms".

Some adverbs are also collectively used to show the collective sadness of Jews and Israelis. For example, "We collectively mourn his loss together with all of Israel and with all people of good faith". "Exactly" is used to doubt and show contradiction in the discourse and actions of the Palestinians. For example, "Exactly: Hamas has money for 500 rockets a day aiming to kill Israeli civilians? Tell me more about the humanitarian crisis in Gaza". "Basically", implies that there is no doubt about the situation that the Lobby is talking about or referring to. "Perfectly" is used here to make a threat to Iranians such as "Israel has made it perfectly clear that Iran better think twice before messing again with Israel!".

Adverbs are used to express strong feelings and sympathy, such as in the sentences; "tears suddenly started streaming down my face" and "My dad's life was taken at the Tree of Life shooting. My mom, sister and I are absolutely devastated and crushed!". Also, suddenly used to show the treachery of the Palestinians "A teenage Palestinian terrorist suddenly stabbed him in the back". "Deliberately" is used to assert that the Palestinians aim is to kill people no matter whom and why, and to portray them as terrorists, such as "The truth is that Hamas, a terrorist organization ..., deliberately caused over 60 of its own people to get killed...". Also, the usage of directly has the same goal, such as "Hamas shoots over 80 rockets ... At least 1 house directly hit in south Israel".

Adverbs are also sometimes used to simplify the issue at hand. For example, the report says that terrorists target Jews just because they are Jews and apparently, this is used to express the injustice, hatred, and victimization of the Jews. This is seen in the following cases; "Daniel was murdered in Pakistan while pursuing a story, simply because he was Jewish", and also to show the inhumane acts against Jews such as "I simply carried my flag and wanted to enjoy the game with my family and they attacked me like animals". In contrast, the adverbs "heroically" and "proudly" are used to express the greatness and how patriotic the Jews and Israelis are. Indeed, the sentence, "Ari was stabbed in the back by a 17-year-old Palestinian terrorist and heroically fought back" and "this is my country and I will wear my flag proudly" expresses this idea.

4.1.8 Types and Tones of Used Sentences

In terms of syntax and semantics, the sentence types and tones convey meanings reflecting the discourse producers' emotions, ideas, unstated thoughts and ideologies. The researcher analyzed the types in the following terms; declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory. The Israel Lobby's discourse and sentences tones reflect the Lobby's attitudes regarding specific issues as table 14 shows.

Table 14: Most frequently used sentence types and tones within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Page	Sentence	Tone	Type of Sentence
CUFI	"Israel has a responsibility to defend its citizens no matter what the world thinks!"	Threat & Serious	Exclamatory
CUFI	"Jerusalem belongs to Israeli, more importantly Jerusalem belongs to the god of Israel"	Reverence & Proud	Declarative
CUFI	"The god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob keeps his promises to his people"	Religious	Declarative

CUFI	"May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America."	Faithfull & Religious	Declarative
CUFI	"for every person that lost their life yesterday in Pittsburgh there is a story, there is a life, there is loved ones left behind."	Sadness & Sympathy	Declarative
CUFI	"Today, we remember the 2,978 victims murdered by terrorists. We remember the first responders who put their lives in danger to save others."	Sympathetic	Declarative
CUFI	"We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord to be with us."	Serious & Religious	Exclamatory
CUFI	"Israel came to a complete standstill as the country paused to remember the 6 million Jews murdered by the Nazis."	Sympathetic & Sadness	Declarative
SFI	" Hamas has money for 500 rockets a day aiming to kill Israeli civilians? Tell me more about the humanitarian crisis in Gaza."	Humorous, Grim & Anger	Exclamatory & Imperative
SFI	"when a teenage Palestinian terrorist suddenly stabbed him in the back. Even with a mortal wound... chased down the terrorist and shot him before taking his final breath."	Sympathy, Heroic & Bravery	Declarative & Exclamatory
SFI	"This is what the stairwell looked like in the middle of last night... and this family didn't have a bomb shelter."	Sympathetic	Declarative
SFI	"Amazing!! America stands in solidarity with Israel"	Happiness & Cheerful	Exclamatory
SFI	"The mainstream media continues to HIDE THE TRUTH!!! terrorists MUST STOP!! Why is no US media outlet sharing the attacks happening in Southern Israel!?!?! This video is heartbreaking!!"	Anger, Sympathetic & Grim	Exclamatory & Interrogative
SFI	"The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Men, women, and children all banded together and fought. Not for their lives. But for the dignity of the Jewish spirit."	Heroic & Bravery	Declarative
SFI	"Christians in China need our prayers. " (China blows up Christian megachurch with dynamite)	Sympathetic, Sadness & Religious	Imperative
SFI	"How can the UN fail to pass a resolution against a terrorist organization, yet pass 83 resolutions against Israel last year alone?"	Grim, Anger	Exclamatory & Interrogative
SFI	"We now know at least 8 are dead and more are injured after a gunman opened fire at a Pittsburgh synagogue"	Sympathetic, Sadness & Fear	Declarative

SFI	"If you're going to be a racist, anti-Semite...at least learn how to spell..."	Sarcastic, Humorous	Imperative
UWI	"Israel has made it perfectly clear that Iran better think twice before messing again with Israel!"	Threat & Serious	Exclamatory
UWI	"A revolutionary cancer treatment is about to change the world - all thanks to Israel!"	Happiness & Cheerful	Declarative & Exclamatory
UWI	"Must-watch! At the recent U.N. lynching of Israel, Nikki Haley dared to speak the truth."	Glad, Joyful & Cheerful	Imperative, Exclamatory
UWI	"Over 170 rockets and mortars fired by terrorists in Gaza at Israeli civilians. 3 injured..."	Sympathetic, Sadness & Fear	Declarative
UWI	"HEARTBREAKING!! These brave children have never known life without the constant threat of Hamas rockets. "	Sympathy & Sentimental	Exclamatory
UWI	"CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM! On this historic day show Israel's eternal capital support and SIGN the Jerusalem Declaration NOW!"	Cheerful & Happiness	Imperative & Exclamatory
UWI	"It's going to be an amazing Independence Day in Israel!!! British, Greek, and Italian Planes to Salute Israel During 70th Anniversary Celebrations"	Cheerful & Happiness	Exclamatory & Declarative
UWI	UWI "mourns the senseless slaughter of Jews at prayer yesterday in a Pittsburgh synagogue."	Sympathetic, Sadness & Religious	Declarative
SWU	"Hamas seeks destruction of Israel and murder of Jews..."	Hate, Anger & Fear	Declarative
SWU	"If we held a moment of silence for every victim of the Holocaust we would be silent for eleven and a half years."	Sympathetic & Sadness	Exclamatory
SWU	"Israel comes together to remember Yom HaShoah and the memory of the 6 million who were so brutally murdered"	Sympathetic & Sadness	Declarative & Exclamatory
SWU	"Brave and heroic Palestinian who saved the lives of 5 orthodox Jews who entered Hebron by mistake...!"	Heroic, Bravery & Religious	Exclamatory
SWU	"The victims of the Pittsburgh attack have been named. May their memories be a blessing."	Sympathy, Sadness & Religious	Interrogative
SWU	"In Moscow, an Israeli family was rescued by Belgian soccer fans ..."	Heroic & Bravery	Declarative
SWU	"On this day in 2002, Daniel Pearl, an American-Israeli journalist was brutally murdered in the first horrific attack of its kind by Islamic terrorists..."	Sympathy & Sadness	Declarative

SWU	"The first ever Birthright Israel group from UGANDA has landed in Ben Gurion airport in Israel."	Cheerful & Happiness	Declarative
TIP	"For over 100 days, south Israel has been under attack by Hamas kites of terror... and the world? Silent."	Blame, Grim & Anger	Declarative, Imperative & Exclamation
TIP	"We remember the 11 victims who were killed by blind hate. We stand with the community of Pittsburgh."	Sympathy & Sadness	Declarative
TIP	"Today is Israel's Holocaust Memorial Day... we will NEVER forget them."	Sympathy & Sadness	Declarative
TIP	"Israel is under attack. 80+ rockets fired from Gaza."	Sympathy & Sadness	Declarative & Exclamation
TIP	"The Gaza riots made international headlines but today's attack on Israel has been met with silence — but they will demonize the Jewish state when Israel is forced to defend herself."	Blame, Angry & Grim	Exclamation
TIP	"WATCH: Amazing group of 3,000 Israelis - Jews, Muslims and Christians - all singing together 'One day!'"	Cheerful, Happiness & Religious	Imperative & Exclamation
TIP	"4 children will miss their father forever. Let's unite against hate!"	Sympathetic & Sadness	Exclamation & Imperative
TIP	"Israel is under attack. Firebomb kites from Gaza burn 6,200 acres in Israel. School hit, farms burn. Nature reserve destroyed animals suffocate and burned to death. "	Sympathetic & Sadness	Declarative
TIP	"HAPPENING NOW: 6 wounded, 2 in critical condition as Hamas shoots over 80 rockets in 30 minutes towards Israel. Hamas is leading the area to war. "	Sympathetic, Sadness & Fear	Declarative
TIP	"WATCH: In memory of 6 million men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish. "	Sympathetic, Sadness & Religious	Exclamation & Declarative

In terms of sentence types, as the above Table shows, the Israel Lobby's discourse uses numerous declarative and exclamation sentences and, they are used to state facts and/or information about Israel and Jews or to express how the issues and actions are somewhat strange and/or unnational. Furthermore, the Lobby uses some imperative and interrogative sentences to support the Lobby's arguments and claims. Imperative

sentences mostly order the followers to act in a way that expresses their support for Israel and Jewish agenda. For example, "May their memories be a blessing.". Interrogative sentences are also used for the same purpose as well as to ask pray for Jews and to rise critical questions about the Palestinians and terrorism, such as "Let's unite against hate!".

In terms of tone of sentences, the table above shows that numerous sentences that are used in the Israel Lobby's discourse have a sympathetic, sadness, and fear tone to them. This is because in numerous cases, they talk about the Nazis and the Palestinians terror. Furthermore, numerous sentences have cheerful and happy tone to them considering that they focus on the Jewish and Israeli national and religious celebrations. Welcoming new groups of Jews who come to stay in Israel recently. In addition, "heroic" and "bravery" tone is used in relation to the Jews and Israelis who support Israel and fight against terrorism. This also includes those who support Jews and Israelis even if they are Palestinians.

In the same context, "blame", "angry", and "grim" tones are mostly used within the Lobby's discourse to talk about the world and international media silence regarding attacks and attempted attacks by Palestinians on Israelis. The "threat" and "serious" tones are used when the Lobby talks about the right of Israel to defend herself and also in cases, where they warn Iran to stop tackling Israel. In addition, "humorous" tone is used when the Palestinian and Hamas seek the support of the international community on the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

Lastly, it is found that numerous of the sentences within the Israel Lobby's discourse have a religious tone. Constantly words such as Jews, Christians, God, prophets, and quoting Jewish holy book, the "Torah" are used.

4.1.9 Use of Direct Quotations

As Table 15 shows, most of quotations are not from ordinary people, mostly popular Israelis, popular American politicians, public personalities, and the holy book.

Table 15: Use of quotations within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Page	Quotation	Original Sources
CUFI	"If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence. If the Jews put down their weapons today, there would be no more Israel."	Benjamin Netanyahu
CUFI	"Israel has the right to defend itself, by itself without any one's approval"	John Hagee
CUFI	"The god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob keeps his promises to his people"	Mike Pence
CUFI	"Jerusalem belongs to Israeli, more importantly Jerusalem belongs to the god of Israel"	Erick Stakelbeck
CUFI	"We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord to be with us."	Lindsey Graham
CUFI	"On behalf of the US president we welcome you officially and for the first time to the embassy of the US here in Jerusalem, capital of Israel."	Ivanka Trump
CUFI	"May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America."	Benjamin Netanyahu
CUFI	"The LORD loves justice. He will never leave his faithful all alone. They are guarded forever, but the children of the wicked are eliminated"	(Psalm 37:28). Torah
SFI	"All Jews must die".	The terrorist of Petersburg attack
SWU	"I am Jewish."	Daniel Pearl
SWU	"Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, Libya—your Jews fled as refugees after suffering persecution and deadly pogroms... These Jewish refugees from Arab lands—whose suffering and losses the UN has never addressed—put their hardship behind them and built great lives for their families... Palestinians are the only population in the world not eligible for services by the UN refugee agency..."	Hillel Neuer

SWU	"...this is my flag, this is my country and I will wear my flag proudly... I simply carried my flag and wanted to enjoy the game with my family and they attacked me like animals"	Israeli family attacked by Arabs
SWU	"... I have come straight from the Gaza front line to share my assessment. Based on what I observed, I can say that everything we just heard here is a complete distortion of the truth. The truth is that Hamas, a terrorist organization that seeks the destruction of Israel and murder of Jews everywhere, deliberately caused over 60 of its own people to get killed..."	Richard Kemp
UWI	Speech in the United Nations supporting Israel "Gaza attacked Israel, Hamas producing violence,"	Nikki Haley
UWI	"Don't be afraid, I'm with you,"	An Israeli child
UWI	"I have an opportunity to go to Israel for a few months and study with my favorite teachers over there ..."	Roseanne Barr

The Israel Lobby uses direct quotations within its discourse on Facebook to portray past events. In numerous cases, they use it to make emphasis to a specific message or buttress an argument. For example, "If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence." and to provide information about the actions that the discourse covered and provide a commentary from other people on the action that supported their point view, such as "Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, Libya—your Jews fled as refugees after suffering persecution and deadly pogroms". In addition to quotations used to honor the Jewish holy book the Torah which works as inspiration for the Lobby's followers on Facebook such as, "Jerusalem belongs to Israeli, more importantly Jerusalem belongs to the god of Israel".

The use of direct quotation within the Lobby's discourse reveals the effort made by the Lobby to make their arguments more credible especially in cases where a spokesman or woman speaks on behalf of all Jews and Israelis. For example, Nikki Haley, the US ambassador to the UN said "Gaza attacked Israel, Hamas producing violence". It is

also used to strengthen the relation between Israel and the US publics. An American popular politician said, "May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America." Quotations here are strategically used to pander the Israeli and Jewish narrative of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In the same context, the direct quotations are used to explain and convey meanings mostly related to the brutality of the Palestinians and Arabs and labelling them as terrorists who target Jews and Israeli world over. They also used to express the idea that Israel has the right to defend and protect herself. Also, quotations use to indicate the God factor is seen across numerous posts. The idea that God is on Israel's side and whoever is against Israeli is against God is one generally portrayed. In a similar vein, they use quotations to imply that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel and this is a divine proclamation given that it is supported by God and the U.S.

As Table 14 shows, most of quotations are not from ordinary people. This indicates that the enormous followers of these famous individuals may also buy into their discourse of the Israeli agenda. In terms of the usage of quotations across the selected pages, this study reveals that only TIP does not use quotations while CUFI uses quotations more than other three pages.

4.1.10 Use of Capital Letters within the Israel Lobby's Discourse

Table 16: Capital Letters within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Page	Capital Letters	Aim
CUFI	"The LORD loves justice."	Attention to the god & highlight
TIP	We remember those who perished, we will NEVER forget them.	Assertion
TIP	WATCH: Did you know Frank Sinatra was an old friend to the Jews and to Israel?	Demand to watch & highlight

	"it's our duty to SHARE and make sure the memory is not forgotten."	Demand to become pro-Israel
TIP	Over 20 fires EVERY DAY! ... and the world? Silent.	Magnification
TIP	BREAKING: Israel is under attack.	Attention & highlight
TIP	HAPPENING NOW: 6 wounded, 2 in critical condition as Hamas shoots over 80 rockets in 30 minutes towards Israel	Emergent & Attention
TIP	Amazing group of 3,000 Israelis - Jews, Muslims and Christians - all singing together 'One day!' WOW! They asked for forgiveness and repentance ahead of the upcoming Jewish new year. AMAZING!	Cheerful
SFI	The mainstream media continues to HIDE THE TRUTH!!! The Palestinian terrorists MUST STOP!!	Warning, exclamation & Magnification
SFI	US stands in solidarity with Israel. Prophecy, is happening NOW!	special importance & attention
SWU	we end the day with "HaTikvah," HOPE. The first ever Birthright Israel group from UGANDA has landed in Ben Gurion airport in Israel.	Cheerful & special important country
UWI	Antisemitic attacks continue with SEVEN arson attacks in New York City	Magnification
UWI	CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM! On this historic day show Israel's eternal capital support and SIGN the Jerusalem Declaration NOW!	Cheerful & demand to act
UWI	HEARTBREAKING!! These brave children have never known life without the constant threat of Hamas rockets.	Highlight sadness

Based on Liberman & Church (1992) and Sharififar & Rahimi (2015) who explored capitalized words within the political discourse. Therefore, the researcher modifies their approach to analyze the use of capital letters within the Israel Lobby's discourse and he explains its meaning according to the cultural and political context. The Lobby uses capital letters to give a specific and intended meanings that supports the Lobby's discourse and narrative. The most important use of capital letters is to get the audience's attention on specific issues and ideas that support the Israel and Jews agenda. In addition, as the above table shows, the common words used in capital letters are used to get attention, highlight a specific issue, make an assertion, demand to act in support of Israel, magnify a certain event or person, imply emergency, be cheerful,

warning, exclaim and emphasis the importance of something. They use capital letters to change the audience ideas, opinion, and emotions towards the Israel and Jewish agenda.

4.1.11 Use of Interactive Posts

Table 17: Interactive posts within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Source	Post
TIP	"If you stand with Israel, take action at iSupportIsrael.com "
TIP	"WATCH: Did you know Frank Sinatra was an old friend to the Jews and to Israel?"
TIP	"TIP is standing with Israel, will you? Donate now: https://www.paypal.com/donate/ "
TIP	"Let's unite against hate!"
TIP	"WATCH: In memory of 6 million... For International Holocaust Remembrance Day, take a photo of yourself holding a sign with the words 'We Remember' and post it to social media with the hashtag #WeRemember"
TIP	"Get the truth out and demand action. StopHamas.org "
TIP	"Go to IsraelIsUnderAttack.com and demand an end to Palestinian terror."
TIP	"Send your sympathies to the survivors of the Pittsburgh shooting. Show your support at: PeacenoHate.com "
SFI	"Friends. Christians in China need our prayers."
SFI	"Learn important lessons from the Jewish people's fight for survival by downloading our free booklet: bit.ly/2DiGtDn "
SFI	Israel under attack continues this weekend. #pleasepray
SFI	"Learn more about this sacred holiday and its ties to Israel with this guide: bit.ly/PassoverDevoGuideSFI ."
SWU	"See the StandWithUs statement http://www.standwithus.com/news/article.asp?id=5905 "
UWI	"Israel will soon be celebrating it's 70 birthday! Here's your chance to tell billions of people around the world why you love Israel."
UWI	Email us a 10-second video telling us why you are United with Israel to: israel70@unitedwithisrael.org or via private Facebook message.
UWI	"CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM! On this historic day show Israel's eternal capital support and SIGN the Jerusalem Declaration NOW! https://unitedwithisrael.org/declaration/?t=fi051418p "

The researcher determines the definition of the interactive posts in this part as: posts that asks followers to take an action for specific purpose, using imperative sentences

mostly. In terms of the use of the page for interactive posts, Table 17 shows that four out of five pages used this type of posts in most of their entries in 2018. One page that especially used this is the TIP. CUFI, however, does not use these kinds of entries.

The Lobby employs such interactivity in their posts with the aims of making the audience interact with the content of the page and by extension, the Israeli-Jewish agenda. This is mostly done with the discussion on topics such as Palestinian terrorism, and Holocaust given that these topics draw a lot of attention, comments like, share etc. from the Lobby's audience.

4.1.12 Use of Hashtags within Israel Lobby's Discourse

The Israel Lobby used a good number of hashtags within its discourse on social media. On the one hand, to develop content and state their interests, to brand the main ideas and messages that the Lobby seeks to make well-known, to increase digital conversations and on the other hand, to make posts discoverable for everyone who search for some certain keywords.

Table 18: Hashtags mentioned within the sample of Israel Lobby's discourse

Hashtag	Meaning and Indication
#Israel	It is the name of the Jewish state in Palestine. It indicates that the topic of the post is related to Israel, and aims to brand the name of Israel.
#PleasePray #PrayForIsrael	Asking followers to pray for Israel and Jews especially those who were attacked by acts of terror. It is used to show solidarity for Israel through the religion.
#StandForIsrael	A request from the public to stand and support Israel, and also, it is the name of a Lobby page. It indicates that Israel need publics support, and it distributed the name of the page to be more known.
#SupportIsrael	A request from public to stand and support Israel. It indicates that Israel is weak country that needs publics support.

#TerrorMustStop	A demand to stop terroristic attacks against Israelis and Jews across the world. It speaks to the Palestinian and Arabic terrorism against Israelis and Jews in Palestine, especially the rocket strikes from Gaza. In addition, it is also used in the attacks targeting Jews in Pittsburgh synagogue shooting and other places.
#WeRemember	A demand to remember the Holocaust and the crime committed against Jews by the German Nazi. It is used to sympathize with the victims and Jews around the world. In addition, it is also used in talking about the right to have a Jewish state and to defend the Israeli agenda.
#cufi	It is the acronym of the Christians United for Israel which is the name of an Israel Lobby page. The request the whole Christian community to stand and support Israel using the religious rhetoric.

Bagga-Gupta & Rao (2018) explore hashtags in political discourse. Therefore, the researcher adapts their approach to analyze Hashtags. As shown in the above Table, the Israel Lobby's pages on Facebook used the following hashtags repeatedly in their discourse. Some are; #israel, #pleasepray, #prayforisrael, #standforisrael, #supportisrael, #terrormuststop, #weremember, #cufi. The researcher traced all these hashtags on Facebook to find out its importance and role. The researcher found that the hashtags are carefully chosen to match individual organized social media campaign and, sometimes, a unified discourse about Israel and Jews. Thousands of posts on Facebook use these hashtags, mostly to support Israeli and Jewish issues across the world. For example, it is found that same hashtags used by pages related to the Israel Lobby in UK, Canada and other countries. In addition, numerous personal and verified accounts of politicians and public personalities also use the same hashtags for the same purposes in different time periods.

4.1.13 News and Information Sources Used within the Israel Lobby's Discourse

Table 19: Sources used within the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook

Page	Source Name	Source Definition
CUFI	The Times of Israel	Israeli news website
CUFI	Benjamin Netanyahu	Israeli Politician
CUFI	John Hagee	American Jewish politician
CUFI	Mike Pence	American politician
CUFI	Erick Stakelbeck	American-Jewish politician and journalist
CUFI	Lindsey Graham	American politician senator
CUFI	Ivanka Trump	American politician and the president daughter
CUFI	Joe Stein	American Jewish scenarist
CUFI	(Psalm 37:28). Torah	The Jewish Religious holy book
TIP	Hananya Naftali	Israeli activist on social media
TIP	מלולולם - Koolulam	Israeli social-musical initiative. The project centers around mass singing events.
SFI	Independent.co.uk	British newspaper
SFI	Yael Eckstein	American Jewish politician and activist
SFI	The International Fellowship of Christians and Jews	American Jewish Lobby's organization
SFI	Haaretz	Israeli newspaper
SWU	MAROM	young adult movement centers on the world international events in Israel
SWU	Joseph Waks	American Jewish designer
SWU	United Nations Watch	A non-governmental organization related to the Israel Lobby aims to monitor UN especially towered Israeli and Jews issues.
SWU	The Raw Story	A left-leaning American online news organization
	Boomerang - Fighting for Israel	YouTube channel supports Israel
	World Israel News	An Israeli online news

As the above Table shows, the Israel Lobby's pages used Israeli and American pro-Israel and pro-Jews sources to develop its discourse. Also, it shows the variety of sources used by the lobby. The Lobby uses news sources such as news websites, agencies, and newspapers. For groups, they obtained information from organizations, institutions, and movements and for individuals, they obtained from politicians, journalists, actors, public figures and activists. The Jewish holy book, the Torah is also

a reputable information source. One of the advantages of social media is that all these information sources work perfectly with it.



At the same time, it is evident that these sources and the information published on the selected pages reinforce the Israel Lobby's agenda. In addition, the information was adopted from these sources show a close relationship between Israel and the U.S. not only in the political sphere, but in public and religious sphere. These sources demonstrate the culture of participation between the U.S. and Israel.

It is seen that there is clear and intended ignorance in adopting sources that are not pro-Israeli or belongs to the Palestinians and Arabs the other side of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. And, this indicates that the narrative of the conflict is one-sided. This is compatible with the aims and the ideologies of the Israel and its lobby.

4.1.14 Use of Israeli and Jewish Symbols

The Israel Lobby's discourse uses numerous Israeli and Jewish symbols that has specific political and religious meanings. Given the significance and historical background of these symbols, they are mostly used to buttress a narrative hence, avoiding long stories because most pro-Israeli people are acquainted with these symbols. Below are the most repeated symbols.

Table 20: Israeli and Hebrew symbols within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Symbol	Meaning
Hatikvah	הַתִּקְוָה is a Hebrew word that means "The Hope" which is Jewish poem written by Naftali Herz Imber in 1877 and has become the national anthem of the state of Israel. It is a romantic composition that reflects the hopes of Jews returning to their land, reclaiming it, and restoring it as a free and independent nation (Loeffler, 2019).
Yom Hashoah	"The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators." (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017). The Israelis today named the day of memorial of the Holocaust; "יום השואה" (Yom Ha Shoah).
Menorah 	מְנוֹרָה is a Hebrew word that is a portable lampstand with seven heads made of gold set up in Temple in Jerusalem. In order to light lamps daily, they need to burn fresh olive oil. It is a symbol of Judaism and the modern Israel. Seven indicates to the number of days that God's completion, and it resembles tree in the Jewish tradition, which tree means the eternal life (One for Isreal, 2019).
Chanukah, Hanukkah	חֲנוּכָּה is a Hebrew word for the celebration of inauguration festivals started when "newly built altar in the Temple in Jerusalem" during the Maccabean Revolt in the time of Seleucid Empire. And it indicates to education and to spirit Jews to know about their heritage (Shurpin, 2017, para. 2).
Shana Tova	שָׁנָה טוֹבָה means good year. Jews greet themselves by saying it during the Jewish new year which is the time that they stand in front of God to review their previous year to decide if he will or not give them a new chance on His planet (Pelaia, 2019a).
Passover Seder	סֵדֶר is a ritual performance by the Jewish families in order to retell the story of the Jewish and Israeli liberation from slavery in the ancient Egypt. The story is contained of the Exodus (Shemot) book which is from the Hebrew Bible. The Passover lasts for seven days in Israel and eight days outside Israel with special meals and prayers (Pelaia, 2019b).
The Israeli Flag 	The official flag of Israel was adopted in 1948. It was designed for the Zionist Movement in 1891. The design is based on the Jewish prayer shawl called Tallit (טְלִית), the star and design dates back to the medieval Prague (Eisenberg, 2015).

Many of these symbols reflect the old and new history of Jews in Palestine, Germany and around the world. And, these stories must be made known so they are documented in history books. The symbols are used to educate the Americans about the Jewish especially their history in Palestine and to share the history with Christians in Palestine.

In addition, even the Americans do not know the meaning of these symbols but the Lobby continues to mention them to provoke their curiosity and normalize it for the audience. In sum, these symbols are constructed about the Jewish culture and civilization which are intended to be known across the world.

4.1.15 Themes of the Israel Lobby's Discourse

This part of the analysis examines major themes that the Israel Lobby uses in its discourse regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This part aims to reveal the topics and ideas that dominates the Lobby's discourse. In addition, it explains how the present themes work to strengthen the existing power, ideologies, and hegemony within the Lobby's discourse. These themes explain the editorial policy of the Israel Lobby regarding the Palestinian-Israel conflict.



Figure 12: Major themes of the Israel Lobby's discourse

As shown in Figure 12, the following themes; terrorism and anti-Semitism against Jews and Israel, the Holocaust, religious and national occasions and emotions, Israel and the U.S. relationship, world silence and support for Israel, humanization of the Israel and Jewish issues, Israel and Jews in the victim's status, are emerged from the Israel Lobby's discourse. These themes express what the Lobby's followers are interested because it creates a lot of engagement.

Terrorism and anti-Semitism



Figure 13: Video shows rockets launched from Gaza as a terrorist attack

Terrorism is the use of indiscriminate violence to terrify a group of people to achieve specific ideological, political or religious goals (Fortna, 2015). This is the first theme that the Israel Lobby's discourse tries to address through the selected Facebook pages

in the year 2018. The terrorists being the Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims, and Nazi; for example, the above Figure shows the Palestinian terrorism.

Here are sentences that reveal the aforementioned, "If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence.", "demand an end to Palestinian terror", "The Palestinian terrorists MUST STOP!!", "south Israel has been under attack by Hamas kites of terror" "Israel is under attack.", "Israel is crying out.", "a teenage Palestinian terrorist", "How can the UN fail to pass a resolution against a terrorist organization", "was brutally murdered in the first horrific attack of its kind by Islamic terrorists,", " Hamas, a terrorist organization that seeks the destruction of Israel and murder of Jews everywhere", "The IDF killed several terrorists in Syria last night!", "Israel will never surrender to terrorism", "Today, we remember the 2,978 victims murdered by terrorists." "And we stand together as a nation fighting terror and evil", "Let's unite against hate!", "We remember the 11 victims who were killed by blind hate".

This theme is used to create support for Palestinians since the term terrorism is a condemned term across the world. It's also a perfect justification for all the crimes which are committed by Israel. Also, the Lobby's discourse ignores the attacks on Arabs and Palestinians by Israel. Although, Palestinian leaders and academicians label it as terrorism (Kapitan, 2004).

Holocaust and Anti-Semitism



Figure 14: Post of UWU page about the Holocaust

"The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution, and in this massacre, it was killed six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. Holocaust is a word of Greek origin that has the meaning of 'sacrifice by fire.'" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, para. 2). The Israelis today named the Memorial Day of the Holocaust in Hebrew "יום השואה" (Yom Ha Shoah). Anti-Semitism is intended hostility and discrimination that targets Jews because of their religious or political affiliation, and it is considered as racism and a shameful political ideology (especially Nazism) (Wistrich, 2003).

This explains the second theme of the Israel Lobby's discourse which intends to target the audience through various kinds of messages that let them to remember the Nazis' crimes against the Jews. As the Figure 14 above shows, Jewish men, women, and

children were murdered by German Nazi, and this is shown as criminal, catastrophic, and unimaginable.

Here are the main discourse excerpts about Holocaust and Anti-Semitic attributed to Nazis, "today, the largest armed revolt by Jews during the Holocaust began"; "the Jewish people's fight for survival"; "we remember the six million lives who were stolen from the Jewish people during the Nazi regime"; "Israel comes to halt to mark Yom Ha Shoah", "As Israel marks Yom Ha Shoah today...Israel will stop and remember"; "from Yom Ha Shoah, Israel came to a complete standstill as the country paused to remember"; "Today is Israel's Holocaust Memorial Day. We remember those who perished, we will NEVER forget them"; "In memory of 6 million men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish"; "There are some that deny the holocaust even happened and it's our duty to SHARE and make sure the memory is not forgotten"; "take a photo of yourself holding a sign with the words 'We Remember' and post it to social media with the hashtag #WeRemember"; "we end the day with 'HaTikvah,' HOPE"; "Hatikvah, the Israeli national anthem, played on restored violins owned by Jews during the Holocaust".

Also, these are the main discourse excerpts that indicate to the Anti-Semitism that are committed by the Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims. "Anti-Semitic attacks continue with SEVEN arson attacks in New York City at Jewish schools and synagogues.", "If you're going to be a racist, anti-Semite". In addition, what was mentioned in the first theme about the Palestinian terrorism against Israelis and Jews is an important component of Anti-Semitic. The major message embedded in the discourse of the Israel Lobby

pertains to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is equating the Palestinians to the German Nazis. Both of them are the Jews' enemy.

In the same context, the main aim of introducing the Holocaust and anti-Semitic narrative in the Lobby's discourse in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is to mark who stands against hate and attacks Jews and Israelis as anti-Semitism, i.e. similar with the Nazis. The commemoration for the Holocaust is beneficial for two reasons: first, to get the international sympathy and solidarity of the Jews and Israel. Second, Holocaust and anti-Semitic narrative have a negative meaning in the minds of the international and American community. Meanwhile, Palestinians do not deny the Holocaust, and they are against anti-Semitic people that target Jews because of their religious affiliations. Palestinians are only against the state of Israel because it occupies their lands, and the Zionist movement's political ideology negate this idea (Litvak & Webman, 2003).

Religious Emotion and Discourse



Figure 15: Religious discourse published by the Israel Lobby in the U.S.

The third theme is related to the religious discourse which targets the religious fervor of the audience. As the Figure above shows, a prayer to save Jews as they are the chosen ones and also the holy people as reported in Torah.

Here are the main discourse excerpts that relate to religious fervor and discourse, "The lighting of the Menorah at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, at Sundown on the first day of Chanukah"; "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob keeps his promises to his people"; "Jerusalem belongs to Israel, more importantly Jerusalem belongs to the God of Israel"; "We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord

to be with us."; "May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America"; "We stand with our Jewish brothers and sisters now and always"; "We remember and pray"; "The LORD loves justice. He will never leave his faithful all alone. They are guarded forever"; "murdered just because they were Jewish"; "Israel gathered for prayer at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. They asked for forgiveness"; "the upcoming Jewish new year"; "Shana Tova!"; "Christians in China need our prayers."; "#pleasepray"; "'all the nations will recognize God's glory' Prophecy is real. Prophecy is alive. Prophecy, is happening NOW!"; "The Passover Seder is an ancient Jewish tradition that serves as a reminder of the Jews' freedom from slavery and journey to their homeland"; "All Jews must die"; "May his memory be a blessing."; "in New York City at Jewish schools and synagogues"; "UWI mourns the senseless slaughter of Jews at prayer yesterday in a Pittsburgh synagogue".

The Lobby's discourse focuses on the use of "Jews/Jewish" more than "Israel/Israelis" which reflects the intention to show the religious part of Israel. Also, it uses Jewish religious terms such as Shana Tova! Menorah, Chanukah, Passover Seder. The discourse talks about the brotherhood of the Jews and takes quotations from Torah. This usage aims at embedding messages, such as God is standing with Israel and he protects it with the people who is against Palestinians. In addition, it also means that world should support Jews. The Israel and Jews are the people of God who should be treated well all over the world. In the same context, this use of religious discourse attracts publics and Lobby's followers because it is related to their traditions, childhood, and facets of the organized religion which they are used to. All of these happen in their unconscious minds.

National and Patriot Emotion



Figure 16 shows the playing of the Israeli anthem 'Hatikvah' in Jerusalem in the Holocaust Memorial Day

The fourth theme that the Israel Lobby's discourse discussed is related to the national and patriot emotion which was stated numerous times within the Lobby's discourse through the national events and celebrations. As the Figure 16 above shows, this celebration in Jerusalem is the Holocaust Memorial Day which is the concert called "Hatikvah", the Israeli national anthem.

Here are the main discourse excerpts that indicate to the National and patriot emotion, "And we stand together as a nation fighting terror and evil."; "Happy holidays to all-- no matter how you celebrate!"; "where the Prime Minister is participating in the menorah ceremony", "today they persevere celebrating the miracle of light"; "It's going to be an amazing Independence Day in Israel!!!!"; "British, Greek, and Italian Planes to Salute Israel During 70th Anniversary Celebrations"; "Israel will soon be

celebrating its 70 birthday!"; "CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM!"; "On this historic day show Israel's eternal capital support"; "Amazing group of 3,000 Israelis - Jews, Muslims and Christians - all singing together 'One day!"; "thousands of people from all around Israel gathered for prayer at the Western Wall in Jerusalem"; "Amazing!! America stands in solidarity with Israel. #StandforIsrael"; "National Night to Honor Israel, CUFI Summit 2018"; "we end the day with 'HaTikvah,' HOPE".

The national celebration aspect of the Israel Lobby's discourse that appears in the quotations above indicates the intention of the Lobby to show Israel as a mature state by portraying its history, civilization, national symbols such as the flag and national anthem. Also, this national emotion attracts and affects publics around the world, and a numerous number of them wish they had their own national and patriot emotion. This makes the Jews feel accomplished.

Israel and the U.S. Relationship



Figure 17: UWI celebrate the moving of the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem



Figure 18: Post by CUFI includes pray to bless Israel and the U.S. by Netanyahu

The relationship between Israel and United States of America is a crucial theme discussed within the Israel Lobby's discourse because the most important political ideology of the Israel Lobby is to get the support of the common American as well as that of the political office holders. As the above figures show, the Lobby tries to show U.S. and Israel as one political body and ally. The Israeli prime minister prays for Israel and America in the same sentence. In addition, the way that the word "JerUSAlem" is written indicates how much Israel appreciates the moving of the U.S. its embassy to Jerusalem and, recognizes as the eternal Jewish capital of the Israel state.

Here are the main sentences that portray the aforementioned, "CELEBRATE THE US EMBASSY MOVE TO JERUSALEM!"; "On behalf of the U.S. president we welcome you officially and for the first time to the embassy of the U.S. here in Jerusalem, capital of Israel."; "Here is message for America: don't ever turn your back to Israel, because God turn his back on us"; "May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America."; "Amazing!! America stands in solidarity with Israel."; "Who is responsible for the embassy move to Jerusalem? Trump? Netanyahu? Americans? Christians?"; "an American-Israeli journalist was brutally murdered"; "an Israeli-American, an active and avid lover of Israel".

It is evident from these sentences that the Israel Lobby uses this theme continuously to strengthen the relationship between Israel and the U.S. at all levels.

World Silence and Israel Support

The Israel Lobby's discourse focuses on two main components that falls under this theme. The first one is to blame the world for their silence to the crimes committed against Jews and Israelis and ask the American people and the whole world to support and stand for Israel. The discourse of silence targets the U.N. and its decisions not to support Israel. It also targets its works to those in favor of the enemies of Israel. Also, it targets the U.S. and international media when they don't condemn the Palestinian terror, especially the terror that comes from Gaza.

The discourse is expressed in these sentences, "Israel has been under attack by Hamas kites of terror. Over 20 fires EVERY DAY! ... and the world? Silent."; "The Gaza riots made international headlines but terrorists' firebombs creating an environmental

disaster in Israel has been met with silence — but they will demonize the Jewish state when Israel is forced to defend herself."; "Israel is crying out. The world must hear Israel's pain - and break its silence."; "The mainstream media continues to HIDE THE TRUTH!!! Why is no US media outlet sharing the attacks happening in Southern Israel!?!?!? The Palestinian terrorists MUST STOP!!"; "How can the U.N. fail to pass a resolution against a terrorist organization, yet pass 83 resolutions against Israel last year alone?"; "the U.N. for their hypocrisy on Israel"; "These Jewish refugees from Arab lands—whose suffering and losses the U.N. has never addressed"; "I have come straight from the Gaza front line to share my assessment. Based on what I observed, I can say that everything we just heard here is a complete distortion of the truth."; "At the recent U.N. lynching of Israel, Nikki Haley dared to speak the truth".

This theme aims at letting the audience think about the contradiction of the U.N., international and the U.S. media that it cannot help Israel even they make decision in the U.N. in favor of the Palestinian, and the media that covered Palestinian internal issues. The discourse criticizes this part that does not totally support Israel. Hence, the Lobby blames these sides and those who are silent towards the Palestinian terrorism and makes them feel responsibility for each single Israeli injured or killed. This also leads us to the second direction of this theme requests support for Israel, and here are the main sentences that indicate that;

"Get the truth out and demand action. Stop Hamas.org"; "Go to IsraelIsUnderAttack.com and demand an end to Palestinian terror"; "We encourage our supporters to do something to bring light into the world, as it is the only way to combat this terrible darkness."; "show Israel's eternal capital support and SIGN the

Jerusalem Declaration NOW!"; "Send your sympathies to the survivors of the Pittsburgh shooting. Show your support"; "If you stand with Israel, take action"; "we stand together as a nation fighting terror and evil"; "we will NEVER forget them. If you stand with Israel, take action"; "TIP is standing with Israel, will you? Donate now"; "America stands in solidarity with Israel"; "#StandforIsrael"; "We collectively mourn his loss together with all of Israel and with all people of good faith".

This direction tells the Americans and the followers that the only way to bring light to the world's darkness is to support Israel. This direction requests for numerous types of support, for instance, financial support, social media support, support from ordinary people, and official support from the government and politicians. All this is geared towards getting the U.S. audience to support Israel and this act is not just a favor, but it's a duty. This informs the idea that Israel has the right to defend herself and to continue the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Humanization of the Israel and Jews Issues



Figure 19: Israeli children hide from a Palestinian rocket

This theme is one of the most important themes of the Israel Lobby's discourse. It is intended to humanize the issues of the Jews and Israelis in order to exploit the audience emotions to get sympathy, solidarity, and support. In this theme, the Lobby tries to show the humanistic side of the ordinary Israeli people during the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As seen in the Figure above, the children of an Israeli family tried to find a safe location to stay and hide from the Palestinian rockets targeting them. They hide their head in the stairwell. It is a very emotional image. The caption insults and criminalizes Palestinians who forced them to be in this situation.

These are direct quotations from the Israel Lobby's discourse that let us think and feel in a humanity way towards the Jews and Israeli issues, as it can be seen in the following, "HEARTBREAKING!! These brave children", "No child should have to grow up like this!", "'Don't be afraid, I'm with you,' Israeli child says in bomb shelter", "Heartbreaking: 4 children will never see their daddy again...4 children will miss their father forever.", "This video is heartbreaking!!", "We remember and pray for the families who are without loved ones today because of 9/11.", "6 million men, women and children murdered", "Men, women, and children all banded together and fought. Not for their lives. But for the dignity of the Jewish spirit.", "The Israeli father, explained to the media that he 'simply carried my flag and wanted to enjoy the game with my family and they attacked me like animals'", "Tragically murdered: Ari Fuld, a 45-year-old husband and father of 4", "Our thoughts, prayers and love are with you.", "there is a story, there is a life, there is loved ones left behind", " Hamas has money or 500 rockets a day aiming to kill Israeli civilians?", "fired by terrorists in Gaza at Israeli civilians. 3 injured".

This discourse focuses on showing human emotions by highlighting the following kinds of stories; family, love, lives, women, children, life stories, father etc. These kinds of stories touch the heart of the audience; hence their unconscious mind is tampered with. They do this vilify Palestinians, compare them to Nazi, and seek sympathy for Jews and Israelis.

Israel and Jews in the Victim's Status



Figure 20: Post shows Israeli children hiding from Palestinian rockets



Figure 21: Post shows solidarity with the Pittsburgh victims

The Israel Lobby's discourse focuses on the usage of the word "victim" and related words such as "murder" when they talk about the attacks against Jews and Israeli all around the world. The word victim indicates injustice, and victims are always innocent and doing the right thing. Also, it indicates that someone attacked, killed, and murdered them without a rational reason, which always attracts the sympathy and solidarity of people. As a result, people stand with the victims regardless of the side of the conflict they are on. In addition, the above figures show names of victims of the Pittsburgh attack. This is to show that Jews are targeted, and they are the victim of the Islamic hate. And the other figure shows how much it is heartbreaking to see a little child hide from the Palestinian rockets despite he is innocent.

The following sentences stress the discussed; "The victims of the Pittsburgh attack have been named"; "If we held a moment of silence for every victim of the Holocaust we would be silent for eleven and a half years."; "We remember the 11 victims who were killed by blind hate"; "May their memory of the victims be forever a blessing", "we remember the 2,978 victims murdered by terrorists."; "a terrorist organization that seeks the destruction of Israel and murder of Jews everywhere"; "Israel comes to halt to mark Yom Ha Shoah"; "to remember the 6 million Jews murdered by the Nazis."; "men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish"; "American-Israeli journalist was brutally murdered in the first horrific attack"; "Tragically murdered"; "Israel is under attack"; "Nature reserve destroyed animals suffocate and burned to death"; "an environmental disaster in Israel has been met with silence"; "This video is heartbreaking!!".

This narrative humanizes the Jews and Israelis but this discourse and the previous one does not mention any of what happened in the Palestinian side and how Israeli air force attacks the Palestinian families and cities etc., hence the discourse of the Israel Lobby is completely biased in favor of faulty.

4.2 Sociopolitical Context Analysis (Macro Level)

This second section of the analysis examines the Israel Lobby's discourse in a larger-scale to demonstrate the social and political context that "represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant to the production or comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk, 2006a, p. 356), and expresses the power relations, hegemony, ideologies. This influences the discourse, and it is deemed beyond the words of the Lobby's discourse. In addition, this section explains the overall functions and consequences of the Israel Lobby in the society. This part presents an analysis for the (representation of the Palestinian-Israel conflict, power and hegemony, and ideology within the Israel Lobby's discourse).

4.2.1 Representation of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Primarily, the discourse of the Israel Lobby is about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This part aims to reveal the representation of the Israel Lobby's discourse and its role in the continuation of the conflict. To get a clear image about the representation, the researcher categorizes the main players of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in four aspects; (1) Jews and Israel (2) Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims. (3) Jerusalem, and (4) The United States of America.

Representation of Jews and Israel

Jews are the main national and religious group that the Israel Lobby's discourse focuses on because in the first place, Jews created Israel, and America hosts the largest and

most powerful Jews across the world. Americans are also part of the audience that the Lobby targets in its discourse on Facebook. Generally, the Lobby represents Jews who control and dominate the Lobby's discourse in a positive way. In addition, they are also represented in a sympathetic way; that is, they are suffering from the injustice of others.

Positive representation of Jews clearly appears in the Lobby's discourse and its embedded messages. This is simply for the audience are meant to believe that Jews will bring the light to the world, and they are the people of the God whom God has chosen by Himself. They are the holy people that God has sent to establish Israel in his holy land. Also, the Jews are brave and they will fight for their destiny and for the good against evil. This is seen here, "We encourage our supporters to do something to bring light into the world, as it is the only way to combat this terrible darkness.", "Prophecy, is happening NOW!", "The god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob keeps his promises to his people", "heroically fought back, chasing after the terrorist and shooting him before collapsing.", "Jewish people's fight for survival by".

In the same context, Jews are represented as a victim, and they are humanized. The discourse intends to show how much Jews suffer from terrorists' attacks, and they are still suffering from the Holocaust. The discourse embedded messages, such as Jews are innocent people, and they were subjected to injustice, inhuman and unacceptable attacks from Palestinians against them. They suffered a lot, and they deserve to have their own state with support of the whole world. This is not too much to ask for, they claim. The Jews must be respected because of their noble role in the world. And of course, Jews get the American support and sympathy which means that they get the

support of the most powerful country in the world. These are some of the Lobby's discourse, "If we held a moment of silence for every victim of the Holocaust we would be silent for eleven and a half years.", "We remember the 11 victims who were killed by blind hate", "May their memory of the victims be forever a blessing", "men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish".

Israel was represented repeatedly within the Lobby's discourse. The focus of the discourse is to portray Israel in a positive way just like the Jews are represented. In addition, the Lobby's discourse represents it as the Jewish state, as seen here, "demonize the Jewish state when Israel is forced to defend herself", and as the home of the Jews, such as "The first ever Birthright Israel group from UGANDA has landed in Ben Gurion airport in Israel. Welcome Home!". The meaning of this is that Israel is an ethnic and religious country for one nation, and the Palestinians and the Arabs are not included in this nation, which threatens the lives of 1.8 million Palestinians who are staying inside Israel.

Israel is represented as the spokesperson for the Jews. It commemorates and celebrates all Jewish occasion, as seen here, "remembrance of those lives lost, Israel will stop and remember.", "Jews murdered by the Nazis. Israel represents the biggest defeat for", "incredible video from Yom HaShoah, Israel came to a complete standstill", "Today is Israel's Holocaust Memorial Day. ", "people from all around Israel gathered for prayer". Also, it indicates that Israeli is an independent and civilized country which the whole world should accept. They do not think about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by questioning the legitimacy of Israel, as seen here "an amazing Independence Day in Israel!!!", "British, Greek, and Italian Planes to Salute Israel During 70th

Anniversary Celebrations". Israel has power to defend itself and threat the enemies, "Think twice before messing again with Israel! ", "Israel Will Never Surrender to Terror". The Israel Lobby's discourse intends to show the American support for it, which could be a good sign for other countries to support Israeli just like the U.S.

In the same context, the discourse indicates that God protects Israel and stands with anyone that stands with Israel and rebukes those that stands against Israel, as seen here "We cannot turn our back on Israel and expect the Lord to be with us.". In addition to, Israel is the state which fights the evil and terrorism, it needs the whole world support, and it is the victim of the Palestinian terrorism, "Israel Under Attack", "Gaza burn 6,200 acres in Israel. School hit, farms burn.", "creating an environmental disaster in Israel has been met with silence", "house directly hit in south Israel. Hamas is leading the area". The discourse tells that Israel has a pain every day because the world did not support it totally to stop the Palestinians, such as "The world must hear Israel's pain - and break", "Israel is crying out.".

Also, the discourse indicates that Israel is the best destination for Jews and tourists for the best experience for history in the world. These people also support Israel against evil and terrorism during their visits, as seen here "holiday and its ties to Israel with this guide", "The first ever Birthright Israel group from UGANDA has landed in Ben Gurion airport in Israel", "an opportunity to go to Israel for a few months and", "Roseanne Barr is Moving to Israel". in addition to, Israel creates something good for the world, Israelis has numerous achievements in the medical and industrial fields and it works on medicine for cancer, "A revolutionary cancer treatment is about to change the world - all thanks to Israel!", "the world - all thanks to Israel!".

The Israel Lobby's discourse mostly used Israeli and Jews or pro-Israel and Jews sources of information and news. They also use the Torah. The usage of pronouns presents Israel and Jews in a positive and domineering manner in the discourse, as they are mostly portrayed as in group. The use of modals in the Lobby's discourse reflects the attitude of the lobby; they stand with Israelis and Jews all over the world, especially the ones who are willing to sympathize with their homeland and condemn the attacks on it. The adverb is simply used to simplify the issue, for example, the injustice, hatred, and victimization of the Jews, such as "Daniel was murdered in Pakistan while pursuing a story, simply because he was Jewish".

Most of positive verbs and adjectives are used in favor of Jews and Israel are; Love, support, celebrate, donate, lived, stand, breath, built, encourage, endured, enjoy, grow, hope, thriving, pray, rise etc.). And for adjectives; great, prayers, faithful, eternal, supporter, survivors, anniversary, heroic, historic etc.).

Representation of the Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims

Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims were classified within the Israel Lobby's discourse as one side. The Lobby believes they think alike, and they have the same thoughts, views and ideologies towards the Jews and Israel. This also was discussed in the pronouns' usage. This side was represented in a negative way. They were represented as the enemy of the first and dominant group. And in many of their discourse, they omit anything positive about the Palestinians and Arabs. All these negative verbs and adjectives are used within the Lobby's discourse to talk about what the Palestinians and Muslims and their atrocities; for verbs, they used, attack, murdered, hate, killed, shoots, bomb, hit, deny, stabbed, armed, break, burned, collapsing, threat, destroyed,

violating etc. For negative adjectives, they use terrorist, anti-Semitic, armed, not eligible, heartwarming, horrific, terrible, wicked, worst. They also use adverbs, clauses, capital letters, tone etc.

The major Lobby's discourse point towards the Palestinians and Arabs is represented as follows, "demand an end to Palestinian terror.", "terrorists MUST STOP!! This video is heartbreaking!!", " the supermarket when a teenage Palestinian terrorist suddenly stabbed him ". and the good Palestinian and Arabic people who stands with Israel and help Israelis, " Brave and heroic Palestinian who saved the lives of 5 orthodox Jews who entered Hebron by mistake". In addition to, the Lobby's discourse incites against the Palestinians and their U.N. aids "Palestinians are the only population in the world not eligible for services by the U.N. refugee agency". Also, most of the videos show the Palestinian attacks on an Israeli area. But there are no videos or photos showing far worse attacks from Israeli attacks to the Palestinian areas and people.

In the same vein, Palestinians and Muslims are haters and anti-Semitism as seen here, " We remember the 11 victims who were killed by blind hate.", " Let's unite against hate!", "anti-Semitic attacks continue with SEVEN arson attacks in New York City at Jewish schools and synagogues", "If you're going to be a racist, anti-Semite...". And it is evident according the representation of Jews and Israel that the Palestinians work against the God well, God will not stand with them, and they will be the losers of the Palestinian-Israel conflict. Also, Palestinians acting as the thieves of the Jews and Israelis lives and happiness, " 4 children will never see their daddy again for the rest of their lives.", " Our lives now are going to have to take a different path, one that we thought would not happen for a long time."

However, the discourse represents Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims as monsters who kill their own people, as seen in the following, " Hamas... deliberately caused over 60 of its own people to get killed...". And animals who attack everyone according to their nationality and religion, "who instigated the attack started to scream "Palestine" at the Israeli family "I simply carried my flag and wanted to enjoy the game with my family and they attacked me like animals", "after a gunman opened fire at a Pittsburgh synagogue while shouting, "All Jews must die". Also, the Arabic army jus used to invade the innocent and weak Jewish state in the past decades "during the invasion of nascent Israel by Arab armies."

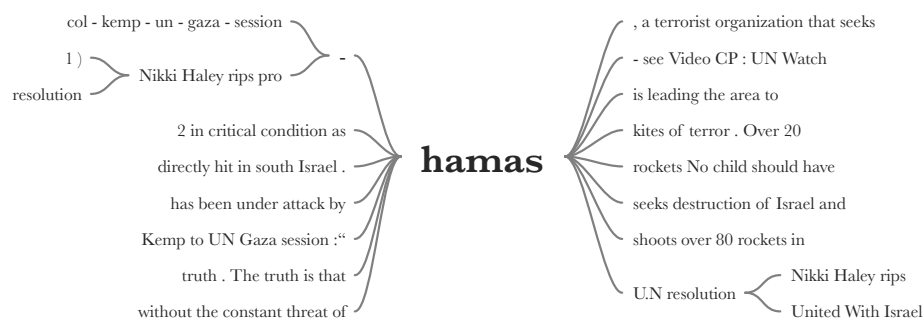


Figure 22: Representation of Hamas within the Israel Lobby's discourse

As the above Figure shows, Gaza Strip, a Palestinian territory and Hamas, a political party were represented repeatedly within the Lobby's discourse as the source of terrorism and attacks against Israel. These are the direct sentences that are used within the discourse "the truth is that Hamas, a terrorist organization that seeks the destruction of Israel and murder of Jews everywhere", "These brave children have never known life without the constant threat of Hamas rockets", "Hamas kites of terror.", " Hamas shoots over 80 rockets in 30 minutes towards Israel ", " Firebomb kites from Gaza burn

6,200 acres in Israel.", " 80+ rockets fired from Gaza. Kindergarten playground hit.", " Over 170 rockets and mortars fired by terrorists in Gaza at Israeli civilians".

After all this narration and representation of the Palestinians within the Israel Lobby's discourse in U.S., it is evident that the discourse is completely biased in favor of Israeli side and across numerous of the discourse, and the truths and facts of the Palestinian side were intentionally omitted. The discourse did not mention any of the Israeli air strikes in Gaza strip; strikes that killed dozens of citizens. They also do not report how numerous Palestinians are in the Israeli jails. They fail to mention the political and economic sage that Israeli subjects to Gaza. This has caused Palestinians to have only six hours of electricity per day. These and numerous other issues that deserve to be mentioned from the humanitarian point of view are ignored.

The Representation of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is an important city in the Palestinian Israeli conflict. It's a city with a political and religious significance, and it appeared within the Israel Lobby's discourse numerous times. The Israelis claim that the city is their eternal capital that God promises them. The city is the seat of their fantasized historical temple which does not exist in reality. They have the historical right to occupy Jerusalem, and no one can deny that. The U.S. validated this right when president Trump declared that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel and decided to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

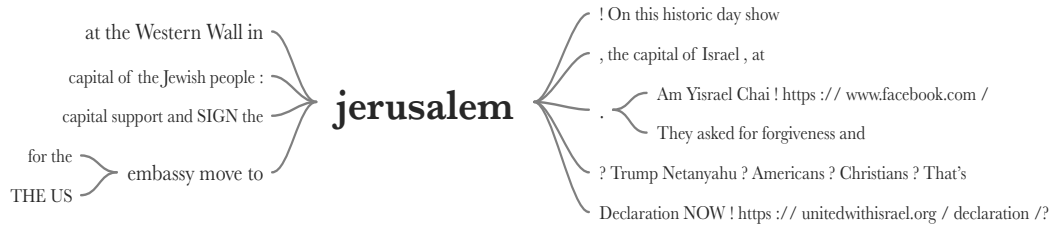


Figure 23: Representation of Jerusalem within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Jerusalem is represented as the Israeli capital that the political and religious occasions and celebrations hold in it. It is the holy city that God promises Jew, and they have to save it. Also, the prominent event in this representation is moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, "On behalf of the U.S. president we welcome you officially and for the first time to the embassy of the U.S. here in Jerusalem, capital of Israel." The audience's perceptions of this representation tell them that this is the eternal capital of Jerusalem, and no one can deny that.

Representation of United States of America

The U.S image is represented within the Israel Lobby's discourse in a positive way to appreciate their support for Israel and Jews, as seen here, "Amazing!! America stands in solidarity with Israel." This post is published to reinforce the idea that U.S. is the strongest ally of Israel. It is expressed that Israel and U.S. are the same; same goals, country and similar interests. This is seen in the word "JerUSAlem" is written.

The U.S. is also supported by God to be the strongest country, and this is based on the conviction that it is working in accordance of the teachings of God. The Lobby's discourse represents Israel in this case as the "spoiled child" of the U.S. in the Middle East, "Here is message for America: don't ever turn your back to Israel, because God turn his back on us", "On behalf of the U.S. president we welcome you officially... in

Jerusalem, capital of Israel." This shows how much Israel is thankful for the U.S. because it moved its embassy to Jerusalem and recognized it as the eternal Jewish capital of the Israel state.

In the same context, the discourse intends to represent the pain of the U.S. as the pain of Israel. Both states are portrayed as they are suffering from the Islamic and Palestinian terrorism attacks. This is drawn from the Memorial Day of 11th September attack. Israel and the Jews stand in solidarity with U.S., and they pray for the victims of the attack. Also, the discourse defines numerous of the victims as American-Israeli to make it as shared struggle between America and Israel, as seen here, "an American-Israeli journalist was brutally murdered", In addition to, the Israelis are praying for the U.S. to stay strong and protected from the terrorism, "May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America."

The aim of the Israel Lobby from this representation is to strengthen the relationship between Israel and the U.S. at all levels and to keep getting the support at all times. Also, one of the elements that informs this theme of the Lobby's discourse is the attacks on churches across the world.

In conclusion, this representation is directed to the Americans (Jews and Christians). Some of them are Americans who have political and religious interests, politicians, presidency staff, and pro-Israel supporters around the world. The discourse in its representations focused on human values, such as humanity, nationality, patriotic, religious, and Jewish values. The Lobby shows a completely biased representation in favor of the Israeli side of the conflict. It shows Jews, Israel, and the U.S. in a positive

way, and on the other hand, Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims as the source of terrorism and anti-Semitism. This is expressed in the political, religious ideology of the Israel Lobby and its discourse towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The Lobby's discourse represents the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as a religious conflict which is not correct because the conflict is a political one. In addition, it represents the conflict as a clash of civilizations between the western civilization based on the Christian-Jewish heritage and the Islamic civilization that the Palestinians represent.

4.2.2 Power and Hegemony within the Israel Lobby's Discourse

The Israel Lobby's discourse shows clearly the powerful and hegemonic sides that controls the direction of the discourse and the followers' minds. Firstly, the Zionist and Jewish people's interest shapes and construct the Lobby's discourse. Secondly, the American social power has its impact on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These are the political sides that the Lobby's discourse considers and tries to get their satisfaction and sympathy. In addition, the weak social power groups that are represented within the discourse are Palestinians, Hamas, Gaza, Iran, Hezbollah, German Nazis, and all of them were always represented negatively. The power of relations in the Lobby's discourse reveals the political and social relations that the Lobby works with (such as media institutions, NGO's, and U.S. politicians) in order to get the American's support and consensus. This is consistent with Gramsci's (1971) argument who argues that;

popular consensus, along with coercive power, enables one social group or class to rule a multi-cultural society as people are driven to embrace the ideologies that are controlling them. Powerful social groups seek to normalize their discourse by controlling institutions that generate discourse, such as the media, school, and religious institutions, which serve as tools to sustaining hegemony in a society (Alhumaidi, 2013, p. 74).

This practice of power and dominance within the Israel Lobby's discourse does not have democratic rules that represent the two sides of the conflict equally or work for human, social values and goals, that no one has problem with. However, the Lobby's works for one interest to serve one side of the conflict to win over the minds of the common man and evidently, to get support from superpowers around the world.

The Lobby realized the impact of individuals on the social groups (Americans and Jews). This helps the Lobby to use individuals and public influential figures to engineer the audience's consent. This is explained in the following Table below with names, description and affiliation with the Israel Lobby.

Table 21: Individual and political relations within the Israel Lobby's discourse

Name	Description & Relationship
Benjamin Netanyahu	The Israeli prime minister.
John Hagee	Founder and pastor of Cornerstone Church in Texas. He is the National Chairman and founder of the "Christian-Zionist organization Christians United for Israel".
Mike Pence	An American politician serves as a vice president of the U.S.
Erick Stakelbeck	Director of "Christians United for Israel" (CUFI), and Journalist who covers the national security and Middle East affairs in-depth.
Lindsey Graham	A Republican U.S. politician serves as Senator from South Carolina. Since 2019, he serves a Chair of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.
Ivanka Trump	The daughter of the U.S. President Donald Trump, businesswoman, and politician serves as Advisor to the President. Ivanka is the first Jewish member of a First Family, has a Jewish husband, Jared Kushner.
Joe Stein Sharyn Stein and Leigh Stein.	A family member who lost their father in the attack on the Jewish church in Pittsburgh.
Frank Sinatra	An American musical artists, singer and actor, one of the most popular and influential of the 20th century. He was aa Israeli agent awarded by the Los Angeles Jewish Community in 1949.
Itamar Ben Gal	who was stabbed to death, leaves behind four children, worked as a middle school teacher.

Yael Eckstein	The president of the "International Fellowship of Christians and Jews", U.S. and Israel.
Ari Fuld	the 45-year-old was stabbed to death.
Niki Haley	A republican American politician who served as U.S. ambassador to the U.N. from 2017 to 2018, she is an Israeli supporter.
Joseph Waks	American Jewish designer and supporter for Israel
Daniel Pearl	An American-Israeli journalist was murdered in a terrorist attack in U.S.
Hillel Neuer	A Canadian international lawyer, and the executive director of U.N. Watch. An Israeli newspaper chosen him as one of the "top 100 most influential Jewish people in the world".
Richard Kemp	A retired British Army officer and a contributor to publications such as The Sun, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Daily etc. He is an Israeli supporter.
The victims of Pittsburgh attack	Joyce Feinberg, Rich Gotfried, Rose Malinger, Jerry Rabinowitz, Cecil Rosenthal, David Rosenthal, Bernica Simon, Sylvan Simon, Daniel Stein, Melwin Wax, Ining Youngner.
Roseanne Barr	An American comedian, actress, and writer, was born in 1952 to a Jewish family and she won Emmy and a Golden Globe Award. Recently visited Israel.

It is important to note that the individuals and social groups that are represented within the Lobby's discourse are Jews, American-Jewish, Israelis, Americans who are pro-Israel, pro-Israel British, and pro-Israel Canadians. Individuals and collectives, such as NGOs organization, belong to the Israel lobby, U.S. politicians who are influential in the American society, journalists, writers, and media owners who influence the public opinion, signers and actors who are public figures and have huge number of followers, fans, churches, legal system etc. use their soft power to engineer the public within the American society. This shows that the Lobby also has access to the core of the U.S. which is the social, political and governmental aspect of the society.

The aim of the Israel Lobby's discourse in name calling of these influential individuals is, first, enhancing and strengthening the ideas of the discourse through confidential sources. Second, the aim is to construct a solid narrative to support the Israeli and

Zionist narrative of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on religion and the politics. Third, it seeks to show how the support of Israel spreads across the American society (The common man and the political office holders). Fourth, getting the Americans to sympathize with the victims of the conflict and their families. Fifth, mobilizing American public and social groups especially the Christians to support the Israeli and Zionist narrative of the conflict. Sixth, the aim is to encourage Americans and Jews to visit and stay in Israel. They do this by covering the other public figures' experience during their visit to Israel.

The discourse of the Lobby is an engineered discourse because it controls the audience attitudes and opinions and direct them to support the powerful side of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They do this by accusing and attacking everyone who opposes their narrative. This leads to the restriction of the freedom, actions and speech of Americans because when they say anything because against the majority, they will be attacked by media. This hegemonic discourse works to manufacture consensus, consent, acceptance, and legitimacy towards the whole Zionist narrative of the conflict. The Lobby needs work tirelessly to oppose, silent or change the people who oppose them. Engineering the publics consent is against the core statement of democracy and this attitude also questions the image of the U.S. Democratic. This also raises a moral and humanitarian question regarding how the Palestinians are treated.

The discourse of the Lobby is structured specifically to affect the unconscious mind of Americans and Jews. This is done by way of focusing on traditions, religious emotions, historical background, humanitarian emotion, provoking the feelings sympathy, sadness, happiness, fear, blame, bravery, solidarity etc. These Lobby's pages convey

the ideology of Israel and Jewish agenda to engineer the American's belief system. This make Americans dismiss contestations or views of Palestinians.

4.2.3 Israel Lobby's Ideology toward the Palestinian-Israel Conflict

The analysis of the system of ideas within the Israel Lobby's discourse reveals a clear ideology that the Lobby uses as a weapon to achieve specific goals that they share with Americans and Jews. It is evident that the Lobby's discourse is conservative, and they use the strategy to emphasize positivity, and de-emphasize negativity for the in-group that are Jews, Israelis, and Americans. In addition, they emphasize negativity, and de-emphasized positivity for the out-group that are Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims.

The main ideology of the Israel Lobby emerges from the discourse that is related to the history of Jews and motivations of the Zionist movement, especially the establishment of the national state for Jews. They want to liberate Jews from anti-Semitism, injustice, and oppression in Europe, especially from German Nazi regime. Hence to achieve that, the national state has to be outside of Europe so that Jews can have a new beginning and a home they call theirs. For them, the greatest revenge against Nazism and the Holocaust is to build a strong Jewish state to keep the Jewish nation alive and thriving. And this state "Israel" should be the destination of all Jews. Numerous sentences within the Lobby's discourse connects the forenamed. For example, "The first ever Birthright Israel group from UGANDA has landed in Ben Gurion airport in Israel. Welcome Home!", "In memory of 6 million men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish".

It is notable that the Lobby's discourse reflects the superiority and purity of the Jews, they are different from other people, they are the people who are chosen from God to

serve him, and to fix the earthly problems. This belief helps Jews to create a united front and fight to validate this idea. For example, "The god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob keeps his promises to his people".

In a similar vein, the bravery and courage of the Jews are one of their major trademarks which are given to them to fight the Nazi and the Palestinians. This value is reflected in the Lobby's discourse. For example, "Did everything he could to make sure the Jewish state thrived-- but he did it his way."; " The 45-year-old war hero chased down the terrorist and shot him before taking his final breath."; " Men, women, and children all banded together and fought. Not for their lives. But for the dignity of the Jewish spirit".

The adjective anti-Semitism means that others propel hate against Jews because Jews were chosen from the Sam's offspring (the big son of the prophet Noah), which the Zionist movement exploits to unite Jews and to defend themselves as a nation and as a united front. Any person who is deeming anti-Semitic is seen as undemocratic, uneducated, racist, inhuman, and terrorists who criticize Israel (Nasser, 2017). Also, the term widens the gap between Jews and Muslims by accusing Muslims, Palestinians and Arabs as anti-Semites. As Nasser (2017) rightly said, Palestinians and Arabs do not have problem with the Jews, they only do have problem with the Zionist movement and the fact that Israel is occupying their land.

This discourse conveys messages to the Jews who are staying outside Israel especially in the U.S, and those who still oppose the idea of the creation of Israel and consider it contrary to what God wrote in Torah. This people practice auto anti-Semitism because

they condemn the crimes that Israel commit against the Palestinians. They believe that the Zionist movement changed the contexts of the Torah verses to serve their political ideology and by extension, create Israel. The Lobby believes that creating Israeli and thriving it is a priority and something that should live in the mind, ideology and doctrine of the Jews' (Mansour et al., 2011).

The idea of uniting Jews is embedded a good number of times within the Zionism Lobby's discourse, one tool that is used in this regard is creating a shared enemy for all Jews. Hence, If Jews want to feel liberated and be truly freed, they have to fight the shared enemy in a united front. This enemy also helps Jews to earn sympathy from Americans. As seen in the following examples, "for every person that lost their life yesterday in Pittsburgh there is a story, there is a life, there is loved ones left behind.", "we stand together as a nation fighting terror and evil.", " Let's unite against hate!".

The Israel Lobby's discourse applied engineering approach that considers all elements of the discourse. The target audience of the discourse is the Christian Americans whose lifestyles and culture are woven around the Christian traditions. They create the notion that Christians and Jews are closer to each other more than other religions such as the Islam, which apparently is the religion of the Palestinians. This idea came from the fact that the Jewish holy book, the Torah, is considered as a part of the Christians holy book called the "Old Testament" (Levine, 2019). This is why the religion shares similar traditions, religious holidays, and Interests. This is a deliberate move by the Zionist movement to exploit and make America a formidable ally. This is evident in posts which are containing prayers that the Americans and the Jews can relate to. For example, "The Passover Seder is an ancient Jewish tradition that serves as a reminder

of the Jews' freedom from slavery and journey to their homeland.", "May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America." This alliance is based on deeper religious history which was deliberate made by the Zionist movement to sway Americans to keep the Israeli agenda alive.

According to the Lobby's discourse and its social context, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict portrayed as a religious conflict, because they believe Muslims and Palestinians are anti-Semites, which is not right. Indeed, the conflict is political, but the religion was exploited to serve the Zionist political ideologies. In addition, the discourse represents the conflict between the western civilization (Civil, modern and humanitarian) and the Islamic civilization (the extremist and terrorist). Mustafa (2018) said that the Lobby's discourse portrays the conflict as one between "good and evil" and between the civilized world and the underdeveloped world.

The Lobby's discourse focuses on the continuous demanding of support from American in the issue of Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In fact, the Lobby realizes that the idea of creation Israel between 1897-1948 would have been futile if the Zionist movement did not get the support of Britain and America. Even after declaring Israel as an independent and strong state, the Lobby has continued to seek support from these world powers because the narrative still surrounded by "enemies" and anti-Semitic Arabic countries. Americans have continued their support given that there has been no successful peace agreement since the second intifada 2000 until 2019.

In reality, if Israel dose not get support from these big countries, how it can foot the bills of this conflict, ignore United Nations proclamations and continuously get

America to Veto decisions against Israel. The world has been silent for the past seventy years towards the suffering of Palestinians. More questions to ask is; who will work as the Israeli advocate within the negotiations? who will support Israel financially and finance her military endeavors? who will put pressure on the "enemies" (Palestinians) to accept the Israeli conditions, cut their financial support, and deny them their state? So, the main aim of the Lobby's discourse is to get the support of America as well as the world. It is evident that Israel will not stand on its own, especially because it is in the middle of the Middle East and the Arabic world. The Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, stated it clearly within the Lobby's discourse that; "If the Arabs put down their weapons today, there would be no more violence. If the Jews put down their weapons today, there would be no more Israel".

One tool the Israel Lobby uses in getting the political support of countries is to get the support of the everyday people. Everyday people are involved, in numerous cases, in the public office of holders who follow suit. In addition, supporting Israel means criticizing the silence of Americans and international media which do not stand with Israel. In the case of America, supporting Israeli means you have to adopt its narrative, cut financial and diplomatic support for the Palestinians and incite against them. This has been the case for the last three years. As seen here, one of the entries reads, "Palestinians are the only population in the world not eligible for services by the U.N. refugee agency.", " Hamas has money or 500 rockets a day aiming to kill Israeli civilians? Tell me more about the humanitarian crisis in Gaza."

Another important ideology of the Israel Lobby and the Zionist movement is the demonization of the Palestinians and Arabs. This serves as the Jews' primary method

of building a strong state and getting the support of the world. If there are two sides of a conflict, and one of them is repeatedly described as a terrorist, inhuman, and someone that murders people indiscriminately, obviously, the world will stand against them.

Also, the initial idea of the Zionist movement is to find a land without people for Jewish people who are without land; that is, they totally deny the right of Palestinians to be in Palestine (Israel). Demonization of the Palestinians makes them the enemy; Palestinians are blamed for the ongoing conflict. This is what the Lobby's discourse presents.

In fact, all these narratives and constructions about the Palestinians serve two important objectives for the Israel Lobby and Zionist discourse. First, it normalizes the idea of the right of Israel to defend itself, build a military arsenal in order to prevent the happening of a new Holocaust by Palestinians and the Arab world as seen here; "Israel has a responsibility to defend its citizens no matter what the world thinks.". Second, it serves the purpose of justifying all the crimes that were committed against Palestinians and Arabs by Israel. This also changes the core of Palestinian-Israel conflict narrative, and to make this issue as a civilian and humanitarian issue, it is given that Israel create a notion that they are fighting the Palestinian terrorists, animals, and murderers.

One major idea that was embedded in the discourse of the Israel Lobby regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is that the Palestinians are equal with the German Nazis. They portray them as Jews' enemy. The only difference is, they claim, Israel will never let the Palestinians to murder them like the Nazis did. In fact, the Jews history books

show that Jews especially religious Jews hate Arabs, and they say that they do not trust Arabs till 40 years of their death (Ghazal, 2007).

Jerusalem has its own significance within the Israel Lobby's discourse. The Jerusalem narrative is used to strengthen the political and religious relation and doctrine of Jews and Christians in the holy city. The city is used to deny the Islamic impression of it, "The lighting of the Menorah at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, at Sundown on the first day of Chanukah.", "Jerusalem belongs to Israeli, more importantly Jerusalem belongs to the god of Israel". This helps the Israel Lobby's discourse to convince not just Americans but the whole world that Jerusalem is the eternal Jewish capital of Israel. The Lobby has worked for a long time to get the American recognition that Jerusalem is the Jewish capital of Israel which has been accomplished in 2018, "On behalf of the US president we welcome you officially and for the first time to the embassy of the US here in Jerusalem, capital of Israel." This recognition means that the Jews have the historical right to rule and occupy Jerusalem and Palestine and deny the Palestinian right in it, which makes Palestinians the group that is occupying the land that isn't theirs and Israelis the real owners of the land.

The Lobby's discourse focuses on celebrations and memorial days of religious and political occasions that are mostly held in Israel, especially Jerusalem. These political and religious events help to inform and educate people about the Jews history, story, and narrative of Israelis, Jews and Americans. Throughout time, this will become a tradition that people will grow up to know and live by these celebrations and the exaggerated Memorial Day event. This is considered as one of the effective tools which is used to strengthen the national, religious, patriotic stance of Jews and

Americans towards the Jewish issues as seen here, "In memory of 6 million men, women and children murdered just because they were Jewish.", "There are some that deny the holocaust even happened and it's our duty to SHARE and make sure the memory is not forgotten".

The Lobby's discourse reveals that only Jews and Israelis know the truth which is behind the conflict. This makes the general public to think that they are on the right side, as seen here, "The mainstream media continues to HIDE THE TRUTH!!!", "I can say that everything we just heard here is a complete distortion of the truth.", "The truth is that Hamas, a terrorist organization that seeks the destruction of Israel and murder of Jews everywhere", "At the recent U.N. lynching of Israel, Nikki Haley dared to speak the truth.". This also means that everything has been said by Palestinians and other sides of the conflict is wrong and a misleading story.

In conclusion, the ideological discourse of the Israel Lobby reveals that the conflict is not going to end soon because it is based on religious and ideological thoughts which are portrayed by the lobby. The Zionists believe that the Israeli land is not located in the current land of Palestine but other neighboring countries. This means Israel will not stop here or accept any peace treatment including the creation of a Palestinian state, even if some Israeli political parties accept that, the religious and Zionist parties will not. This explains why Israel do not have a clear border and refuse any form of border system because the borders which are proposed by the Zionist movement and religious Jews are different from the political and current borders. They are different variations of borders. So, if there is no intention to change the Israeli political and religious

ideologies, there will not be an end for the conflict at least from the Israeli side (Ghazal, 2007; Mustafa, 2006).

4.3 Use of Engineering of Consent Approach within the Lobby's Discourse

Based on how the Israel Lobby's Facebook pages define themselves and the posts analysis of the present study sample, the following Table explains how the Israel Lobby applied the EOC-steps system to engineer the Americans consent regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Table 22: Use of the EOC steps within the Lobby's Discourse

EOC-Steps	Israel Lobby's Facebook Pages (SWU, UWI, SFI, TIP, CUFI)
Establish and modify goals	<p>SWU: "Fighting anti-Semitism and supporting Israel".</p> <p>UWI: "to foster worldwide unity with the People, Country and Land of Israel and to demonstrate how Israel is a great source of blessing to the world".</p> <p>SFI: "to inform, equip and mobilize individuals and churches to support the State of Israel through prayer and grassroots advocacy initiatives".</p> <p>TIP: "to show the truth about Israel".</p> <p>CUFI: "to provide a national association through every pro-Israel church, Parachurch organization, ministry or individual in America can speak and act with one voice in support of Israel in matters related to Biblical issues".</p> <p>The main and common Israel Lobby's goals for the five mentioned pages are (to convey a persuasive narrative about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to Americans by adopting the Zionist narrative, point of views, and attitudes, to get the American officials and popular Americans to sympathize and support them (economic, political, and military support), to represent the conflict as a religious conflict, and as a clash of civilizations between the western civilization based on the Christian-Jewish heritage and the Islamic civilization).</p> <p>Based on the present sample of study analysis, the mentioned goals were achieved and appeared within the Israel lobby's Facebook pages discourse as the micro and macro level of the analysis explain.</p>

<p>Establish and modify objectives</p>	<p>SWU, UWI, SFI, TIP, CUFI: the main Israel lobby pages objectives are to demonize the Palestinian and out-group image by representing them in a negative way during 2018; such as, (to demonize Palestinians as terrorists, to demonize the Palestinians and equate the Palestinian rebuttals as the same as the Holocaust. Israel is the holy land of Jews and Jerusalem is the Jewish eternal capital of Israel, the superiority and purity of the Jews, anti-Semitism people are undemocratic, uneducated, racist, inhuman people and terrorists who criticize Israel or Jews, portray the Palestinian Israel conflict as a religious conflict, criticize the silence of Americans and the international media, and normalizing the idea that Israel has the right to build a military arsenal to defend itself).</p> <p>Also, the following three pages add for their objectives:</p> <p>UWI: "fighting media bias, BDS and online incitement...To share the miracles of Israel and demonstrate how Israel is a great blessing to the world in the areas of technology, medical advances, agriculture and so much more." During 2018.</p> <p>TIP: "organization dedicated to inform the media and public conversation about Israel" during 2018.</p> <p>CUFI: "to defend Israel against the anti-Semitic BDS movement" during 2018.</p> <p>Based on the present sample of study analysis, the mentioned objectives were achieved or appeared within the Israel lobby's Facebook discourse as the micro and macro level of the analysis explain.</p>
<p>Research publics</p>	<p>According to the Lobby's pages definition and discourse these are the targeted audience segmentation that the pages direct their discourse to:</p> <p>CUFI: "is America's largest and most dependable pro-Israel group with over 7 million members. It aims to educate and build Christian support for Israel throughout America."</p> <p>SWU: "located in the U.S, UK, Canada and Brazil."</p> <p>UWI: "educated class who are pro-Israel."</p> <p>TIP: "international English speakers across the world."</p> <p>SFI: "the advocacy program of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews."</p> <p>The Lobby's pages state that the public and regional places that are mentioned above are the places that the audience are interested in.</p> <p>According to the public segmentation, the researcher identifies the targeted audience information within the five selected pages (SWU, UWI, SFI, TIP, CUFI) as follows:</p> <p>a) Geographical (all states of the U.S. as well as neighboring English-speaking countries like Canada).</p>

	<p>b) Demographic (all sexual orientations and ages; 'male, female, LGBT', young and older people).</p> <p>c) Psychographic (group of leaders and influencers, educated class who are pro-Israel, people who are committed to the values, traditions, and religion (especially to 'Jewish and Christian tradition and values), people who are concerned about the national and religious issues, right-wing people).</p> <p>d) Behavioral (online and tech savvy people, interactive, pro-Israel and natural users, travelers, English speakers across the world).</p>
<p>Plan strategy</p>	<p>SWU: the page "has a continuously growing number of resources which are available to download, print, or order: informs and influences public opinion through social media, print and digital materials, films, weekly newsletters and missions to Israel.", Education is the road to empower and energize students and communities with leadership training and educational programs".</p> <p>UWI: "distributing timely information, initiating pro-Israel advocacy, introducing innovative Israeli products to the global market and donating greatly needed funds money to vital charities, we strive to broaden the worldwide network of Israel, promote the urgency and privilege of standing United with Israel", "Through sharing biblical, historical and political perspectives, we seek to strengthen the deeply rooted connection between the People and Land of Israel."</p> <p>SFI: "providing information about current events and history in Israel, information about the Jewish roots of Christianity, and a place to join the discussion about why you support Israel", providing facts, talking points, and other information as well as educating on effective advocacy methods, preparing individuals to speak out intelligently and confidently in support of the Jewish state. To encourage the expression of opinions and open discussion with Stand for Israel, we have enabled user posting on the wall but asking you if you will respect our user posting guidelines: Violent, obscene, profane, hateful, or racist content will be deleted, and offenders will be blocked from the page without notice. Comments that threaten or defame any person or organization will be deleted and offenders will be blocked from the page without notice. Solicitations, advertisements, or endorsements of any other organizations will be deleted and offenders blocked from the page without notice.</p> <p>TIP: promoting the Jewish people, Israel natural beauty, the strength of the Israeli people, Jerusalem, the threats she faces from Gaza, Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, hatred, anti-Semitism", "It offers real-time background information, images, maps, audio, video, graphics and direct access to newsmakers, organizes press briefings and speaker tours, conference calls and educational trips, supports non-profit journalism, conducts public affairs research and adheres to the highest possible standards of accuracy and reliability."</p> <p>CUFI: educating and building Christian support for Israel throughout America. It is crucial to educate Christians on Biblical and moral imperatives to support Israel and to build Christian</p>

	<p>support for Israel throughout America. "It educates our 7 million members how to communicate pro-Israel perspectives to elected officials. While it is important that we pray for Israel, it is also important that we put feet to our prayers and speak truth to support the need to stand with Israel at this critical juncture in history.", Social Media Policy: "it does not endorse the opinions of any person or entity that comments on this page. Any comment written or content that is uploaded by anyone other than CUFI is the sole responsibility of the submitter. CUFI reserves the right to remove content at CUFI's discretion."</p> <p>It is notable that the strategies of the Lobby's pages are compatible with the mentioned goals and objectives.</p>
<p>Selecting themes and symbols</p>	<p>Main Themes: (Terrorism & anti-Semitism, The Holocaust, Religious Emotion, National Emotion, Israel & US Relationship, World Silence & Support, Humanization, Victim Status). See Figure 12.</p> <p>Main Symbols: (Hatikvah, Yom Hashoah, Menorah, Chanukah, Hanukkah, Shana Tova, Passover Seder, The Israeli Flag). See Table 20.</p>
<p>Blueprint the organization</p>	<p>SWU: the organization has 18 chapters and offices, and most of them are in the U.S."</p> <p>TIP: American educational organization interests in the educational sector.</p> <p>CUFI: "largest pro-Israel organization in the United States with over 7 million members."</p> <p>UWI: "a three million strong global community of pro-Israel activists".</p> <p>SFI: "is the advocacy program of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews."</p> <p>The Israel Lobby has more than 473 organizations in the U.S. (The Israel Lobby Archive, 2008; United Jerusalem, 2015).</p>
<p>Determine timing and plan tactics</p>	<p>SWU: published 950 posts during 2018, i.e. almost three posts every day. The page has a variety of posts, forms and content including (text, photos, videos, news sources, direct quotations, shared posts, mentions of important political and popular personalities). For example, out of 12 posts, 4 used text and photos, 7 used text and videos, and 1 used text and link.</p> <p>UWI: published 719 posts during 2018, i.e. almost two posts every day. The page has a variety of posts, forms and content including (text, photos, videos, capital letters, hashtags, news sources, interactive and engagement posts, direct quotations, shared posts). For example, out of 12 posts, 4 used text and photos, 4 used text and videos, 4 used text and links. The page focuses on publishing religious discourse.</p>

	<p>SFI: published 886 posts during 2018, i.e. almost two posts every day. The page has a variety of posts, forms and content including (text, photos, videos, capital letters, hashtags, news sources, interactive and engagement posts, shared posts, mentions of important political and popular personalities). For example, out of 12 posts, 5 used text and photos, 3 used text and videos, 4 used text and links. In addition, the page enables users to post on the page wall with respect to their user posting guidelines, and it deletes and blocks who violates their ethical guidelines.</p> <p>TIP: published 869 posts during 2018, i.e. almost two posts every day. The page has a variety of posts, forms and content including (text, photos, videos, capital letters, interactive and engagement posts, direct quotations, shared posts, mentions of important political and popular personalities). For example, out of 12 posts, 2 used text and photos, 10 used text and videos. The page provides a "real-time background information, images, maps, audio, video, and graphics".</p> <p>CUFI: published 940 posts during 2018, i.e. almost three posts every day. The page has a variety of posts, forms and content including (text, photos, videos, hashtags, news sources, direct quotations, shared posts). For example, out of 12 posts, 9 used text and photos, 3 used text and videos. The page shares more religious discourse.</p> <p>The selected Lobby's Facebook pages applied the mentioned tactics through publishing continuously by using a variety of posts 'forms. The total number of the five pages posts during 2018 are 4364 posts, which indicates the activity of the pages. In addition, within the sample of the present study which is 60 posts, there were 28 posts that are used texts and videos, 9 used texts and links, and 23 used texts and photos. In the same context, the selected pages focused on the usage of the following language tactics to construct their discourse, usage of positive and negative ('word frequency and choice, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, modals, adjectives, conditional clauses, sentences types and tones).</p>
Develop budget	<p>The selected Israel lobby pages of the present study are "nonprofit organizations" that did not belong directly to the Israeli government. A nonprofit organization is dedicated to a particular social cause or advocating for a common point of view. Nonprofits are taxes that are exempt or charitable, which means they do not pay income tax on the money that they receive for their organization. It is accountable to the donors, funders, volunteers, program recipients, and the public community. Also, public confidence is a factor in the amount of money that a nonprofit organization is able to raise.</p> <p>SWU: registered as a non-profit and charity organization.</p>

	<p>UWI: "independent global movement founded and funded by Jewish families who are dedicated to the success and prosperity of Israel."</p> <p>TIP: Jewish businessmen, and pro-Israel entities.</p> <p>SFI: depends on volunteers.</p> <p>CUFI: Online donation.</p> <p>According to the analysis of the posts and how the Lobby pages define themselves, the Lobby is funded in three main directions and sources. First, politicians, Jewish businessmen, and pro-Israel entities and individuals. In addition, they get financial support from the American government and organizations. Second, the Lobby asks followers to donate online for supporting Israel and victims' families etc. Third, numerous of the Lobby's organizations get volunteers, hence they help them to reduce costs. These volunteers are Jews or Americans youth</p> <p>The Israel Lobby's organizations used the fund sources to improve their activities on Facebook such as sponsoring posts to reach a large audience.</p>
--	---

As the above Table shows, the Lobby's organizations and discourse aim to convey a persuasive narrative about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to Americans to get their officials and popular sympathy and support. The Lobby builds its organizations and discourse directions to represent the conflict from the Jewish and Zionist point of view. In addition, it is evident that the Lobby uses numerous tactics that are related to the Facebook pages discourse, such as (using numerous posts types 'texts, photos, and videos', using of Hashtags, sharing posts, interactive and engagement posts, information sources, and the usage of language tactics that constructs the discourse, 'word frequency, the choice of words, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, modals, adjectives, conditional clauses, sentences types and tones, quotations, and capital letters).

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The present chapter summarizes the conclusions drawn from this study. It answers the research questions about the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook in the U.S. It presents the contributions of this comprehensive study to the research field and makes recommendations for the further strides in the Public Relations, Communication, and Media Studies.

5.1 Summary of the Study

The Israel-Zionist Lobby is a powerful entity in the American internal and foreign policies, especially in the case of the Palestinian-Israel conflict. The Lobby is concerned with getting the American political office holders as well as the American populace on board to support the Jewish and Israeli issues and agenda. As a result, they engineer Americans consent on Israel's side. The Lobby uses traditional and digital media, especially social media in the last decade to achieve their purposes. While it is evident that numerous Facebook pages have a similar mission and vision, the discourse, narrative, and representation of Lobby in the U.S. is the thrust and interest of this study.

Given the paucity of research in this area, the present study seeks to find out how the Israel Lobby in the U.S. works to engineer the Americans' consent through the use of the Facebook pages. It also explores the Lobby's discourse in terms of discourse construction, language usage, themes, power, abuses, and ideologies regarding the

Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In addition, the study also seeks to find out the Lobby's Facebook pages' representation of the conflict and the main elements.

The present study adopts qualitative method and takes the Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach. For analysis NVivo program is employed to analyze the sixty most interactive posts of the most popular Israel Lobby's Facebook pages' in the U.S. in the year 2018. The selected news pages are StandWithUs, United with Israel, Stand for Israel, Christians United for Israel, and The Israeli Project. Aspects of posts analyzed include texts, images and videos.

In terms of the theoretical framework, the study is guided by Engineering of Consent approach, and the Discourse Theory.

5.1.1 Summary of the Study Findings

This section focuses on the summary of research results. This section answers the four research questions of the study stated in Chapter 1. The questions are about the Israel Lobby's discourse on Facebook pages in the U.S. in 2018. It focuses on discourse construction, themes, representations, and the engineering of the American people's consent regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

RQ1. How did the Israel Lobby construct their discourse and represent the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the selected Facebook pages in the year 2018?

The findings of the first research question about the Lobby's discourse is divided in two levels, micro level; focuses on the textual and descriptive analysis, and macro level focuses on the social and political contexts of the Israel Lobby's discourse.

Textual and Descriptive Analysis (Micro Level)

This part of the analysis started with creating a word tag cloud and from the results, it is seen that "Israel" is the most dominant and the most frequently used term within the Israel Lobby's discourse in the U.S. Also, support and protection of the Israel state is the core idea and ideology of the Lobby's mission. The second, most frequently used words are; united, attack, Christians, Jews, remembering, memory, terrorist, holocaust, murdered, Hamas, Gaza, Palestinian which indicates the directions and the scope of the Lobby's discourse.

In terms of the use of pronouns, it is seen that is mostly used to indicate two major sides of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. First, Israel, U.S., Jews, Christians as first side, the in-group, and the discourse controllers. Second, (Palestinians, Arabs, Islam) as the other side, the out-group. The most used of pronouns was to serve the first side and to express their ideology, bias, and hegemony, with omission of the second side in numerous narratives. Also, pronouns about the first side was used with a positive tone, while tone for the Palestinians was negative. For modal verbs, the most used modal verb is "will" which indicates willingness and the possibility of things to happen. The use of modals such as "can" "will" "should" and "could" within the Lobby's discourse is subject-oriented which means the dismissal of possibilities such as in this case "Israel Will Never Surrender to Terror". The use of "may" and "must" are related to compulsory events and actions. For example, for "May", they use it to ask God's blessing and "must" to demand sympathy and solidarity as a victim, and also demand terrorists to stop their acts.

In terms of the conditional sentences, the usage of zero type conditional sentences within the Israel Lobby's discourse aims to give instructions and advice to the Israel supporters to act or to express their support. They also use it to tell followers to support and to express to those who are not supporting Israel and Jews that they are racist and they are anti-Semite illiterate and uneducated. Another conditional clause is used is the second conditional which expresses the attitude of the Israel Lobby to describe the ideas as unreal with no possibility or dream which unlikely to happen and to justify the Israel weapons to save Jews. Also, it is used to express that the Lobby's discourse is a hoped discourse and concerned about the future of Jews and Israel.

The majority of verbs which were used have a negative impression and implication such as "Attack", "Murder", "Hate", "Killed", "Shooting", "Bomb", "Injured", "Suffering" which reflects what the Jews and Israelis suffers from. This also expresses that Arabs, Islam, Palestinians, and Nazis are the negative ones. Furthermore, the use of positive verbs was in discussing issues about the Jews and Israel are very common. For example; special occasions, asking for support and talking about the future of the Jews inside and outside Israel. The terms which were used are "loves", "Support", "Celebrate", "Donate", "Built", "born", "encourage", "enjoy", "hope", "thrived".

It is found that the use of negative adjectives within the Lobby's discourse is more than the positive ones. The adjectives mostly describe the attacks on Israeli and Jews around the world. Words such as the "Holocaust", "Palestinian resistant actions", and "Arabic and Islamic attacks on the Jews temples out Palestine". The use of positive adjectives within the Lobby's discourse mostly described actions that portray the Jews, Israel, and

their celebrations in a positive manner. They are used in religious and political occasions. They are also used in sympathizing with Israel.

The Israel Lobby in the U.S uses adverbs to support their cause in various ways. For example; the use of adverbs to portray Jews and Israelis as victims and patriotic citizens are very common. They also used it to seek solidarity and support and to demonize Palestinians as terrorists. The adverb "brutally" and "tragically" is used to portray the cruelty that Jews and Israelis suffer from the hands of the Palestinians. They also use it to show the collective sadness of Jews and Israelis. "Exactly", is used to doubt and show contradiction in the Palestinian discourse and actions. "Basically", and "perfectly" imply that there is no doubt about the situations that the Lobby is talking about. "Suddenly" and "absolutely" is used to express strong feelings and sympathy, and show the treachery of the Palestinians. "Deliberately" is used to emphasize that the Palestinians kills indiscriminately. "Heroically" and "Proudly" is used to reflect the positive patriot emotion of Jews and Israelis.

In terms of the sentence types, the Israel Lobby's discourse used numerous declarative and exclamation sentences. Numerous of them were used to state facts and/or information about Israel and Jews. They also used it to express how issues and actions are strange and irrational. In addition, the discourse used some imperative and interrogative sentences to support the Lobby's arguments and claims. Imperative sentences mostly order the followers to act in a way. They encourage them to support Israel, and Jews know it to make them engagement and interactive. Interrogative sentences are also used for the same purpose as well as to ask people to pray for Jews and to raise critical questions about Palestinians and their terrorist acts.

Regarding tone of sentences, numerous sentences have a sympathetic tone to it. Others have sad and fear tones especially when the Lobby talk about the victims and attacks of the conflict perpetuated against Jews and Israelis from the Nazis and the Palestinians. However, numerous of sentences with cheerful and happiness tones talk about the Jews and Israeli especially national and religious celebrations. They also use this tone when they are welcoming a group that visits Israel. In addition, "heroic" and "bravery" tone is used in relation to the Jews and Israelis who support Israel and fight against terrorism. This also includes those who are support Jews and Israelis even if they are Palestinians. "blame", "angry", and "grim" tones are mostly used to talk about the world and international media silence about the Palestinians attacks targeting the Israelis. The "threat" and "serious tones" are used when the Lobby talks about the right of Israel to defend itself and to warn Iran from attacking against Israel. In addition, "humorous" tone is used when the Palestinian and Hamas seek the support of the international community on the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.

The capital letters are used to give a specific and intended meanings that certainly support the Lobby's narrative, to (get attention, highlight, assertion, demand to act and to be pro-Israel, magnification, indicate to emergency, cheerful, doing wrong, exclamation, special importance). This usage of capital letters can help in changing the audience's ideas, opinion, and emotions to act in the capacity of someone who is pro-Israel.

The Israel Lobby uses direct quotations within its discourse on Facebook to inform, educate and buttress their arguments. In numerous cases, it is to make their discourse more credible, and that is why they quote popular pro-Israel politicians and artists who

speak on behalf of all Jews and Israelis. They adopt the direct quotes from the aforementioned people to strengthen the relation with the US publics and to inspire the Lobby's followers and Facebook audience. They also cite positive words from the holy book to support their narrative of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They also use it to express that brutality of the Palestinians and Arabs because they target Jews and Israeli across the world. They also use it to buttress the fact that God is standing with Israel and anyone who is against Israeli is against God. They also claim that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel, supported by God and the U.S.

For the use of interactive posts, the Lobby works tirelessly to increase the number of pro-Israel people following these pages. They also try to create as much digital conversations as possible. The goal is to keep the page alive. For that, the Lobby's posts are sensitive topics such as Holocaust and Palestinian terrorism to stimulate digital conversations. Regarding hashtags that were used, the selected Israel Lobby's Facebook pages use hashtags the following hashtags #israel, #pleasepray, #prayforisrael, #standforisrael, #supportisrael, #terroremuststop, #weremember, #cufi, repeatedly. It is found that these hashtags are carefully chosen to match an organized social media campaign and a unified discourse about Israel and Jews. Thousands of posts on Facebook use these hostages, mostly with discourses aimed at supporting Israel and Jews around the world.

The Lobby's pages depend on a variety of Israeli and American sources which are pro-Israel and pro-Jews to build its discourse. For groups, they obtained information from organizations, institutions, and movements and for individuals, and they obtained from politicians, journalists, actors, public figures and activists. They also seek information

from Torah. However, there is an intended omission for sources reporting the Palestinians and Arabs side of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The use of Jewish and Israeli symbols such as Hatikvah, Yom Hashoah, Menorah, Hanukkah, Shana Tova, Passover Seder, and The Israeli Flag reflects the deeper history of Jews and shared history with Christians in Palestine. The major goal of using these symbols within the Lobby's discourse is to link what happens with Jews and Israelis in recent times (especially the conflict with the Palestinians) to the Jewish history. The larger goal here is to ensure the right of the existence in Palestinian and show the injustice actions against Israel which started since a long time.

Sociopolitical Context Analysis (Macro Level)

This second section of the analysis examines the Israel Lobby's discourse in larger-scale to demonstrate the social and political context and expresses the power relations, hegemony, ideologies that exist within the discourse.

It is evident that the Israel and Jews social group is a powerful and hegemonic side that controls the direction of the discourse and the mind of the global audience. This is because the Zionist and Jewish are interested in and construct the Lobby's discourse. Americans, the world power, are also continuously preferring Israel and Jews social group. As of now, the weaker social groups are Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims who are constantly represented negatively. This practice of power and dominance is evidently incompatible with the democratic rules that America and Israel claim to represent, hence this is the abuse of power. This dominance has made this conflict unsolvable.

The Lobby has realized the impact of individuals and institutions on the Israel Jewish agenda, hence it continues to use these public figures and collections to engineer the audience consent. It is important to note that the individuals and social groups that are represented within the Lobby's discourse are Jews, American-Jewish, Israelis, Americans who are pro-Israel, British and Jewish, and pro-Israel Canadians. Individuals and collectives, such as NGO organizations belong to the Israel Lobby and the U.S. politicians who are influential in the American society, journalists, writers, and media owners who influence the public opinion, signers and actors who are public figures and have a huge number of followers, fans, churches, legal system etc. These figures use their soft power to engineer the public within the American society. This shows that the Lobby also has access to the core of the U.S. which is the social, political and governmental aspect of the society.

These Lobby's pages convey the ideology of Israel and Jewish agenda to engineer the American consent. This makes Americans dismiss contestations or views of Palestinians.

The analysis of the ideology within the Israel Lobby's discourse reveals that the Lobby uses ideology as a weapon to achieve specific goals. It is evident that the Lobby's discourse is conservative; an ideological discourse which uses the strategy of emphasizing positivity and de-emphasized the negativity of in-group (Jews, Israelis, and Americans). In addition, they emphasize negativity and de-emphasized the positivity of out-group (Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims). The discourse ideologies could be summarized as follow:

1. Establishing a national state for Jews to liberate Jews from anti-Semitism, injustice, and oppression in Europe, especially the German Nazi regime. This is because the Zionist movement believes that the biggest defeat for the Nazi and the Holocaust is to build a strong Jewish state to keep the Jewish nation alive and thriving. And this state, "Israel", should be the destination of all Jews in order to unite them and build a new narrative for their history.
2. The superiority and purity of the Jews; they are believed to be different from other people. They are the people who are chosen and supported from God to serve Him and to build Israel, hence Jews have to fight for their united nation.
3. Bravery and courage of the Jews are one of their tradition and value that they take pride in. They honor Jews who fought the Nazi and Palestinian terrorists.
4. Anti-Semitism was exploited by the Zionist movement to unite Jews to defend them as a nation and a national group. The Zionist movement uses the term to accuse who criticize Israel or Jews.
5. One tool that is used by united Jews is the creation of a common enemy for all Jews. So, if the Jews have a shared feeling about the same enemy, they will be united under the Zionist flag. It helps to foster the Israeli and Jewish ideology and doctrine (Mansour et al., 2011). By extension, Americans also share the idea of the common enemy because they aid Israel and the Jews against Palestine and other Arabic countries.

6. The Lobby tries to portray that the Palestinian-Israel conflict as a religious conflict which is not right. The conflict is a political issue, but religion is exploited to serve the Zionist political ideologies.
7. The main audience of the Israeli Lobby's discourse are the Americans; many of them are Christians whose lifestyle, cultural, traditional, are based on the Christianity traditions (e.g. religious holidays). Christianity brings them closer to each other more than other religions. Also, the Jewish holy book, Torah, is considered as a part of the Christian holy book which is called the "Old Testament" (Levine, 2019). The Zionist movement exploits this to use to engineer the consent of Americans.
8. The discourse represents the conflict as a clash of civilizations between the western civilization (Civil, modern and humanitarian) that is based on the defending Israel and the Christian-Jewish heritage and, the Islamic civilization (the extremist and terrorist) who are trying to support Palestinians. The Lobby's discourse portrays the conflict as a conflict between "good and evil" and between the civilized world and the underdeveloped world based on the fact that western civilization supports Israel's effort in carrying out to her "holy duty" in confronting the Islamic civilization (Mustafa, 2018).
9. Continuous demands for the support of America and the creation of the Israeli state would have been impossible if the Zionist movement did not get the British and American support. As the Lobby portrays it, Israel is still surrounded by "enemies" and anti-Semitic Arabic countries, and the conflict is still going on. If Israel did

not get support from these major world powers, there is no way it will be able to buy these sophisticated war machineries and ignore United Nations proclamations, and continuously get America to Veto decisions against Israel. The world has been silent for the past seventy years towards the suffering of Palestinians.

10. Supporting Israel means criticizing the silence of Americans and international media who do not stand with Israel and those that have adopted the Israeli Lobby's narrative of the conflict. The Lobby supports the cut of aids of Palestinians and instigation against them.

11. The Israel Lobby and Zionist movement demonizes the Palestinians and Arabs. This is done because it will aid them in building a formidable state and getting the world's support.

12. Normalizing the right of Israel to defend itself and to build a military arsenal in order to prevent a new Holocaust that may be perpetuated by Palestinians and Arabs to happen. They show similarities between the Palestinians and German Nazis. Indeed, they equalize them. Both of them are regarded as the enemy of Jews', and Israel will never let the Palestinians to murder them as the Nazis did. Hence, all crimes that the Israel commits against Palestinians and Arabs are justified. This changes the core of Palestinian-Israel conflict narrative.

13. Jerusalem has its own significance within the Israel Lobby's discourse. The Jerusalem narrative is used to strengthen the political and religious relation and doctrine of Jews and Christians with respect to the holy city. They also deny the

Islamic perspective so as to convince not just Americans but the whole world that Jerusalem is the eternal Jewish capital of Israel which means that the Jews have the historical right to occupy Jerusalem and Palestine and deny the right of Palestinians in it.

14. The Lobby's discourse focuses on celebrations and memorial days of religious and political occasions that are mostly held in Israel, especially Jerusalem. These political and religious events help to inform and educate people about the Jews' history, story, and discourse that Israelis, Jews and Americans. This is one of the effective tools used to build a belief system for pro-Israel people.

15. The Lobby's discourse indicates that only the Jews and Israelis know the truth about the conflict. This also means that everything is said by the Palestinians is fake and lacking credence.

The ideological discourse of the Israel Lobby reveals that the conflict is not going to end soon; considering that it is based on religious and ideological thoughts. The Zionists believe that the Israeli land is not the one located in the current land of Palestine but other neighboring countries. This means Israel will not stop here or accept any peace treatment including the creation of a Palestinian state. Even if some Israeli political parties accept, the religious and Zionist parties will not. This also explains why Israel does not have a clear border and refuses to have one. The Jews have varied ideas about the borders of their holy state. So, if there is no changes in the Israeli political and religious ideologies, there will be no end to the present conflict (Ghazal, 2007; Mustafa, 2006).

Representation of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The existence and the core of the Israel Lobby's discourse is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which can be represented under four main factors. First, Jews are represented as the main national and religious group within the Lobby's discourse in a positive and sympathetic way. Jews are seen as the people that God sent them to establish Israel, and they are brave and fight for their destiny, dignity, and work effortlessly to defeat their enemies. They are also represented as victims who suffered in the past and are still suffering. In the same vein, Israel is portrayed as the home of the Jewish nation promised by God them.

Second, Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims are classified as an out-group. They represent the Palestinians in a negative manner who constantly terrorize Israel. As a result, it is believed that since they are against Israel, God will not stand for their people. They do not only kill people, but also animals. The Gaza strip and Hamas, a Palestinian territory and political party are represented repeatedly as the source of terrorism and attacks. The representation is completely biased and in favor of the Israeli side and they intentionally omit facts about the Palestinian side. The Israeli air strikes to Gaza strip that killed dozens of citizens, the number of people arrested in the Israeli jails, political and economic sage that Israeli subjects Palestinians to, and numerous other issues that deserves to be mentioned at least from the humanitarian point of view.

Third, Jerusalem is the city with political and religious significance in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It represents the Jewish and Israel's holy and eternal capital that God promise Jews. The city is the seat of their fantasized historical temple which does not

exist in reality, they have the historical right to occupy Jerusalem and no one can deny that. The U.S. validated this right when president Trump declared that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel and decided to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The U.S. image is represented in a positive way to show its support for Israel and Jews given that the U.S. is the strongest ally of Israel. Unlike Palestinians, the Israeli and Jews believe that God is pleased with the U.S. because they support the will of God which is to support of Israeli.

The Lobby's discourse represents the conflict as a religious conflict which is not right. The conflict is a political issue, but religion is used to exploit the conflict to serve the Zionist political ideologies. Also, the discourse represents the conflict as a clash of civilizations between the western civilization (civil, modern and humanitarian) that is based on the defending Israel and the Christian-Jewish heritage and, the Islamic civilization (the extremist and terrorist) who are trying to support Palestinians.

This Lobby's discourse targets Americans (Jews and Christians), Americans who have political and religious interests, politicians and public office holders and pro-Israel supporters around the world. The discourse focuses on human values, such as humanity, nationality, patriotic, religious, and Jews values.

In sum, for **RQ1**, it is apparent that the Lobby chooses words, pronouns, modals, verbs, conditional scantiness, adjectives, adverbs, types and tones, quotations, capital letters, interactive posts, hashtags, news sources, symbols, themes, representations, power and

hegemony, and ideology to report a positive discourse in favor of Israel and the negative and ignorant discourse for the Palestinian side within the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In the same context, the representation of the Palestinian-Israel conflict within the Israel Lobby's discourse shows a completely biased narrative in favor of Israeli. The representation emphasizes the positive image of the in-group (Israel, Jews, U.S.) and deemphasizes its negative one; on the other hand, deemphasizes the positive image of the out-group, (Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims) and emphasizes its negative one as terrorism and anti-Semitism.

RQ2. What are the main themes that emerged from the Israel Lobby's discourse in the selected Facebook pages in the year 2018?

Based on the word tag cloud and the topics discussed within the Israel Lobby's discourse, eight major topics are identified. First, terrorism and anti-Semitic acts against Jews and Israel are committed by the Nazis, Muslims (especially Palestinians). Second, it covers the story and memorial of the tragic event of Holocaust. Third, Jewish religious issues, religious occasions, coverage of holidays, portray Jews as the people of God and anyone who stands against them stands against God.

The fourth theme focuses on reflecting national issues through the coverage of national (indicating that Israel and Jews have a mature state which has its national symbols), history, and civilization. Fifth, covering the Israel and the U.S. relationship as one political body and indicating that the U.S. is the strongest ally of Israel. Sixth, criticizing the world silence regarding the crimes that are committed against Jews and Israelis, and asking for United Nations 'as well as Americans' support for Israel agenda. Seventh, it seeks to humanize the Israel and Jews narrative through emotional appeal.

Eighth, it victimizes Israelis and Jews focus on attacks against Jews and Israelis around the world (especially by Nazis and Palestinians).

In conclusion, for **RQ2**, the aforementioned themes emerge from the Israel Lobby's discourse and based on the nature of the themes that emerged from the Israel Lobby's discourse. It is apparent that the Lobby continues to demonize the Palestinians and equate the Palestinian rebuttals as the same as the Holocaust.

RQ3. How did the selected Israel Lobby's Facebook pages work to engineer the American consent regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during 2018 in the U.S.?

Based on the findings adopted from the eight-steps system of the EOC, this part explains how the Israel Lobby engineers the American's consent in the following ways:

1. The Israel Lobby specifies its major goals and objectives clearly in a number of ways. First, they convey a persuasive narrative about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to Americans by adopting the Zionist narrative, point of views, and attitudes. Second, they try to get the American officials and popular Americans to sympathize and support them (economic, political, and military support). Third, they reflect the positivity of the Israel and Jews, and the negativity of the Palestinian and Muslims. Fourth, they represent the conflict as a religious conflict, and as a clash of civilizations between the western civilization based on the Christian-Jewish heritage and the Islamic civilization.
2. The Israel Lobby's Facebook pages studied and explored the American public and specified their targeted audience. This allows us to have the sample of this study

based on the most interactive posts. Based on the public and psychographic segmentation, the researcher identifies the targeted public information as follows:

- a) Geographical (all states of the U.S. as well as neighboring English-speaking countries like Canada).
- b) Demographic (all sexual orientations and ages; 'male, female, LGBT', young and older people).
- c) Psychographic (group leaders and influencers, educated class who are pro-Israel, people who are committed to the values, traditions, and religion (especially to 'Jewish and Christian tradition and values), people who are concerned about the national and religious issues, right-wing people).
- d) Behavioral (online and tech savvy people, interactive, pro-Israel and natural users, travelers, English speakers across the world).

3. The Lobby modified its goals and objectives to make them more specific, detailed and embedded in the Zionist ideologies (such as Israel is the holy land of Jews and Jerusalem is the Jewish eternal capital of Israel, the superiority and purity of the Jews, anti-Semitism people are undemocratic, uneducated, racist, inhuman people and terrorists who criticize Israel or Jews, portray the Palestinian Israel conflict as a religious conflict, criticize the silence of Americans and the international media, demonize the Palestinians and Arabs, incite them, and normalizing the idea that Israel has the right to build a military arsenal to defend itself).
4. Based on how the pages are run, it is evident that the Lobby employs the skills of technology savvy people who are proficient in managing Facebook pages to produce desired results which are to engineer the consent of people. In addition, they use the pages to seek for funds to donate to Israel.

5. The Lobby uses numerous themes and symbols within its Facebook discourse. The major themes are; terrorism and anti-Semitism against Jews and Israel, the Holocaust, religious and national emotions, Israel and the U.S. relationship, world silence and support for Israel, humanization of the Israel and Jewish issues, and Israel and Jews in the victim's status. The main Israeli and Jewish symbols used are Hatikvah, Yom Hashoah, Menorah, Hanukkah, Shana Tova, Passover Seder, The Israeli Flag.
6. The Israel Lobby has more than 473 organizations in the U.S. (The Israel Lobby Archive, 2008; United Jerusalem, 2015). The Lobby's discourse that this study focuses on are the most popular Lobby's Facebook pages and their main aim is engineering the consent of Americans (StandWithUs, United with Israel, Stand for Israel, Christians United for Israel, and The Israeli Project).
7. The Lobby determines their tactics in publishing its discourse on Facebook pages. In total, the number of posts that the five pages published within 2018 are 4364 posts which indicate the activity of pages. In addition, the Lobby used numerous tactics related to the Facebook pages, such as (using numerous posts types 'texts, photos, and videos', using of Hashtags, sharing posts, interactive and engagement posts, information sources, and the usage of language tactics that constructs the discourse, 'word frequency and choice, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, modals, adjectives, conditional clauses, sentences types and tones, symbols, quotations, and capital letters).

8. The Lobby is funded in three main directions. First, politicians, Jewish businessmen, and pro-Israel entity and individual. In addition, they get financial support from the American government and organizations. Second, the Lobby asks followers to donate online for support Israel and victims' families etc. Third, numerous of the Lobby's organizations get volunteers hence help them to reduce costs. These volunteers are Jews or Americans youth (Smith, 2016; The Israel Lobby Archive, 2017).

The discourse of the Lobby is structured specifically to affect the unconscious mind of the specific social groups (Americans and Jews). They do this through their traditions, religion, historical background and experiences, humanitarian endeavors, emotions (sympathy, sadness, happiness, fear, blame, bravery etc.). All of these works are in favor of the powerful social group within the Lobby's discourse. The Lobby's discourse is intended to infuse these unconscious mind provokers to help the ideological narrative of the Zionist movement and Israel. They do this to be more persuasive and to control the belief system of the Americans which makes it unable for any individual or less powerful collectives to contest these ideas.

It is evident that the Lobby's discourse is hegemonic, and it controls the direction of the narrative presented, and that is why it is completely biased. This is total abuse of power and according to Bernays (1947), "The techniques can be subverted; demagogues can utilize the techniques for antidemocratic purposes with as much success as can those who employ them for socially desirable ends" (p. 115).

In sum, **RQ3** reveals that the Israel Lobby uses the eight-steps system of the EOC approach and targeted the American people's unconscious mind in order to engineer the Americans (elites and the masses) to support and stand for Israel regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

5.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study

This part provides conclusions and contributions of the present study, especially for the prosperity of EOC approach, Discourse Theory, methodology, and the Israel Lobby's literature.

It is found that the major findings of the present study relate to the tactics and strategies of the Israeli lobby, how the Israel Lobby engineers the consent of the people, content of the narrative, the degree of bias, power and hegemonic struggle within the discourse, portraying America and Israel in the positive light, and Palestinians and the Arab world in the negative light. All of these are consistent with prior related studies who have studied similar issue (Abunimah, 2019; Abunimah & Winstanley, 2018; Al-Khawaldeh, 2013; Beckerman, 2007; Hedges, 2018; Malik, 2017; Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007; Sakuma, 2019; Silverstein, 2018; Smith, 2018; The Israel Project, 2009a; Winstanley, 2012, 2014).

This study provides substantial contributions to the EOC research and literature. In addition, it provides newer insights to Public Relations research methodology by introducing a new way to explore a Public Relations phenomenon. The use of Critical Discourse Analysis in this study indicates that the process of discourse construction is one of the essential components of the EOC system, hence it could be suggested as an additional step of the EOC eight-step system of Bernays.

Finally, considering that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict issue has been explored in numerous aspects; politics, conflict resolutions, and other aspects, this study has opened a new way to explore the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from a Public Relations perspective as an area that has earned almost no scholarly attention.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings of the present study, the researcher suggests some recommendations for the further research.

Given that this area of study lacks scholarly attention, this study suggests further research in Public Relations and Communication and media studies exploring the EOC practice or abuse. Taken into attention the new digital communications tools and social networking sites (Facebook and Twitter) and Big Data. For example, the Cambridge Analytica incident in the U.S 2016 election, Britain Brexit, and fake news as an engineering tool. Given that Public Relations is part of other fields, studies should investigate EOC in the other fields such as History, Health and Medical Sciences, Management Sciences, Psychology, Information Communication Technology.

Further research should investigate applications of the EOC as a theoretical framework to other cases of study especially from the second and third world countries. The EOC should be treated as an independent approach in the Public Relations field. It is important for journals and databases to give priority to this issue hence they should create special issues for it to encourage the application of the EOC research in other fields. This will allow for the modification of the eight steps system of EOC. For example, this study proposes the addition of a new step about discourse construction which will include all aspects of the usage of language, lexical, syntax, power, and

ideology. In addition, application of the Discourse Theory to other cases could also improve this idea about discourse construction.

In terms of the investigation Israel Lobby and lobby practice, the researcher suggests a comparative study under Public Relations area that can compare the Lobby practice (especially media lobby) to the EOC approach to see how close they are, or how the two concepts could benefit from each other. It is important that further studies compare the Lobby's work from the perspective of the Palestinian-Israel conflict in the U.S. What is given in this study basically focuses on Israeli Lobby in the U.S. Also, future studies might focus on other Israeli Lobby in Europe, Africa, and Asia and compare its practice and discourse with the Israel Lobby in the U.S.

The researcher emphasizes the huge online presence of the Israel Lobby's and the massive digital conversations. It is significant to use other methodological tools that can produce interesting results about the Israel Lobby practice and discourse. Such methods may include ethnography, interviews, and focus groups with the Israel Lobby's officials, organizations, American politicians and lobby's relations in the U.S.

REFERENCES

- Abu Aisha, H. (2013). The American Media Coverage for the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 2010-2012. *The Centre of Political and Developmental Studies*, 1–21.
- Abu Arqoub, O. (2015). *Israeli Media Coverage for the Gaza War 2014; Case Study of “Yedioth Ahronoth” Newspaper*. Eastern Mediterranean University.
- Abu Arqoub, O. (2018). “The Deal of the Century” from Media and Engineering of Consent Perspective. *Turkish Vision*, 4(7), 53–76.
- Abu Arqoub, O. A., Özad, B. E., & Elega, A. A. (2019). The Engineering of Consent: A State-of-the-Art Review. *Public Relations Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2019.101830>
- Abunimah, A. (2019). Ilhan Omar under Attack for Telling Truth about Israel Lobby. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/ilhan-omar-under-attack-telling-truth-about-israel-lobby>
- Abunimah, A., & Winstanley, A. (2018). Censored Film Reveals the Israel Project’s Secret Facebook Campaign. Retrieved from <https://electronicintifada.net/content/censored-film-reveals-israel-projects-secret-facebook-campaign/25486>
- Aderet, O. (2018). Israel’s Population Hits 8.9 Million, Up 162,000 From Last Year.

Retrieved from <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-israel-s-population-hits-8-9-million-up-162-000-from-last-year-1.6450842>

Adesina, O. S. (2017). Foreign Policy in an Era of Digital Diplomacy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2017.1297175>

Ahmed, S., & Matthes, J. (2017). Media representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015: A meta-analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(3), 219–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516656305>

Ahren, R. (2017). Netanyahu: Israel winning over Arab world with social media. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-israel-winning-over-arab-public-with-social-media/>

AIPAC. (2015). *The U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership*. Retrieved from <https://www.aipac.org/-/media/publications/policy-and-politics/aipac-analyses/issue-memos/2015/the-us-israel-strategic-partnership.pdf>

AIPAC. (2017). *The AIPAC Briefing Book*. U.S. Retrieved from <https://www.aipac.org/-/media/publications/policy-and-politics/aipac-analyses/briefing-book/aipac-briefing-book.pdf>

Al-Kharusi, H., Miskon, S., & Bahari, M. (2016). Factors Influencing the Engagement Between Enterprise Architects and Stakeholders in Enterprise Architecture Development. *Pacific Asia Conference on Information Systems (PACIS) 2016 Proceedings*, Paper 262. Retrieved from <http://aisel.aisnet.org/pacis2016>

- Al-Khawaldeh, M. (2013). The Zionist Lobby and Jewish Hegemony Over the American Media. Retrieved from <http://almawqef.com/spip.php?article6670&lang=ar>
- Al-Sherbini, S. (2018). The Influence of the Zionist Lobby in the United States and its Reflection on American Policy Towards the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <http://www.acrseg.org/40970>
- Alavidze, M. (2017). The Use of Pronouns in Political Discourse. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 09(04), 349–356.
- Alhumaidi, M. (2013). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Al-Ahram and Aljazeera's Online Coverage of Egypt's 2011 Revolution*. University of Florida.
- Aljazeera. (2017). Palestine and the General Assembly of the United Nations...Major Decisions. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/events/2017/12/21/فلسطين-والجمعية-العامة-للأمم-المتحدة-أبرز-القرارات>
- Alkalliny, S. (2017). Framing of Media Coverage of the Palestinian -Israeli Conflict in CNN and FoxNews. *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences*, 2(4), 161–165. <https://doi.org/10.24001/ijels.2.4.20>
- Allison, N. D. (2017). Method Acting, Autonomy, and the Curious “as if” of the Postwar Subject in Nicholas Ray’s *Rebel Without a Cause*. *Arizona Quarterly Journal*, 73(2), 103–124. <https://doi.org/10.1353/arq.2017.0011>

- Alsahly, N. (2004). *Palestine..the Land and People*. Damascus: The Union of Arabic Writers.
- Alvarado, M., Gutch, R., & Wollen, T. (2015). Learning the Media. *Learning the Media*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-18681-5>
- Amaral, I. (2015). Wisdom-of-the-Crowds to Enhance Innovation: State of the Art. *Journal of Innovation Management*, 3(3), 71–89.
- Amditis, J. S. (2012). War Crimes in Gaza: Operation Cast Lead in International Law. *Rutgers University*, (April).
- Aouragh, M. (2016). Hasbara 2.0: Israel's Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age. *Middle East Critique*, 25(3), 271–297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2016.1179432>
- Ashgar, J. (2013). Critical paradigm: A Preamble for Novice Researchers. *Life Science Journal*, 10(4), 3121–3127. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Augoustinos, M. (1999). Ideology, False Consciousness and Psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, 9(3), 295–312. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354399093002>
- Avraham, E. (2000). Cities and their news media images. *Cities*, 17(5), 363–370.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-2751\(00\)00032-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-2751(00)00032-9)
- Ayalon, D. (2015). Dep. FM Ayalon on Public Diplomacy. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06gjuYT7eMU>

- Bagga-Gupta, S., & Rao, A. (2018). Languaging in dDgital Global South–North Spaces in the Twenty-First Century: Media, Language and Identity in Political Discourse. *Bandung: Journal of the Global South*, 5(1), 3. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40728-018-0047-z>
- Bard, M. (2019). American Public Opinion Toward Israel: An Overview. Retrieved from <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/american-public-opinion-toward-israel-an-overview>
- Barringer, F. (2002). Some U.S. Backers of Israel Boycott Dailies Over Mideast Coverage That They Deplore. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/23/world/mideast-turmoil-outlets-some-us-backers-israel-boycott-dailies-over-mideast.html>
- Beckerman, G. (2007). The Israel Lobby Doesn't Control the Media According to Walt and Mearsheimer, it is the media. Retrieved from https://archives.cjr.org/behind_the_news/the_israel_lobby_doesnt_contro.php
- Begley, S. (2016). Read Donald Trump's Speech to AIPAC. Retrieved May 29, 2018, from <http://time.com/4267058/donald-trump-aipac-speech-transcript/>
- Benito-Osorio, D., Peris-Ortiz, M., Armengot, C. R., & Colino, A. (2013). Web 5.0: The Future of Emotional Competences in Higher Education. *Global Business Perspectives*, 1(3), 274–287. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40196-013-0016-5>
- Bennett, L. (2004). Engineering Consent The Persistence of a Problematic

Communication Regime. In *Domestic Perspectives on Contemporary Democracy: Domestic Perspectives on Contemporary Democracy* (pp. 132–154). Baltimore, UNITED STATES: University of Illinois Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/doguakdeniz-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3413983>

Bernays, E. L. (1947). The Engineering of Consent. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 250(March), 113–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271624725000116>

Bernays, E. L. (1955). The Engineering of Consent. In E. L. Bernays (Ed.), *The Engineering of Consent* (p. 25). Oklahoma, U.S.A: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bernays, E. L. (1971). Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel: Principles and Recollections. *The Business History Review*, 45(3), 296–316. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3113663>

Bernays, E. L. (1986). The Engineering of Consent: An Organized Approach To PR Efforts. *NASSP Bulletin*, 70(494), 52–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019263658607049412>

Bias, M., In, L., & Use, F. (2017). *Media Bias And The Israel Lobby In Th United States*.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=znuC3C6ppOIC>

Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29(2000), 447–466. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223428>

Boomgaarden, H. G. (2017). Media Representation: Politics. *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0149>

Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210–230. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x>

Brandt, A. M. (1996). Recruiting Women Smokers: The Engineering of Consent. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association*, 51(1–2), 63–66. <https://doi.org/0098-8421>

Brandt, A. M. (2009). Engineering Consent. In *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America* (pp. 69–101). USA: Basic Books. Retrieved from http://pb5be8yq6w.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%253Aofi%252Fenc%253AUTF-8&rfr_id=info%253Aid%252Fsummon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info%253Aofi%252Ffmt%253Akev%253Amtx%253Abook&rft.genre=book&rft.title=The+Cigarette+

Brock, A., & Dunlap, A. (2018). Normalising Corporate Counterinsurgency: Engineering
252

Consent, Managing Resistance and Greening Destruction around the Hambach Coal Mine and Beyond. *Political Geography*, 62, 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.09.018>

Bronstein, J. (2013). Like me! Analyzing the 2012 Presidential Candidates' Facebook Pages. *Online Information Review*, 37(2), 173–192. <https://doi.org/10.1108/OIR-01-2013-0002>

Bucher, T. (2012). Want to be on the top? Algorithmic Power and the Threat of Invisibility on Facebook. *New Media and Society*, 14(7), 1164–1180. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812440159>

Carpentier, N., & De Cleen, B. (2007). Bringing discourse theory into Media Studies: The applicability of Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) for the Study of media practises and discourses. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 6(2), 265–293. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.6.2.08car>

Carter, S. L. (1984). Technology, Democracy, and the Manipulation of Consent. *Yale Law Journal*, 93, 581–607. <https://doi.org/10.2307/796175>

Centric Digital. (2015). From Big Data to Big Algorithm: The Rise Of Predictive Analytics.

Chang, H., Ivonin, L., & Rauterberg, M. (2016). Handbook of Digital Games and Entertainment Technologies. *Handbook of Digital Games and Entertainment Technologies*, 1323–1351. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4560-50-4>

- Charbonneau, L. (2012). Palestinians Win Implicit U.N. Recognition of Sovereign State. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-statehood/palestinians-win-implicit-u-n-recognition-of-sovereign-state-idUSBRE8AR0EG20121129>
- Charles, M. (2007). Language Matters in Global Communication. *Journal of Business Communication*, 44(3), 260–282. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021943607302477>
- Cheung, M. M. F., & Wong, T. C. (2016). News Information Censorship and Changing Gatekeeping Roles: Non- Routine News Coverage and News Routines in the Context of Police Digital Communications in Hong Kong. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 93(4), 1091–1114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016628818>
- Chitty, N. (2005). International Communications: Continuing into the 21st Century as an Academic “Commons.” *Gazette*, 67(6), 555–559. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0016549205057552>
- Chughtai, A. (2018). Understanding U.S. Military Aid to Israel. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2018/03/understanding-military-aid-israel-180305092533077.html>
- Cohen, R., Johnson, D. E., Thaler, D. E., Allen, B., Bartels, E. M., Cahill, J., & Efron, S. (2017). *Lessons from Israel ’ s Wars in Gaza*. RAND Corporation. Santa Monica. Retrieved from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9975.html

- Couvering, E. Van. (2017). The Political Economy of New Media Revisited: Platformisation, Mediatisation, and the Politics of Algorithms. In *Proceedings of the 50th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (pp. 1812–1819).
- CUFI. (2008). Christians United for Israel (CUFI). Retrieved September 20, 2005, from https://www.facebook.com/pg/ChristiansUnitedforIsrael/about/?ref=page_internal
- Cvijikj, I. P., & Michahelles, F. (2013). Online Engagement Factors on Facebook Brand Pages. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 3(4), 843–861. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-013-0098-8>
- Dashefsky, A., & Sheskin, I. M. (2017). *The American Jewish Year Book 2017*. *American Jewish Year Book 2017* (Vol. 115). Retrieved from <http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Studies/downloadFile.cfm?FileID=3394>
- Deprez, A., & Raeymaeckers, K. (2010). Bias in the News? The Representation of Palestinians and Israelis in the Coverage of the First and Second Intifada. *International Communication Gazette*, 72(1), 91–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048509350341>
- Desjarlais, P. (2014). *The Violence of Representation : The (Un) Narration of Palestine in Public Discursive Space in Canada*. The University of Western Ontario.
- Dhawan, Z. (2014). Big Data and Social Media. *Research Matters: A Cambridge Assessment Publication*, (18), 36–41.

Diner, H. R. (2004). *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000*. London, England: University of California Press.

Eisenberg, R. (2015). The Israeli Flag. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/israeli-flag/>

El-Badawy, T. A., & Hashem, Y. (2014). The Impact of Social Media on the Academic Development of School Students. *International Journal of Business Administration*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijba.v6n1p46>

El-Mahdi, R. (2011). Engineering Consent: The De-Politicization of The Political. In *Empowered Participation or Political Manipulation? : State, Civil Society and Social Funds in Egypt and Bolivia* (pp. 155–173). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/doguakdeniz-ebooks/detail.action?docID=737696>

Elshafie, M. (2013). Research Paradigms: The Novice Researcher's Nightmare. *Arab World English Journal*, 4(2), 4–13. Retrieved from www.awej.org

Erdentu, F. (2010). *A Pragmatic Study of Media Texts: A Corpus of New Age Talks by Osho (on the Basis of Burke's Pragmatic Approach to Concordancing)*. Eastern Mediterranean University.

Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor. (2014). Comprehensive Outcome of the Results of the Israeli Attack on Gaza. Retrieved from <https://euromedmonitor.org/ar/article/609/-حصيلة-شاملة-لنتائج-الهجوم-الإسرائيلي-على->

Eyerman, R. (1981). False Consciousness and Ideology in Marxist Theory. *Acta Sociologica*, 24(1–2), 43–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000169938102400104>

Finkel, C. (2007). *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*. Basic Books.

Fortna, V. P. (2015). Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes. *International Organization*, 69(3), 519–556. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0020818315000089>

Fortner, R. S. (1993). *International Communications: History, Conflict, and Control of the Global Metropolis* (First edit). Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Freinberg, J. (2008). Barack Obama: Same Story, New Character. *Pepperdine Policy Review*, 1(1), 75–79. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/ppr/vol1/iss1/1%0AThis>

Friedman, L. W., & Friedman, H. H. (2008). The New Media Technologies: Overview and Research Framework. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1116771>

Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. (M. Steele, Ed.) (First). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Fuchs, C. (2018). Propaganda 2.0: Herman and Chomsky 's Propaganda Model in the

Age of the Internet , Big Data and Social Media. In *The Propaganda Model Today: Filtering Perception and Awareness* (pp. 71–92). London: University of Westminster Press: Pedro-Carañana.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.16997/book27.f>

Gabay, J. (2009). The Engineering of Consent. In *Soul Traders* (pp. 8–16). Singapore, SINGAPORE: Marshall Cavendish. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/dogukdeniz-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3017181>

Gabr, I. (2014). Orientalism, Palestinian Nationalism, and Israeli Repression. Retrieved September 1, 2019, from <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/06/20/orientalism-palestinian-nationalism-and-israeli-repression/>

Gelvin, J. L. (2014). *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=GDaZAgAAQBAJ>

Ghazal, K. (2007). Zionist Ideology is an Obstacle to Settling the Conflict with the Palestinians. Retrieved May 1, 2019, from <http://www.alhayat.com/article/1331806>

Gilboa, E. (2002). Global Communication and Foreign Policy. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 731–748. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/52.4.731>

Givel, M. (2007). Consent and Counter-Mobilization: The Case of the National Smokers

Alliance. *Journal of Health Communication*, 12(4), 339–357.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730701326002>

Goodseed, O. N. (2015). Ideology and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Excerpts from Peter Abraham 's Tell Freedom. *Research Academy of Social Sciences*, 2(1), 29–45.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections From The Prison Notebooks* (First edit). New York: Lawrence & Wishart and International Publishers.

Greenbaum, S., Gonzalez, B., & Ackley, M. (1986). *Educated Public Relations: School Safety 101. With Engineering Consent*. Pepperdine University Press.
<https://doi.org/ED272981>

Gunder, M. (2011). A Metapsychological Exploration of the Role of Popular Media in Engineering Public Belief on Planning Issues. *Planning Theory*, 10(4), 325–343.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095211413754>

Habib, I. (2005). In Defence of Orientalism: Critical Notes on Edward Said. *Social Scientist*, 33(1/2), 40–46. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3518160>

Hajer, M. (2005). Discourse Theory: Achievements, Arguments and Challenges. *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, 1–31.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

Hamati-Ataya, I. (2015). False consciousness. In M. Gibbons (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of*

Political Thought (First Edit). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Hammoudeh, W., Hogan, D., & Giacaman, R. (2013). Quality of Life, Human Insecurity, and Distress Among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip Before and After the Winter 2008-2009 Israeli War. *Quality of Life Research*, 22(9), 2371–2379. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11136-013-0386-9>

Hanson, E. C. (2017). A History of International Communication Studies. *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, (September), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.63>

Harlow, R. F. (1977). Public Relations Definitions Through the Years. *Public Relations Review*, 3(1), 49–63. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111\(77\)80018-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(77)80018-0)

Hasan, H. (2018). Remembering the Massacre at Deir Yassin. Retrieved June 7, 2019, from <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180409-remembering-the-massacre-at-deir-yassin/>

Hedges, C. (2018). The Film the Israel Lobby Does Not Want You to See. Retrieved from <https://www.truthdig.com/articles/the-dna-industrys-role-in-the-erosion-of-native-rights/>

Henderson, A. (2018). Noam Chomsky: Social Media Outlets Have 'Become Major Forces for Undermining Democracy'. Retrieved September 22, 1BC, from <https://www.alternet.org/2018/12/noam-chomsky-social-media-outlets-have-become-major-forces-undermining-democracy/>

- Henisz, W. J. (2013). Preferences, Structure, and Influence: The Engineering of Consent. *Global Strategy Journal*, 3(4), 338–359. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2042-5805.2013.01064.x>
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (First Edit). New York: Pantheon.
- Hoover, R. S., & Koerber, A. L. (2011). Using NVivo to Answer the Challenges of Qualitative Research in Professional Communication: Benefits and Best Practices: Tutorial. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 54(1), 68–82. <https://doi.org/10.1109/TPC.2009.2036896>
- Howell, C. (2018). Fuchs Chapter 5: The Power and Political Economy of Social Media. Retrieved September 20, 1BC, from <https://medium.com/cu-boulder-cmci-social-media-storytelling/fuchs-chapter-5-the-power-and-political-economy-of-social-media-fdf3ffacd0f0>
- Human Rights Watch. (2009). Israel: White Phosphorus Use Evidence of War Crimes.
- Hutton, J. G. (1999). The Definition, Dimensions, and Domain of Public Relations. *Public Relations Review*, 25(2), 199–214. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111\(99\)80162-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(99)80162-3)
- International Business Publications. (2009). *Jewish Lobby in the United States Handbook: Organization, Operations, Performance*. Washington: International Business Publications.

- Iosifidis, P., & Wheeler, M. (2016). *Public Spheres and Mediated Social Networks in the Western Context and Beyond*. London: Springer.
- Ivanov, I. (2018). What is Big Data Analytics on Social Media? Retrieved from <https://locowise.com/blog/what-is-big-data-analytics-on-social-media>
- Iyengar, S. (2004). Engineering Consent: The Renaissance of Mass Communications Research in Politics. In *Perspectivism in Social Psychology: The Yin and Yang of Scientific Progress* (pp. 247–255). Washington DC: American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10750-018>
- Jackson, R. L., Drummond, D. K., & Camara, S. (2007). What is Qualitative Research? *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 8(1), 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17459430701617879>
- Jaffar, A. A. (2014). Exploring the Use of a Facebook Page in Anatomy Education. *Anatomical Sciences Education*, 7(3), 199–208. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ase.1404>
- Jafni, T. I., Bahari, M., Ismail, W., & Radman, A. (2017). Understanding the Implementation of Telerehabilitation at Pre-Implementation Stage: A Systematic Literature Review. *Procedia Computer Science*, 124, 452–460. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2017.12.177>
- Jhally, S., & Talreja, S. (1998). *Edward Said on Orientalism*. Media Education Foundation. Northampton.

- Kaid, L. L. (2004). Classic books revisited. *Journalism Studies*, 5(3), 409–415.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670042000246142>
- Kampeas, R. (2018). What is AIPAC’s role in the age of Trump? Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/what-is-aipacs-role-in-the-age-of-trump/>
- Kapitan, T. (2004). Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict. In *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues* (pp. 175–191). London: Palgrave.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230204546>
- Karlberg, M. (2011). Discourse Theory and Peace. *The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470672532.wbepp087>
- Kelly, R. E. (2014). *Ha, ha! Made You Look...at Yourself: The “Animated Mockumentary” Manufactures Dissent*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. Long Island University, The Brooklyn Center, Ann Arbor. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1517857829?accountid=15792>
- Kemp, S. (2018). *Digital in 2018*. Hootsuite. Retrieved from <https://hootsuite.com/pages/digital-in-2018>
- Kenen, I. L. (1981). *Israel’s Defense Line: Her Friends and Foes in Washington*. Prometheus Books.
- Kerr, I., Lucock, C., & Steeves, V. M. (2009). *Soft Surveillance , Hard Consent The Law*

and Psychology of Engineering Consent. In *Lessons from the Identity Trail : Anonymity, Privacy and Identity in a Networked Society* (pp. 5–22). Cary, United States: Oxford University Press, USA. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/doguakdeniz-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3054189>

Kh, R. (2015). What Does Big Data Mean for the Future of Social Media? Retrieved June 11, 2019, from <https://www.smartdatacollective.com/what-does-big-data-mean-future-social-media/>

Kimble, J. J. (2005). Whither Propaganda? Agonism and “The Engineering of Consent.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 91(2), 201–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630500291521>

Kivunja, C., & Kuyini, A. B. (2017). Understanding and Applying Research Paradigms in Educational Contexts. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 6(5), 26. <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v6n5p26>

Klapper, J. T. (1948). Mass Media and the Engineering of Consent. *The American Scholar*, 17(4), 419–429. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41206632>

Kowaltzke, A., & Stewart, C. (1997). New Ways and Meanings, 35–68. Retrieved from <http://www.jaconline.com.au/media/downloads/chap03.pdf>

Lamme, M. O., & Russell, K. M. (2010). Removing the Spin: Toward a New Theory of Public Relations History. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, 11(4),

280–362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/152263791001100402>

Larsen, N. (2010). Market Segmentation - A Framework for Determining the Right Target Customers. *Aarhus School of Business*, (May), 1–41. Retrieved from <http://pure.au.dk/portal/files/11462/ba.pdf>

Lee, C.-C. (1989). The Politics of International Communication: Changing the Rules of the Game. *Gazette*, 44(2), 75–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001654928904400201>

Levine, A.-J. (2019). What is the Difference between the Old Testament, the Tanakh, and the Hebrew Bible? Retrieved May 1, 2019, from <https://www.bibleodyssey.org/en/tools/bible-basics/what-is-the-difference-between-the-old-testament-the-tanakh-and-the-hebrew-bible>

LeVine, M., & Mossberg, M. (2014). *One Land, Two States: Israel and Palestine as Parallel States*. University of California Press. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=vnVAAwAAQBAJ>

Liberini, F., Redoano, M., Russo, A., Cuevas, A., & Cuevas, R. (2018). *Politics in the Facebook Era: Evidence from the 2016 US Presidential Elections*. Mimeo.

Lieberman, M. Y., & Church, K. W. (1992). Text Analysis and Word Pronunciation in Text-to-speech Synthesis. In S. Furui & M. M. Sondhi (Eds.), *Advances in Speech Signal Processing*. Marcel Dekker. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/230876257%0AText>

- Lieberman, R. C. (2009). The “Israel Lobby” and American Politics. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(2), 235–257. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40406928>
- Lieberman, R. C. (2014). The “Israel Lobby” and American Politics. *American Political Science Association*, 83(4), 1125–1142. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.139.3555.644>
- Lin, H. C. (2017). How Political Candidates’ Use of Facebook Relates to the Election Outcomes. *International Journal of Market Research*, 59(1), 77–96. <https://doi.org/10.2501/IJMR-2017-004>
- Lincoln, Y. ., & Guba, E. . (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 106–117). Newbury Park, Calif, US: Sage.
- Linning, R. (2005). Abuse and Self-abuse – PR and its USP, Plausible Deniability. *Journal of Communication Management*, 9(1), 65–72. <https://doi.org/10.1108/13632540510621452>
- Litvak, M., & Webman, E. (2003). Perceptions of the Holocaust in Palestinian Public Discourse. *Israel Studies*, 8(3), 123–140.
- Liu, S. (2015). *Advertising Greenness in China: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Corporate Online Advertising Discourse*. University of Edinburgh.
- Loeffeler, J. (2019). How “Hatikvah” (The Hope) Became Israel’s National Anthem. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from

<https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/hatikvah/>

Logan, R. K. (2010). "New Media" and Marshall McLuhan: An Introduction. In *Understanding New Media: Extending Marshall McLuhan* (p. 389). Peter Lang.

Lotha, G. (2014). United Nations Resolution 181. Retrieved June 6, 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Nations-Resolution-181>

Madikiza, L., & Bornman, E. (2007). International Communication: Shifting Paradigms, Theories and Foci of Interest. *Communicatio*, 33(2), 11–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02500160701685391>

Mahmoud, A. A. (2015). *Political Economy of Social Media we Use or we are Used? Institute of Communication Acoustics*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290929554>

Malik, Z. (2017). *The Role of Israel Lobby in U. S. Foreign Policy Towards Israel*. Kinnaird College for Women Lahore.

Manor, I. (2014). Exclusive interview with the director of Israel's Digital Diplomacy Unit. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://digdipblog.com/2014/03/30/exclusive-interview-with-the-director-of-israels-digital-diplomacy-unit/>

Manor, I. (2015a). Israel & Terror: A Case Study in Nation Branding. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://digdipblog.com/2015/11/26/israel-terror-a-case-study-in->

nation-branding/

Manor, I. (2015b). On Israeli Networked Diplomacy. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://digdipblog.com/2015/09/03/on-israeli-networked-diplomacy/>

Manor, I. (2016). *What is Digital Diplomacy, and How is it Practiced around the World? A Brief Introduction. The 2016 Annual Review of the Diplomatist Magazine* (Vol. 3). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000238666>

Manor, I. (2017). Digital Diplomacy in 2016: Summary of Israel's First Digital Diplomacy Conference. In *Research Gate* (p. 49). Israel: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316191349_Digital_Diplomacy_in_2016_Summary_of_Israel's_First_Digital_Diplomacy_Conference

Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). America's selfie: How the US portrays itself on its social media accounts. In M. K. Corneliu Bjola (Ed.), *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (pp. 89–108). Routledge. Retrieved from <http://www.scopus.com/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-84942059016&partnerID=tZOtx3y1>

Mansour, C., Abu Ramadan, M., Abu Asaba, K., Jabareen, Y., Jamal, A., Haidar, A., ... Naqeeq, F. (2011). *The Israel's General Guide 2011* (1st ed.). Ramalla: Institute for Palestine Studies.

Marcuse, A., Beinir, J., & Hajjar, L. (2009). Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli

Conflict. *The Middle East Research and Information Project*, 11, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.google.com/patents?hl=en&lr=&vid=USPAT1599481&id=KKtLAAAEEBAJ&oi=fnd&dq=Marcuse&printsec=abstract%5Cnhttp://www.google.com/patents?hl=en&lr=&vid=USPAT1599481&id=KKtLAAAEEBAJ&oi=fnd&dq=MARCUSE&printsec=abstract>

Marianne, J., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE (Vol. 37). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

McLeod, S. (2009). Unconscious Mind. Retrieved from <https://www.simplypsychology.org/unconscious-mind.html>

McLeod, S. (2018). What are the most interesting ideas of Sigmund Freud? Retrieved September 20, 2006, from <https://www.simplypsychology.org/Sigmund-Freud.html>

McNair, B. (2011). *An introduction to political communication: Sixth edition*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315750293>

Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2006). The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. *Middle East Policy*, 13(3), 29–87. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2006.00260.x>

Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2007). *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. *Foreign Affairs* (First). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

- Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2009). Is it Love or the Lobby? Explaining America's Special Relationship with Israel. *Security Studies*, 18(1), 58–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410802678031>
- Meng, J., Martinez, L., Holmstrom, A., Chung, M., & Cox, J. (2017). Research on Social Networking Sites and Social Support from 2004 to 2015: A Narrative Review and Directions for Future Research. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 20(1), 44–51. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2016.0325>
- MidEastWeb. (1999). The Basle Zionist Program. Retrieved from <http://www.mideastweb.org/basleprogram.htm>
- Miller, K., McAdam, R., & McAdam, M. (2016). A Systematic Literature Review of University Technology Transfer from a Quadruple Helix Perspective: Toward a Research Agenda. *R&D Management*, 48(1), 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/radm.12228>
- Mitchell, T. R. (1989). The Engineering of Consent: Democracy and Authority in Twentieth- Century America by William Graebner. *History of Education Quarterly*, 29(1), 169–172. <https://doi.org/10.2307/368624>
- Mitra, A. (2011). New Media and Convergence: a Development Communication Perspective. *Global Media Journal*, 2(2), 1–8. Retrieved from http://trends.ifla.org/files/trends/assets/ifla-trend-report-expert_meeting_synthesis_2013-04-26.pdf

- Mora, N. (2009). Orientalist Discourse in Media Texts. *International Journal of Human Sciences*, 6(2), 419–428.
- Muhingi, W. N., Agonga, A., Mainye, M. M., Mong'are, A. B., & Maranga, F. K. (2015). Political Communication for Sustainable Development in Kenya, 5(18), 57–65.
- Munayer, S. J., & Loden, L. (2014). *Through My Enemy's Eyes: Envisioning Reconciliation in Israel-Palestine*. London: Authentic Publishers. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=pSsmAwAAQBAJ>
- Mustafa, M. (2006). Israel: From the Ideological Borders to the Ethnic Borders. *Israeli Issues*, 18–28.
- Mustafa, M. (2018). *Benjamin Netanyahu: Re-framing of the Zionist Project within the Clash of Civilizations Paradigm* (1st ed.). Istanbul: Vision Center for Political Development.
- Naami, S. (2014). *Report Predictions of the Third War on Gaza*. Doha. Retrieved from [http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2014/7/24/2014724112746580734Predictions of the Third War on Gaza.pdf](http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2014/7/24/2014724112746580734Predictions%20of%20the%20Third%20War%20on%20Gaza.pdf)
- Nasser, N. (2017). The Ideological Justification for Zionist Terrorism. Retrieved June 1, 2019, from http://www.ppp.ps/ar_page.php?id=155191ey22354206Y155191e
- Natarajan, K. (2014). Digital Public Diplomacy and a Strategic Narrative for India. *Strategic Analysis*, 38(1), 91–106.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2014.863478>

- Nayyar, S. (2016). Digital Media and Society Implications in a Hyperconnected Era. *World Economic Forum*, (January), 64. Retrieved from http://trends.ifla.org/files/trends/assets/ifla-trend-report-expert_meeting_synthesis_2013-04-26.pdf
- Neal, L. S. (1995). The Roots of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: 1882-1914. *Illinois Wesleyan University*, 27. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history_honproj/27
- Nir, O. (2005). FBI Probe: More Questions Than Answers. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://forward.com/news/3463/fbi-probe-more-questions-than-answers/>
- Norris, P. (2001). Political Communication. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 11631–11640. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/04364-3>
- Obar, J. A., & Oeldorf-Hirsch, A. (2018). The Clickwrap: A Political Economic Mechanism for Manufacturing Consent on Social Media. *Social Media and Society*, 4(3), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118784770>
- Ociepka, B. (2018). Public Diplomacy as Political Communication: Lessons from Case Studies. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(3), 290–303. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118763909>

Okhovat, S. (2011). *The United Nations Security Council: Its Veto Power and Its Reform*.

<https://doi.org/9780980828672>

Okigbo, C., & Nelson, S. (2003). Precision Public Relations: Facing the Demographic Challenge. *Public Relations Quarterly*, 48(2), 29–35. Retrieved from

<https://search.proquest.com/docview/222397955?accountid=15792>

Olsen, W. (2004). Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Can Really Be Mixed. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*,

40(3). <https://doi.org/10.1002/jhbs.20022>

One for Isreal. (2019). The Meaning Behind The Menorah. Retrieved from

<https://www.oneforisrael.org/bible-based-teaching-from-israel/the-meaning-behind-the-menorah/>

Parmar, I. (2000). Engineering Consent: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Mobilization of American Public Opinion, 1939-1945. *Review of*

International Studies, 26(1), 35–48. Retrieved from

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097654>

Pasachoff, N. E., & Littman, R. J. (2005). *A Concise History of the Jewish People*. New

York: Rowman & Littlefield. Retrieved from

<https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=z4eaj09hscAC>

Paulo, J. (2015). Market Segmentation By Psychographic Criteria: an Essay on the Main Psychographic Theoretical Approaches and Its Relationship With Performance

Criteria. *Visión de Futuro Revista Científica*, 19(1), 51–64. Retrieved from http://revistacientifica.fce.unam.edu.ar/%5Cnhttp://revistacientifica.fce.unam.edu.ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=380&Itemid=83

Pelaia, A. (2019a). Greetings for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from <https://www.learnreligions.com/rosh-hashanah-and-yom-kippur-greetings-2076426>

Pelaia, A. (2019b). The Order and Meaning of the Passover Seder. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from <https://www.learnreligions.com/what-is-a-passover-seder-2076456>

Petersen, A. (2007). Biobanks Engagements: Engendering Trust or Engineering Consent??. *Life Sciences, Society and Policy*, 3(1), 31. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-5354-3-1-31>

Petersen, M. B. (2005). *Engineering Consent: Peenemueende, National Socialism, and the V-2 Missile, 1924–1945. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. University of Maryland, College Park, Ann Arbor. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304993491?accountid=15792>

Petre, C. (2018). Engineering Consent: How the Design and Marketing of Newsroom Analytics Tools Rationalize Journalists' Labor. *Digital Journalism*, 6(4), 509–527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1444998>

Phienout, I. (2013). International Communication: Definition & Scope of. Retrieved from <http://kuliahonlinekomunikasi.blogspot.com/2012/01/international->

communication-definition.html

Philbin, G., & Keepnews, D. M. (2014). Edward L. Bernays and Nursing's Code of Ethics: An Unexplored History. *Nursing History Review*, 22(1), 144–158. <https://doi.org/10.1891/1062-8061.22.144>

Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2011). *More Bad News from Israel*. London: Pluto Press.

Pinkus, J. (1996). Foucault. Retrieved from www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/theory/foucault.htm

Plowman, K. D., Wakefield, R. I., & Winchel, B. (2015). Digital Publics: Tracking and Reaching them. *Public Relations Review*, 41(2), 272–277. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.12.007>

Podur, J. (2019). Mind Control: How Social Media Supercharged the Propaganda System. Retrieved September 10, 2019, from https://www.salon.com/2019/01/31/mind-control-how-social-media-supercharged-the-propaganda-system_partner/

Pomerantz, K. (2007). Unconscious / Subconscious. Retrieved September 20, 2006, from <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/unconscioussubconscious/>

Ranjan, P. (2015). Edward Said's "Orientalism": A Post-Colonial Culture Study. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, 20(9), 85–88. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837->

Rear, D. (1995). Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction and Comparison. *Academia*, 7, 1–25.

Richter, J. (2002). Dialogue or Engineering of Consent? Opportunities and Risks of Talking to Industry. *Professional Psychology*.
https://doi.org/10.1163/_q3_SIM_00374

Robins, C. S., & Eisen, K. (2017). Strategies for the Effective Use of NVivo in a Large-Scale Study: Qualitative Analysis and the Repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 23(10), 768–778.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800417731089>

Rongbin, H. (2015). Manufacturing Consent in Cyberspace: China's "Fifty-Cent Army." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 44(2), 105–134.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261504400205>

Ross, S. D. (2003). Framing of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in Thirteen months of New York Times Editorials Surrounding the Attack of September 11, 2001. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 2(2), 1–11. Retrieved from www.cco.regeneration.de

Rovner, A. (2014). *In the Shadow of Zion: Promised Lands Before Israel*. New York and London: NYU Press. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.cy/books?id=Ej_UBAAAQBAJ

- RT. (2017). 43 American Veto in the Service of Israel. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://arabic.rt.com/world/916418-43-أبيي-خدمة-لتل-أمريكي-فيتو-/#>
- Ryan, A. (2006). Post-Positivist Approaches to Research. In *Researching and Writing your thesis: a guide for postgraduate students* (pp. 12–26). <https://doi.org/10.1108/00070701111140115>
- Ryfe, D. M. (2001). History and Political Communication: An Introduction. *Political Communication*, 18(4), 407–420. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600152647119>
- Said, E. (1978). Orientalism. In *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* (pp. 1–57). London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Said, E. (2003). Resources of Hope. Retrieved September 10, 1BC, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20150221221020/http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/631/focus.htm>
- Said, E. W. (1992). *The Question of Palestine. International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions*. New York: Vintage. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12052-007-0003-x>
- Sakuma, A. (2019). Trump Attacks Rep. Ilhan Omar Hours After a Supporter was Charged with Threatening to Kill her. Retrieved from <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/4/7/18299172/trump-ilhan-omar-anti-semitism-jewish-republicans>

- Saleh, M. (2012). *The Palestinian Issue: Historical Background and Contemporary Developments*. Alzaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations. Beirut.
- Saravanamuthu, K. (2002). Information Technology and Ideology. *Journal of Information Technology*, 17(2), 79–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02683960210145977>
- Savigny, H. (2008). Political Marketing. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Politics* (First Edit). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199230952.003.0043>
- Schneider, F. (2013). Getting the Hang of Discourse Theory. Retrieved from <http://www.politicseastasia.com/studying/getting-the-hang-of-discourse-theory/>
- Shakoury, K. (2018). *Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly (2007-2016)*. University of Saskatchewan. Retrieved from <https://ecommons.usask.ca/handle/10388/8577>
- Sharififar, M., & Rahimi, E. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at UN. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 5(2), 343. <https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0502.14>
- Sharone, O. (2002). Engineering Consent: Overwork and Anxiety at a High-Tech Firm. *Berkeley, University of California*, 36, 52. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/4123>

- Sharp, J. M. (2018). *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel*. Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf>
- Sherwood, H. (2013). Israel killed Yasser Arafat, Claims Palestinian Official. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/08/israel-killed-arafat-claims-palestinian-official-polonium>
- Shojaei, A., & Laheghi, F. (2012). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Ideology and Control Factors in News Translation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2(12), 2535–2540. <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.2.12.2535-2540>
- Shurpin, Y. (2017). What Does Chanukah Actually Mean? Retrieved July 1, 2019, from https://www.chabad.org/holidays/chanukah/article_cdo/aid/4203685/jewish/What-Does-Chanukah-Actually-Mean.htm
- Silverstein, R. (2018). Israel is Shutting Down its Critics on Social Media. It Happened to Me. Retrieved from <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/israel-shutting-down-its-critics-social-media-it-happened-me>
- Smith, G. F. (2016). *Big Israel: How Israel's Lobby Moves America*. U.S: Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy, Inc.
- Smith, G. F. (2018). An Overview of the Israel Lobby Agenda. Retrieved from <https://www.wrmea.org/018-may/an-overview-of-the-israel-lobby-agenda.html>
- Smudde, P. M., & Courtright, J. (2010). Public Relations and Power. In R. L. . Heath

(Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of public relations* (pp. 177–186). USA: Sage.

Stand for Israel. (2009). Stand for Israel. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/StandforIsrael/about/?ref=page_internal

StandWithUs. (2007). StandWithUs. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/StandWithUs/about/?ref=page_internal

Statista. (2018). Number of Facebook Users in the United States from 2017 to 2023. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/408971/number-of-us-facebook-users/>

Stevenson, R. L. (1992). Defining International Communication as a Field. *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(3), 543–553. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909206900302>

Tamimi, N. (2018). Cambridge Analytica Political Communication Model: Fake News and Engineering of Consent. *Al Jazeera Centre for Studies*. Retrieved from <http://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/mediastudies/2018/05/180508093028286.html>

Tanoue, L. T. (2000). Cigarette Smoking and Women's Respiratory Health. *Clinics in Chest Medicine*, 21(1), 47–65. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-5231\(05\)70007-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-5231(05)70007-1)

The Guardian. (2014). Israel-Palestinian Peace Talks: the Key Issues. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/30/israel-palestinian-peace-talks-key-issues>

The Israel Lobby Archive. (2008). The Israel Lobby Archive. Retrieved December 12, 2018, from <http://www.israellobby.org/bigisrael/default.asp>

The Israel Lobby Archive. (2017). The Israel Lobby: Israel Affinity Organizations. Retrieved from <https://www.israellobby.org/bigisrael/default.asp>

The Israel Project. (2009a). *The Israel Project's 2009 Global Language Dictionary*.

The Israel Project. (2009b). The Israel Project. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/theisraelproject/about/?ref=page_internal

The New Arab. (2017). This is How Many Times the US Has Used its Veto for Israel's Sake. Retrieved from <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/blog/2017/12/19/how-many-times-has-us-backed-israel-at-un>

The Palestinian Return Centre. (2017). *Giving Away Other People's Land: The Making of the Balfour Declaration*. The Palestinian Return Centre. London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230286139_5

Thompson, M. J. (2015). False Consciousness Reconsidered: A Theory of Defective Social Cognition. *Critical Sociology*, 41(3), 449–461. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920514528817>

Tivnan, E. (1988). *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Polic*. New York: Touchstone Book.

- Tufekci, Z. (2014). Engineering the Public: Big Data, Surveillance and Computational Politics. *First Monday*, 19(7), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v19i7.4901>
- United Jerusalem. (2015). United Jerusalem. Retrieved December 1, 2018, from <http://www.unitedjerusalem.com/Advertisements.html#Emunah>
- United Nations. (2014). Key Issues at Stake. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/unispal/permanent-status-issues/>
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (2017). Introduction to the Holocaust. Retrieved June 7, 1BC, from <https://www.ushmm.org/learn>
- United With Israel. (2010). United With Israel. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://www.facebook.com/unitedwithisrael/>
- Valentini, C. (2015). Is Using Social Media “Good” for the Public Relations Profession? A Critical Reflection. *Public Relations Review*, 41(2), 170–177. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.11.009>
- Valerie, C. (2012). Corporate Facebook Pages: When “Fans” Attack. *Journal of Business Strategy*, 33(2), 22–30. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02756661211206717>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Ideological Discourse Analysis. *New Courant*, 4, 135–161.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>

Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. SAGE Publications.

London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Retrieved from
<http://content.wkhealth.com/linkback/openurl?sid=WKPTLP:landingpage&an=00004836-201307001-00008>

Van Dijk, T. A. (2004). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352–371). UK: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006a). Critical Discourse Analysis. In *A Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Vol. 20, pp. 353–371).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/b.9780631205968.2003.00019.x>

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006b). Discourse, Context and Cognition. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 159–177. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445606059565>

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006c). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 115–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310600687908>

Van Zoonen, L. (2017). False Consciousness as Media Effect. In *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects*. Wiley-Blackwell.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764>

VanderStoep, S. W., & Johnston, D. D. (2009). *Research Methods for Everyday Life*.

Methods in molecular biology (Vol. 702). United States of America: Jossey-Bass.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-61737-960-4_9

Verbeeten, D. (2006). How Important is the Israel Lobby? Retrieved September 20, 2005,
from <https://www.meforum.org/1004/how-important-is-the-israel-lobby>

Viser, M. (2003). Attempted Objectivity: An Analysis of the New York Times and Ha'aretz and Their Portrayals of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 8(4), 114–120.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180x03256999>

Visual Memory. (2014). Media Representation. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from
<http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Modules/FM34120/represent.html>

Volkmer, I. (2013). International Communication Theory in Transition: Parameters of the New Global Public Sphere. Retrieved from <http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/legacy/papers/volkmer.html>

Walsh, B. (2002). Media Literacy for the Unconscious Mind. *Journal of New Media and Culture*, 1(1), 1–15. Retrieved from
<http://www.ibiblio.org/nmediac/winter2002/mind.html>

Waxman, D. (2010). The Israel Lobbies: A Survey of the Pro-Israel Community in the United States. *Israel Studies Review*, 25(1), 5–28.
<https://doi.org/10.3167/isf.2010.250104>

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (2nd Edition). Wiley-Blackwell.

Whisnant, C. (2012). *Foucault & Discourse: A Handout for HIS 389*. Retrieved from http://webs.wofford.edu/whisnantcj/his389/foucualt_discourse.pdf

Winstanley, A. (2012). Leaked Email Shows Israel Lobby Group BICOM Plans Propaganda Tour for Bloggers. Retrieved September 20, 2005, from <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/asa-winstanley/leaked-email-shows-israel-lobby-group-bicom-plans-propaganda-tour-bloggers>

Winstanley, A. (2014). Israel Tech Site Paying “Interns” to Covertly Plant Stories in Social Media. Retrieved April 20, 2005, from <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/asa-winstanley/israel-tech-site-paying-interns-covertly-plant-stories-social-media>

Wistrich, R. S. (2003). The Old-New Anti-Semitism. *The National Interest*, 72(72), 59–70.

Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E., & Sheaffer, T. (2013). Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 115–137. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161212471716>

Yeasmin, S., & Rahman, K. (2012). “Triangulation” Research Method as the Tool of Social Science Research. *Bup Journal*, 1(1), 154–163. Retrieved from <http://www.bup.edu.bd/journal/154-163.pdf>

Ynetnews. (2009). The Oslo Accords. Retrieved June 5, 2019, from <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3064378,00.html>

Zainal, Z. (2007). Case Study as a Research Method to Study. *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 10(4), 281–294. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065\(96\)90002-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065(96)90002-X)

Zochrot Organization. (2014). al-Nakba. Retrieved June 1, 2019, from zochrot.org/en/contentAccordion/nakba

Zubair Haider, S., & Dilshad, M. (2015). Higher Education and Global Development: A Cross Cultural Qualitative Study in Pakistan. *Higher Education for the Future*, 2(2), 175–193. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347631114558185>