

**T.C. KOCAELI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
RADYO TELEVİZYON SINEMA ANA BİLİM DALI
RADYO TELEVİZYON SINEMA BİLİM DALI**

**ISRAEL'S MEDIA DISCOURSE IN ARABIC ON SOCIAL
NETWORKS REGARDING THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM**

(YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ)

Ali YOUSFAN

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ÖZET

Çalışma, özellikle Amerikan Yönetimi'nin Kudüs'ü "İsrail" devletinin başkenti olarak tanınmasından önce ve sonra, sosyal medya ağlarında İsrail-Arapça medyanın Kudüs'e ilişkin söyleminin özelliklerini belirlemeyi amaçladı.

Bu betimsel araştırmanın doğası gereği araştırmacı üç metodoloji kullanmıştır; anket çalışması yaklaşımı, söylem analizi yaklaşımı ve karşılıklı ilişkileri inceleme yaklaşımı. Araştırma araçları içerik analizi formu, söylem analizi formu ve görüşmeden oluşmaktadır. Facebook'taki çalışma örnekleminin büyüklüğü (255), ve "İsrail Arapça konuşuyor" sayfasında yayınlanan (165) tweet ve Benjamin Netanyahu'nun web sayfasında (90) tweet gönderiyi içeriyordu, 11/11/2017 ile 30/4/2018 tarihleri arasında geçerlidir.

Çalışma, Kudüs'teki Yahudi yerleşiminin (İsrail) söyleminin önceliklerinden biri olduğu ve Kudüs'ün (İsrail) başkenti ilanını meşrulaştırmadaki en önemli hedeflerinden biri olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Dezenformasyon ve müstehcenlik, İsrail medyasının söylem stratejilerinde en üst sırada yer aldı. "İsrail" söyleminde Kudüs'e yönelik mantıksız argümanlar hareket ettiğinden, inkar da en üst düzeydeydi. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri uluslararası aktörler arasında ilk sıradaydı ve (İsrail) medya söyleminin referans çerçevelerinde dini referans ön plandaydı.

Çalışma, Kudüs şehrinin sorunlarının desteklenmesini, Kudüslülere yerel, Arap ve uluslararası destek sağlanmasını, Filistin halkının toprakları üzerindeki yasal yetkilerinin oluşturulması, sosyal medya platformlarında kullanılan Filistin medya söyleminin yenilenmesi ve geliştirilmesi, ve "İsrail" anlatısının yarattığı çarpıtmalarla yüzleşmek için uzmanlaşmış bir Filistin medyası kadrosu geliştirmek önerildi.

ABSTRACT

The study aimed to identify the features, and characteristics of the media discourse (Israeli) in the Arabic language on social communication networks towards Jerusalem, specifically, before, and after the US administration recognized it as the capital of the State of Israel, Three objectives emerge from this goal: the first relates to the analysis of content and form, the second: analyzes the discourse, and the third is to a methodological comparison.

The study belongs to descriptive research due to the nature of the study, and that, the researcher used three different approaches, namely, the survey studies approach, the discourse analysis approach, and the corresponding relationship study approach.

The study tools were the content analysis form, the discourse analysis form, and the interview tool, where the size of the study sample on Facebook and Twitter was (255) posts, and tweets, amounting to (165) posts on the Israel page that speaks Arabic, (90) tweets on Benjamin Netanyahu's page from 1/11/2017 until 30/4/2018.

The study concluded that settlement in Jerusalem was one of the priorities of the (Israeli) discourse, and the most important objectives of the speech were to legitimize the declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of (Israel), disinformation and obfuscation came at the forefront of the media discourse methods, and falsity was ranked at the highest level as one of the irrational paths of demonstration in the Israeli discourse towards Jerusalem, and the United States was at the forefront of international actors in which the religious reference came to the fore in the frames of reference for the (Israeli) media discourse.

The study recommended supporting the issues of the city of Jerusalem, providing local, Arab, and international support for Jerusalemites, legally establishing the jurisdiction of the Palestinian people over their lands, renewing the Palestinian media discourse used on social media platforms, and developing a specialized Palestinian media cadre to review what the Israeli narrative has distorted.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of history, humans have been able to build bonds of communication between them, especially since they are social by nature, as the means of communication between them have gone through many stages of development over time, and it developed remarkably and rapidly with the boom built by technology recently, especially after the coverage of the Internet of the earth, to become a small village.

In 2004, Facebook appeared, which is a social network with high capabilities, which increased the percentage of its users to reach about two billion users in 2019, which prompted investors in communications technology to produce other applications that had the greatest impact in creating different types of social communication, including Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Snapchat, Google Plus, and others. (FACEBOOK, n.d.)

With the beginning of its occupation of the land of Palestine, the Israeli occupation launched a war of ideas to control minds, break the morale of Palestinians and Arabs, and to work to break up their unity which we find that it spares no effort in promoting a set of false claims, "a land without a people for a people without a land" to uproot the Palestinians, and the "Israeli" propaganda accompanied during the stages of its continuous aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arabs by developing its tools and methods, and with every aggression and war it wages, it harnesses its propaganda resources to achieve a set of goals that are consistent with its various colonial ambitions and focuses its propaganda efforts on various local, Palestinian and Arab levels.

During the Palestinian-Israeli Camp David summit, in the year 2000 AD, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak focused on the issue of the "Temple Mount", to highlight the religious dimension in the struggle over Jerusalem versus its political dimension, as an attempt to justify the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem, which international legitimacy resolutions consider part of the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967 AD and call upon Israel to withdraw from it. (SHARIF, 2016)

Since that story, the Israeli rhetoric has intensified to the need to maintain control over the holy city on the pretext of the presence of the ruins of the Second

Temple under it, Noting that this claim was not confirmed by the excavations by the occupation, as the Israeli archaeologists did not reveal their results, and until today, they have only found Roman, Byzantine and Islamic monuments, which refutes the claims of the occupier, and confirms the Palestinian people's ownership of Jerusalem, as it is the capital of the Palestinian state, the first Qibla for Muslims, the meeting place of civilizations, and the cradle of the monotheistic religions, which made it a focus of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

It can be said that the strategy of the conflict with the "Israeli occupation" has undergone a dramatic change recently and it was represented in the use of "Israel" in addition to its armed struggle and active diplomacy, and the organized propaganda discourse, which has recently witnessed remarkable activity, especially after the US administration declared Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, contrary to international charters, laws, and legitimacy, and disregarding the feelings of the Palestinians and millions of Arabs and Muslims around the world.

Nevertheless, in conjunction with the rapid growth, the world is witnessing in the field of communication, specifically social platforms, which have the impact on strengthening the "Israeli narrative" through its ability to pass black propaganda and promote political propaganda and rumors, as well as the possibility of falsifying any facts using the network to make believe that what he sees appear real.

Realizing the "Israeli" occupation of the critical importance of social networks, and their tangible impact on the Arab public, it has endeavored to build Arabic-speaking platforms to communicate with the Arab public, pass on its narrative about Jerusalem, and to promote the Arab normalization project, the most prominent of which was the Israel page in Arabic, the page of the coordinator, the "Israeli" embassy, and "Israel" in Egypt and Jordan.

Finally, the researcher believes in the national importance of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Palestine, and the religious symbolism of the city, that's why the researcher sought to analyze the dimensions of the "Israeli" discourse on Jerusalem, and through social networks in Arabic, to learn about the dynamics of this discourse and its foundations, and its role in passing the (Israeli) narrative regarding Jerusalem.

FIRST CHAPTER

1. GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The first chapter aims to explain the most important previous studies that dealt with the topics of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic in social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem, It also reviews the problem of the study, its importance, objectives, and questions, in addition to the theoretical framework of the study, the type of study, its method, tools, society, sample, procedures for validity and reliability, and the terminology used in the study and the division of the study.

1.1. FIRST: THE MOST IMPORTANT PREVIOUS STUDIES

The researcher analyzed the problem of the study more clearly, by conducting a comprehensive survey study of the most prominent topics and studies related to the subject of the study, this was in chronological order from the most recent to the oldest, with a focus on the main themes of the research topic, which are propaganda and media discourse, social networks and the Palestinian cause, and the media and the issue of Jerusalem as follows:

The First Axis: Advertising and media discourse studies:

1. Bassam's study (2019):

The study aimed to identify the Zionist propaganda through social networking sites, by analyzing the meanings inherent in the textual publications, the apparent topics, and the connotations inherent in the photograph.

The researcher adopted the participatory observation tool to elicit the complementary and necessary information from the field, through continuous use of media websites and applications across the network to identify its secrets, learn more about the phenomenon, and analyze it from the inside.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies, during the time period from 6/7/2014 to 26/8/2014.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The Zionist propaganda today is based on new foundations that are changing on a large scale, without compromising other means.
- b. Striving to humanize the soldiers of the Zionist occupation, and to normalize them as ordinary people like us, who have their own homeland and dreams.
- c. The Zionist propaganda machine, through its use of social networks, aimed to create a state of intellectual diaspora and disturbed visions, and to make some facts mere opinions that could be modified.

2. Kandil Study (2019):

The study aimed to identify the opinion materials related to the issue of prisoners in the Palestinian daily newspapers, to monitor the extent of interest in them, and to reveal the extent to which they address the issue of prisoners.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies, where the researcher used the survey studies method and in its framework he used the content analysis method, in addition to the interrelationships approach in which the systematic comparison method was employed, The study tool was a content analysis form to collect and classify data and information, and the study sample included Palestinian newspapers (Palestine, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida Al-Ayyam, Al-Quds), during the time period from 1/1/2017 until 31/12/2018.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. There is a discrepancy between the Palestinian newspapers in mentioning the issue of the prisoners, as Al-Quds newspaper ranked first with 50%.
- b. The issue of the prisoners' strike came first in the Palestinian newspapers under study.

- c. The author of the article came first before the caricature as the most important source.

3. Abu Shanab Study (2017):

The study aimed to identify the “Israeli” propaganda discourse during the 2014 aggression on Gaza, by analyzing the meanings inherent in textual publications, the apparent topics, and the connotations inherent in the photograph.

This study belongs to descriptive studies, where the researcher relied on the discourse analysis method using the latent meaning analysis and image analysis tools on a selected sample of 120 out of 250 published on the page of the (Israeli) army spokesman Avichay Adraee in Arabic on Facebook during the (Israeli) aggression against Gaza, during the time period from 6/7/2014 to 26/8/2014.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a. The propaganda discourse "Israeli" worked to justify the targeting of Palestinian civilians and to show concern for their safety.
- b. Adraee's publications focused on holding Hamas Movement responsible for the killing and destruction, and deprived it of its Islamic character.
- c. The "Israeli" propaganda discourse deliberately ignored the achievements of the resistance, in return for exaggerating the achievements of the "Israeli" army, and consolidating its image as an indomitable army.

4. Al-Masdar Study (2016):

The study aimed to identify the nature and characteristics of propaganda in the Egyptian electronic newspapers towards Hamas, relying on the analysis of quantitative and qualitative content, and measuring the impact of the ruling political ideology in Egypt on propaganda in electronic newspapers, with an explanation of the aspects Similarities and differences in all areas.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies within the survey studies approach, and in its framework the method of content analysis was used, and the

researcher also resorted to using the interrelations approach, and in its framework he used the method of systematic comparison and correlational studies, and the researcher used the content analysis form, where the sample of the study included the issues issued by Al-Masry Al-Youm and Al-Ahram newspapers, during the time period from 2/7/2013 to 30/6/2014.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a. The topics of Hamas' policies towards Egypt were the topics that the two study newspapers focused on.
- b. The propaganda in the two study newspapers aimed at distorting Hamas, and differentiating between it and the sects of the Palestinian people.
- c. The two newspapers of the study focused in their propaganda towards the Hamas movement on the methods of martyrdom such as: delegitimization, blaming, launching negative labels, and employing illogical propaganda based on addressing the reader's conscience.

5. Al-Yazuri study (2015):

The study aimed to assess the compatibility of the Palestinian media discourse with international humanitarian law during the 2012 aggression, as well as identifying international reports that stated that the media discourse of the Palestinian resistance violated international humanitarian law and an attempt to know how accurate is it .

This study belongs to the analytical descriptive studies, the researcher also worked on using the historical method and collecting various data from various media close to the resistance or affiliated with it through the use of the questionnaire tool, through the comprehensive survey method for a sample of (149) employees working in the media field, during the year 2015.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a. The commitment of the Palestinian media in support of the resistance to the standards of international humanitarian law from the point of view of Palestinian media workers.

- b. The limited role and influence of government media in formulating policies related to international humanitarian law.
- c. Limited media expertise and training of workers in the media field of international humanitarian law, and lack of training and external expertise.

6. Adwan Study (2012):

The study aimed to clarify the role played by the “Israeli” press in dealing with humanitarian, social, political and economic issues during the war on Gaza in 2008-2009.

This study belongs to the analytical descriptive studies, where the researcher used the method of content analysis, using the historical and comparative method, and the data was collected by means of a content analysis form, and the sample consisted of three Hebrew newspapers, namely: Ha’aretz, Yedioth and Ahronoth, and Ma’ariv, during the period of time that extended from 27/11/2008 AD, until 18/1/2009 AD, based on the theory of the media agenda.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a. The study newspapers' exploitation of the Palestinian media source to promote the government's policies to the "Israeli" public opinion.
- b. The low credibility and impartiality of the newspapers in question as a result of their tendency to play a tactical role for the benefit of the Israeli military and political establishment.
- c. The newspapers under study tended to work on a complete obfuscation and misinformation of the course of the war in Gaza towards the internal Israeli public opinion.

7. Abu Mazyad study (2013):

The study aimed to monitor and analyze the Palestinian journalistic discourse towards the issue of Palestinian reconciliation, to identify its theses, to monitor the characteristics and roles attributed to the active forces, and the arguments on which the producers of the discourse rely, and to identify the aspects of agreement and differences between Speech of Al-Hayat Al-Jadida and Palestine newspapers during (2009-2012 AD).

This study belongs to the comparative descriptive studies, where the researcher used the discourse analysis method, the survey studies method, and the interrelationship study method for a sample of Al-Hayat Al-Jadida and Palestine newspapers, starting from February 11, 2009 AD until February 21, 2012 AD.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a. The government's thesis in the two study papers received the largest percentage of theses of reconciliation.
- b. The absolute negativity of the attributes and roles attributed to the United States of America and the occupation.
- c. The presence of a very large impact of the editorial policy of the press institution on its employees.

8. Abu Rumaila Study (2012):

The study aimed to analyze the political texts in the Palestinian and Israeli media discourse during the Gaza war (2008-2009).

This study belongs to the comparative descriptive studies, where the researcher used the content analysis method, and the researcher worked on collecting different data from various audio, print and visual media during the period of time of the war between (2008-2009) AD, and working on analyzing it.

Among the most important results of the study:

- a) Linguistic elements are used in the media discourse, to serve different political goals and agendas.
- b) The European and American media supported the "Israeli" media during its war, considering it a defensive war, not an offensive one, with the so-called just war.
- c) The weakness of the Palestinian media discourse during the war with its focus on humanitarian aspects and sacrifices, not threats and threats.

The second axis: Studies of social networks and the Palestinian cause.

9. Naeem's study (2017):

The study aimed to monitor the "Israeli" propaganda discourse in the Arabic language towards the issue of resistance on social networking sites, to identify the most important topics, and to identify the active forces and the aspects of agreement and disagreement on the study sample on the social networking sites (Facebook) and (Twitter).

This study belongs to the descriptive studies, where the researcher used three approaches: the survey studies approach, in which she used the content analysis method, the discourse analysis approach, in addition to the interrelations approach, and in its framework, the method of systematic comparison was employed, and the sample was collected through two forms: the first for discourse analysis, and the second for content analysis. The sample of the study included the coordinator's (Al-Monassek) page on Facebook, and Avichay Adraee's page on Twitter, during the time period from May 1, 2016 to August 1, 2017, in which the researcher also used the theory of the media agenda and the media framework.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The issue of weapons manufacturing topped the two pages of the study, followed by the shooting by the Palestinian resistance.
- b. In its media discourse, the two pages of the study relied on official and unofficial "Israeli" sources of data and information, where the goal of misinformation and obfuscation ranked first, followed by the goal of distorting the resistance.
- c. The vocabulary of terrorism topped the theses in which the two pages of the study described the Palestinian resistance, and the characteristics and roles of the active Palestinian forces were dominated by the negative role, while the positive role prevailed over the active Israeli forces.

10. Hitchcock Study (2017):

The study aimed to identify the boycott movement known as (BDS) and its impact, based on direct follow-up of what is published by the officials of the movement on social networks, which target "Israel" because of its repeated attacks against the Palestinians.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies that used the survey method in their follow-up to the movement's activity, trends and activity, and the size of the impact on "Israel" at the political, media and economic levels, where the researcher resorted to collecting data by periodically observing the publications of those responsible for the BDS movement on social networks, and the views of the opponents or supporters of the page's followers, and the study sample consisted of the BDS movement pages on social networks, and relied on the theory of uses and rumors.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The BDS movement has shown on social networks that there is great support for it against Israel, specifically in European countries.
- b. The number of its supporters is expected to grow significantly in the coming period.
- c. The BDS movement has proven its ability to pressure Israel and push it to take measures contrary to its general policies to overcome the losses resulting from the movement's activity.

11. Skeik study (2014):

The study aimed to identify the impact of social networks and the role they play in educating Palestinian youth about their national issues, as well as presenting the most prominent national issues addressed by social networks.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies that used the survey method, in which the researcher worked in its framework to use the method of content analysis and audience survey, and through three tools through which the data in question were collected, namely: the content analysis form, the management of the personal interview, in addition to the electronic survey newspaper. The study sample also

included the two pages of Gaza Now and Al Quds News on social networks (Facebook), during the time period from 1/6/2013 to 31/8/2018, while the field study included a sample of 426 Palestinian youth, as the researcher also used the personal interview tool for a number of activists in the media, political and academic fields, relying on the theory of uses and gratifications.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The (Facebook) network ranked first as the most used network by the respondents in raising awareness of national issues, followed by Twitter in the second place by a large margin, and then the rest of the other networks.
- b. Pictures topped the ranking for the use of multimedia in presenting issues on social networking sites, followed by caricatures, and in the last place were videos.
- c. The degree of confidence of Palestinian youth in the content provided by social networks reached 64.8%, which is a medium degree.

12. SEO Study (2014):

The study aimed to identify the visual media propaganda published by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as well as the Israeli army during the 2012 war on the social networking site (Twitter) for the purpose of analyzing the visual dimensions of the published content.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies that used the survey method and in its framework the method of content analysis was used, in addition to the interrelationships approach, in which the researcher resorted to the method of systematic comparison, where he worked to collect data through the content analysis form, and the study sample included all images related to the 2012 war published on (Twitter) during the time period from 11/14/2012 to 1/13/2013, knowing that the sample size was 243 images, which were collected using the comprehensive inventory method, during which the media framework theory was used.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. Resistance and internal unity topped the issues of the "Israeli" propaganda that appeared through the published photos.
- b. The hidden propaganda and its declared counterpart shared the results of the "Israeli" classification of propaganda, while the percentage of public propaganda over its covert counterpart with the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades was slightly more than half.
- c. The logical propaganda "Israel" accounted for 70.8%, while the rest was the share of emotional propaganda, and at the level of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the emotional propaganda accounted for 53.8% and the rest was the share of logical frameworks.

13. Study of Abu Zayd (2012):

The study aimed to identify the extent of the ability and impact of interactive social sites on Palestinian public opinion and political participation, as well as to explain the repercussions of social sites on Palestinian public opinion, and to monitor their contributions to enhancing the volume of political participation.

This study belongs to the analytical descriptive studies in addition to the historical method, where the questionnaire tool was used to poll the opinions of the target sample of the study, the subject of the research, in addition to conducting a series of interviews with academics and specialists in the media field who have the ability to explain the phenomenon from a political, media and social perspective.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The importance of interactive social networking sites in influencing public opinion trends in Palestinian society.
- b. The presence of a noticeable impact of interactive social networking sites in increasing the political awareness of members of society, which was reflected by increasing their responsibility directly to increasing political participation.
- c. The existence of a promising future for social networking sites on political participation, particularly the Palestinian elections.

The Third Axis: Media Studies And The Issue Of Jerusalem.

14. Harara's Study (2018):

The study aimed to identify the methods of propaganda in the Arabic-speaking (Israeli) websites towards the issue of Jerusalem, their types and objectives, and to monitor their most important contents and sources, and the propaganda forms they use.

This study belongs to the descriptive studies, where the researcher used the survey studies method and in its framework used the content analysis method, in addition to the interrelations approach, and in its framework, the systematic comparison method was employed, in which the study tool was a content analysis form for collecting and categorizing data and information. The sample of the study included the Arabic-speaking Times of Israel website, during the time period from 1/7/2017 to 12/31/2017, The researcher also used the theory of prioritization, and media framework theory.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The goal of distorting facts ranked first as one of the goals of (Israeli) propaganda, with a percentage of 27.4%.
- b. The frame of the conflict was topped as one of the reference frames for (Israeli) propaganda, with a percentage of 48.6%.
- c. Political advertising ranked first with 57%

15. Function study (2017):

The study aimed to identify how the Islamic media deals with the issue of Jerusalem, through the study of Al-Quds satellite channel as a sample for the study, and to identify the most important topics covered by this site, the most important objectives, the target audience, the methods and language used to address the issue of Jerusalem on the site.

The study belongs to descriptive research, which relied on several methods, namely the historical, descriptive and content analysis tool in which the systematic comparison method was employed. The sample was determined in one corner of the site only, which is the news corner. The study sample included all the news published

by the site for a month, one day out of each week, starting from 1/6/2017 until 2/7/2017.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The most deserving of people in Jerusalem, based on historical facts, which show that it is 38 centuries old, are the Muslim Arabs.
- b. The political differences in the Palestinian arena have produced another type of media, which is the factionalist media.
- c. Al-Quds TV website is most interested in, in its treatment of the Palestinian issue, the issue of violations by the occupation authorities, with a percentage of 26.81%.

16. Al-Ajala Study (2014):

The study aimed to monitor the press discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem in the Arab international press, analyze it, identify the paths of proof, and monitor the roles of negative and positive actors, and stand on the aspects of agreement and differences between the discourse of the Al-Quds Al-Arabi and Al-Hayat newspapers, and the various elements that were used to highlight the issue of Al-Quds.

The study belongs to descriptive research, and three approaches were used: discourse analysis, survey studies, and interrelationships approach, in which the systematic comparison method was employed. The data of the study was collected through two tools: the press discourse analysis form and the content analysis form. The newspaper sample included the two newspapers Al-Quds Al-Arabi and Al-Hayat, which are published in Britain, and the study sample was determined by the comprehensive survey method. The time sample for the study extends from January 2012 to December 2012, and the sample type was an intentional sample, “which is carried out by deliberate (intended) selection on the part of the researcher for a number of sampling units.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The issue of violations in Al-Aqsa Mosque and settlements received the highest frequency in Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper.

- b. The issue of settlement in London life came at a higher rank, and I proved it by citing numbers and statistics.
- c. The percentage of positive roles of the Palestinian Authority increased in the London-based Al-Hayat newspaper, while the negative roles of the Palestinian Authority increased in Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper.
- d. The focus of the two study newspapers on the news in dealing with the issue of Jerusalem differed from other journalistic forms such as the article, the investigation, the report, and the talk.

17. Amer and Amer Study (2011):

The study aimed to identify the Israeli violations against the Arab and Islamic presence in the city of Jerusalem in the American press.

The study belongs to descriptive research, where the study relied on the discourse analysis method, and the study sample was all press reports published by the New York Times and The Washington Post from September 15, 2010 until October 15, 2010.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. There is permanent support in the study newspapers for the Israeli narratives and justifications against Jerusalem.
- b. The study newspapers omitted information related to "Israeli" practices in violation of international law and United Nations resolutions.
- c. While covering the situation in Jerusalem, the two newspapers of the study ignored the influential historical and political contexts.

18. Chargai Study (2010):

This study aims to identify the future of the city of Jerusalem, as it was prepared shortly after the holding of the International Peace Conference in (Annapolis) last November, while voices were heard within the Israeli government about the possibility of dividing the city.

The study belongs to descriptive research, and the researcher used demographic statistics and indicators for the city, and dealt with the expected security effects in the event of the division of Jerusalem, the legal dimension of the division of Jerusalem.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The high birth rate among Jerusalemite Arabs is almost equal to the Jewish birth rate, which negatively affects the demographic image of the city.
- b. Expanding the boundaries of the Jerusalem municipality, and the surrounding Jewish communities. This step is related to the administrative dimension of the word, not the sovereign dimensions, and it will mean the inclusion of all the city's Jews.
- c. The division of the city of Jerusalem, if it takes place, will inevitably restore it to what it was many decades ago, in which security instability and economic decline.

19. Gould Study (2008):

This study aims to identify the changes that those parties demanded to make to the Jerusalem development plan, drawing attention to two changes that those political circles did not notice: the demographic change and the geopolitical reality, in which it reviews the plans aimed at controlling the Holy City, including the high birth rate, the displacement of Palestinians, housing schemes, and government cooperation in that.

The study belongs to descriptive research, and the researcher used explanatory statistics, starting from the year 1967, to compare the population of Jews versus Arabs, up to the date of the study.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The high rates of Jewish immigration from the city of Jerusalem to the inside and center of the country since the last three decades, in contrast to the increasing rates of Palestinian immigration and housing in the heart of the holy city.

- b. Birth rates on the Arab side are greater than that of Jews, as official statistics indicate that there are 30 births for every thousand Arab people, compared to 25 births for Jews.
- c. The normal ages of the population, where the Jewish youth begins to marry and have children at the age of 25, while the Arab youth begins at the age of 19, and the percentage of Jewish couples wanting to have children immediately is 31%, while the percentage increases among Arabs by 42%.

20. Chargai study (2008):

This study aims to identify the “Israeli” point of view about the city of Jerusalem, the claims about their entitlement to Jerusalem as our capital, and the justifications for their control over it to protect the holy places of other religions, and to preserve Jerusalem as a unified and stable city, just as the Israeli sovereignty over the city will prevent any friction between followers of cultures and religions.

The study belongs to descriptive research, and the researcher used statistics and illustrative tables to prove the sovereignty of "Israel", from the British National Archives from 1863 until the date of the study.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The intifada that erupted in the late 2000s is evidence of the Palestinians' unwillingness to reach a final peace agreement with Israel.
- b. "The Control of Extremist Islam on the Palestinians".
- c. The shortcomings of (Israeli) propoganda in confronting Palestinian and Arab propoganda.

21. Study of Issa, Al-Tahrawi (2006):

This study aims to identify the treatment of Arab newspapers on the Internet about the issues of the Palestinian cause in general, and the dangers threatening the Arab city of Jerusalem in particular, and the form and nature of this treatment, and which Arab newspapers are more interested in this issue than others.

The study belongs to descriptive research, and in its framework, the researchers used the media survey method to analyze the content through the content analysis form, in order to be able to identify how the Arab newspapers on the Internet deal with the issues of the Arab city of Jerusalem and the dangers threatening it. The duration of the study was set at three months during the period between March 15, 2006 and June 15, 2006.

Among the most important results of the study were:

- a. The issue of settlement in the Holy City came first in the study newspapers' concerns with the issue of Jerusalem, followed by the separation wall.
- b. The percentage of the book in the primary sources is almost non-existent, and this indicates that the study newspapers do not communicate with the research centers spread in the city of Jerusalem or that are concerned with the Jerusalem issue.
- c. There is a great disregard for the scenario of demolishing Al-Aqsa Mosque in the study papers.

Study according to the previous studies:

1. Type of Study:

This study agrees with all previous studies in its belonging to descriptive studies, in addition to its agreement with each other in its use of the survey method with the following studies: Abu Shanab Study, (2017); And the study of Adwan (2012; the study of the Masdar, (2016); the Hitchcock study (2017); the Yazouri study, (2015); the study of Naim, (2017), and it differed with the rest of the studies in terms of the method.

It was also similar with some studies in the use of the interrelations approach: the study of aggression (2012); The Ajala, (2014); The study of the Masdar, (2016); Seo Study, (2014; Naeem's study; Skeep Study, (2014); Abu Shanab, (2017).

2. The Study Problem:

This study is consistent with that of Amer (2011); The Ajala, (2014); the Skeep Study, (2014); In one aspect of the study problem related to advertising and

communication sites; However, it differs with previous studies in its handling of the issue of Jerusalem in the “Israeli” means of propaganda on social networking sites, and it differs from it in recognizing the goals, methods and interactive elements as well as the sources that were used in the two pages of the study.

3. The Study Tool:

This study agrees with the study of SEO (2014), in the use of propaganda, and it came to clarify the role of visual propaganda on Twitter in Hamas' conflict with "Israel". Naim's study (2017) also used the promotion of Israeli propaganda toward the issue of resistance using Facebook and Twitter.

The study also agreed with some studies in the use of the discourse analysis form, and the content analysis form: Abu Zaid study, (2012); The Masdar Study, (2016); and the study of Abu Rumailah, (2012); Abuzayda Study (2005); And the study of Al-Yazuri, (2015); The Ajala, (2014).

This is in addition to the existence of a difference between the study and previous studies in the use of the interview method, which the researcher believes may be due to the diversity of the tools used and the nature of the study itself.

4. Theory Used In The Study:

This study is based on the theory of media framework analysis, to study the media, which agrees with the study of SEO (2014); the study of Naim (2017) and the study of Skeek (2014) and Abu Shanab, (2017); ajala, (2014), and it differs with the rest of the studies in terms of the types of theories used in the study.

5. Study population and sample:

This study agrees with the study of Naim (2017); Skeek Study, (2014); Abu Shanab, (2017), with regard to the study community and the two social networking sites (Facebook and Twitter), but it differs from previous studies in terms of sample sources (Israel Speaks Arabic on Facebook, Benjamin Netanyahu’s Twitter page), as these pages were not included in any sample of previous studies.

Limitations of benefiting from previous studies:

1. Assisting in the methodological procedures of the study, formulating the objectives, as well as identifying the tools used in answering the study's questions.
2. Take advantage of it in strengthening the inference on the research problem and its crystallization.
3. Benefiting from the cognitive framework in previous studies, in addition to inferring references and scientific sources related to the subject of the study.
4. Identify the appropriate sample for the study and how to choose it.
5. Assisting in selecting the appropriate data collection tools, namely the discourse analysis form and the content analysis form.
6. Benefit from the results of previous studies in conducting comparative operations, and help in analyzing the results of the study and formulating its recommendations in an appropriate manner.

1.2. SECOND: INFERENCE TO THE PROBLEM

Through the researcher's follow-up of the successive political developments on the international, regional and local arenas, he noticed an increasing growth by the Israeli occupation in promoting its policies using social networks in all languages, as it worked on launching Arabic-speaking platforms on (Facebook and Twitter) sites, and other social media networks targeting the Arab public in particular, in order to use them primarily to present and pass on the Israeli narrative about the Palestinian issue, particularly Jerusalem.

To infer the problem, the researcher conducted an exploratory study divided into two phases: The first phase begins on 11/26/2017, ten days before the decision of the President of the United States of America to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the occupying state "Israel", while the second phase begins from the date of the American decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of "Israel" on 6/12/2017 until 25/2/2018, as follows:

The First Stage:

The first stage included listing the official Arabic-speaking pages on social networks that were approved as a media platform for their affiliated party, and based on the above, a page (“Israel” that speaks Arabic) was selected on the Facebook website: a page affiliated with the "Israeli" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was launched in August 2011 and has a following of 3.2 million, as well as the page of (Benjamin Netanyahu) on Twitter: It is the official account of the former Prime Minister of "Israel" in Arabic, with a number of 2 million followers.

The previous pages were also selected to prove their reliability and to represent them to their affiliates by the administration of the two social networking sites (Facebook and Twitter), and the sites (YouTube and Instagram) were excluded due to their reliance on film materials and rhetorical images that do not fit with the subject of the study. Likewise, the Arabic-speaking “Israeli” pages that are not primarily interested in the subject of the research were excluded, such as: the (“Israeli” embassy) page, the (“Israel” in Egypt) and (“Israel” in Jordan) page, and the (coordinator Avichai Adraee’s) page.

The Second Stage:

At this stage, the exploratory study was conducted by limiting the materials related to the issue of Jerusalem and published on the two pages of the study, starting from 11/26/2017 until 25/2/2018, given that it recorded the indicators that preceded the US administration’s decision by ten days.

The interactions that followed the decision were presented over a period of two months on the social network Facebook, with 26 posts on (Facebook), in addition to 38 tweets on (Twitter). The exploratory study resulted in the following:

1. The methods of the "Israeli" propaganda rhetoric used with the issue of Jerusalem varied, as the method of deception and obfuscation obtained a percentage of 59.8%, while the method of justification obtained a percentage of 40.2%.
2. The two pages of the study focused on the hashtag, which accounted for 73.8%, while the use of pictures and drawings represented 26.2%.

3. The characteristics and roles of the “Israeli” active forces were positive, and on the contrary, the Palestinian active forces were negative in the “Israeli” pages.
4. The frames of reference on which the "Israeli" propaganda discourse was based were distributed among the political frameworks at 63.5%, followed by the religious frameworks with 22.3%, while the security framework represented 14.2%.

Emotional solicitation ranked first in the paths of proof, arguments, and evidence on which the “Israeli” propaganda discourse was based on the two pages of the study, at a rate of 57.4%, while the remaining percentages were distributed between citing facts and presenting a single point of view at rates of 28.7% and 13.9, respectively.

1.3. THIRD: THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

The problem of the study lies in monitoring the “Israeli” propaganda discourse in the Arabic language towards the issue of Jerusalem through social media, by identifying the topics of the issue of Jerusalem in these networks, and the degree of interest of the two pages of the study in them, and identifying the objectives and methods of this discourse, and its primary sources, as well as analyzing the theses, demonstrating paths, frames of reference and the active forces in them, and identifying the similarities and differences between the two pages of the study in its media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem.

1.4. FOURTH: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of the study lies in the following:

1. The increased risks surrounding the Palestinian issue in general and Jerusalem in particular, specifically following the US administration's decision to recognize it as the capital of "Israel" and transfer the US embassy there.
2. The rapid growth of social networks, and their increasing influence on the Arab public, particularly after the Arab Spring revolutions.

3. The Israeli occupation's endeavor to pass its narrative on Jerusalem through the extensive use of social media and its targeting of the Arab public in the absence of measures to protect the latter from the occupation's falsification of facts.
4. The direction of the United States of America to remove Jerusalem from the focus of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to try to resolve it in favor of the Israeli occupation.
5. Some political levels, Arab writers and elite thinkers, along with a large segment of the Arab public, were influenced by the Israeli propaganda about Jerusalem.
6. Limited studies related to the media field, according to the researcher's knowledge of the Israeli media discourse in social networks towards Jerusalem.
7. The importance of identifying the most important foundations, tools and methods of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse in order to educate the Palestinian and Arab public.

1.5. FIFTH: OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to identify the features and characteristics of the "Israeli" media discourse in the Arabic language on social media networks towards Jerusalem, specifically before and after the US administration's recognition of it as the capital of the State of "Israel", and three objectives emanate from this goal. The first relates to the analysis of content and form, the second to the analysis of discourse, and the third to a systematic comparison between the two pages of the study, as follows:

I. Objectives of content and form analysis:

1. Identifying the prioritization of issues of the Jerusalem issue in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks.
2. Knowing the objectives of the "Israeli" media discourse in the Arabic language towards the issue of Jerusalem on social networks and the methods of this discourse.
3. Identifying the primary sources of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem.

4. Monitoring the interactive and highlighting elements used in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic regarding the issue of Jerusalem in social networks.

II. Objectives of discourse analysis:

5. Monitoring the theses of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem in social networks.
6. Revealing the evidence paths in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks in its discourse on the issue of Jerusalem.
7. Identifying the active forces in the discourse of the "Israeli" pages in Arabic on social networks on the issue of Jerusalem.
8. Knowing the frames of reference for the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks in its discourse on the issue of Jerusalem.

III. Identifying the similarities and differences in the "Israeli" media discourse on the pages of social networks in Arabic towards the issue of Jerusalem.

1.6. SIXTH: STUDY QUESTIONS

The study revolves around a basic question, which is, what are the characteristics of the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem on social networks in the Arabic language?, and then this question diverges from a set of questions, namely:

I. Content and Format Analysis:

1. What is the priority order of the issues of the Jerusalem issue that were addressed by the "Israeli" pages in Arabic on social networks?
2. What are the objectives of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
3. What are the methods of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?

4. What are the primary sources of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
5. What are the interactive elements used in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic regarding the issue of Jerusalem in social networks?
6. What are the elements of highlighting used in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic regarding the issue of Jerusalem in social networks?

II. Discourse analysis:

7. What are the propositions of the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
8. What are the paths of proof in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
9. What are the Palestinian active forces in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
10. What are the active forces in the "Israeli" in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks towards the issue of Jerusalem?
11. What are the active Arab and Islamic forces in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
12. What are the international forces active in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?
13. What are the frames of reference in the "Israeli" media discourse in Arabic on social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem?

III. What are the similarities and differences in the Israeli media discourse on the pages of social networks in Arabic towards Jerusalem?

1.7. SEVENTH: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Contemporary media studies are keen to rely on multiple theoretical frameworks that contribute to deepening understanding and interpretation, and

achieving comprehensiveness of the scientific vision of the phenomenon. From this point of view, the researcher relied in preparing this study on two theories:

I. Media Frame Analysis Theory:

The theory presents explanatory models that are used in quantitative analysis to represent the prominent aspects and features of media content. Among the most prominent models used by the study is Robert Altman's model, which established four basic functions for media frameworks, which are (Abu Mazyad, 2013):

1. Diagnose the problem or issue frameworks and the reasons behind them, and identify the active forces.
2. The frameworks present ethical assessments of the issue.
3. Frameworks develop solutions and attempt to remedy the issue.

The use of theory in the study:

This theory enables the researcher to employ the concept of the framework in the analytical study, given that the central idea around which the events of a particular issue are organized, and the framework is the deliberate selection of some aspects of the event or issue and their visibility in the media text. Therefore, by employing this theory, the researcher worked to monitor the active forces and their roles, the paths of proof and the frames of reference used by the "Israeli" pages in the Arabic language on social networks. (Al-Sayed, 2017)

II. Media Agenda Theory:

Agenda theory is a reformulation of the events surrounding a new template, and its importance in the media is being arranged in proportion to the editorial policy of the media institution in order to convince the audience and change its directions according to the ideological trends of the medium. The theory relies mainly on two methods, namely (Hassouna, 2014):

1. The method of media treatment of facts in terms of choosing sources, focal points, the visual aspect of the message, and other media treatment methods.

2. Directing the public to a particular aspect of the issue at the expense of other aspects of the issue.

The Use of Theory in the Study:

This theory enables the researcher to identify the mechanism of the two pages of the study addressing the issue of Jerusalem, as well as identifying the priorities of the issue of Jerusalem that were used by the two pages of the study in its media discourse toward the issue of Jerusalem.

1.8. EIGHTH: THE TYPE OF STUDY, ITS CURRICULA AND TOOLS

1. Type of Study:

The study falls within the descriptive studies that aim at depicting, analyzing and evaluating the characteristics of a particular group or situation, or studying the current facts related to a particular phenomenon or situation with the aim of obtaining sufficient and accurate information about it. (Hussain, 2005)

The researcher chose this type of study in order to obtain an accurate description of the "Israeli" media discourse in the Arabic language social networks regarding the issue of Jerusalem in order to achieve the study's objectives and answer its questions.

2. Study Methods:

Given the nature of the study, the researcher will use three different approaches to address the subject of the study, as follows:

- a. Survey studies approach: It is used to collect information, data and descriptions of the phenomenon under study, and then analyze and interpret the phenomenon through a set of organized procedures. (Hussain, 2005)
- b. Discourse analysis approach: Discourse analysis falls within the qualitative and interpretive studies approach, and this approach helps in discovering

the relationship between text, discourse and context, in order to reach knowledge of the discourse.

- c. **Interrelationship Study Approach:** This approach is used to study the relations between the facts under study with the aim of revealing the reasons behind the phenomena in order to draw appropriate results that help in positively changing the factors surrounding the phenomenon under study. The researcher uses this method for the systematic comparison between the two pages of the study to reach evidence and conclusions about the differences between them in the propaganda discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem. (Hussain, 2005)

3. Study Tools:

In pursuit of the researcher to achieve the objectives of the study, he used each of the following tools:

a. Content Analysis Form:

It is a set of methodological steps that seek to discover the meanings in the content through objective quantitative research, which organizes the features of the phenomenon in this content. The researcher believes that this tool is one of the most appropriate tools for the research topic; for its ability to analyze appropriately, and in light of this, the researcher worked on building a form to analyze the content of the Jerusalem issue on the two pages of the study. (Abdulhameed, 1992)

b. Discourse Analysis Form:

The researcher worked on employing the discourse analysis method, relying on four tools of analysis; to know more precisely the content and composition of the media discourse: as follows:

b/1 Thesis Analysis Tool:

It is an idea that the discourse producer seeks to convey to the recipient so that the discourse is understood as desired by the producer, in addition to that the thesis is usually used in analyzing the structure of the subject.

b/2 Active Power Tool:

It is a tool that is used to analyze the active forces, whether they are people, institutions, governments, states or organizations, by monitoring the forces contained in the discourse and classifying them according to the study criteria. (AbdelMaqsood, 2017)

b/3 Reference Frames Analysis Tool:

It is a tool that is used to list all the elements in the text such as personal names, names of cities, institutions, treaties, and time periods, where the researcher worked to monitor the frames of reference, whether they were political, security, political, or religious.

b/4 Evidence Path Analysis Tool:

One of the discourse analysis tools used in monitoring and interpreting the arguments and evidence used by the writer or media speaker to prove, deny, or form into statements, ideas, performance, information and facts, where the researcher used this tool to monitor the extraction of the theses presented by the "Israeli" side on the pages of the study to support his hypothesis, by monitoring cases of emotional solicitation, citing facts, linking events, presenting historical evidence, as well as inference with statistical data.

c. Interview Tool:

It is one of the discourse analysis tools used, which is an interview conducted with one or more personalities to obtain information, data, or facts about some events or issues. (Laila Abdel Meguid, 2009)

In this context, the researcher conducted a series of personal interviews with a number of activists in the media, political and academic fields, to complete the cognitive framework, interpret some results and reach conclusions about them.

1.9. NINTH: THE STUDY POPULATION AND ITS SAMPLE

1. Study Community:

The study community is represented in the "Israeli" pages on social networks in the Arabic language, including (Facebook and Twitter), and the community was identified in the two social networks (Facebook and Twitter) because they are the most used by the occupation and the study area, with the exclusion of sites (YouTube, Instagram) for their reliance on film materials and speech images that are inappropriate - from the researcher's point of view - for the subject of the study, and among the most famous Arabic-speaking pages in terms of follow-up (Israel in Jordan, Israel in Egypt, the "Israeli" Prime Minister), the page of the coordinator Avichai Adraei, the Israeli embassy, Benjamin Netanyahu, stand with us in Arabic, "Israel" in Arabic, "Israel" speaks Arabic).

2. Study Sample:

a. Networking Sample:

The researcher chose the two social networks, the most famous and most used by the Palestinian and Arab public, which are (Facebook and Twitter), where the Israeli occupation focuses" on their use in the Arabic language.

b. Pages Sample:

b/1 Facebook Sample:

The "Israel" page that speaks Arabic: It is a page affiliated with the (Israeli) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, launched in August 2011, as a source of information about the State of (Israel) in Arabic, as well as informing its audience of its activities first-hand, in which the number of its followers on Facebook reached 3.2 million. (Israel speaks Arabic, 2022)

b/2 Twitter Sample:

Benjamin Netanyahu's page: It is the official account of the Prime Minister of Israel in Arabic on Twitter, with 2M followers. (Benjamin Netanyahu, 2022)

The reasons for choosing these two pages were as follows:

1. The use of both pages of Standard Arabic in addition to colloquial.
2. Direct supervision and continuous follow-up by the "Israeli" government on the two pages.
3. There is an interaction of the audience of followers from different Arab countries and an increasing demand for the two pages.
4. The two pages are highly professional in presenting the "Israeli" novel.
5. Jerusalem occupied the leading position in the two pages, specifically in the time period under study.
6. Weakness and limited interaction on the English-speaking Hebrew pages with regard to the subject of the study according to the researcher's opinion, unlike other researchers. (Basharat, 2022)
7. Continuous updating of the two pages around the clock by writing posts and tweets.

c. Time Sample:

The study period was set for a period of six months, starting from the date of 11/1/2017, and prior to the decision of the President of the United States of America to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the State of "Israel", until the date of 04/30/2018, and this is to study the Israeli media discourse before and after Trump's decision regarding the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem.

1.10. TENTH: HONESTY AND CONSTANCY PROCEDURES

1. Honesty Procedures:

The researcher must ensure the accuracy of the data analysis processes and the availability of honesty in them. The validity is divided into two types: the first: internal honesty, which means the extent to which the study succeeded in measuring what was designed to measure them, as well as answering the questions that were submitted to answer them, as for the second type: external honesty, it aims to measure the extent to

which the results of the study can be generalized to the community from which the study sample was drawn.

To achieve this, the researcher performed the following actions:

- a. Accurately identifying the categories and tools of content analysis: by relying on the results of the exploratory study, and then identifying the units of analysis that fit the study's objectives to answer its questions.
- b. The researcher worked on designing a content analysis form, and defined its categories accurately and clearly to prevent any overlap between its axes.
- c. A preliminary test of the content analysis form was carried out using some of the materials presented on the two pages of the study, to study its suitability for measurement, and then some notes about the form were recorded, and the necessary modifications were made to it.
- d. The content analysis form was presented to a group of arbitrators and experts in the field of media, to ascertain its suitability for the study.

2. Consistency Procedures:

It is linked to the information and data collection tool, and it is intended to ensure a high degree of consistency, allowing phenomena to be measured with a high degree of accuracy, and to obtain identical or similar results if they are used repeatedly in collecting the same information or data more than once. (Hussain, 2005)

The researcher worked on re-analyzing the content and discourse analysis, for a partial sample of the original sample, 10% of the original sample size, by simple random selection.

Reliability is calculated in several ways, the most famous of which is the (Holsti) method, which measures the extent of stability in analyzing nominal data in light of the percentages of agreement between coders, using the following equation: (Zoughaib, 2009)

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

M: the number of agreements between coders

N: the total number of decisions made by each coder

a. The results of the stability test for the content analysis study:

By applying the above equation to the categories of content study, the results were:

• **The (Israel) page in Arabic:**

- Percentage of issues and topics: 89.8%.
- The percentage of compatibility with advertising goals: 91.5%.
- Advertisement method compatibility ratio: 86.8%.
- Compatibility rate of primary sources: 89.4%.
- The percentage of agreement between sources and documents: 93.5%.
- Compatibility of the reaction elements and highlighting: 92.6%.

Thus, the stability coefficient on the page (Israel) speaks Arabic:

$$\%90.6 = 6/92.6+93.5+89.4+86.8+91.5+89.8$$

• **Benjamin Netanyahu's page:**

- Percentage of issues and topics: 91.2%.
- The percentage of compatibility with advertising goals: 90.9%.
- Advertisement method compatibility ratio: 90.4%.
- Compatibility rate of primary sources: 87.1%.
- The percentage of agreement between sources and documents: 88.9%.
- - Compatibility of the interaction elements and highlighting: 91.9%.

Thus, the stability coefficient on the page (Israel) speaks Arabic:

$$\bullet \quad 90.0\% = 6 / 91.9+88.9+87.1+90.4+90.9+91.2$$

Thus, the stability coefficient on the two study pages is:

$$90.3\% = 2 / 90.0 + 90.6$$

b. The results of the reliability test for the study of discourse analysis:

By applying the above equation to the categories of discourse analysis study, the results were:

• **The (Israel) speaks in Arabic page:**

- Thesis agreement percentage: 90.4%.
- The percentage of agreement paths of proof: 87.9%.
- Compatibility of the active forces: 91.7%.
- Compatibility of reference frames: 89.7%.

Thus, the stability coefficient on the page (Israel) speaks Arabic:

$$89.9\% = 4 / 89.7 + 87.9 + 91.7 + 90.4$$

• **Benjamin Netanyahu's page:**

- Thesis agreement ratio: 93.1%.
- The percentage of agreement of proof paths: 86.7%.
- Compatibility of the active forces: 88.4%.
- Compatibility of reference frames: 94.5%.

Thus, the stability coefficient on the page (Israel) speaks Arabic:

$$90.6\% = 4 / 94.5 + 86.7 + 88.4 + 93.1$$

Thus, the stability coefficient on the two study pages is:

$$\%90.2 = 2 / 90.6 + 89.9$$

1.11. ELEVENTH: THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE STUDY

1. **The "Israeli" media discourse:** It is a linguistic or non-linguistic media message derived from the basic comprehensive "Israeli" formula directed

to several forces with the aim of developing different levels of media discourse. (Elmessiri, 1999)

2. **Social Networks:** A system of electronic networks that allow its subscribers to create their own websites, and link them through an electronic social system with other members who have the same interests and hobbies, a group or friends, including (Facebook) as well as (Twitter) and other related sites. (Awad, 2017)
3. **The issue of Jerusalem:** the capital of the Palestinian state and located in its heart. It rises 750 meters above sea level and has an area of 19,331 km. For the Palestinian state, Jerusalem is a symbol of its steadfastness in the face of aggression, and it is considered one of the oldest cities in the world. Israel occupied its western part in 1948, and then completed its occupation of its eastern part in 1967.

1.12. TWELFTH: DIVISION OF THE STUDY

The study was divided into three chapters distributed as follows:

Chapter one: deals with the general framework of the study, and includes the following:

The most important previous studies, inference on the problem, the problem of the study, the importance of the study, the objectives of the study, the questions of the study, the study's hypotheses, the theoretical framework of the study, the type of the study, its methodology and tools, the society and sample of the study, the basic concepts of the study, the division of the study, and a list of references.

The second chapter: deals with the issue of Jerusalem in the media discourse (Israeli) through social networks, and includes the following:

The first topic deals with the (Israeli) media discourse and its relationship to propaganda and psychological warfare, and the second topic deals with the (Israeli) media discourse about Jerusalem through social networks.

The third chapter: General features, "results of analysis" of the content and form of the Jerusalem issue, and the "Israeli" media discourse towards it on the two pages of the study, and includes the following:

The first topic deals with the general features of the content and form of the issue of Jerusalem in the two pages of the study, and the second topic deals with theses, characteristics and roles of active forces, frames of reference, arguments and proofs, while the third and final topic focuses on the summary, recommendations, and proposals of the study.



CHAPTER TWO

2. THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL NETWORKS

Since the occupation of "Israel" to the western part of the city of Jerusalem in 1948, it has striven to change the geographical and demographic reality of the city, in recognition of the importance of the city and what it represents on the political, historical, religious and cultural levels.

In the wake of the June 1967 war, "Israel" unified the city, after annexing the eastern part of it, and immediately enacted successive laws and legislation in an attempt to implement its previous plan aimed at changing the reality of the city, in which this was evident by targeting the heritage and cultural and historical monuments of an Arab and Islamic character in an attempt to Judaize the city, by targeting the Palestinian person with displacement and restrictions in all aspects of life, and by settling settlers inside the Old City and outside its borders on a continuous and systematic basis. With the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 and until the year 2000, during which the settlement process did not witness any significant and recorded progress in the issue of Jerusalem, especially since the latter was part of the final solution negotiations, which witnessed a decline.

As a culmination of the occupation policies to Judaize Jerusalem, the US administration recognized Jerusalem as the capital of "Israel", in violation of international laws and laws, which some observers considered a gain for the latter, which it sought to promote through the media. Following this decision, Israel ran a media and propaganda campaign with the aim of promoting the decision and mobilizing local and international public opinion in its favor against the Palestinians, using social media platforms, with the aim of presenting its narrative and questioning the Palestinian narrative about Jerusalem.

This chapter presents the issue of Jerusalem in the "Israeli" media discourse through social networks, in two topics:

The first topic: the "Israeli" media discourse and its relationship to propaganda and psychological warfare.

The second topic: the "Israeli" propaganda discourse about Jerusalem through social media.



2.1. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PROPAGANDA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

This topic aims to identify the theoretical framework of the media discourse in general, and the "Israeli" discourse in particular. It also reviews the concept and objectives of psychological warfare, and deals in detail with propaganda as one of the most prominent methods of propaganda in Israel. The topic is divided into four main axes:

2.1.1. FIRST: THE ISRAELI MEDIA:

2.1.1.1. THE HISTORY OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

Looking at what the Zionist movement provided during the stages of preparation for the establishment of a home for the Jews up to the stage of establishing the state of "Israel" as an entity that usurped the land of Palestine until its date, we find that the leaders of the Zionist movement have attached great importance to the media; For their realization of its importance as a primary means to reach their goal, which was approved by the second item of the first conference of the Zionist movement held in Basel, Switzerland in 1897, where he emphasized the importance of information and education in implementing the creation of the Jewish state in Palestine, for its role in spreading the national spirit and national awareness among the Jews of the world. (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

The Zionist movement was able to establish media work on the land of Palestine before the Nakba, and its first serious experiment was in 1942, when it was able to establish the so-called (Editorial Board) and it included the chief editors of important newspapers, and it met periodically at the political level for consultation and coordination in the field of media. (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

The year 1965 witnessed the emergence of the most prominent legal framework for media work after the establishment of the State of "Israel", after the Knesset passed a law on media work, the third item of which specified the function of radio and television, and the rest of the media.

2.1.1.2. THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA SECTIONS:

The government's press office will contribute to disseminating information related to its activities and achievements, as well as providing reporters with news of current events, clarification information about the events and their circumstances, and assisting them in reaching the places where the events are taking place, and news coverage of them, and will organize conferences and press interviews for "Israeli" officials. (Abu Amer, 2018)

The main sections of the "Israeli" media can be reviewed, as follows:
(Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- a. **Party media:** most of them have media outlets with extreme right-wing orientations. On the other hand, we find limited media outlets with left-leaning orientations.
- b. **Army media:** It is considered one of the most important news sources, specifically related to the security situation, as well as military information because of its importance to the state.
- c. **Mass media:** It is supervised by the Broadcasting Authority in "Israel" and it is an independent public authority whose members are elected and its board of directors is entrusted with supervising satellite channels and radio networks.
- d. **Private media:** It is divided into two parts: the first: liberal media that addresses all classes of the Hebrew-speaking public, and its most prominent tools are Channel 2 and Channel 10, along with a group of newspapers, the most famous of which are Yedioth Ahronoth, Maariv and Haaretz, and the second section: factional media that addresses the various sectors of society that do not speak the Hebrew language.
- e. **Individual media:** This type of media is an important source of information and news within the "Israeli" society, due to the limited censorship of its news, as well as its reliance on very private sources that allow it to be ahead in the dissemination of information, in which this is done through the establishment of specialized media websites that use the cyber space to address their audience, the most prominent of which are : : Walla. Star. Nana.

2.1.1.3. ISRAELI DEVICES AND MEDIA:

- a. **Media in the Prime Minister's Office:** (Hassouna N. M., 2018)
 - i. A.1. Governmental Press Office: It is the government's mouthpiece in the face of the local and foreign press. In addition to the newsroom and the press office, it includes a section for publications.
 - ii. Dissemination and Publication Section: It is concerned with planning and implementing government media directed to the "Israeli" society, and directing local public opinion.
 - iii. Central Guidance Office: It is concerned with publishing information about the government, its problems and objectives, and highlighting its achievements.

- b. **Media bodies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:** (Hassouna N. M., 2018)
 - i. The Information Department: One of its main tasks is to supervise the coordination of Israeli media activities in general.
 - ii. International Cooperation Department: It coordinates and monitors technical and scientific cooperation and training programs for nearly 80 countries.
 - iii. The press office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: It is concerned with providing the local press and foreign correspondents with daily news, arranging interviews with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as sending a daily summary of the contents of the "Israeli" press to diplomatic missions abroad.
 - iv. Department of Cultural and Scientific Relations: It is concerned with developing Israel's relations with the countries of the world in the scientific, cultural and artistic fields.
 - v. Official Guests Welfare Section: It is responsible for preparing official guest visits programs and achieving the desire of each of them and working to gain their satisfaction.

- c. **The Media of the Ministry Of Defense, "The Occupation Army":**
(Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- i. The External Cooperation and Liaison Agency: It is concerned with establishing training programs for all fields aimed at building bridges of cooperation with the emerging African and Asian countries.
- ii. Publishing House in the Ministry of Defense: It issues books on various geographical and historical topics and military books related to various weapons, in addition to issuing a large number of weekly and monthly magazines, most notably the weekly magazine (the Barracks) directed to the various weapons of the army.
- iii. Army Museums: These are among the most effective internal media outlets, including: the Haganah Museum, and the Navy, Beit Hashomer, which aims to develop national sentiment.

d. Information Center at the Ministry of Education: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

Responsible for preparing and directing an essential part of the internal media directed to the Jewish communities abroad and the societies of the outside world in general.

e. Media activities of the Ministry of Tourism: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

The financial return is not the only priority for the Ministry of Tourism as a source of local income; Rather, it extends to broadcasting “Israeli” propaganda among the masses of tourists coming to it, believing in the importance of this in creating and consolidating the dimensions of the image transmitted to them in accordance with the “Israeli” policies aimed at reflecting an image that reflects the latter’s narrative, which tourists would transfer to their countries through seminars, associations and television.

f. Press: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. Yedioth Ahronoth: It means the latest news. It prints 400,000 issues per day, and it is the most widely spread among the Hebrew newspapers.
- ii. Maariv: It means evening. It prints 150,000 numbers a day, and it turns to the right, and it spreads among the settlers.

iii. Ha'aretz: It means the country, it prints 100,000 numbers a day, it tends more towards the leftist opposition, it has boldness, open criticism, and it is highly qualified in political analysis.

g. **Radio and Television Institutions:** (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. **"Israel" in Arabic:** It broadcasts 18 hours on short and medium waves. Its broadcast covers Israel and most of the Middle East. Its programs are prepared for Arabic speakers. It broadcasts 17 news bulletins per day, four news programs, and a variety of programs.
- ii. **Radio "Israel" in Hebrew:** broadcasts daily through eight radio stations, at a rate of more than 130 hours per week, and broadcasts various programs and open waves; To broadcast immediate news of events taking place in "Israel" or abroad.
- iii. **Party radios:** They are affiliated with the right-wing or left-wing parties, some of which are prohibited from broadcasting, so they are broadcast from the decks of ships at sea outside the territorial borders of the waters of "Israel".

h. **Cinema and Theatre:** (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- a) Cinema: The Jewish Film and Television Festival, funded by a group of business leaders, is one of the most important Israeli festivals that screens many films about Jews produced inside and outside Israel.
- b) Theatre: Israel pays great attention to theatrical activities as a media tool to serve its goals. For this purpose, it has established many theaters, most notably:
 - a. Halima. Stage
 - b. Uhl Theatre.
 - c. Camdy Theatre.
 - d. The Israeli Opera Theatre.

i. Universities and institutes specialized in public opinion and Arab affairs:

Israel sought to employ universities and institutes to disseminate the "Israeli" media, as well as directing students, whether they are "Israelis" or foreigners, who are studying in the latter, in which The media role played by these educational institutions is represented by providing a link and communication between students and professors on the one hand, and similar institutions in other countries on the other hand, in a way that enables "Israel" to pass its story abroad.

j. Internet sites:

In 2002, the Israeli government decided to use websites as media, and instructed managers working in ministries to insert information materials on their ministries' websites, bearing content that contributes to explaining Israeli policy, while linking them to the websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Presidency of the Government, provided that defining the contents of these articles is within their powers. (Abu Amer, 2018)

2.1.1.4. PRINCIPLES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

The "Israeli" media discourse was based on a number of basic and ideological concepts related to the land of Palestine, which confirms the close link between "Israeli" propaganda and its Zionist counterpart from the political and intellectual aspects based on the following: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- a. Palestine, the Promised Land, God promised to the children of Zion a pure homeland for the Jews for the end of time.
- b. The supremacy of the Jewish people above the rest of the peoples, and the sanctification of Jewish blood, as confirmed by the fatwas of the rabbis.
- c. The Jews have a historical right in Palestine; They are the origin of the population, and they have the right to rebuild the alleged Temple.

Therefore, we find that the "Israeli" media sought to describe the Arabs as "terrorists"; Killers and saboteurs, and that a good Arab is a dead Arab, a metaphor

from the sayings of English immigrants to the United States, when the common proverb was: A good Indian is a dead Indian. (Siver, 2002)

From the above it is possible to highlight the most important principles of the "Israeli" media, which it mainly takes into account when covering its events, which are: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- a) The human touch: by making it impossible to humanize and personalize the "Palestinian terrorism" that "Israel" is facing, by exaggerating the mention of Jewish children.
- b) The rhetorical question: This makes the supporters of the Palestinians face difficulty in answering the questions directed to them, due to the tendency of the "Israeli" media speakers to ask rhetorical questions that can be answered.
- c) Recognizing a cultural presence: to create points of intersection with Western societies, given their sharing of the same culture with the "Israelis", as well as traditions and values.

2.1.1.5. THE CHARACTERISTICS AND ADVANTAGES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

a) Properties: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

- i. Diversity and multiplicity of media.
- ii. The presence of a prominent role for parties in the "Israeli" media.
- iii. Western Jewish domination.
- iv. Great interest in regional news.
- v. Existence of military oversight (Basharat, 2022)

b) Advantages: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. It is not limited to Arabs and Palestinians only, but also has several foci or directions it seeks, including the "Israeli" society in occupied Palestine, Western countries, Western public opinion, the elite in those societies, and Jews living in various countries of the world.

- ii. The accreditation is psychology and sociology, and is based on enticement, excitement, brainwashing and manipulating emotions, and for this it benefits from the expertise of specialists and university professors.
- iii. The "Israelis" do not rely on the media only as a tool for their propaganda, but they use their embassies, their employees, their merchants, and every Jew they can manage to be a tool for their information.
- iv. It is based on a propaganda scheme that includes objectives, tools, stages, intellectual logic, coherent arguments and arguments, so that it addresses people to change their responses through persuasion.
- v. To ensure that their media reaches its goals, the "Israelis" follow the method of "media dumping" whereby the argument is launched and echoes from all the tools, devices and media at the same time, in a way that makes the recipient immersed in the arguments and justifications you present.
- vi. It relies on color in his speech. When he addresses the Europeans, it affirms that "Israel" is part of the West in the East, and that "Israelis" are European, and their culture is European, and when it addresses the Asians, it stresses that "Israel" is a country located in the continent of Asia, and that "Israelis" are Asians.

2.1.1.6. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA: (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

a) The stage before the issuance of the Balfour Declaration:

The objectives of the Zionist media, which were identified by the Media Objectives Conference, were derived from all of the aforementioned Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, before the establishment of what is known as the state of "Israel".

b) The Period After The Issuance Of The Balfour Declaration And Until 1948:

- i. Encouraging settlement in Palestine and bringing in the largest possible number of immigrants.
- ii. Focus on building the institutions necessary to form the nucleus of the promised state.

- iii. Confronting all kinds of Palestinian popular resistance and seeking to undermine the national will of the Palestinians.
- iv. Seeking to secure the necessary international support for recognition of the promised state, "Israel".

c) The Period Between (1948-1967):

- i. Develop the institutions of the "Israeli" state in various necessary fields.
- ii. Maintaining the flow of immigrants to the State of "Israel" in conjunction with calls for the Jews of the world to rally around the Jewish state project.
- iii. Seeking to secure full recognition from the rest of the international community of the State of "Israel", and working to penetrate the third world countries to gain their support.
- iv. Striving to bring the regional and Arab environment into a state of discord and inter-conflict with the aim of weakening it, in a way that qualifies it to recognize the legitimacy of the existence of the State of "Israel".

d) Th. Post-1967 period:

- i. Seeking to achieve new territorial gains in favor of the State of "Israel".
- ii. The seizure of more Palestinian lands occupied after the year 1967 AD.
- iii. Evading international and UN resolutions aimed at preserving the rights of the Palestinian people and attempting to overturn the right of return.
- iv. Work to create a fait accompli under which "Israel" will obtain recognition from those associated with common interests with it, of its current authority over the occupied territories.
- v. Working to expand the scope of its regional alliances to include Arab countries that do not have diplomatic representation with "Israel" in preparation for the normalization of relations between them.

Working on recognizing Israel as a Jewish state in preparation for the expulsion of Palestinians from inside, as well as considering Jerusalem as its capital.

2.1.2. SECOND: PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

2.1.2.1. THE GENESIS AND CONCEPT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE:

a. Foundation:

The Greeks relied on rhetoric as a means of persuading people, while the ancient Egyptians used it through the press, the so-called "Palace Newspaper" as a means of propaganda and psychological warfare. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

The Romans also paid attention to the press as a means of psychological warfare, along with insults and defamation. (Zahran, 1984)

The Mongols were known to exaggerate their power as a means of psychological warfare through the use of spies as well as inflating the strength of the army in front of the opponent, as well as Genghis Khan surrounding himself with a state of terror and fear that made his enemies intimidate him. (Al-Masry, 2004)

As for Muslims, psychological warfare came clear in the Qur'an (the holy book of Muslims), as well as the Prophet Muhammad used it at the conquest of Mecca when he ordered the lighting of ten thousand flames of fire to cast terror in the hearts of the Quraysh, to collapse their resolve and make it easier for Muslims to conquer Mecca. (Al-Esawy, 1999)

With the beginning of the twentieth century, specifically during the First and Second World Wars, the actual and organized use of this type of war began in every sense of the word, while the United States of America established the Propaganda Department in 1917, and used publications, newspapers, books, and magazines, as a tool to create a spirit of hatred for the opponent and to enhance the position of the allies and the justice of their war, and directing it towards the opponent to destroy his morale.

As for the Israeli occupation, it has worked since 1948 to date on the use of various types of psychological warfare during the different stages of the conflict and witnessed a diversity of tools and objectives, during which it relied on clients, publications, and audio and printed advertisements. As well as websites, specifically social media in question, where we will come to them in detail, explanation and

analysis to reveal the goals and methods of the occupation behind the psychological spear against the Palestinian people.

b. Concept:

The idiomatic meaning of psychological warfare, we find that it refers to “the use of non-physical methods to influence the opponent and compel him to admit defeat and stop resisting. (Zahran, 1984)

As for the American Military Dictionary, according to its latest amendments for the year 1955, it defined psychological warfare: “the premeditated use of propaganda or any effects on the opinions, emotions, attitude and behavior of the enemy and neutral and friendly groups in a time of emergency or war so that the achievement of national goals is supported”. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

With the rapid developments of human life, the concept of psychological warfare has evolved and has become more comprehensive and capable of causing changes in various directions, shaping and modifying behavior, and the field of psychological warfare is the personality, which is a propaganda war, words and rumors that humiliate the will of men, and undermine the morale of the enemy government and people, because its main field is the human being. (Zahran, 1984)

Dr. Salah Nasr believes that psychological warfare is “a type of media with the intent of influencing the minds and emotions of a certain hostile or neutral group that is friendly for a specific strategic or tactical purpose”. (Nasr, 1966)

2.1.2.2. IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE:

There is no doubt that psychological warfare is of great importance to the morale, whether by raising the morale or discouraging it among the enemies, which prompted Napoleon to say, "The moral strength is equal to three quarters of the general strength of the war effort”. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

In the field of reviewing the importance of psychological warfare, we find that it works to strengthen the home front, raise morale, and influence the opponent, in

addition to what is more important than that, which is winning world public opinion and mobilizing it with hatred against the opponent. (Al-Esawy, 1999)

The researcher believes that the facts of ancient and modern history have proven the importance of psychological warfare in resolving military battles. Rather, it has become a part of political, economic, and social activities, and is used in most non-military fields that ultimately aim to achieve the hoped-for goal of striking the opponent.

2.1.2.3. TYPES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND THEIR FIELDS:

2.1.2.3.1. TYPES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE:

- i. **Strategic psychological warfare:** It aims to achieve comprehensive goals in terms of time and place, and is characterized by its adoption of war plans developed and linked to the strategic goals of the state. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)
- ii. **Tactical psychological warfare:** It contains specific plans for a specific group of listeners, according to specific military instructions, such as identifying the military capabilities of the equipment and working to reduce its effectiveness. (Shafiq, 1926)
- iii. **Offensive psychological warfare:** where psychological operations units analyze psychological factors and present their recommendations in particular, with some modifications to previous psychological campaigns, and the authorities responsible for these wars are entrusted with the distribution of publications and data, and the use of loudspeakers, in preparation for the work of the military forces, to limit the effectiveness of the enemy and convince him of the falsity of his case. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)
- iv. **Defensive psychological warfare:** It is the war that is conducted to counter offensive psychological wars, by strengthening the home front and moral mobilization of soldiers and people, for the purpose of defense, exposing the falsehood of enemies and resisting rumors and the fifth column. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

- v. **White psychological warfare:** its goals are usually clear and public, and it is usually practiced by the political and governmental leadership, men of thought and religion, and the state resorts to using various media in order to achieve them, for example: political programs, news bulletins and commentaries, and political analysis of them. (Zahran, 1984)
- vi. **Black psychological warfare:** It is from a secret place, the goals are unclear, and it cuts aside from the facts and aims to distort, exaggerate, and ridicule, under false names and without credibility, and uses caricatures, satirical programs, secret radios, fake pictures and rumors. (Shafiq, 1926)
- vii. **Gray psychological warfare:** located between the black and white wars, it resorts to lies, exaggeration and intimidation, works in an indirect way, and specializes in sowing discord and skepticism and creating a state of emptiness and chaos. (Shafiq, 1926)
- viii. **Divisive psychological warfare:** It is considered one of the most dangerous psychological wars, for its ability to cause divisions within society, or a collapse in the army front, for example, the use of the United States of America during its invasion of Iraq, which led to the surrender of large sectors of the Iraqi army without a fight.) Hatem(1972 ‘ (Hatem, 1972)

2.1.2.3.2. AREAS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE:

- i. **The global sphere:** the war is waged against it in order to mislead world public opinion and obtain its support, to distort the image of the opponent, and to obtain legitimacy from him to carry out any military action against the supposed enemy, and to mobilize countries towards cutting aid to him in various military and economic fields. (Shehata)
- ii. The directed field is “the depth of the enemy”: It is waged in the depth of the enemy, specifically its internal front, the people and the army alike. This war may extend to the economic, political, social, and educational aspects, to create confusion and compel the state to act in a direction that serves the goals of the attacking state. (Zahran, 1984)

- iii. Pre-emptive war: by preventing other countries from threatening the interests of the attacking country, by conducting a show of force in various military, political, economic, and scientific fields, and brandishing advanced military and technical power. (Jaber, 2017)

2.1.2.3.3. PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE:

i. Rumors:

Allport and Leobostmann defines a rumor as “every proposition or statement presented for credibility that is transmitted from one person to another without definite standards of veracity.” (Allport, 2019)

In general, it is possible to refer to the most prominent types of rumors in the crawling rumors that spread very slowly, by weaving false fictitious stories with the possibility of feeding them constantly, usually associated with celebrities and official figures, and there are impulsive rumors due to the speed of their spread, and they are usually active in times of disasters, or impressive victories, or crushing defeats. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

ii. Myths:

The Oxford Dictionary defines a lie as “a deliberately false statement or a deliberate act of deception”, while a myth is defined as a “widespread concept, but a false one, so the difference between them is that the latter is unintentional.” (Rose, 2004)

Myths are used in psychological warfare on a wide level, so it can be considered an immortal rumor that will last for a long time and be passed down through generations until it becomes part of the nation's heritage and its firm beliefs. (Imam, 1981)

iii. Brainwashing:

The process of changing the attitudes of individuals by following a specific technical means, through elaborate coercive persuasion . (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

Recently, brainwashing has extended to the masses, or a group of people, through the media, through daily and repeated doses in literary, cultural, and artistic forms, with the aim of changing the ideas, convictions and attitudes of the public. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

iv. Propaganda:

Propaganda is known as a commonly used term. We find it used as a connotation to promote goods in the name of commercial propaganda, as well as a connotation of mobilization activity when talking about conducting electoral propaganda in the field of political science. As for the media, specifically psychological warfare, we find it connoting the most important psychological warfare methods in terms of use and effect.

It is worth noting that the (Israeli) writers have linked the term propaganda to "Nazi", so we find that they chose the term "inquiries" as an alternative to the term propaganda. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

v. Crisis Industry:

The method of creating crises is based on exploiting economic, political, and social problems by amplifying them to form a state of public opinion to pressure the government, in which some parties may resort to printing counterfeit currencies and injecting them into the targeted countries, to create an economic crisis in the state's financial system, causing citizens to lose confidence in the local currency. (al-Dabbagh, 2007)

The overthrow of political regimes is the most prominent goal behind the policy of creating crises, or infecting a government loyal to the state, fabricating the crisis, or persuading it to enter into an alliance loyal to the latter, in order to achieve the goals of the state fabricated for crises in preparation for controlling the decisions and capabilities of the target state. (Shehata)

vi. Weakening self-confidence:

Weakening self-confidence and questioning the opponent's capabilities is one of the psychological warfare methods that the parties to the conflict resort to, by

questioning the opponent's capabilities and questioning the effectiveness of the weapons in his possession, with the aim of weakening the opponent's self-confidence and persuading him of his inability to confront or win the battle, which ultimately pushes him to surrender without a fight. (Al-Zaghloul, 2008)

2.1.2.4. MEANS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

What distinguishes psychological warfare and the "Israeli" media is its association with psychological warfare on the one hand, diplomatic action on the one hand, and the military tool on the other hand, as well as the integration of strict centralization with individualism and flexibility in implementation, which makes propaganda a distinctive effectiveness. (Nofal, 1989)

Dr. Abdul-Sattar Qassem believes that among the most important methods and means of psychological warfare for the enemy is displaying force and constantly reminding us of the victories their army achieved against us and that their intelligence is strong and can reach anywhere or anyone, and to show the shame of the Arab and Palestinian leaders until we lose confidence in everything. (Qassem, 2022)

The following is a review of the most prominent psychological warfare methods used in the "Israeli" media, as follows:

a. Radio:

The Israeli radio includes a variety of radio stations that are subject to military censorship, as we mentioned earlier, in order to ensure the implementation of the occupier's policies against the Palestinians.

The radio worked to wage psychological warfare through news bulletins and programs directed in the vernacular and in the Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi dialects, in addition to the Palestinian. (Nofal, 1989)

b. Television:

Israeli television began broadcasting propaganda in the Arabic language after the 1967 war, in order to counter the early Arab propaganda, by allocating three hours

of broadcasting in Arabic, in order to promote "Israeli" propaganda in the Arabic language, "Israel" established a satellite channel in 2002, in order to ensure that its propaganda and psychological warfare reached all the Arab world. (Jamal, 2005)

The Israeli television also spread rumors as a method of psychological warfare by saying in 2002 that most of the tax money was sent to private and personal accounts of President Arafat, at the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

c. The Press:

The "Israeli" press is rich in diversity and plurality of languages and publications, as we mentioned earlier. Ha'aretz, Yedioth Ahronoth, and Maariv are considered among the worst and most widely spread "Israeli" newspapers.

The "Israeli" press, like other tools of media and "Israeli" psychological warfare, has used deception, distortion, distortion, dehumanization of opponents, and insult, in order to stir up strife among the Palestinians. (Awad, 2017)

d. Internet:

Our belief from the "Israeli" authorities is the importance of the Internet, as it has sought to develop its capabilities in this field as one of the most important psychological warfare used in the "Israeli" media. This comes amid the availability of the appropriate environment at the internal level, where we find that the "Israeli" society is advanced in the use of electronic technology, including the Internet. Not to mention the possibility of providing them to consumers at reasonable prices compared to the general average per capita income in "Israel", which encouraged the "Israeli" government to issue its decisions at the beginning of 2002, to use websites as a media, with the obligation of government institutions to present their achievements in media materials, related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Presidency of the Government, to be published later in the Arabic language. (Hassouna N. M., 2018)

e. Publications:

As part of the psychological warfare directed against the Palestinians, the IDF's "Awareness Raising Unit" used huge banners, which were placed at the Erez Crossing barriers. These banners include the phrase "Closed because of Hamas" in front of the

eyes of Palestinian workers and merchants, as part of a policy of exploiting contradictions and divisions regarding supporters and opponents of resistance operations. (The Israeli army creates a special unit to practice psychological warfare, 2016)

2.1.2.5. THE OBJECTIVES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA.

a. Deceit and mislead the "Israeli" and international public opinion:

Disinformation is usually done by obscuring the real causes of conflict, by removing censorship, filtering, and adding. (Awad, 2017)

Israel tried to convince the world that the goal of the commando operations was to kill innocent children and women and that the women who carried out these operations carried out these operations to get rid of the stigma inflicted on them, as a result of their relations with members of the organization. In addition, weapons depots were placed inside kindergartens, mosques, and hospitals, in an effort to mislead local and international public opinion into accepting any military action against the Palestinians. (Abu-Arqoub, 2003)

b. Single deduction:

Singling out the opponent and delegitimizing it is one of the most important goals of psychological warfare that "Israel" sought to achieve throughout the stages of its conflict with the Palestinians, whether at the level of organizations or individuals. This is what Israel did after formulating a political and psychological plan to discredit the Palestinian Authority and Yasser Arafat and accuse him of supporting terrorism. (Reinhart, 2002)

c. Falsification of consciousness:

As for falsifying awareness, it was not limited to the Palestinians. Through the media, "Israeli" propaganda sought to penetrate the Arab and international awareness by focusing on the resistance and labeling it with terrorism and the killing of innocents, which justifies the killings against the Palestinians, the siege, and all of the above and

others, thus putting pressure on the Palestinians and pushing them to lower the ceiling of their expectations and demands. (Hafez, 2004)

d. The "Israeli" the victim:

The "Israelis" have always sought to portray themselves as being surrounded by a group of barbarians attacking them, and that missiles and tanks are used to protect the "Israelis" from the violence and frightening force that the Palestinians possess.

e. Deterrence:

The concept of deterrence among the "Israelis" has always been associated with the Zionist traditions that established the state in 1948, as "Israel" reflected the concept of force and violence from a tool that the weak resort to against the strong, to a tool through which "Israel" can survive even if there are alternatives other than deterrence. Thus, violence becomes a tool to justify aggressive behavior against others. (Rabie, 1989)

This is what Israel tried to prove several times in the 2006 Lebanon War, after its withdrawal from the latter, and also after its withdrawal from Gaza. The occupation tried during three successive wars, the last of which was in 2014.

f. Weakening the morale:

During its conflict with the Palestinian people, "Israel" applied a long series of various repressive measures, represented during the last stages of the current conflict, in the siege of the Gaza Strip and starvation of its people, preventing them from entering and leaving it, and using the war machine against its residents several times, as well as severing the bonds of the West Bank with checkpoints and settlements, in an attempt to block the way for the Palestinian dream of building a state with borders and sovereignty.

g. Destroying the unity of the Palestinian people and sowing differences:

"Israel" was keen to persuade some political leaders of the Palestinian Authority towards the illusion of the peace process, stipulating the latter to take measures and measures against Palestinian political action partners from other organizations and to carry out arrests against them.

The matter reached its climax following the events of the division between Fatah and Hamas, and the division that followed at the time at the level of the popular incubator and the single family, due to tight policies that were carefully and professionally saved by "Israel" that led to the current reality.

2.1.3. THIRD: PROPAGANDA IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA:

2.1.3.1. DEFINITION OF ADVERTISING, ITS TYPES, AND METHODS:

2.1.3.1.1. ADVERTISING DEFINITION:

Man has used propaganda since the beginning of history in various forms, but it can be said that the real beginning of it was in the year 1633, after Pope Gregory XV created what is known as the Religious Propaganda Authority, and this is for the purpose of confronting the new events and developments related to the Protestant religious reform, and the propagation of the Catholic doctrine by using peace and not war. (Rashti, 1985)

Propaganda is defined by Leonard Dobb as "a systematic attempt to control the tendencies of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion". (Hatem, 1972)

While Philip Taylor defined it as "the deliberate or orchestrated attempt to persuade people to think and act in the desired way, that it is a means to an end, and the methods used vary according to the available technology." (Hatem, 1972)

While the Military Dictionary defines propaganda as "information, opinions, or special seminars to support the national goal, designed to influence the opinions, viewpoints, feelings, or behavior of any private group for the benefit of the official, either directly or indirectly." (Taylor, 1970)

The researcher believes, through the previous definitions, that propaganda is only one of the most important methods of psychological warfare resorted to by whoever seeks to support his plans and goals, whatever they are, by controlling the behavior and emotions of the targets.

2.1.3.1.2. TYPES OF ADVERTISING:

Propaganda is divided into several types and sections according to the method or purpose behind its use, as follows: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

- i. **Propaganda according to function and objectives:** It is divided into two types: the first is subversive propaganda, which aims to destroy the opponent by undermining and overthrowing the regime by provoking disputes and feelings, and is used in countries that suffer from social crises. The second type is inflammatory propaganda, it is based on inciting the masses to adopt a trend and island changes that the state aims to make, for example, the propaganda directed by the ruling parties, popular and revolutionary movements.
- ii. **Propaganda according to style:** It is divided into two types: the first is latent propaganda which is based on concealing its objectives and source so that public opinion is not aware of it, and it is used during wars and crises.
- iii. **Propaganda according to the source:** We divide it into two types, the first is vertical propaganda, which is carried out by a leader, artist or politician, and seeks to influence the audience who follows him, while The second type is horizontal propaganda, which is carried out from within the group in a horizontal manner equally between the group to form a coherent awareness among the group.
- iv. **Propaganda according to content:** It is divided into three types, the first of which is called white propaganda, and it is usually launched by a state or party to a people or an army based on argument and logic.
 - As for the second one, it is called black propaganda, which is as close as possible to unknown slogans that do not reveal their sources and grow in an urgent secret way that seriously harms public opinion through fake news.
 - As for the third type, it is called gray propaganda and it is a mixture of the two. It hides undisclosed matters and requires a great deal of intelligence and acumen.

- v. **Propaganda according to the topic:** It is divided into three basic types:
- a. **Political propaganda:** It includes issues related to the politics of the internal and foreign policy of a particular country, and its topics are related to the lives of presidents and party leaders, and its issues are related to matters such as treaties, negotiations and others.
 - b. **Economic propaganda:** we find that it includes commercial and financial topics with the aim of influencing production, prices, goods and services, and is used for financial and profit purposes.
 - c. **Social propaganda:** It is concerned with issues and topics related to society, its components and layers, as well as cultural and social phenomena and issues of public interest.

2.1.3.1.3. ADVERTISING METHODS:

Advertising methods are divided into several types, according to the objectives and type of audience, as follows: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

- i. **Lying method:** Lying is usually used, even to varying degrees, with propaganda to achieve a goal. Lying is accompanied either by presenting modern information or specific facts, which is what Nazi leader Adolf Hitler talked about in his book My Struggle that "the bigger the lie, the more people believe it."
- ii. **Distortion method:** This is through the addition or deletion of some words or phrases to change the intended meaning, and modern technology has contributed to this by modifying video clips by deleting some clips to change their content and meaning, and the best example of this is what is presented to Social Media.
- iii. **Repetition method:** It is considered one of the most successful methods needed to change public opinion, which is what commercial advertising for consumer goods resorts to, and its power was emphasized by Nazi

propaganda official Goebbels when he said: “The secret of effective propaganda lies not in broadcasting statements about a thousand things, but in focusing on some facts and directing people’s ears and eyes to them over and over again in which the masses take a long time to understand and remember”.

- iv. **Emotional arousal method:** Emotion is the mainstay for building propaganda, not discussion and persuasion. The method of arousing passion is usually used when real information is scarce or difficult to use, which makes it necessary for the publicity-based entity to resort to this method to cover up the lack of material facts.
- v. **Misuse of terminology:** This method is widely spread in the media as one of the most important propaganda methods, where we find some names given to works that do not fit with their essence. An example of this is what the “Israeli” army called the Defense Army, knowing that it is an offensive army in terms of structure and armament and its plans in wars and tactics of battles, as well as most of its battles were offensive.
- vi. **Self-doubt method:** This method aims to shake confidence in oneself or the other. This method was used after the defeat of the Arab armies in the face of "Israel" in 1967, and the latter began to underestimate the Arab armies and describe their army as the "indomitable army".
- vii. **The method of presenting the facts:** This method stems from respecting the mentality of the audience, as the media adopts the principle of presenting the facts to reach the widest segment of the masses, given the ability of facts to persist, stay and entrench themselves in the mind of the follower, unlike lies and rumors.
- viii. **False link method:** This method is used in the absence of any causal link between two variables, and here the propagandist is trying to create a link and find a relationship other than reality to reach his goal. For example, the United States of America occupied Iraq and controlled its resources under the pretext of spreading democracy, as well as providing support to the Iraqi government and protecting civilians from the threat of terrorism.

2.1.3.2. THE FOUNDATIONS OF "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA:

In a large part, "Israeli" propaganda reflects the bourgeoisie of Jewish nationalism, and during the latter's endeavor to formulate its foundations necessary to achieve its interests during the era of European nationalities, we find it influenced by European history in the Renaissance, due to the importance of this period in the heart of theories and concepts, and the most important of these foundations: (Sarah, 1987)

a. Religious foundations: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

It is what it relied on in the interpretation of religious books (the Bible, or the Old Testament (Torah), in order to present the "Israeli" narrative and link the historical history of Palestine with the Jews and the Kingdom of David, which was carried out by Zionist propaganda when it presented what is known as the historical right and the divine promise to the Jews in the land of Palestine.

b. Political bases: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

It is based on a number of political premises of the Western world and its civilization as understood by Zionism, which is what Israel seeks to present to the world that its state, which it established on the land of Palestine, is nothing but a civilized compound in a backward environment, where it represents one of the bastions of global democracy in the face of the Arab barbarians.

c. Economic Pillars: (Sarah, 1987)

These are the foundations that are generally based on economic data and the geography of Palestine, and they can overlap with the religious and political foundations. According to the "Israeli" propaganda, Palestine is described as the land of milk and honey, and at other times, it is a barren and barren land, depending on the need, it is also up to the "Israelis" to create their own new and developed economy.

2.1.3.3. THE MEANS AND TOOLS OF "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

Israeli propaganda has chosen to work using a variety of propaganda methods selected according to a sound scientific method, and accumulated experiences in the fields of communications and media, as follows:

- a. Mass Media.
- b. Direct Communication Channels.
- c. Non-Governmental Organizations.
- d. Cinema.
- e. Jewish Communities.

2.1.3.4. THE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

a. Publicity before the Balfour Declaration:

It is considered one of the most important stages that preceded the establishment of the state, as the Zionist movement sought to justify the civilized presence in an effort to gain legitimacy and legality for the establishment of a national home for the Jews.

b. Propaganda after the Balfour Declaration:

This stage was characterized by focusing on the Zionist movement's call for religious sentiment, persecuting the Jews, and fabricating what has become known as "anti-Semitism", all of this and others in order to push the Jews to emigrate to Palestine.

On the other hand, the synergy between the Jews and Britain began to establish the promised state, which was then crowned with the issuance of Resolution 181, in which the major powers recognized a national home for them in Palestine.

c. Propaganda after the establishment of the state of "Israel":

Following the signing of the armistice agreement, the "Israeli" propaganda sought to divert the world's attention from the consequences of the occupation of Palestine and the displacement of its original inhabitants, by spreading "Israeli" propaganda a lie that revolves around its pursuit of peace with its neighbors, and that its conflict with the Arabs is political, which can be resolved by negotiation, which it continued to promote until the tripartite aggression against Egypt with the participation of Israel in 1956.

d. Propaganda until the 1967 war:

Resolution No. 242 after the setback of 1967 inaugurated a new stage in the history of "Israeli" propaganda, during which the latter sought to promote its military and political superiority, using the method of psychological warfare, with the aim of destroying the morale of the Arabs and spreading the spirit of defeat among them.

e. Propaganda after the 1973 war:

It can be said that this stage established the current stage of "Israeli" propaganda, as the latter was able to absorb the shock, following the October War of 1973, and then headed to sign a set of agreements and treaties. The most prominent of these was the Camp David Accords, the Arab Valley, and Oslo, among others, to move its propaganda from the stage of hostility and conflict with the regional environment, to the stage of normalization and the formulation of partnership.

2.1.4.FOURTH: THE ISRAELI PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE:

2.1.4.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE:

2.1.4.1.1. DEFINITION OF PROPAGANDA SPEECH:

There are many definitions of media discourse, including considering media discourse as “a process of disguise and portrayal according to a prior awareness of what it should be and is represented through a system of concepts, perceptions,

proposals and sayings characterized by an internal logic that governs it, regardless of the nature of the goal behind persuasion and response.” (Sumaisem, 1994)

2.1.4.1.2. TYPES OF PROPAGANDA SPEECH: (Sumaisem, 1994)

Types of propaganda discourse are classified into several divisions according to style, source, functions, and geographical location, as follows:

i. Types of propaganda discourse according to style:

The first type is direct propaganda discourse, which aims to change trends and create a new atmosphere for the audience and is called open propaganda, while the second type is called indirect or implicit discourse, which is the opposite of the first and tends to hide its goals, and it is called black propaganda.

As for the third type, it is called suggestive. It works on talking about a topic directly, and stays away from implicit statements.

ii. Types of promotional speech for the job:

The first type is called inflammatory discourse and the parties are used to overthrow loyalist regimes or provoke rebellion, and the second type is assimilation discourse and is used to unite and strengthen society, and is usually used by governments.

The last type is marketing and is used to promote merchandise and merchandise.

iii. Types of propaganda discourse for the source site:

It is divided into two types, the first is vertical and used by political and religious leaders, with the aim of increasing the number of their supporters.

The second type is called horizontal and is used for communication between members of the group away from the leader.

iv. Types of propaganda speech according to geographical location:

It is divided into two parts: the first is internal and targets the local audience, and the second is external and targets world public opinion or to influence the peoples of other countries.

2.1.4.1.3. PROPAGANDA SPEECH TOPICS: (Sandra, 2002)

- i. The enemy's economic, financial, and supply situation.
- ii. The bad news that the enemy is trying to hide from its citizens.
- iii. Negative statements issued by prominent or international figures in favor of the opponent.
- iv. Social scandals whose repetition increases the dissemination of anxiety and fear of the opponent.
- v. Topics related to administrative activity, the black market, and illicit wealth.
- vi. Complaints of enemy soldiers, citizens, and any demands of their own.

2.1.4.1.4. PROPAGANDA SPEECH FUNCTIONS: (Naim, 2017)

- i. The lexical function: It includes the codes and features common to both sides of the speech.
- ii. The structural function: It is the essence of the propaganda message as it is formulated in an effective and convincing manner to achieve the desired goal.
- iii. Attentional function: It ensures that the relationship between the two parties to the speech is maintained during the conversation, as well as keeping the communication channels open.
- iv. Directive function: It works to influence the behavior of others through the use of encrypted symbols.
- v. News or communication function: It means communicating information and data that are compatible with the interest of the author

of the letter, and seeks to inform the addressee of the content of the propaganda message and influence it.

- vi. Reference function: The propaganda message is referred to a specific party, such as citing contemporary or ancient history, people, or institutions.

2.1.4.1.5. ADVOCACY CONTEXTS:

The contexts in which propaganda discourse falls are divided into two types, which are cognitive and emotional contexts, respectively, as follows: (Naim, 2017)

i. Cognitive contexts:

It includes language, as it is the most important element and constitutes the link of understanding between humans, as well as honesty and lying, which means credibility, lack of credibility with the public, and the extent of the latter's ability to accept information.

ii. Emotional Contexts:

It is divided into two types, the first is the myth of the enemy and the friend, where it adopts the idea of belittling and belittling the enemy, to delude the loyalists that they do not face danger, but rather small shrouds, which helps in weakening the opponent and splitting the ranks.

As for the second type, it is based on adopting the positions of social relations, and this is either through exclusivity, or belonging to a group, or melting into a group according to the reason, and all these decisions are made according to the need and the nature of the goal.

2.1.4.1.6. CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPAGANDA SPEECH: (Al-Rubaie, 2016)

- i. **Intentionality in communicating the subject of the message:** by using many discourses addressed to a specific audience, and for a specific purpose.
- ii. **The pragmatism of the discourse:** by striving to deliver a message that contains a great deal of effectiveness, and depends on the adaptation of what it wants to communicate, its nature, and the nature and objectives of the propaganda message.
- iii. **Transferability from one cinematic system to another:** The propaganda texts that make up the discourse have the ability to move and pretend, from one cinematic system, to another to perform the function of the discourse.
- iv. **Discourse bias:** This is due to the lack of neutrality of the language.
- v. **A discourse of authority:** where we find it derives its strength from the authority of political, social, and economic institutions.

2.1.4.2. THE HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE “ISRAELI” PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE:

It can be said that “Israeli” propaganda is the product of settlement thinking in Palestine, not to mention that “Israeli” propaganda is essentially Zionist propaganda, and there is a strong historical relationship between them, and this is evident through the integration at the level of propaganda logic, and even the institutional link between them. (Naim, 2017)

The French publication dated 1860, entitled "The New Eastern Question" is considered a catalyst for the "Israeli" propaganda discourse, as it showed the economic gains that would accrue to Europe if the Jews settled, and here the Zionist movement became able to develop its own propaganda media methods to address public opinion. (Hawat, 2018)

After the declaration of the state in 1948, the name of “Kol Jerusalem” radio station was changed, and in 1968, “Israel” appointed a committee tasked with establishing Arabic radio and television in the “Israeli” propaganda war, as well as the 48 regions of the interior. (Naim, 2017)

It can be said that the year 2000 was the actual stage for dealing with the Arab public, after the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a special department for the Arab press, headed by an “Israeli” media spokesperson of Egyptian origin, whose name is “Amira Oron”. In 2004, the position of the IDF spokesperson in Arabic was created, and Major “Eitan Arusy” was appointed as the first media spokesperson in this position, followed by “Avichai Adraee”. (Naim, 2017)

2.1.4.3. THE METHODS OF THE “ISRAELI” PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE: (Naim, 2017)

- a. **The method of misinformation:** For example, the claim of the "Israeli" Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the start of the Gaza war in 2008, that she does not hate the children of Gaza, and that she is sad because Hamas uses them as human shields.
- b. **The method of repetition:** The best example of this is their talk about the issue of the Holocaust, during the Nazi era, and the continuation and repetition of talking about it and the Holocaust to the extent that it has become rare to find someone who does not know anything about it.
- c. **Justification method:** by formulating subtractions of the case, to find justifications for the practices you carry out, through falsification and falsification of facts.
- d. **Lying method:** "Israeli" propaganda has always resorted to lying by employing all means and tricks to prevent their lies from being revealed, and to assume the role of the victim if his lie is exposed.
- e. **The method of slandering the opponent:** by trying to undermine the opponent by accusing him, for example, accusing the Palestinians of

terrorism, and all countries and parties that provide support to them or support them with the same accusation.

- f. **The method of shorthand:** for example, Israel's claim that it has ended its confrontation with the armed organizations in Gaza, led by Hamas, and is not hostile to the Palestinian people.
- g. **The method of intimidation and intimidation:** In its wars on Gaza, Israel used this method, specifically in the year 2014, when it hacked television channels and broadcast messages to intimidate the Palestinians from the army, as well as calling citizens on their phones and threatening them.

2.1.4.4. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE:

The "Israeli" propaganda discourse sets a set of constants represented in two levels. The first is the Arab "Israeli" or Palestinian "Israeli" conflict, while the second is an Arab-Western conflict, in which the latter aims during it to extend its control over the wealth of the Arabs and its natural and petroleum resources. The following is a presentation of the most prominent objectives of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse, as follows: (Khashab, 1975)

- a. **The objectives of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse directed at the Palestinians:** (Sumaisem, 1994)
 - i. Sowing doubt among the Arabs about the ability of the Palestinians to liberate their land.
 - ii. The Arabs abandoned the Palestinians at home.
 - iii. Peaceful coexistence and normalization with the occupation.
 - iv. Threats and enticements commensurate with the "Israeli" plans and goals.
 - v. Confronting Palestinian propaganda.

b. The objectives of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse directed to the Arabs: (Sumaisem, 1994)

- i. Spreading the spirit of surrender and acquiescence to the fait accompli.
- ii. Isolate the Arab citizen from his leadership.
- iii. Sowing the seeds of discord and strife among the Arab countries.
- iv. Highlighting the Arab backwardness.
- v. Striving to undermine the unity of Arab societies.

c. The objectives of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse directed at "the Israelis":

- i. Gaining popular support for the Israeli government and state.
- ii. Confirming that "Israel" is the fulcrum for the Jews of the world.
- iii. Confirm that "Israel" is in the case of the Arabs. perpetual war with
- iv. The delusion that the prosperity of the state is a step for the return of the kingdom of the children of "Israel".
- v. Confirming the lie that the Jewish state is the one who looks after the interests of the Jews in the world.

d. The objectives of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse directed to the international community:

- i. Achieving control over the press and media.
- ii. Control of global capital.
- iii. Reliance on the Jewish communities in the world to support the Zionist movement.
- iv. Establish stations for Jews in the world
- v. Quest for global sympathy.

2.1.4.5. THE MOST PROMINENT ISSUES THAT THE "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE IS CONCERNED WITH:

There are many issues on which the "Israeli" media discourse focuses, and the following is a presentation of the most prominent issues dealt with in the "Israeli" propaganda discourse, as follows: (Hamza, 1968)

- a. The most important issues concern the "Israeli" propaganda discourse in terms of its antiquity, related to the reproduction of the mental image associated with the image of the Jew. The Jew, according to the stereotyped image, is a person without roots, a parasite, always feeling alienated as long as he is outside the Promised Land, and this Jew will become strong, a warrior who can defend himself.
- b. Spreading excuses that the Jews are a white Western people, or a socialist people who defend human rights, but the main issue behind this is that the Jewish groups are in fact "one Jewish nation" that must be reunited in "Israel".
- c. The "Israeli" propaganda directed to the Jewish groups, to show them that their current locations threaten their identity, and the "Israeli" propaganda focused on the importance of the Jews leaving the "ghetto".
- d. The historical and absolute rights of the "Israeli" settlers are among the issues that the "Israeli" propaganda has focused on.

2.1.4.6. THE TARGET AUDIENCE FOR THE "ISRAELI" PROPAGANDA DISCOURSE:

The success of the "Israeli" propaganda is due to several factors, including the employment of the Western civilizational form that "Israel" serves, the multiplicity of its propaganda organizations, and the employment of Jews within the huge propaganda organizations, in addition to the weakness of Arab counter-propaganda. The following is a review of the target audience of the "Israeli" propaganda discourse. (Al-Masry, 2004)

2.2. THE SECOND TOPIC: THE ISRAELI MEDIA DISCOURSE ON JERUSALEM THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKS

This topic aims to identify the theoretical framework of the "Israeli" media discourse about Jerusalem through social networks. The topic is divided into two main axes: the issue of Jerusalem in the "Israeli" media discourse, and the second review of social media networks as a tool for the "Israeli" media discourse, as follows:

2.2.1. FIRST: THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

2.2.1.1. THE LOCATION OF JERUSALEM AND ITS HISTORICAL ESTABLISHMENT:

2.2.1.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION: (Kamel, 2007)

Jerusalem is considered the heart of the body, as it is located approximately in the middle of Palestine, at 35 degrees longitude, 31 degrees latitude, and about 800 meters above sea level, and it is located 22 km east of the Dead Sea, 52 km west of the Mediterranean Sea, and 250 km south of the Red Sea.

The city is divided into two parts, the first: inside the walls, which is called the old town, and the holy places of the monotheistic religions are located in it. As for the second part, it includes the vicinity of the city outside the walls of the old city.

Jerusalem is 528 km from Cairo in the south, with paved roads, 290 km from Damascus, 380 km from Beirut in the north, and 88 km from Amman in the east.

2.2.1.1.2. JERUSALEM HISTORY:

Archaeologists estimated the age of Jerusalem to be about six thousand years, but it is confirmed that the age of Jerusalem extends to more than half this period, as the date of its first foundation dates back to "Melchizedek", who is one of the extinct Arabs and is called "the Yabusians", And they called the city "Ursalm", meaning the city of peace, and this name was mentioned in one of the paintings "Tel el-Amarna" in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and the history of these panels dates back to the

fourteenth century BC, that is, before the Hebrews entered the land of Palestine, to develop its name after they entered the city to "Jerusalem". (Kamel, 2007)

The name of the city was changed in the year 1049 BC, to "City of David" in relation to the Prophet David, peace be upon him, then it was renamed again to "Ursalm" in the year 559 BC, after the Babylonians occupied it, and in the year 70 AD, during the reign of Titus, it was renamed again to become "Hirosalima", and during the period of Roman rule during the reign of King "Adriatus" in the year 138 AD, it was called "Eliacacaptolina".

And about the Islamic conquest of the city, its name was "Aelia", or "Elia", meaning the house of God, which is the name contained in the safety document that Omar Ibn Al-Khattab gave to the residents of the city, After that, its name would become "Bayt Al-Maqdis", "Al-Quds", or "The Blessed Land", all of which are fixed names in the Qur'an and Sunnah. (Kamel, 2007)

2.2.1.2. THE LEGAL STATUS OF JERUSALEM IN INTERNATIONAL AND "ISRAELI" LAW:

2.2.1.2.1. JERUSALEM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW:

The city of Jerusalem gained special importance with international resolutions issued by international institutions, following the defeat of the year 1967 AD, and the city's fall into the hands of the occupying "Israeli" forces. In the wake of that, several international and UN resolutions were issued at different times regarding the city of Jerusalem. We will mention the most prominent of them, as follows: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. Resolution No. (2253) of the United Nations General Assembly on 7/4/1967:** Where the latter expressed its deep concern about the situation prevailing in Jerusalem as a result of the measures taken by "Israel" to change the city's center, and considered them incorrect, and demanded that it be abolished and that it refrain from any action that would change the status of Jerusalem
- ii. Resolution No. (169/35) Paragraph: A, B, C, D, E, issued by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 12/15/1980:** On the

Palestinian issue, the United Nations General Assembly called on Israel to comply fully with all United Nations resolutions related to the historical nature of the city of Jerusalem. The General Assembly also rejected the Israeli declaration that Jerusalem is the capital of the latter.

- iii. **Resolution No. (207/35) issued by the United Nations General Assembly on 16/12/1980 AD:** This is regarding Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, considering it its capital, and changing its physical character, demographic composition, and status. The resolution also considered all the consequences of that to be invalid in the first place, and demanded its immediate abolition, as it requested all members, agencies, and international organizations, to comply with this resolution.
- iv. **Resolutions No. (2851, 9249, 2963, 3005, 5/32, 40/44) issued by the United Nations General Assembly from 1971 to 1989:** Concerning the general situation in the occupied Arab territories, and all of the above resolutions included a reference to the invalidity and rejection of any changes in the status of Jerusalem, as well as considering East Jerusalem as part of the occupied territories in 1967..
- v. **Resolutions No. (1322, 1397, 2334) issued by the United Nations General Assembly from 2000 to 2016:** Concerning Jerusalem, and all of the above resolutions included a reference to "Israeli" provocative behavior inside the Haram al-Sharif, and the acts of violence that followed, stressing the illegality of "Israeli" settlements within the borders of East Jerusalem occupied in 1967, and calling on both sides to resume negotiations on a political settlement.
- vi. **Resolution No. (22.ES_10/L) issued by the United Nations General Assembly on 12/21/2017:** This is regarding Jerusalem, where everyone demands not to change the character, center or demographic composition of the city of Jerusalem, and stresses that any decision stipulating otherwise is null and has no legal effect, which was considered at the time a slap against US President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

- vii. **Resolution No. (271) issued by the United Nations Security Council on 08/21/1969:** Concerning the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, where the resolution denounced that.
- viii. **Resolutions No. (250, 251, 252, 271, 672,478, 476, 298) issued by the United Nations Security Council from 1968 until 1990:** regarding Jerusalem, all of which condemn the "Israeli" violations in Jerusalem, and call on "Israel" to stop its measures aimed at Judaizing Jerusalem, and reject all measures aimed at changing the identity of the historical city.
- ix. **Resolution No. (70/98) issued by the United Nations Security Council on 9/12/2015:** Concerning settlements in the Palestinian territories and the expansion of settlements in and around occupied East Jerusalem.
- x. **Resolution No. (71/96) issued by the United Nations Security Council on 6/12/2016:** Concerning the Affirmation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, which applies to the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem.
- xi. **Resolutions No. (150, 159, 184, 192, 200,196) issued by UNESCO at the United Nations from 1996 until 2016:** Regarding the inclusion of Old Jerusalem on the World Heritage List, all of which call on the Israeli occupation authorities to preserve the historical identity of Jerusalem, and to stop all excavations in the city of Jerusalem, and strongly condemn all repeated incursions by Israeli extremists, as well as the restrictions imposed by the occupation forces on the Palestinians.

2.2.1.2.2. JERUSALEM IN ISRAELI LAW:

i. According to the Israeli narrative, the most important legal justifications for sovereignty over East Jerusalem are as follows:

(Abu Amer, 2018)

- a. Jordan took control of East Jerusalem in 1948, through a hostile act, and by using military force, and Jordan has no sovereign rights over it.
- b. The armistice line that was agreed upon in 1949 AD divided the city into two parts and not final borders, and the armistice agreement stipulates that the agreement does not affect the rights of the signatories to it and does not affect the two parties' claim of sovereignty over the city.
- c. The annexation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank to Jordan in 1950, was a measure contrary to international laws, which makes it lose its legitimacy.
- d. Jordan violated the armistice agreement in the year 1967, by declaring war on the state of "Israel", granting the latter the right to cancel it, which it actually did.
- e. Israel's occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 was the result of a defensive measure, which makes it legal and grants the latter the right of sovereignty over East Jerusalem.

ii. The most important laws and decisions issued by the "Israeli" occupation regarding the annexation of Jerusalem and sovereignty over:

In the wake of the Palestinian Nakba, specifically in 1989, Israeli MP Menachem Begin submitted to the Israeli Knesset a bill declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel officially. He proposed declaring Jerusalem with the borders drawn by the British Mandate authorities (including the part under Jordanian control) as the permanent capital of the state and moving official institutions to the west of the city. The Knesset rejected this project, and contented itself with moving its headquarters to Jerusalem without enacting a law in this regard.

With the occupation of the eastern part of Jerusalem by the Israeli army after the 1967 war, the Israeli government issued an order that imposes Israeli law and judiciary on the lands of East Jerusalem and some of its neighboring villages. This is what is called the Jerusalem Annexation Law, as it gave the occupying government full authority to annex Jerusalem to it, and to impose state law, its judiciary, and its administration on the areas of East Jerusalem. (Abu Amer, 2018)

In 1980, MK Geula Cohen proposed the Jerusalem bill, or what was termed the Basic Law "Jerusalem the Capital of Israel," in which she proposed declaring Jerusalem within the borders drawn by the "Israeli" government in June 1967, the official capital of "Israel" and a ban on dividing the city or changing its borders, and this law includes:

- i. The unified, complete Jerusalem is the capital of "Israel".
- ii. Jerusalem is the seat of the presidency, the Knesset, the government, and the Supreme Court.
- iii. The Holy Places in Jerusalem shall be protected from any attempt to violate them or prevent free access to them.
- iv. Jerusalem enjoys priority in the government's development projects.
- v. The government grants the Jerusalem municipality a special annual budget for the development of the city.
- vi. In 2001, the Knesset added an article to the law saying that the boundaries of the city of Jerusalem are the boundaries contained in the government order from June 1967, and that it is forbidden to transfer the powers of the "Israeli" authorities in Jerusalem to any foreign political element.

2.2.1.3. THE "ISRAELI" POLICIES TO JUDAIZE THE CITY OF JERUSALEM:

The Israeli occupation worked, from the first moment of its seizure of the eastern part of Jerusalem, to Judaize the latter, through a set of policies and systematic procedures, the most prominent of which are as follows:

2.2.1.3.1. DEMOLITION OF HOMES AND CONFISCATION OF LAND FOR PALESTINIAN RESIDENTS OF JERUSALEM: THROUGH TWO MAIN PATTERNS: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. The seizure of property belonging to Palestinians who left the city after the war by enacting administrative laws on refugee properties, which are intended to expropriate their property under the rule of law.
- ii. Expropriation of Palestinians living in their homes through the issuance of legislation that prevents the occupation from confiscating their property under the pretext of the public interest.

2.2.1.3.2. ISSUING A PACKAGE OF LAWS AND DECISIONS TO JUDAIZE JERUSALEM:

The Israeli occupation has issued a set of laws and legislation aimed at Judaizing Jerusalem, the most prominent of which was what we referred to Sala when we were talking about the status of Jerusalem in Israeli law, where the law “Jerusalem is the capital of Israel” was the most important of these legislations. However, the "Israeli" legislation did not stop at any limit, but rather continued in a variety of ways, with the aim of providing the legal formula and cover for the Judaization of the city. The following is part of the most prominent of these legislations: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. **Legal and Administrative Organizations Law:** The occupation forces issued in 1968, with the aim of legal control over the Jerusalem area, and annexing the Palestinians, and their social and economic activities, to “Israeli” laws, so that they could control all aspects of life

for the Palestinians, and restrict their freedom to force them to leave the city.

- ii. **The Law for the Preservation of Holy Places:** issued in 1967, stipulating the punishment of anyone who violates the sanctity of holy places, as well as holding accountable anyone who violates the freedom of access of religious people to their sanctities.

The researcher believes that the law created for the Jews a foothold inside the holy places, as well as a legal cover for their false claims about the right to the holy places, and was a reason for their quest to search for material traces of the so-called “temple” inside the sanctuary and below the Al-Aqsa Mosque. However, their operations did not reveal anything, and left Al-Aqsa Mosque vulnerable to collapse due to these excavations.

- iii. **Law of Registered State Lands:** By Order No. (59), of 1967, whereby it seized all lands registered in the name of the Jordanian government as state lands, and all unregistered lands were considered communal lands in preparation for their confiscation.
- iv. **Absentees’ Property Law:** Issued No. (58) for the year 1967, where this law followed a census of the Palestinian residents living in Jerusalem, and gave them “Israeli” identity cards, and considered the non-existent among them as absentees, this law was all their money and property. (Jaber F. F., 1986)
- v. **The Law for the Restitution of Jews to their Real Estate in the Old City:** passed by the Knesset in 1968, with the aim of enabling Jews to recover homes that were owned by them, or rented to them from Arabs in Jerusalem, while Arabs are not entitled to recover their ownership but are forced to take compensation.
- vi. **The Law of Agreement Concerning the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area:** Issued in 1995 and signed by the President of the State, the Knesset, and the Prime Minister, with the aim of preventing the Palestinian Authority from engaging in any activity inside Jerusalem, except with the written permission of the government or whoever is authorized by the latter to do so. (Grace, 1981)

- vii. **The School Control Law:** issued in 1969, prohibiting the teaching of (55) textbooks, including Arabic, Islamic education, philosophy, and social studies, followed by allowing part of them to be re-taught after large parts were deleted. (Golan, 1996)
- viii. **The Expropriation Law:** Issued in 1967 under No. 1443, according to which land was acquired by Arab citizens in the old neighborhoods of Jerusalem, and its residents were expelled under the pretext of public interest, and then Jewish settlers settled there. (Raba`a, 1987)
- ix. **The Law of the Authority for the Development of Jerusalem:** issued in 1988, with the aim of establishing and encouraging initiatives that seek to develop Jerusalem economically, and coordinate between ministries and various institutions, as well as provide advice and advice regarding economic projects in Jerusalem.
- x. **Law of Return:** According to which the Israeli Minister of Interior has the right to withdraw citizenship from Jerusalemite citizens, considering Jerusalem as part of the State of Israel, while this law does not apply to Jews.

2.2.1.3.3. CLOSURE AND INSULATION:

The occupation deliberately alienated the eastern part of Jerusalem from its surroundings in the West Bank through a series of measures, most notably: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. Digging trenches at all entrances to the city, specifically Al-Eizariya and Al-Tur, and others.
- ii. Four border guard companies were deployed to protect the lines of contact, along with more than (900) policemen.
- iii. Close most of the Palestinian institutions in the city of Jerusalem.
- iv. Encouraging settlements in the areas adjacent to Jerusalem, to limit the spread of Palestinians.
- v. Construction of settlement roads to connect the settlement blocs.

- vi. The seizure of Arab homes in East Jerusalem, and the expulsion of its residents.
- vii. Expanding the municipal borders of Jerusalem, as the Ministry of the Interior proposed expanding its borders towards the west, to include the neighborhoods of "Hadassah, Motsa, and Mufasser Zion".

2.2.1.3.4. JUDAIZATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES:

Immediately after extending its control over the eastern part of Jerusalem, the occupation abolished the Arab administration, dissolved the Arab Municipal Council, attached Arab employees to the "Israeli" departments, and stipulated that Arab professionals join the occupation institutions to allow them to carry out their work. (Abu Amer, 2018)

2.2.1.3.5. ELIMINATION OF PALESTINIAN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY:

This is done by weakening the economic movement of the Arab citizens, by preventing the establishment of any industrial projects in the Arab regions, and by imposing high taxes on the existing projects, and on the Arab population for overburdening them with taxes, and pushing them to emigrate and leave Jerusalem.

In the same previous procedures, the occupation closed all Arab banks in the city, and replaced them with "Israeli" banks. (Abu Amer, 2018)

2.2.1.3.6. CLOSING THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS:

In 1973, the occupation authorities closed the Department of Social Affairs in Jerusalem, and subjected all 30 charitable societies, as well as scientific, medical, and charitable institutes, to "Israeli" laws. For example, Al-Makassed Islamic Charitable Hospital, the Orthodox Hospice, the College of Science and Technology, the Red Crescent Hospital, etc. (Al-Tafakji, 1995)

2.2.1.3.7. JUDAIZING THE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF JERUSALEM:

Moreover, that was by changing the names of streets, locations, and areas as a way to change their Arab-Islamic character, and gave them Hebrew names. The researcher believes that the main motive behind this is an attempt to obliterate the history of the city and its Arab identity, which is rooted in the antiquity of history.

2.2.1.3.8. JUDAIZING THE REGULAR AND LEGAL JUDICIARY:

The occupation deliberately implemented a set of measures and measures after occupying the eastern part of the city, which were the abolition of the regular and legal judiciary, and forcing the Palestinians to deal with the “Israeli” judiciary, among the most prominent of these measures: (Abdul-Karim, 1997)

- i. Moving the headquarters of the Supreme Court of Appeals from Jerusalem to Ramallah.
- ii. Merging the courts of first instance and conciliation in Jerusalem with the "Israeli" courts.
- iii. Separating the regular judiciary in Jerusalem from the West Bank, and annexing it to the “Israeli” judiciary.
- iv. Asking Palestinian judges and officials to join the Israeli courts.

2.2.1.4. FEATURES OF THE “ISRAELI” MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM, AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ARAB AND WESTERN MEDIA:

2.2.1.4.1. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA IN DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM:

The researcher believes that the “Israeli” discourse, in harmony with what was discussed in the first topic of this chapter, possesses the ability that qualifies it to confront the Arab and Western media, and even surpasses it in presenting the “Israeli” narrative about Jerusalem, where we find that the occupation seeks to convince the

world that what is taking place inside the city of Jerusalem is a natural right, through the following: (Kanaan, 2000)

- i. Clarity of the goal and the unity of the "Israeli" policy around it, which was done gradually through the following:
 - a. Persuading international decision-makers at the time of the idea of a Jewish homeland in the world.
 - b. Gradual progress towards persuading international decision-makers to accept the idea of Palestine as a national home for the Jews, as a historical extension of the kingdoms of David, Solomon and Judea. Seeking to be the capital of this state, or a part of it in a part of it, in principle, Jerusalem is for all of it to become the future capital of their state.
 - c. Declaring Jerusalem as the unified capital of "Israel", although this contradicts international laws and resolutions that recognize Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state.
- ii.
 - a. **Presenting the state of "Israel" to the Western world as a natural extension of its civilization**, in contrast to the ignorant Arabs, the enemies of civilization, from its point of view.
 - b. **Marketing "Israel" to the Western world as the largest sponsor of its vital interests in the region**, the most important of which is oil in the face of the Arabs and Iran.
 - c. **Linking the vital interests of the West to the existence of a strong and superior "Israel"**: its demise means the demise of the West, and its existence is in the interest of the West in the Arab region, so the West must be committed to keeping "Israel" superior to the Arabs in all technological, military, and economic fields, etc.
 - d. It is inadmissible to criticize "Israel" from within or without: criticizing it from within is considered treason, and from outside it is an invitation to anti-Semitism.

2.2.1.4.2. DETERMINANTS OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM: (Abu Amer, 2018)

- i. **Direct security oversight from the "Israeli" intelligence services:** it is still a media with security connotations, as it is linked and directed, and the security factor takes priority in dealing with the government and the Jerusalem municipality.
- ii. **Strengthening the difference within the local, Arab, and Western audience towards Jerusalem:** in light of its exposure to a large extent to the "Israeli" media, and there were no other means capable of confronting and resisting this influence, specifically towards the Jewish claims in the Holy City.
- iii. **The "Israeli" government, with its various components and ministries, is building vigorous media efforts towards Jerusalem:** The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is an entire media body with integrated activities, looks forward to obtaining international international support with regard to establishing the Jewish identity of Jerusalem, specifically when talking about settlements and the expansion of Jewish neighborhoods.
- iv. **Ensure the dissemination of information about the municipality and its activities, goals and achievements:** the government information offices are primarily concerned with this, and in particular everything related to the consolidation of the Jewish identity of the city in particular, and the deepening of its connection and loyalty to the state.
- v. **The Israeli endeavor to attract influential media cadres from all countries of the world:** especially America and Europe, and recently in some Arab and Gulf countries, to prepare press reports on Jerusalem and its Judaism and their entitlement to it, and to contract with major companies working in the field of advertising, and to win public opinion.
- vi. **Sending and dispatching "Israeli" media professionals and journalists to Western countries:** to popularize this required culture,

through brochures, leaflets and propaganda tools that cost millions, to publish and broadcast across the capitals of the world, in order to consolidate the existence and the right of the Jews in Jerusalem.

- vii. **"Israel" adopts a unified media strategy and discourse in dealing with Jerusalem:** the common denominator among them is their unanimity in denying the Palestinian right to the city of Jerusalem in general, which explains Israel's success in reaching global public opinion, especially the American one, in which it conveyed its orientations and positions with regard to Jerusalem and others, and therefore we see the bias of the American and Western media in general to the side of "Israel", and their adoption of their position in viewing Jerusalem as its "unified eternal capital". At the same time, these media outlets ignored the suffering of the real owners and people of the city as a result of the "Israeli" occupation and its practices.

2.2.1.4.3. THE IMPACT OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM ON THE ARAB AND WESTERN MEDIA: (Al-Ajla, 2014)

- i. **Subject to the statute of limitations regarding the practices of the occupation in Jerusalem:** With the latter committing a crime inside the city of Jerusalem, we find the media preoccupied with it, but soon another crime comes, which pushes the media to change its interests, abandon the first crime and become preoccupied with the new crime, and so on.
- ii. **Providing a media platform for the occupation:** by hosting the official spokespeople from the occupying country, and those affiliated with the occupying power, and giving them the opportunity to justify their atrocities and crimes in Jerusalem.
- iii. **The use of terms that reinforce the "Israeli" narrative about Jerusalem:** A number of models have emerged that help the occupation in Judaizing Jerusalem, and the media has been repeating

them sometimes, intentionally or unintentionally. Examples of these terms are:

- a. **West Jerusalem and East Jerusalem:** where we find this label transferred to the Arab media through translating what is broadcast by the "Israeli" media channels as a result of literal translation without examining the meaning, and this label aims to recognize the right of the Jews to Jerusalem, and this is historically invalid, as it is a united city, and it is the capital of historic Palestine, and the correct expression for this is to say Jerusalem occupied in 1948 and the other occupied in 1967.
- b. **The term of the Jewish Quarter:** While the real name is "Haret Al-Sharaf" and "Al-Mughrabi Quarter", the occupation, after taking control of the rest of Jerusalem in 1967, deliberately destroyed the Al-Mughrabi Quarter, and it was leveled with the ground 4 days later, as well as Harat Al-Sharaf, a neighborhood in which Muslims lived in the Old City of Jerusalem, and it is located next to the Moroccan Quarter, where the Jews expelled its people in 1967, and the Jews settled there.
- c. **The Wailing Wall:** It is the wall that is located in the western part of the Al-Aqsa Mosque wall known as the Al-Buraq Wall, as the occupation claims to be the remaining part of the alleged temple.
- d. **Solomon's Temple:** Where (Israel) claims that Muslims built Al-Aqsa Mosque in the place of the temple built by Solomon, peace be upon him, and they call the spot on which Al-Aqsa Mosque was built "Solomon's Temple", with the aim of preparing world public opinion for the demolition of Al-Aqsa Mosque, and building the temple on its ruins.
- e. **Har Homa Mountain:** This is instead of the actual name for Mount Abu Ghneim, located to the south of Jerusalem, where some Arab media channels have circulated this name on previous times, in addition to the original name, which is Jabal Abu Ghneim.

- f. **Temple Mount:** This is an alternative name for Mount Jerusalem, on which the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and the Islamic endowments are located. The Jews claim that this spot was built on the Temple, claiming that it has a special sanctity, so that they gave this name to avoid calling the area on which the Al-Aqsa Mosque is located “Mount Beit Al-Maqdis” or “Al-Aqsa Mosque.”
- g. **The Holy Basin:** In reference to the Old City, it means the area located within the walls of the city of Jerusalem, which includes holy sites and Islamic endowments next to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This name is associated with the call for joint sovereignty over that spot, which represents the Old City to de-Islamicize it, and to recognize that Jews have sanctities in the Old City and Mount Jerusalem.

2.2.1.4.4. THE REALITY OF THE LOCAL AND ARAB MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM: (Abu-Shanab, 2017)

- i. **Weak planning:** where we find the abundance of Arab writings about Jerusalem, but with a little scrutiny we note that this approach is not based on well-thought-out media planning, and is intended in the face of the “Israeli” media, especially in light of the latter's efforts to write the history of Jerusalem, while creating a link between the Jews' relationship with Jerusalem.
- ii. **Limiting the discourse to the local “Arabic” language:** neglecting the main foreign languages such as English, French, German, Spanish and Russian in formulating a media discourse in the languages, as well as the lack of a clear strategy to address the world, and the selection of the types of topics and news that are published, in order to achieve the desired goal, and a study of the target audience to find out the extent of the impact of the media message.

- iii. **Dealing with reactions instead of actually taking the initiative:** the enemy succeeded in preoccupying us with reactions about the effective action, as we find it in the media field not focusing on settlers' violations, or building settlements, or demolishing the homes of Jerusalemites, and withdrawing their identities, rather, we find him trying to divert attention towards other issues, to divert the media's attention from the issue of Jerusalem and its repercussions, which is something that most local and Arab media outlets are often drawn to.
- iv. **Affected by partisanship:** The Arab media in general, and the Palestinian media in particular, lacks sufficient independence, and also needs to clarify its main and official mission, which is to express the concerns of citizens, their opinions, and their national cause, and to give the Jerusalem file a great priority, and on a daily basis exposes the practices of the occupation in Jerusalem.
- v. **Reliance on others to obtain news:** Reliance on secondary sources of information to obtain news in conjunction with the occupation's prevention of journalists and media professionals from monitoring its violations of Jerusalem, in which they got forced to rely on other sources to obtain information, and in many cases the source is the "Israeli" occupation.

The lack of diversity in coverage: Arab media outlets are sometimes limited to news coverage of the issue of Jerusalem, traditionally by addressing the news and its repercussions, and framing it with monotony and boredom, which drives the public to boredom in light of the latter's lack of methods that help and attract the public's interaction towards the issue of Jerusalem.

2.2.2. SECOND: SOCIAL NETWORKS AS A TOOL FOR THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

2.2.2.1. THE ORIGIN AND CONCEPT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS:

Social networking is the result of the Internet and the recent boom in the field of communication and communication between societies. However, its inception and development went through several stages to reach what it is now. The following is a review of the beginnings of the emergence of social networking sites as follows:

The seventies and eighties witnessed the launch of the first social networking site at the time, where the BBS or "bulletin board system", and since its inception, were small servers working linked to a personal computer connected to a telephone modem, in which its work was considered similar to the work of blogs and forums today, where users were able to participate in discussions, online games, and upload and download files. However, this system faced a problem related to the size of the large, slow, expensive and inefficient computer, which led to a reduction in the number of users in the system.

With the advent of the global Internet, and its spread among the masses, where (CompuServe) an expression of the culture of cultural communication, as well as (Prodigy), but it was slow and expensive. Then, with the spread of the Internet and the availability of electronic services, chat systems began to spread among users, such as the (AOL) system, followed by the emergence of the site (Napster), which facilitated the exchange of information and free music over the Internet.

The first social networks based on web technology were established, namely, the Clasmit website, and the Six Degrees website. Since its inception in 1995, the Clasmit company has set up an advertising campaign to attract web surfers to its sites, and its network concept was based on the relationship between high school members, college alumni, workplaces, and branches of the armed forces, while Six Degrees created the first true social networking site in 1997, where this site included many features such as enabling members to create a personal profile, create a list of friends and contact them through messages and this site managed to attract three million users by the year 2000 but the revenue was not high and soon collapsed.

Social networks have gained great importance at the level of societies, as they have become known as the “third place” to which a person turns after his home, workplace or study, according to the classifications of sociology. (Mansour, 2014)

There have been many names given by specialists to the sites that originated in the Internet environment, so we find some called them social networks, for their prominent role in gathering and assembling the social fabric of societies, in what has become known as “virtual reality”, where others called it social media for the prominent role it played in what became known as the Arab Spring revolutions, as it was the main driver for them, especially after presenting a narrative that was contrary to what traditional media used to present to their users.

Others define it as “the process of building the user’s personality on the site according to a system determined by the site’s administration. It can be said that the feature of communicating with strangers is not what makes social networks unique, but rather the visual appearance produced by social networks through video and live chat applications supported by audio and video.”

Others defined it as “social websites on the Internet, and it is a basic pillar of new and alternative media, allowing individuals and groups to communicate with each other through the virtual space.” (Mansour, 2014)

Some defined it as “services that are created and programmed for the benefit of major companies in this field in order to attract and gather the largest number of users to participate in the activities and interests of users, and to search for and form friendships and share their interests, through audio and video files.” (Al-Mansour, 2017)

The writer believes that the multiplicity of social networking sites’ names has played a prominent role in the different definitions and concepts about the latter, and in light of this it can be defined as a parallel society that takes the virtual science “the Internet” as a way of communication and acquaintance through a group of computer applications and peripheral devices, for the purpose of forming friendships and interacting with other cultures and societies.

2.2.2.2. THE MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THEIR SERVICES:

The importance of the social networking site lies in the type and quantity of services provided to the user. Facebook, for example, has witnessed many developments since its launch in 2004. However, in conjunction with the fact that we find many similar social networking sites offering the same services as Facebook and perhaps better than it, as in the opinion of the researcher, it would confirm that the importance of social networking sites is subject to competition between the latter in the field of advanced programs, services and applications that they provide to the end user.

From the above, social networks can be arranged and divided according to the services they provide to the public, as follows:

a. **Social Network Service:** It is a service that allows the user to communicate with others and network with them to form a group or various groups. The subscription includes audio and text contents, images, movies, video clips, links and all various files...etc. These networks include Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, Google, Snapchat, and YouTube. The following is a review of some of these networks, as follows:

- i. **Facebook:** It is considered the most famous in the world in terms of acceptance and influence, as well as the number of users and their response to the site, and its founding dates back to the year 2004, by (Mark Zuckerberg) a student at Harvard University in the United States of America.
 - In a relatively short period, Facebook was able to achieve great gains, occupying third place after Google and Microsoft, where the value of Facebook was estimated at more than fifteen billion dollars. (Al-Mansour, 2017)
 - The researcher believes that the importance and impact of Facebook was linked to its beginnings with the revolutions of the Arab Spring, for its role in providing information and knowledge among users far from official media channels, which

most Arab regimes did not realize at the beginning of the revolution at the time.

ii. **YouTube:** It is considered one of the most widespread social sites among Internet users, after its prominent role in documenting recent events that occurred in the world, starting with natural disasters, popular movements, as well as armed conflicts...etc.

- There is no doubt that the short video has become of unparalleled importance with other means, including television, with the presence of YouTube. (Al-Mansour, 2017)

iii. **Twitter:** A foreign word meaning “tweet” in Arabic, and it is one of the most important social networks, and it witnessed its first launch in the year 2006 AD, after the American company Obvious conducted a development research for its micro-blogging service, the company quickly made this service available to the public the following year.

- Twitter specializes in following the news of personalities, as well as their close friends, and the principle of its work is based on "tweeting", that is, writing a text that is relatively limited to 140 characters or boxes only, as the site's philosophy forces subscribers to use expressive content in the sense of "good speech is what is said and indicated." (Al-Mansour, 2017)

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b. **Blogs and forums service:** Through this service, users can share with others and discuss a specific topic within the site, mainly through text, in addition to including audio, image or link, and the forum is run by an administrator who monitors any violations by participants of the controls, conditions and laws of the displayed content.

c. **Referral sites service:** It is a service that enables its users to save and organize links and a set of links, using different words or categories, in which the site (Stumble Upon) is one of the most prominent reference links in the world.

- d. **Micro-blogging services:** This service allows users to publish short and specific text content, and this can include an image or a link, and the content is published by the same mechanism on Facebook, and this is on the display wall available for display to users, and Twitter is one of the most popular sites in use by its visitors for micro-blogs.
- e. **Media sharing services:** Through this service, some participants can share media, and the content may be image, audio, video, and for example what YouTube, Vimto, and Flickr offer, from the ability to create a file for the user.
- f. **Social news site service:** allows its visitors to vote against or support an article or news content, and the news is displayed on the page after that to measure its popularity, and it also allows you to publish news related to a specific thing, and it is also possible to create a special section for the user that allows him to publish his activities on the site and to share their comments and votes on them and interact with the news that you have published.

2.2.2.3. CHARACTERISTICS AND ADVANTAGES OF SOCIAL NETWORKS:

With communication networks characterized by a number of characteristics and features that had a prominent role in increasing the demand for them by their users, and the following are the most important characteristics, as follows: (Naim, 2017)

- a. Allow local communities to form their own sites quickly and communicate with each other, in preparation for linking them with their counterparts in other societies in the world through common interests and concerns about social, cultural, political and other diverse concerns.
- b. Contributed to openness to the world due to the ease of communication between individuals to bypass the physical barriers between countries, thus contributing to the exchange of information, opinions and comments about the opinions and ideas of users.

- c. Social media encouraged participation, contribution and comment by those interested, after eliminating the line between the media and the public.
- d. Social networks made it possible to hold conversations, interact with events, news and information, and interact with the materials displayed on the site's pages.
- e. The ability to send and receive messages between participants that are relevant to the participants' interests or beyond their interests.
- f. The ability to create pages and challenge for commercial purposes, allows owners of commercial products and events to direct and show their pages to a group of users they select, and Facebook is the first to create such pages, where we find that it deducts money for each click accessed by any user of the advertisement, and users browse the information on those pages, and if it intersects with their interests, they put it on their profile.
- g. The possibility of creating specific interest groups during which an interest group is created, under a specific name to achieve one or several specific goals, taking into account the provision of the site to the owner of the group and those joining it, a space similar to a dialogue forum.
- h. Social networks are characterized by their interconnection with each other through a set of links and links provided by the communication pages on those sites, which link them to other communication sites, for example, sending your admiration for a specific thing to your friends on the network, which speeds up the transmission of information to users.
- i. Users of social networks can create an infinite number of albums and photos, as well as the ability to share these photos with friends to view and comment on them.
- j. Social networks allow people to get to know you as a “friend” of people added to your list, while social networks for professionals call them a “connection” or “relationship” to the person added to the list.

2.2.2.4. IMPACT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS:

In terms of the positive effects, it can be said that social networks have developed the lives and cultures of millions of people, in addition to the economy, politics and other aspects. The following are the most important positive effects of social networks, as follows:

- a. It is a free platform for opinion and other opinion, including modification to pages, as well as modification of the user's intellectual content, which made social networks a powerful tool for expressing beliefs, tendencies, intellectual and cultural orientations towards various public issues.
- b. It is a window for local communities through which they view other societies in the world, giving the opportunity to learn about the cultures of the whole world.
- c. It is an opportunity for self-promotion within the community, by simply registering on the site and feeding the page with personal data, which results in the establishment of an independent, personal and global entity at the same time.
- d. It provides the opportunity to open up to the other, by communicating with others, whether they are different in religion, belief, culture and customs, and whatever the distance between you and the other, you can form a friendship between you and him that transcends all material and moral boundaries.
- e. It provides an opportunity for dialogue among civilizations and the promotion of globalization, which paves the way for bridging the cultural gap between civilizations, through joint communication between users of these sites, as well as clarifying the local concerns of other societies.
- f. It is an opportunity to revive old friendships during childhood and study periods, which have become difficult to maintain amid the accelerating wheel of life and changing human preoccupations. In addition to the aforementioned benefits and positives, social networking remains a double-edged sword that carries other negative aspects to its positive

aspects. The following are the most prominent negative effects of social networking:

- i. Reducing the capabilities of physical communication and personal interaction with others due to the effectiveness of alternative means of communication on social networks as an alternative in the implementation of communication processes with others.
- ii. The fragmentation and fusion of local cultural identity and the adoption of an alternative global identity, as cultural globalization is one of the most negative effects of social networks.
- iii. Addiction to its use by housewives and full-timers, which makes it drain long times at the expense of basic human activities.
- iv. A waste of time to the point where you may forget your basic interests in life and work, due to the effectiveness of the activities available to it and its ability to attract and influence its users.
- v. The influence on local languages in favor of global languages, as well as the influence of the structure of the language itself on other languages, as a result of which we find, for example, the use of some Latin letters in writing Arabic texts during conversations on social networks.
- vi. Some users have resorted to impersonating unknown persons for a variety of purposes, including seeking to blackmail or discredit others and spread misleading news about them.

2.2.2.5. THE MOST PROMINENT MEANS USED IN THE MEDIA DISCOURSE (ISRAELI), TO REACH THE ARAB AUDIENCE:

The (Israeli) government has formed a special committee for websites, which spends millions to protect the latter, and to infiltrate international public opinion, with

the help of the "Israeli" media cadres, and speaks several languages in order to address the audience in her own language, to keep pace with every development that takes place on these sites, in which at the moment when I sensed the importance of social networks, I sought to build several accounts and recruit specialized parties to follow them, to be able to reach the target audience later. (Naim, 2017)

Israel has also worked on exploiting the large number of users of social networks around the world, in order to present its story, hoping to reach the largest audience in any region of the world, in an effort to win the sympathy of this audience. Moreover, Israel's use of these networks is considered either to confuse the home front or to pass its media discourse in a place of strong influence that achieves the objectives of the latter's discourse. (salim, 2015)

In an effort to promote its political propaganda to change its image in front of international and Arab public opinion, it has sought to form a model for hostile social engineering, which is trying to promote its policies amid gatherings of Arab insults on social media pages and to justify its hostile policies towards the Palestinians. (salim, 2015)

The researcher believes that one of the best practical examples of Israel's use of social networks in an effective manner that takes into account the Arab public is the page of (Avichai Adraei), the spokesperson for the (Israeli) Defense Forces (IDF) in Arabic on the Facebook website.

In an interview with (Israeli) Channel Two (Avichai Adraee), he confirmed that "social networks are a more interconnected world," during which he referred to the Arab public, saying: "If the Arabs had heard in the past about (Israel), today we are strongly present in their lives, and we are trying through our page to create a real discourse without mediators between us and the Arab masses." Then he mentioned an example of that, saying: "We can ask a question from the visitors and interrogate them, for example, what is the interest of Hamas in launching a new war after three wars in the past years in the Gaza Strip that have not achieved any achievements in it."

It is worth noting that the followers of the (Israel Defense Forces) spokesperson's Facebook page outnumber their counterparts on Twitter pages, and

according to studies prepared for the same issue, it was clear that Facebook is superior to Twitter in the Middle East, with the exception of the Arab Gulf region.

Referring to the clarification provided by (Avichai Adraee) about the differences between the media discourse directed to the Arabs and directed to the West, Adraee replied, saying: "The message is completely different. We convey a softer message to Western audiences, we focus on our vulnerabilities, we seek to defend ourselves, we talk about the threat, but also our response to it."

The researcher believes that the (Israeli) media discourse has recently managed to penetrate a large part of Arab public opinion, and the best evidence for this is the number of followers of (Israeli) pages on social networks, whether the comment was negative or positive, the interaction took place, and it is important to refer to the most prominent means used on social networks to pass the (Israeli) media discourse to its followers from the Arab public, as follows:

- a. **The use of infographics:** One of the most prominent features of the (Israeli) media discourse directed at Arabs from a visual point of view is its consistency with the latest developments in this field. Specifically, its use in the so-called visual summary or infographics, which is art intended to transform data, information, and complex concepts into images and drawings that can be easily, clearly, and interestingly understood and understood.
- b. **Zoom and shading:** We find many publications that users of social networks see within minutes on their pages, where those in charge of the "Israeli" media discourse use and publish images containing short texts in a clear and large font so that the reader thinks that it is more important, which makes it attractive to the target follower.
 - It is also noted that the use of red color in writing fonts is one of the methods used in the field of marketing to leave an impact on the mind of the recipient.
- c. **The use of maps and figures:** where those in charge of social networking sites resort to publishing maps and pictures that accurately suggest (Israel) in its conflict with the Palestinians and its knowledge of everything that is

going on in the occupied territories to affect the morale of Palestinians and Arabs.

- d. Focusing on the human aspect:** The researcher believes that one of the most important features of (Israeli) social networking sites is their tendency to give a human aspect to the page owner. For example, we find the interest of (Avichai Adraei), the "Israeli Defense Forces spokesman" on his Facebook page and Twitter to share some of his family privacy with his followers, in which we find him showing a picture of a gift given to him by his wife on the occasion of his wedding anniversary, in a humane gesture that prompts the observer to change the mental image towards the Israelis.
- e. Falsifying the facts and underestimating the Palestinian narrative about Jerusalem:** In this regard, we see that the occupation, according to the researcher's opinion, continues to present its false narrative about Jerusalem without any legal or historical formula that can be used as facts about the (Israeli) narrative about Jerusalem. Simultaneously, we find that it tends to obscure the clear and historically proven facts and evidence about Jerusalem with regard to the Palestinian narrative about Jerusalem and their entitlement to it.

2.2.2.6. THE MOST PROMINENT ARABIC-SPEAKING "ISRAELI" SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS:

In light of the rapid growth of the means of communication and communication in the field of advertising and media, (Israel) has sought to launch a large number of official social media pages to promote its discourse, as we mentioned earlier in our discussion in the first topic of this chapter, and the following is part of the most prominent Arabic-speaking pages on social networks:

- a. The "Israel" page speaks Arabic:** It is a page affiliated with the (Israeli) Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was launched in August 2011, as a source of information about the State of (Israel) in Arabic. As well as informing her audience about her activities firsthand, as the number

of her followers on Facebook reached 3.2 million. (Israel speaks Arabic, 2022)

- b. **Benjamin Netanyahu's page:** It is the official account of the Prime Minister of Israel (Israel) in Arabic on Twitter, with 2M followers. (Benjamin Netanyahu, 2022)
- c. **The Coordinator's Page:** It is the official account of the Coordination of Government Activities Unit in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It was launched in the year 2015. General Yoav Mordechai is the main responsible for this page, as the number of its followers exceeded 850K followers on Facebook. (The Coordinator, 2022)
- d. **Afkhai Adraee's page:** The official page of the (Israeli) Defense Forces' (IDF) spokesman in Arabic on the Facebook website, with a total of 2.1 million followers, and its activity focuses on presenting a positive image of the (Israeli) army, as well as improving its image and justifying its positions in front of Arab public opinion. (Avichay Adraee, 2022)
- e. **Avir Gendelman's Page:** The official page of the (Israeli) Prime Minister's spokesperson on Facebook in the Arabic language. It has a total of nearly 316,000 followers. The page targets the Arab public and media. (Ofir Gendelman, 2022)

“Stand with us in Arabic” page: It is the official page of the “Stand with Us” Israeli organization, on Facebook, with nearly 360,000 followers, and its main activity revolves around educating individuals and spreading knowledge around the world about the Middle East and (Israel). (stand withus arabic, 2022)

CHAPTER THREE:

3. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

3.1. THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYTICAL STUDY AND A DISCUSSION OF THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM

During this chapter, the researcher presents the results of the analytical study on the content and form of the Jerusalem issue and the “Israeli” media discourse on my (Israel) page in Arabic on Facebook, Benjamin Netanyahu’s page on Twitter, using the content analysis form, and the discourse analysis form, based on the objectives and questions of the study.

In using the two study forms, the researcher relied on a set of publications for the Facebook and Twitter sample, at a rate of (255), where the size of the sample (Israel) who speaks Arabic reached (165) publications, and Benjamin Netanyahu’s sample (90) tweets that addressed the topic of the study during the six-month study period, starting from the date of 11/11/2017, prior to the decision of the President of the United States of America to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the State of (Israel), all the way to 30/4/2018.

From the above, the researcher reviews the results of the study during this chapter through three sections:

The first topic: the general features of the content and form of the issue of Jerusalem in the two pages of the study.

The second topic: the general features of the "Israeli" media discourse on the two pages of the study.

The third topic: summary of the results, recommendations of the study, and its suggestions.

3.2. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE CONTENT AND FORM OF THE JERUSALEM ISSUE IN THE TWO STUDY PAGES

This topic aims to present the results of the analytical study of the general features of the content and form of the Jerusalem issue in the (Israeli) media discourse on my (Israel) page that speaks Arabic on Facebook, and Benjamin Netanyahu's Twitter page, by identifying the goals and directions of the contents of the topics, and the elements of highlighting and the media discourse methods used, and identifying the similarities and differences between the two pages of the study.

3.2.1. FIRST: ARRANGING THE PRIORITIES OF THE ISRAELI MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.1): Prioritizing the issues of the Jerusalem issue in the two study pages

Pages Topics	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Settlement In Jerusalem	64	43.4	32	30.7	96	35.4
Violations Of Al-Aqsa And Islamic Sanctities	34	19.4	24	23.1	58	20.8
Excavations And Tunnels	23	13.1	14	13.5	37	13.2
The Confiscation Of Land	8	4.6	15	14.4	23	8.2
Home And Real Estate Demolition	17	9.6	3	2.9	20	7.1
What It Is	8	4.5	11	10.6	19	6.8
Withdrawal Of Identities And Banishment	12	6.9	3	2.9	15	5.3
Violations Of Christian Sanctities	7	4.0	00	00	7	2.4

Population Displacement	00	00	2	1.9	2	0.6
Taxes	1	0.5	00	00	1	0.3
Total	174	100	104	100	278	100

3.2.1.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

Settlement in Jerusalem ranked highest among the priorities of the (Israeli) discourse on social networks in the Arabic language towards the issue of Jerusalem, with a rate of (35.4%), followed by violations of Al-Aqsa and Islamic sanctities at (20.8%) in the second place, then excavations and tunnels with a rate of (13.2%), and then in the fourth place, land confiscations with a percentage of (8.2%), then came the demolition of homes and real estate by (7.1%), followed by its nature and nature by (6.8%), then the withdrawal of identities and deportation by (5.3%), then the violations of Christian sanctities by (2.4%), then the displacement of the population by (0.6%), and taxes were the least represented, coming last with a rate of (0.3%), while the confiscation of political rights did not show any results.

3.2.1.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" Page Speaks Arabic:

settlement in Jerusalem ranked highest among the priorities of the discourse (for Israelis) toward Jerusalem, with a rate of (43.4%), followed by violations of Al-Aqsa and Islamic sanctities with a percentage of (19.4%), then excavations and tunnels with a percentage of (13.1%), and taxes were the least represented, as they came in ninth place with a percentage of (0.5%), while the confiscation of political rights and the displacement of the population did not show any results.

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's Page:

Settlement in Jerusalem ranked highest among the priorities of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (30.7%), followed by violations of Al-Aqsa and Islamic sanctities with a percentage of (23.1%), then land confiscation (14.4%), and the displacement of the under-represented population ranked eighth (1.9%), while violations of Christian sanctities, taxes, and confiscation of political rights did not show any significant results.

3.2.1.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a) The two pages of the study were similar in the priorities of the issues of Jerusalem. The issue of settlement in Jerusalem came first, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (43.4%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (30.7%).
- b) The two pages of the study were similar in the priorities of Jerusalem issues in the violations of Al-Aqsa and Islamic sanctities. It came in second place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (19.4%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (23.1%).
- c) The two pages of the study differed in the priorities of Jerusalem issues in excavations and tunnels. It ranked third, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (13.1%), and it ranked fourth and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (13.5%).
- d) The two pages of the study differed in the priorities of Jerusalem issues in the demolition of homes and real estate. It ranked fourth and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (9.6%), and it ranked sixth, and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (2.9%).
- e) The two pages of the study differed in the priorities of Jerusalem issues in the withdrawal of identities and deportation. It came in the fifth rank and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (6.9%), and it was in the sixth rank, and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (2.9%).

3.2.1.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

It is clear that the domination of the settlement issue on the (Israeli) pages is due to the importance of the (Israelis) in general, whether in the official governmental policy or the interest of the (Israeli) public opinion, because they are in a race against time to impose a settlement reality on the land in occupied Jerusalem, and after establishing this issue, the rest of the issues such as excavations, confiscation and house demolitions become a foregone conclusion.

Undoubtedly, the table data showed indicators that appear to be a divergence of interests in the field of Judaization from the other, where the violations and excavations under the Al-Aqsa Mosque receive attention that seems distinct from the rest of the procedures, but the one who examines it makes sure that this integrated project is implemented with a plan and a clear vision that prioritizes the size and area of violations based on the priorities of Judaization, looting, demolition, deprivation of identity and the fragile economic situation in an effort aimed at Judaizing, distortion, forgery and displacement to Judaize Jerusalem and expel its owners.

This result is consistent with the study of Issa and Al-Tahrawi, where settlement ranked first among the issues of the city of Jerusalem, with a rate of (17.6%).

The researcher sees, in this context, a clear consistency in the results of the analysis, that the (Israeli) policies to Judaize Jerusalem are based mainly on demographic change because of its consequences, according to the occupation, on changing the character of the city, and it comes as a ground and basis for completing the rest of the procedures of Judaization. In short, the occupation policies cannot be effective without introducing a change to the human element inside the city through “settlement”.

3.2.2. SECOND: THE OBJECTIVES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.2): Objectives of the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Objectives	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Legitimizing The Declaration Of Jerusalem As The Capital Of "Israel"	84	34.3	49	27.6	133	31.4
Mobilizing Public Opinion And International Support	52	21.2	64	36.0	116	27.5
Finding A Historical Link To The Jew In Jerusalem	36	14.7	24	13.5	60	14.2
Other	14	5.7	29	16.3	43	10.1
Justification Of The Israeli Attacks On Jerusalem	32	13.1	4	2.2	36	8.5
Justification Of The Occupation Of Jerusalem And Settlement	21	8.5	6	3.3	27	6.4
Ending The Palestinian Presence In Jerusalem	6	2.5	2	1.1	8	1.9
Total	245	100	178	100	423	100

3.2.2.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The legalization of declaring Jerusalem the capital of "Israel" achieved the highest percentage among the objectives of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (31.4%), followed by the mobilization of public opinion and

international support with a percentage of (27.5%), then finding a historical link for the Jew in Jerusalem with a percentage of (14.7%), then another with a percentage of (10.1%), and then justifying the (Israeli) attacks in Jerusalem with a percentage of (8.5%), then the justification of the occupation of Jerusalem and the settlements with a percentage of (6.4%), and in the last place the ending of the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem with a percentage of (1.9%).

3.2.2.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a) The "Israel" page in Arabic:

The legalization of declaring Jerusalem the capital of (Israel) achieved the highest percentage among the objectives of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (34.3%), followed by the mobilization of public opinion and international support with a percentage of (21.2%), then finding a historical link for the Jew in Jerusalem with a percentage of (14.2%), and in the last place ending the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem with a percentage of (2.5%).

b) Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The mobilization of public opinion and international support received the highest percentage of the goals of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (36.0%), followed by the legalization of declaring Jerusalem as the capital of (Israel) with a percentage of (27.6%), then other with a percentage of (16.3%), and in the last place, ending the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem with a percentage of (1.1%).

3.2.2.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the propaganda goals towards Jerusalem in justifying the occupation of Jerusalem and settlement, as it came in fifth place, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (8.5%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (3.3%).

- b. The two pages of the study were similar in terms of the propaganda goals towards Jerusalem in ending the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem. It ranked seventh, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (2.5%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (1.1%).
- c. The two pages of the study differed in the objectives of the propaganda towards Jerusalem in legitimizing the declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of (Israel), as it came in the first place, and its percentage in the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (34.3%), and it was in the second place, and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (27.6%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the objectives of propaganda towards Jerusalem in mobilizing public opinion and international support. It came in second place, and its percentage on the Israel page spoke Arabic (21.2%), and it was in the first place, and on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page (36.0%).
- e. The two pages of the study differed in the objectives of propaganda towards Jerusalem in finding a historical link for the Jew in Jerusalem. It came in third place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (14.2%), and it was in the fourth place, and in Benjamin Netanyahu’s page (13.5%).

3.2.2.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The issue of declaring Jerusalem the capital (of Israel) constituted the talk of the year for (the Israelis), because it constituted a qualitative and historical leap in imposing (Israeli) control and sovereignty over Jerusalem and giving it international legitimacy through America’s declaration that Jerusalem is the capital of (Israel) officially leading to the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem, where this formed a large space for the (Israeli) media, whether pages (Facebook or Twitter) as well as other social networking sites, and hardly any (Israeli) media outlets reported that Jerusalem has become the capital of Israel) by obtaining international legitimacy, the United States, or some European countries.

The researcher believes that this result was very natural and consistent with the (Israeli) trend to create a new reality based on the occupation's attempts to gain legitimacy under the de facto situation, qualifying it to impose its official sovereignty over the city of Jerusalem, with the support of the active international powers, led by the United States of America, in light of the ineffectiveness of other alternatives, particularly legal ones.

3.2.3. THIRD: THE METHODS OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.3): Methods of the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Methods	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Misinformation and obfuscation	126	37.3	82	32.7	208	35.3
justification	64	18.9	74	29.5	138	23.4
The dispossession of the parish	81	23.9	34	13.6	115	19.6
Other	24	7.1	7	2.8	31	5.3
Sympathy and Victim Play	22	6.6	6	2.4	28	4.7
humanity review	3	0.9	21	8.3	24	4.1
Launching Labels and Terminology	14	4.2	9	3.6	23	3.9
show of strength	4	1.1	18	7.1	22	3.7
Total	338	100	251	100	589	100

3.2.3.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

Misleading and blackout ranked the highest among the (Israeli) propaganda methods towards Jerusalem with a percentage of (35.3%), followed by justification with a percentage of (23.4%), and then delegitimization (19.6%), then other (5.3%), pleading and acting the victim (4.7%), followed by the review of humanity (4.1%), then the launch of labels and terms (3.9%), and the last show of strength (3.7%).

3.2.3.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" Speaks in Arabic Page:

Misleading and blackout ranked the highest among the (Israeli) propaganda methods towards Jerusalem with a percentage of (37.3%), followed by delegitimization with (23.9%), then justification (18.9%), and the last review of humanity (0.9%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

Misleading and blackout ranked the highest among the (Israeli) propaganda methods towards Jerusalem with a percentage of (32.7%), followed by justification with (29.5%), then delegitimization with a percentage of (13.6%), and the last being pleading and playing the role of the victim (2.4%).

3.2.3.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the methods of propaganda towards Jerusalem in terms of misinformation and obscuration, as it came first, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (37.3%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (32.7%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in the methods of propaganda towards Jerusalem in launching labels and terminology, as it ranked sixth, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (4.2%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (3.6%).

- c. The two pages of the study differed in the methods of propaganda towards Jerusalem in terms of delegitimization, as it came in the second place, and its percentage in the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (23.9%), and it was in the third place and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (13.6%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the methods of propaganda towards Jerusalem in terms of justification. It came in the third place, and its percentage in the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (18.9%), and it was in the second place and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (29.5%).
- e. The two pages of the study differed in the methods of propaganda towards Jerusalem in the other, it came in the fourth place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (7.1%), and it was in the seventh place, and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (2.8%).

3.2.3.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

This percentage came as a new proof of the most important vocabulary of (Israeli) propaganda that adopts misinformation and lack of credibility in the narrative that is marketed through the media for purely political purposes, in addition to the opacity, ambiguity and ambiguity that the (Israeli) media pursues, in their desire not to reveal all their information at once, and this became clear through the official tweets on the issue of Jerusalem in particular.

This result is consistent with Naim's study, where misinformation and obfuscation ranked first among the methods of (Israeli) propaganda discourse.

The researcher believes that the effectiveness of this method for the occupation and its tendency to use it frequently in other places is due to the latter's tendency not to disclose its main goal in the discourse, which dictates it to resort to more effective and difficult methods in revealing its content. Therefore, we find that it tends periodically to resort to methods based on misleading and obfuscation, and ambiguity and ambiguity.

3.2.4.FOURTH: THE PRIMARY SOURCES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

3.2.4.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

Official (Israeli) sources obtained the highest percentage of the sources of "Israeli" propaganda towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (82.6%) of the total (Israeli) sources, then Popular (Israeli) sources came in second place with a rate of (9.1%) of the total (Israeli) sources, and then documents, documents, studies and research came in third place with a rate of (4.6%), then the official Palestinian sources ranked fourth with a percentage of (3.7%) of the total Palestinian sources, while the popular Palestinian sources did not record any significant results.

Table (3.4): Primary sources of the "Israeli" media discourse on the two pages of the study

Pages Sources		Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
		Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Israeli Sources	Official	131	84.4	68	85	199	82.6
	Popular	15	9.3	7	8.7	22	9.1
Documents, Documents, Studies And Research		8	5	3	3.8	11	4.6
Official Palestinian Sources		7	4.3	2	2.5	9	3.7
Total		161	100	80	100	241	100

3.2.4.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page in Arabic:

Official (Israeli) sources obtained the highest percentage of (81.4%) of the (Israeli) sources of propaganda towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (81.4%) of the

total (Israeli) sources, Popular (Israeli) sources came in second place with a percentage of (9.3%) of the total (Israeli) sources, and then in third place came documents, studies and research with a percentage of (5%), then the official Palestinian sources ranked fourth with a rate of (4.3%) of the total Palestinian sources, while the popular Palestinian sources did not record any significant results.

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

Official (Israeli) sources had the highest percentage of (Israeli) propaganda sources towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (85%) of the total (Israeli) sources, then popular (Israeli) sources came in second place with a rate of (8.7%) of the total (Israeli) sources, and then documents, documents, studies and research came in third place with a rate of 3.8%, then the official Palestinian sources ranked fourth with a percentage of (2.5%) of the total Palestinian sources, while the popular Palestinian sources did not record any significant results.

3.2.4.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the sources of propaganda towards Jerusalem in the official (Israeli) sources, as it came in the first place, and the percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (81.4%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (85%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in the sources of propaganda towards Jerusalem in the popular (Israeli) sources, as it came in second place, and their percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (9.3%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (8.7%).
- c. The two pages of the study were similar in the sources of propaganda towards Jerusalem in documents, documents, studies and research, as it came in third place, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (5%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (3.8%).
- d. The two pages of the study were similar in the sources of propaganda towards Jerusalem in the official Palestinian sources. It ranked fourth, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (4.3%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (2.5%).

3.2.4.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

This percentage, which gave the (Israeli) sources an initial precedence over others, is a certain confirmation, as the (Israeli) sources are a fundamental and articulate source in everything related to the issue of Jerusalem, whether they are official government sources or settlement groups, or some significant government institutions, whether the Office of the Prime Minister or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This result is in agreement with Harara's study, where reliance on official (Israeli) sources came at the forefront of primary sources to obtain information in the first place among the sources of (Israeli) propaganda discourse, with a rate of (47.1%).

This result is also consistent with Naim's study, where reliance on official (Israeli) sources came at the forefront of primary sources for obtaining information and ranked first among the sources of (Israeli) propaganda discourse.

The researcher believes that the subjection of the (Israeli) media to military censorship and its systematic policies in directing the course of his media discourses have become dictated by him to resort and rely mainly on official sources in documenting his story.

3.2.5.FIFTH: INTERACTIVE ELEMENTS AND ELEMENTS OF HIGHLIGHTING IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.5): Interactive and highlighting elements in the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem

Pages Sources		Israel speaks Arabic			Benjamin Netanyahu			General Direction			
		Q	%	A/%	Q	%	A/%	Q	%	A/%	Mattresses
Interactive Elements	Hashtag	104	54.1	36.5	75	55.7	33.7	179	54.7	35.2	1
	The Video	64	33.4	22.4	32	23.7	14.3	96	29.4	18.9	2
	Links And Referrals	4	2.1	1.4	00	00	00	4	1.2	0.8	10
	Signal	12	6.3	4.2	7	5.1	3.1	19	5.9	3.8	7
	Share / Tweet	8	4.1	2.8	21	15.5	9.4	29	8.8	5.8	6
Total		192	100	---	135	100	---	327	100	---	---
Highlight Elements	News Photos	32	34.4	11.3	44	50.3	19.7	76	41.9	14.9	3
	Photograph	17	18.2	5.9	26	29.5	11.7	4	23.8	8.4	5
	Maps	27	14.7	9.5	18	20.4	8.1	45	24.9	8.8	4
	Graphic Images	12	6.5	4.3	00	00	00	12	6.6	2.4	8
	Caricature	5	2.7	1.7	00	00	00	5	2.8	1.0	9
Total		93	100	---	88	100	---	181	100	---	---

3.2.5.1. GENERAL DIRECTIN:

The hashtag has the highest percentage among the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (35.2%), followed by video (18.9%), and news photos with a percentage of (14.9%), then came maps with a percentage of (8.8%), then personal photos with a percentage of (8.4%), then graphics images with a percentage of (2.4%), followed by caricatures with a percentage of (1.0%), and the last links and referrals with a percentage of (0.8%).

3.2.5.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The Arabic-speaking “Israel” page:

- The hashtag has the highest percentage of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem with a percentage of (36.5%), followed by the video with a percentage of (22.4%), then news photos with a percentage of (11.3 percent), and the last links and referrals with a percentage of (1.4%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

- The hashtag has the highest percentage among the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (33.7%), followed by news pictures with a percentage of (19.7%), then the video (14.3 percent), while the graphics, caricatures, links and referrals did not record any significant percentages.

3.2.5.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the hashtag, as it ranked first, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (36.5%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (33.7%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the sign / crown. It ranked seventh, and

its percentage in the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (4.2%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (3.1%).

- c. The two pages of the study differed in the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the video, as it came in the second place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (22.4%), and it was in the third place, and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (14.3%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in news images. It came in third place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (11.3 percent), and it ranked second, and in Benjamin Netanyahu’s page (19.7%).
- e. The two pages of the study differed in the elements of the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the maps. It ranked fourth and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (9.5%), and it ranked sixth and on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page (8.1%).

3.2.5.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The hashtag formed an essential element among the interactive elements in circulating news related to Jerusalem, and this came through the tweets of (Israeli) officials or official pages. The most frequent hashtags might be (Jerusalem is the capital of “Israel”), a hashtag (moving the US embassy to Jerusalem) and a third hashtag (Trump friend of "Israel").

Here, the researcher believes that this is due to two main reasons: the first is due to the importance of the interactive elements in general within social media platforms in communicating and communicating with the public, and the second is based on the importance of hashtags in general in attracting the public’s attention, specifically in this case.

This result is consistent with Harrah's study, where the news image was at the forefront of the highlighting used on the two pages of the study, and that came first with a rate of (50.3%).

This result is also consistent with the Skeek study, where the news image was at the forefront of the highlighting used on the two pages of the study, and that came in second place with a rate of (29.3%).

It was understandable that the news image would dominate the rest of the images, especially when we were talking about Jerusalem, where the (Israeli) media are heavily concentrated, especially the written and visual ones, and they have a large number of live and direct images of developments in Jerusalem.

This result is consistent with Naim's study, where the hashtag and hashtag came at the forefront of the interactive elements used on the two study pages, with a percentage of (42.6%).

The researcher believes that the importance of the news image as an element of highlighting is old and recent in the media in general, and it has found a clear importance in social media. Therefore, the occupation's use of news images had an eloquent effect in conveying the content of the speech and achieving its goal, specifically with regard to the accelerating events on the issue of Jerusalem, especially in the events related to the opening of the American embassy in Jerusalem after its recognition as the capital of the occupation.

3.3. THE SECOND TOPIC: GENERAL FEATURES OF "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE

This topic aims to present the results of the analytical study of the (Israeli) media discourse on my (Israel) page that speaks Arabic on Facebook, the page of Benjamin Netanyahu on Twitter, using the discourse analysis form, using the tools (thesis, evidence paths, active forces, and frames of reference).

This topic includes four main axes, the first of which is the theses of (Israeli) practices, followed by the paths of demonstration in the (Israeli) discourse, then the characteristics and roles of the active forces in the (Israeli) media discourse, and finally the frames of reference in the (Israeli) media discourse toward Jerusalem.

3.3.1. FIRST: THESES OF THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.6): Theses of the "Israeli" media discourse towards Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Theses	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
United Capital	72	39.3	43	35.6	115	37.9
Temple Mount	44	24.1	39	32.2	83	24.3
Terror	23	12.5	12	9.9	35	11.5
Time Division Of Al-Aqsa Mosque	21	11.5	13	10.8	34	11.2
Other	18	9.9	7	5.8	25	8.2
Settlement	5	2.7	7	5.7	12	3.9
Total	183	100	121	100	304	100

3.3.1.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The united capital thesis ranked highest among the theses practices towards Jerusalem with a percentage of (37.9%), followed by the Temple Mount thesis (27.3%), and then the terrorism/terrorist thesis ranked third (11.5%), and the settlement thesis was the least represented with a percentage (3.9%).

3.3.1.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The “Israel” page speaks Arabic:

The united capital thesis ranked the highest among the theses practices towards Jerusalem, with a rate of (39.3%), followed by the Temple Mount thesis (24.1%), and then the terrorism/terror thesis (12.5%), and the settlement thesis was the least represented, with a rate of (2.5%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The united capital thesis got the highest percentage among the theses practices towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (35.6%), and it was followed by the Temple Mount thesis (32.2%), then the temporal division thesis of Al-Aqsa (10.8%), and the settlement thesis was the least represented, with a rate of (2.5%).

3.3.1.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the theses that dealt with the united capital, as it came in first place, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (39.3%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (35.6%).
- b. The Temple Mount thesis was similar, as it ranked second in the two pages, and its percentage on the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (24.1%), while its percentage on the Benjamin Netanyahu page was (32.2%).
- c. The two pages of the study differed in the theses that dealt with the terrorism/terror thesis, where it ranked third, and its percentage on the (Israel)

page spoke Arabic (12.5%), while it ranked fourth on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (9.9%).

- d. Al-Aqsa's chronological division thesis differed, as it ranked fourth on the "Israel" page, speaking Arabic with a rate of (11.5%), compared to the third rank on Benjamin Netanyahu's page with a rate of (10.8%).

3.3.1.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The term united capital is the most present in dealing with the issue of Jerusalem because of the (Israeli) consensus on this issue, and this is the consensus of the various "Israeli" forces (right, center and left), as this term is also the most present in the (Israeli) media and communication networks, whether personal accounts of (Israeli) officials or the official media.

The researcher believes that the use of the term united capital is an embodiment of a reality that the occupation is trying to impose on the international community based on the unification of the two parts of the city, the western occupied in 1948, and the eastern occupied in 1967 under the sovereignty of the occupation, thus eliminating the two-state solution.

3.3.2. SECOND: THE PATHS OF PROOF IN THE "ISRAELI" DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM ON THE TWO PAGES OF THE STUDY:

3.3.2.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The citation of officials' sayings was one of the paths of logical proof with the highest percentage, with a percentage of (23.4%), followed by quoting examples as one of the paths of proof with a percentage of (10.7%), and the citation of legal proof was the least representative with a percentage of (3.1%).

On the level of illogical proof paths, denial was one of the illogical proof paths for the highest percentage, with a percentage of (17.2%), followed by skepticism as

one of the paths of proof with a percentage of (9.8%), and defamation and distortion were the least represented with a percentage of (2.9%).

3.3.2.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. Israel's page speaks Arabic:

The citation of officials' statements was one of the paths of logical proof with the highest percentage, with a percentage of (17.6%), followed by the presentation of examples as one of the paths of proof at a rate of (12.2%), and the citation of legal proof was the least representative at a percentage of (2%).

On the level of irrational proof paths, denial was one of the illogical proof paths for the highest percentage (19.5%), followed by skepticism as one of the proof paths with a percentage of (10.3%), and another was the least representative with a rate of (2.7%).

Table (3.7): Proof paths in the "Israeli" media discourse towards Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Proof paths		Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction		
		Q	%	Q	%	Q	%	Mattresses
Logical Proof	Religious Proof	18	6.9	7	4.4	25	6	4
	Legal Proof	5	2	8	5.1	13	3.1	7
	Statistics	17	6.5	10	6.3	27	6.4	3
	Expert Opinion	14	5.4	4	2.5	18	4.3	5
	Giving Examples	32	12.2	13	8.2	45	10.7	2
	Officials' Statements	46	17.6	52	33	98	23.4	1

	Other	13	5	3	1.9	16	3.9	6
	Total	145	55.6	97	61.4	242	57.8	7-1
illogical proof	Denial	51	19.5	21	13.3	72	17.2	1
	Questioning	27	10.3	14	8.9	41	9.8	2
	Prejudice	8	3	5	3.1	13	3.1	5
	Exaggerate	14	5.4	8	5	22	5.2	3
	Defamation And Slander	9	3.5	3	1.9	12	2.9	6
	Other	7	2.7	10	6.3	17	4	4
	Total	116	44.4	61	38.6	117	42.2	6-1
Total	261	100	158	100	419	100	---	

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The citation of officials' statements as one of the paths of logical proof was obtained with the highest percentage, with a percentage of (33%), followed by the presentation of examples as one of the paths of demonstration with a percentage of (8.2%), and others were the least represented with a percentage of (1.9%).

On the level of illogical proof paths, denial was one of the illogical proof paths for the highest percentage, with a percentage of (13.3%), followed by skepticism as one of the paths of proof with a percentage of (8.9), and defamation and distortion were the least represented with a percentage of (1.9%).

3.3.2.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in using statistics as one of the logical proof paths, as it came in fourth place, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (6.5%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (6.3%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in bias as one of the irrational proof paths, as it came in fifth place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (3%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (3.1%).
- c. The two pages of the study differed in the use of legal proof as one of the paths of logical proof in the first place, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (2%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (5.1%), as well as another in the second place, where the percentage of the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (5%), and the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (1.9%), then the religious proof came in the fifth place, where the percentage of the page (Israel) spoke Arabic (6.9%), while the percentage of the page of Benjamin Netanyahu was (4.4%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the use of the other as one of the illogical proof paths in the first place, and their percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (2.7%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (6.3%), as well as defamation and distortion in the second place, where the percentage of the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (3.5%), and the falsity ranked fourth, where the percentage of the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (19.5%), while the percentage of the Benjamin Netanyahu page was (13.3%).

3.3.2.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

With regard to logical proof methods, they focused on the statements and statements of officials, especially in the first echelon of the (Israeli) political leadership, especially the prime minister, the head of state, and some ministers who were keen to address the issue of Jerusalem from time to time in a directed manner, either for general political considerations, or for personal goals.

This result differs with Naeem's study, where religious evidence came late and ranked sixth among the paths of evidence on the two pages of the study, with a rate of (1.9%).

The researcher believes that the focus of the (Israeli) media discourse on the statements of officials as one of the paths of logical proof is linked to a set of determinants, most notably the nature of the page itself, where we find that the indicators of Benjamin Netanyahu's page regarding the use of logical proof methods are higher than its counterpart compared to the overall proportional representation of the rest of the page.

The (Israeli) discourse approach also sought to refute the Palestinian narrative and work to discredit it through the media on the one hand and communication networks on the other hand, especially with regard to the Palestinians' demands for occupied Jerusalem and the rejection of American and (Israeli) behavior to change the facts on the ground through two issues: (Recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of "Israel"), (Moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem).

The researcher believes that it is not surprising that the (Israeli) media discourse focuses on falsification as one of the paths other than logical proof linked to the main goal of the page itself, and this is confirmed by the relative and noticeable rise in the indicators of the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic in relying on falsification with regard to the use of illogical methods of proof compared to its counterpart, and this is primarily due to the nature of the main objective of the page itself, as we find that it adopted this as an approach in dealing with the public.

3.3.3. THIRD: THE ACTIVE FORCES IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

3.3.3.1. PALESTINIAN ACTIVE FORCES:

3.3.3.1.1. THE GENERAL DIRECTION:

The Palestinian National Authority came as one of the most important Palestinian actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place with a

percentage of (42.6%), followed by the Fatah movement with a percentage of (17.9%), Then Hamas with a percentage of (16.3%), and national and Islamic forces, at last, with the lowest percentage (0.9%).

Table (3.8): The Palestinian Active Forces in the "Israeli" Media Discourse towards the Jerusalem Issue on the Study Pages

Pages Active Forces	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Palestinian National Authority	51	34.9	46	56.1	97	42.6
Fatah movement	24	16.5	17	20.7	41	17.9
Hamas	37	25.4	00	00	37	16.3
Palestine's liberation organisation	23	15.7	11	13.4	34	14.9
other	00	00	8	9.8	8	3.5
Parliment	6	4.2	00	00	6	2.6
Palestinians inside 48	3	2	00	00	3	1.3
National and Islamic forces	2	1.3	00	00	2	0.9
Total	146	100	82	100	228	100

3.3.3.1.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page speaks Arabic:

The Palestinian National Authority came as one of the most important Palestinian actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (34.9%), then it was followed by Hamas with a percentage of (25.4%), then Fatah

movement with a percentage of (16.5%), and the national and Islamic forces ranked last, with the least representation, with a percentage of (1.3%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The Palestinian National Authority came as one of the most important Palestinian actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place, with a percentage of (56.1%), followed by the Fatah Movement (20.7%), then the Palestine Liberation Organization with (13.4%), and others were the least represented by (9.8%).

3.3.3.1.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the Palestinian National Authority, as one of the most important Palestinian actors, as it ranked first in each of the two pages, and its percentage on the “Israel” page spoke Arabic (34.9%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu, at a rate of (56.1%).
- b. The two pages of the study differed in the Hamas movement as one of the most important Palestinian active forces, as it came in second place on the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic and its percentage was at (25.4%), and no results were recorded on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page.
- c. The two pages of the study differed in the Fatah movement as one of the most important Palestinian active forces, as it came in third place in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was (16.5%), and it came in second place on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu with (20.7%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the Palestine Liberation Organization, as one of the most important Palestinian active forces, as it ranked fourth in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was in (15.7%), and in the third place on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu, with a percentage of (13.4%).

- e. The two pages of the study differed in the other as one of the most important Palestinian active forces, and no results were recorded in the “Israel” page that speaks Arabic, while its ranking was in the fourth place, and its percentage on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page was (9.8%).

3.3.3.1.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

It is natural to focus on the Palestinian National Authority as the central party opposed to (Israeli) policy in occupied Jerusalem, whether with regard to statements issued by the Palestinian presidency, ministries with jurisdiction and Palestinian political leaders, in addition to media and diplomatic campaigns and meetings held by authority officials with their counterparts from the international community to reject the Israeli behavior.

This result differs with Naim's study, where the Palestinian Authority came in the Palestinian active forces in the two pages of the study by (1.5%).

The Palestinian National Authority, in its official capacity and its international recognition, constitutes the main problem of the Judaization project at the international level, This made the media focus on its role according to the discourse and media determinants of the official authorities that shed light on the authority and make it at the center of the discourse, given that the discourse is not limited to targeting the authority, but rather takes into account the response to the international and official position that cares about the authority and its discourse.

The researcher believes that the above opinion is related to the role and nature of the role that the Palestinian Authority aspires to as an official representative of the Palestinian people at the level of the international community, in accordance with the Oslo Agreement and the consequent autonomy for the Palestinians by the Authority, which made the latter the holder of international political and diplomatic representation for the Palestinian people as a recognized body by the international community and the occupation alike, which is confirmed by the authority’s issue of all final solution issues in the above agreement, and among its issues is the political status of Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinians.

3.3.3.2. THE "ISRAELI" ACTIVE FORCES:

3.3.3.2.1. THE GENERAL DIRECTION:

The Jerusalem municipality came as one of the most important (Israeli) active forces in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place, with a percentage of (43.3%), followed by the government with a percentage of (32.7%), then settlement associations with a percentage of (12.5%), and finally others with a percentage of (4.8%).

3.3.3.2.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page speaks in Arabic:

The government came as one of the most important actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (53.7%), followed by the Jerusalem municipality with (29.3%). then other with a percentage of (12.1%), and finally settler associations with a percentage of (4.9%).

Table (3.9): The "Israeli" active forces in the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem on the two study pages

Active Forces	Pages		Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Jerusalem Municipality	12	29.3	33	52.3	45	43.3		
Government	22	53.7	12	19.1	34	32.7		
settlement associations	2	4.9	11	17.5	13	12.5		
Parties, Knesset	00	00	7	11.1	7	6.7		
Other	5	12.1	00	00	5	4.8		
Total	41	100	63	100	104	100		

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The Jerusalem municipality came as one of the most important (Israeli) active forces in the “Israeli” discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (52.3%), followed by the government with a percentage of (19.1%), then settler associations ranked third with a percentage of (17.5%), and the parties and the Knesset were in the last rank with the least representation, with a percentage of (11.1%).

3.3.3.2.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study differed in the government as one of the most important active forces (Israel), as it came first in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was at (53.7%), and in the second place on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu, with a percentage of (19.1%).
- b. The two pages of the study differed in the Jerusalem Municipality as one of the most important (Israeli) forces, as it came in second place in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was in (29.3%), and it came in first place on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page with a percentage of (52.3%).
- c. The two pages of the study differed in another as one of the most important (Israeli) active forces, as it came in third place in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was (12.1%), and no results were recorded on Benjamin Netanyahu's page.

3.3.3.2.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The issue of the (Israeli) government has dominated the media and communication debate as it is the official body authorized to follow up on the issue of Jerusalem, whether through the statements of its prime minister, its settlement group, or the official governmental committees emanating from it, in addition to periodic

visits and official receptions for guests around the world and talking about Jerusalem on every occasion.

This result differs with Naim's study, where the occupation forces came at the forefront of the (Israeli) active forces on both pages of the study with a percentage of (57.3%).

The researcher believes that this result is very natural, given that the (Israeli) Jerusalem municipality is the official body charged with administering the city of Jerusalem under the constitutional system of the system of government in (Israel).

3.3.3.3. ARAB AND ISLAMIC ACTORS:

3.3.3.3.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The League of Arab States came as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (32.2%), followed by Arab countries with a percentage of (17.2%), then leaders, politicians and parliamentarians (17.2%), and finally Islamic countries (5.7%).

3.3.3.3.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page speaks Arabic:

Arab countries came as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces in the (Israeli) discourse toward Jerusalem, with a percentage of (38.4%), followed by the League of Arab States with a percentage of (23%), and then others with a percentage of (15.7%), and finally, Islamic countries came in with a percentage of (2.5%).

Table (3.10): Arab and Islamic active forces in the "Israeli" media discourse regarding the issue of Jerusalem

Active Forces	Pages		Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
League of Arab States	9	23	19	39.6	28	32.2		
Arab countries	15	38.4	00	00	15	17.2		
Leaders, politicians and parliamentarians	00	00	15	31.2	15	17.1		
GCC	6	15.3	5	10.5	11	12.6		
Other	6	15.7	1	2.0	7	8.1		
Organization of Islamic Cooperation	2	5.1	4	8.3	6	6.9		
Islamic countries	1	2.5	4	8.4	5	5.7		
Total	39	100	48	100	87	100		

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The League of Arab States came as one of the most important Arab and Islamic actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place, with a percentage of (39.6%), then leaders, politicians and parliamentarians with a percentage of (31.2%), followed by the Gulf Cooperation Council with a percentage of (10.5%), and finally, Islamic countries came in with a percentage of (2.0%).

3.3.3.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation as one of the most important Arab and Islamic actors, as it

ranked fifth in each of the two pages, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (5.1%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page by (8.3%).

- b. The two pages of the study differed in Arab countries as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces, as it ranked first in the “Israel” page, speaking Arabic, and its percentage was in (38.4%), and in Benjamin Netanyahu’s page it did not achieve any representation.
- c. The two pages of the study in the League of Arab States differed as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces, as it came in second place in the “Israel” page that speaks Arabic and its percentage was at (23%), and in the first place on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page with a percentage of (39.6%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in another as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces, as it came in third place in the “Israel” page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was at (15.7%), and in the sixth place on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page with a percentage of (2.0%).

3.3.3.3.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The focus on the Arab countries came logically, especially in light of the statements of Arab presidents and the periodic meetings of the League of Arab States, whether at the official summit level or at the level of foreign ministers and ministers of endowments and religious affairs, in addition to statements issued by Arab ministries unilaterally.

The field of conflict over Jerusalem is international at the present moment, and its platforms are the United Nations and the Security Council, and the Arab countries represented by the League or its rotating members in the Security Council or its statements issued by the Arab League related to Jerusalem receive attention from the fact that the most important conflict is concentrated in a political and legal framework. This is because the danger at the present time that constitutes the spearhead in the face

of the Judaization project is Israel's ability to market its narrative and confirm its legitimacy after Trump's gift and considering it the capital of the state (Israel).

This result is consistent with the study of the wheel, where the League of Arab States came at the forefront of the Arab and Islamic active forces in the two pages of the study.

The researcher attributes that the emergence of the role of some Arab countries came as a result of the decline in the role of institutions with official representation for all Arab member states and the decline in their role in supporting the Palestinian cause under the agreements and initiatives submitted by the League to settle the conflict with the occupation. This coincides with the direct and indirect leadership of some countries in the political scene in managing the conflict with the occupation, for example some Gulf countries seeking normalization, such as the UAE, as well as some countries that limit the occupation according to geography and international treaties such as Egypt and Jordan.

3.3.3.4. INTERNATIONAL ACTORS IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE:

Table (3.11): International actors in the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Active Forces	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
United States of America	34	40.5	27	42.9	61	41.6
Leaders, politicians and parliamentarians	16	19.1	11	17.5	27	18.4
United nations	12	14.2	7	11.1	19	12.9
Countries	7	8.3	12	19.1	19	12.9

European Union	8	9.5	1	1.5	9	6.1
Other	3	3.6	5	7.9	8	5.4
Russia	4	4.7	00	00	4	2.7
Total	84	100	63	100	147	100

3.3.3.4.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The United States of America came as one of the most important international actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (41.6%), followed by leaders, politicians and parliamentarians with (18.4%), and finally Russia with (2.7%).

3.3.3.4.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page speaks Arabic:

The United States of America came as one of the most important international actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (40.5%), followed by leaders, politicians and parliamentarians with a percentage of (19.1%), then the United Nations ranked third with a percentage of (14.2%), and another ranked last, least represented, with a percentage of (3.6%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The United States of America came as one of the most important international actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place, with a percentage of (42.9%), followed by countries with a percentage of (19.1%), then leaders, politicians and parliamentarians with a percentage of (17.5%), and finally the European Union came with a percentage (1.5%).

3.3.3.4.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the United States of America as one of the most important international actors, as it ranked first in both pages, and its percentage in the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (40.5%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (42.9%).
- b. The two pages of the study differed in leaders, politicians and parliamentarians as one of the most important international actors. It came in second place on the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic and its percentage was at (19.1%), while it ranked third on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu with a percentage of (17.5%).
- c. The two pages of the study in the United Nations differed as one of the most important international actors, as it came in third place in the “Israel” page that speaks Arabic, and its percentage was (14.2%), while it ranked fourth on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page with a percentage of (11.1%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the European Union as one of the most important international actors, as it ranked fourth on the “Israel” page, speaking Arabic, and its percentage was (9.5%), while it ranked seventh and last on Benjamin Netanyahu’s page with a percentage of (1.5%).

3.3.3.4.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

It was not surprising that the focus came in talking about the countries of the world around the United States of America, which is the owner of the global initiative to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of ("Israel") and to move another step forward by moving its embassy to Jerusalem. More than that, it exerted pressure on some countries of the world to take the same step it had taken, in addition to the (Israeli) communication networks and the pages of (Israeli) officials witnessing widespread praise for America's role in confirming (Israeli) allegations of Jerusalem.

Undoubtedly, the United States under the leadership of (Trump) made a tangible difference when it violated the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council by recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of the occupying power, and then adopting the Deal of the Century that stripped Jerusalem from being a file for negotiation, and imposed preemptive facts.

This result is consistent with the study of the wheel, where the United States came to the forefront of the international actors in the two pages of the study.

The researcher believes that this result was normal in light of the absolute support of the United States for the latter, specifically after its recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the occupation in light of the international opposition to this decision.

3.3.3.5. THE TOTAL ACTIVE FORCES IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM ON THE TWO PAGES OF THE STUDY:

Table (3.12): Total actors in the "Israeli" media discourse towards the issue of Jerusalem in the two pages of the study

Pages Active Forces	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Palestinian	146	47	82	32.1	228	40.3
International	84	26.9	63	24.6	147	26
Israeli	41	13.2	63	24.6	104	18.1
Islamic	39	12.9	48	18.7	87	15.3
Total	310	100	256	100	566	100

3.3.3.5.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The Palestinian active forces came as one of the most important actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (40.3%), followed by the international actors with a percentage of (26%), and finally the Islamic ones with (18.1%).

3.3.3.5.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The “Israel” page speaks Arabic:

The Palestinian active forces came as one of the most important actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a rate of (47%), followed by the international actors with a percentage of (26.9%), and finally Islamism with a percentage of (12.9%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The Palestinian active forces came as one of the most important actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, with a percentage of (32.1%), followed by the international and (Israeli) active forces in equal percentages (24.6%), and finally Islamism came with a percentage (18.7%).

3.3.3.5.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES:

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in the international actors as one of the most important actors, as it ranked first in both pages, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (26.9%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (24.6%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in the Islamic active forces as one of the most important actors, as they came in last place in both pages, and their percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (12.9%), and in the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (18.7%).

- c. The two pages of the study differed in the (Israeli) active forces as one of the most important active forces, as it came in third place in the (Israel) page that speaks Arabic (13.2%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (24.6%).

3.3.3.5.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

This result is consistent with the wheel study, where the Palestinian active forces came at the forefront of the active forces in the two pages of the study with a percentage of (52.6%).

The researcher believes that this result is very important, especially despite the noticeable decline in the power of the Palestinian media in the face of the counter-narrative; However, its possession of the first rank among the active forces is mainly due to the centrality of the Palestinian role, as it is the target of the propaganda discourse on the issue of Jerusalem.

3.3.4.FOURTH: THE FRAMES OF REFERENCE IN THE "ISRAELI" MEDIA DISCOURSE TOWARDS JERUSALEM ON THE TWO PAGES OF THE STUDY:

Table (3.13): Reference frames in the "Israeli" media discourse towards Jerusalem on the two pages of the study

Pages Frames	Israel speaks Arabic		Benjamin Netanyahu		General Direction	
	Q	%	Q	%	Q	%
Religious Reference	57	29.4	35	24.5	92	27.3
Historical Reference	42	21.7	31	21.6	73	21.8
Political Reference	29	14.9	14	9.8	43	12.7
Legal Reference	19	9.7	22	15.4	41	12.1
Other	18	9.2	16	11.2	34	10
Economic Reference	7	3.6	14	9.8	21	6.3
Cultural Reference	13	6.8	6	4.2	19	5.7
Security Reference	9	4.7	5	3.5	14	4.1
Total	194	100	143	100	337	100

3.3.4.1. GENERAL DIRECTION:

The religious reference ranked first as one of the frames of reference with a percentage of (27.3%), followed by the historical reference by (21.8%), then the political reference by (12.7%), and finally the security reference by (4.1%).

3.3.4.2. EACH PAGE SEPARATELY:

a. The "Israel" page speaks Arabic:

The religious reference ranked first as one of the frames of reference with a percentage of (29.4%), followed by the historical reference with a rate of (21.7%), then the political reference with a rate of (14.9%), and finally the economic reference with a percentage of (3.6%).

b. Benjamin Netanyahu's page:

The religious reference ranked first as one of the frames of reference with a percentage of (24.5%), followed by the historical reference with a percentage of (21.6%), then the legal reference with a percentage of (15.4%), and finally the security reference with a percentage of (3.5%).

3.3.4.3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES: BOTH

- a. The two pages of the study were similar in terms of religious reference, as it ranked first in the two pages, and its percentage in the "Israel" page spoke Arabic (29.4%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (24.5%).
- b. The two pages of the study were similar in the historical reference, as it came in second place on both pages, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (21.7%), and on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (21.6%).
- c. The two pages of the study were similar in the cultural reference, it came in sixth place on both pages, and its percentage in the "Israel" page spoke Arabic (6.8%), and in the Benjamin Netanyahu page (4.2%).
- d. The two pages of the study differed in the political reference, as it came in third place, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (14.9%), while it ranked fifth on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (9.8%).

- e. The two pages of the study differed in the legal reference, as it ranked fourth, and its percentage on the (Israel) page spoke Arabic (9.7%), while it ranked third on the page of Benjamin Netanyahu (15.4%).

3.3.4.4. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

The (Israeli) focus on the religious reference was clearly noticeable, given that it raises the hidden factors of the (Israelis), and the (Israeli) Palestinian conflict gives religious and ideological dimensions despite the (Israeli) diligence in past years to hide this dimension in favor of political dimensions, which raises a serious discussion about the (Israeli) interest to provoke the religious side to a conflict of a political nature.

This result differs with Naeem's study, where the religious reference came at the end of the reference frames on the two pages of the study, at a rate of (3%).

Likewise, the religious reference is in an important position among the Jews, which is confirmed by the fact that Jerusalem as the unified capital ranked first in Table No. (3.6).

On the other hand, the researcher finds that this result was very natural in light of the successive right-wing governments that have dominated political life in (Israel) in recent times, and in their means of reaching power, they have attracted right-leaning voters, as well as the settlers, which was imposed on the political leadership of "Israel" to present a program that fulfills the voters' demands and affirms their full right to Jerusalem and Palestine.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This topic aims to present a summary of the most prominent results of the analytical study to analyze the content and media discourse (Israeli) towards the issue of Jerusalem, as well as a set of recommendations and proposals for the study, as follows:

First: Summary:

1. Settlements in Jerusalem ranked first among the priorities of the (Israeli) discourse toward Jerusalem, followed by violations of Al-Aqsa and Islamic sanctities, and excavations and tunnels in third place.
2. The declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of (Israel) was the highest among the goals of the (Israeli) media discourse towards Jerusalem, and the mobilization of public opinion and international support ranked second, creating a historical link for the Jew in Jerusalem.
3. Disinformation and opacity got the highest percentage of the media discourse (Israeli) towards Jerusalem, followed by the method of justification, and the use of the method of delegitimization came in third place.
4. The (Israeli) media discourse relied on official sources as a primary source of (Israeli) propaganda towards Jerusalem among the total (Israeli) sources, followed by popular (Israeli) sources, and then documents, documents, studies and research.
5. The results of analyzing the (Israeli) media discourse showed the use of the hashtag at the highest rate among the interactive elements, and the highlighting elements used in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, followed by the video, and news images in the third place.
6. The united capital thesis topped the ranking among the theses of (Israeli) practices towards Jerusalem, followed by the Temple Mount thesis, then the terrorism/terror thesis.
7. The citation of officials' statements as one of the paths of logical proof in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem came in the first place, followed by quoting examples second, and citing statistics third.

8. At the level of irrational demonstration paths, falsification was considered one of the illogical paths of demonstration in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the highest regard, followed by skepticism, then exaggeration.
9. The Palestinian National Authority topped the Palestinian active forces in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, followed by the Fatah movement, and then the Hamas movement in third place.
10. The Jerusalem municipality came as one of the most important (Israeli) actors in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, in the first place, followed by the government, and in the third place the settlement associations.
11. The League of Arab States was ranked as one of the most important Arab and Islamic forces in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem in the first place, followed by Arab countries, and then leaders, politicians and parliamentarians.
12. The United States of America dominated the forefront of the international forces active in the (Israeli) discourse towards Jerusalem, followed by politicians and parliamentarians, and then the United Nations countries ranked third and fourth equally.
13. The (Israeli) media discourse toward Jerusalem was based on the religious reference as a mainstay among the frames of reference, followed by the historical reference, and then the political reaction.

Second: Recommendations:

Based on the foregoing results, the researcher presents a set of recommendations to the Palestinian media organizations based on the Palestinian media, through two main axes as follows:

a. Recommendations for Jerusalem:

1. Supporting the issues of the city of Jerusalem, specifically the files of settlement, Judaization, Al-Aqsa Mosque, Christian holy sites...etc, to ensure the preservation of the city's historical identity and its Arab-Islamic character.
2. Preparing a graphic time series with the most prominent variables occurring in the components of the city of Jerusalem in particular, and Palestine in general, before and after the occupation, to provide the necessary statistics to support all those concerned with supporting the Palestinian cause locally and internationally.
3. Pushing some very important issues such as the issue of demolishing Al-Aqsa Mosque and building (the Temple), which is threatened with marginalization by the (Israeli) occupation, to the media and international forums with the aim of activating the Palestinian cause and giving it historical, religious and cultural dimensions, and not to limit it to a political issue only, in order to impede the plans of the occupation aimed at Judaizing Al-Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem.
4. Providing local, Arab, and international support to the city's Jerusalemites, and paying all forms of financial and moral support needed to face the dangers facing the Arab city of Jerusalem.
5. Unifying the Palestinian active forces in the face of the (Israeli) occupation in all local and international forums, and strengthening the role of the political leadership of the Palestinian Authority, to improve the Palestinian position in the negotiations on all Palestinian issues, especially Jerusalem.
6. The legal establishment of the jurisdiction of the Palestinian people over their occupied lands in all international forums, in accordance with the laws and resolutions issued by the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, and the League of Arab States,

specifically regarding the nature of Jerusalem as an occupied city, in order to stand up to all occupation attempts aimed at creating a fait accompli on the ground.

7. Encouraging cultural, heritage and sports activities for the Palestinian people in general, and the issue of Jerusalem in particular, and linking activities to its local, Arab, and international surroundings to spread awareness and introduce the components, culture and cause of the Palestinian people.

b. Recommendations for media discourse:

1. Renewing and developing the Palestinian media discourse in general and using it for social media platforms in particular, provided that this development includes the technical aspects necessary to highlight the issue of Jerusalem.
2. Develop a media cadre specialized in the field of media through social media capable of using a variety of languages, by subjecting it to a set of specialized training programs to raise the efficiency of the Palestinian media.
3. Employing media experts who support the Palestinian cause and sympathize with it, both Arabs and foreigners; With the aim of broadcasting an anti-Israeli discourse inside and outside the Arab countries, specifically in light of calls for normalization with the occupation.
4. Separation between the local discourse and the international discourse by the authors of the Palestinian discourse, and the tendency to focus on the external discourse, specifically with regard to human rights, freedoms, international law and the right to self-determination...etc.
5. Employing correspondents specialized in the matter of Jerusalem to follow up on its issues from the inside, in addition to relying on the writer who is known to have influenced the local and international public opinion, particularly the crucial issues.

6. Reducing the use of (Israeli) media sources as well as news agencies affiliated with them, searching for reliable local and regional alternatives, and enhancing the use of official documents in this.
7. Establishing research and media centers specialized in Hebrew affairs to support the owners of the Palestinian media discourse, as well as confronting the anti-occupation discourse.

c. Social media recommendations:

1. Increasing interest in electronic media in general, especially social media, for its effective role in disseminating influential news, photos and videos.
2. Building targeted media platforms on social media specialized in launching local and international hashtags; To correct what has been distorted by the (Israeli) narrative about the Palestinians on social media.
3. Confronting false and illogical rumors and publications in justification by the authors of the (Israeli) media discourse through pictures and flash drives, for example the historical fallacies about Palestinian issues.
4. Using offensive tactics by using specialized technicians based on attacking the hostile (Israeli) pages, specifically aimed at striking the home front, for example the Palestinian resistance attacking the pages of the enemy during its aggression on the Gaza Strip, and broadcasting counter-informational materials.
5. Diversify the methods used on social networking pages to suit the masses of local and international audiences, for example the use of infographics, satirical caricatures, in addition to statistics and official documents.

Third: Study Suggestions:

1. Strengthening scientific research efforts in the field of media discourse analysis (Israeli) within academic institutions and research centers at the local level.
2. Laying out the necessary plans to rehabilitate the local media infrastructure and to enhance and diversify its sources of information to increase the effectiveness of the Palestinian discourse and strengthen its position in the face of the (Israeli) media discourse.
3. Calling for a unified media pact at the local and Arab levels to strengthen the constants of the Palestinian cause, especially Jerusalem, by allocating sufficient space to present all the corners of the Palestinian cause politically, culturally, religiously, geographically... in order to establish a regional incubator to support the latter.
4. Correcting and correcting the media and historical concepts circulating incorrectly about the Palestinian issue and the history of the Arab (Israeli) conflict, especially Jerusalem due to its centrality with respect to the latter, such as: the term “Weeping Wall” to become Al-Buraq, and the “Temple Mount” to become the Mount of Olives...etc.
5. The political leadership of the State of Palestine adopts non-traditional media policies based on diversity to keep pace with the development of modern media, and to neutralize social networking sites, given their association with a wide segment of local and international users to achieve the required spread, and improve the chances of confronting the (Israeli) media discourse in all media fields.
6. Enhancing the periodic publications issued by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics regarding Jerusalem and all the changes taking place in it at all levels since the occupation until its date in particular, and providing the official and unofficial political decision-making centers with updated copies of it, to expose all the occupation’s procedures and plans to Judaize Jerusalem.
 - With the aim of reaching the largest segment of world public opinion and strengthening the image of the Palestinian cause and its justice in the mind of the West.

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