



Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies

**US ADMINISTRATION’S USE OF STRATEGIC
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ON TWITTER FOR
PROMOTING “DEAL OF THE CENTURY”**

By

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**This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Master`s degree in Contemporary Public
Relations**

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The image shows three handwritten signatures in blue ink. The first signature is for Dr. Dalal Iriqat, the second is for Dr. Hussein Al-Ahmad, and the third is for Dr. Shadi Abu-Ayyash. Each signature is written over a horizontal line.

Declaration

I am Musa Omar Khalil (ID: 852668565); a student at the Arab American University – Faculty of Graduate studies in Ramallah. I submitted the thesis titled: “US Administration’s Use of Strategic Political Communication on Twitter for Promoting Deal of the Century”.

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and effort, except where there’s an appropriate citation, and that this thesis has not been previously included in a thesis submitted to this or other institution for a degree or other qualifications.

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Date: 15/07/2021

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Abstract

In recent years, Twitter use in political communication has become a trend that has been given an exceptional attention by researchers from different disciplines. In the United States of America, Twitter was intensively used by Donald Trump in his 2016 presidential elections campaign and later on by the US administration.

The main research problem of this study stems from the lack of understanding of strategic communication and persuasion techniques used by the US Administration in promoting the most recent policies and political projects, mainly the “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events including normalization agreements with some Arab countries. Moreover, there is a lack of understanding among the Palestinian official institutions involved in political communication of the mechanisms of using strategic political communication on Twitter during the study timeframe, which is provided in depth in this study.

This study investigated the use of strategic communication and persuasion techniques on Twitter by US administration under Trump, in promoting the deal and its consequent events. Theoretically, it tackled with the message characteristics of the related administration’s tweets, in addition to the use of the 7 persuasive techniques introduced by the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (IPA). The study used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis of a selected sample of 161 tweets from the US administration and its representative’s accounts from 1 January, 2020 to 1 January, 2021.

The content analysis of the message structure of the sample tweets showed that the majority of these tweets included one-sided messages, whose purpose is to gain the audience support

for the deal and normalization agreements. With regard to the message content, the content analysis demonstrated that the US administration mostly used positive emotional appeal rather than evidence. In very few tweets, they used testimonials and interesting content as evidence to make the message more persuasive. Furthermore, the content analysis of the message style demonstrated that strong emotion-laden words were used intensively to evoke in the audience the emotions that such words may raise. Moreover, the metaphor rhetorical device was used to persuade the audience by associating unknown ideas with known ones, thus intensifying the effect on them. As for the use of the IPA 7 techniques, 6 were mostly used in the sample tweets with card stacking and glittering generalities being the techniques used most frequently.

Key words: *Strategic Communication, Political Communication, Twitter, Persuasion, 7 IPA Techniques, Donald Trump, US Administration, Deal of the Century, Normalization*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the world is witnessing a widespread in the use of social media platforms in different areas of expertise, it is now clear that these platforms have been attracting politicians' attention to the importance of their use as a strategic communication tool for delivering their strategic political messages in an easy, quick and less costly effective way.

The use of internet and technologies in the political communications began in 1990s, with limitation in political campaigning (Devran, 2004). The reason for this limited use was the inadequacy of technological infrastructure and the low number of subscribers. However, these limitations are disappearing since the internet has taken a place as the most important communication tools in the political sphere (ibid).

In reference to that, the use of social media platforms in political sphere has risen because of its developed characteristics. Those developments allow politicians to have a direct communication with their audiences at large, giving them the opportunity to engage with the communication messages delivered, which considered as a huge transformation in that field (Grant et al., 2010).

Among these platforms, Twitter has been given an exceptional attention by politicians. This is due to the characteristics of this platform which allows its users to spread written text and visual materials among millions of users worldwide in a swift and direct way. This increasing use of Twitter in political communication gave the researchers a reason for researching in that field based on their different perspectives. However, most of the

previously conducted studies focused on issues related to the use of Twitter for elections and campaigning purposes only (Caplan 2013; Bai 2017; Liu 2016).

In the US, Twitter has been used effectively for elections campaigning purposes in the United States of America in the last presidential election by the republican candidate Donald Trump who succeeded in winning the presidency. As the 45th elected president, Trump used Twitter as the broadcast network for his parallel political reality. Moreover, he integrated twitter into the presidential communication effectively which reflected on his administration communication process (Michael, S. et al., 2019).

As for this study, it will examine the use of Trumps' administration and its representatives in another area of expertise. It will focus on the use of strategic communication and persuasion techniques on Twitter for promoting the administration's foreign agendas and policies, in line with the most recent announcement of the so called "Deal of the Century" and its consequent events under what so called "Abraham Accord".

This study consists of 5 main chapters. The first chapter will give a general overview of the study, including its objectives, questions, significance and methodology. As for the second chapter, it consists of the literature review, including books, journals, media interviews and studies. The third chapter includes the theoretical framework that the study relies on. The fourth chapter provides the analysis of the study sample, its results and a discussion on them. While the fifth chapter provides the study conclusion including revisiting the main results, final remarks and study recommendations.

Research Problem

This study tackles with the U.S administration endeavors for promoting “Deal of the Century”, announced on 28 January 2020 by Donald Trump, the president of the United States, under the name “Peace to Prosperity”, and its consequent events including normalization agreements with some of the Arab countries under what so called “Abraham Accord”, using strategic political communication and persuasion techniques on Twitter.

From the Palestinian perspective, the plan (The Deal of the Century) and its consequent events aims to exploit the Palestinians on the economic level and dominate them politically through different forms of humiliation and segregation (Iriqat, 2020). This requires the Palestinian leadership to change their strategy from a reactive and spontaneous one, to a comprehensive and well planned one, in order to face the serious negative effects of the plan and its consequent events on the Palestinian cause (ibid).

Based on that, the research problem stems from the lack of understanding of the strategic communication and persuasion techniques used by the US Administration in promoting the deal among Palestinians, Arabs and other nations. Moreover, there is a lack of understanding among the Palestinian official institutions involved in political communication of the mechanisms of utilized strategic political communication on Twitter during the study timeframe, which is provided in depth in this study.

Study Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To investigate how Twitter was used as a strategic channel for Political communications by the Trump U.S Administration for promoting “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events.
2. To understand how the U.S administration was using strategic communication and persuasion techniques for promoting the deal and reinforce their political positions, by focusing on the message characteristics.
3. To familiarize and educate the Palestinian and Arabs individuals and official entities with the 7 IPA propaganda techniques used by the US administration in promoting the deal and its consequent events.

Study Significance and Justifications

This study would be an updated case study to the literature in the field of social media use in strategic political communication, with a focus on social media intersection with persuasion and propaganda techniques.

Moreover, the investigation of the US administration’s use of twitter in strategic political communication may contribute to a better understanding of Trump’s administration communication approach, and provide an in-depth understanding of using twitter successfully for promoting political policies and agendas. This might guide the political actors mainly in Palestine in their political communication via twitter on the strategic level.

The significance of this study also stems from being the first of its kind to investigate the use of Twitter for political communication by the U.S Administration for promoting “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events, with linkage to strategic communication and persuasion, and with focus on message characteristics and 7 IPA propaganda techniques.

However, most of the previously conducted studies focused on issues related to the use of Twitter for elections and campaigning purposes only (Caplan 2013; Bai 2017; Liu 2016).

This study will try to fill this gap by investigating the use of twitter in promoting political programs and policies, mainly those related to Palestine and the Middle East.

Study Questions

Based on the research objectives, the study will answer the following main question:

How did the U.S Administration under Trump use Twitter for promoting and re-enforcing its positions on the “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events?

Sub questions are:

- What are the main characteristics of the U.S administration Tweets related to the deal from the perspective of strategic communication and persuasion?
- What are the propaganda techniques used by the U.S Administration for promoting the deal?

Methodology and Research Tools

This study will be using content analysis as a main research tool for answering the study questions, which has been used effectively over the years as a major research tool in the media and communication field (Riffe & Freitag, 1977).

Content analysis is defined as “the systematic, objective, quantitative, description of the content of communication”. (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). Due to the broad development in the journalism industry in the beginning of the 20th century, content analysis has been used broadly for analyzing the newspapers quantitatively (Riffe & Freitag, 1977). It is also considered as a tool for analyzing textual data such as transcripts, interviews and online data (Julien, 2008, p. 120).

Content analysis could be applied for both quantitative and qualitative methods. Based on Julien, the quantitative analysis will answer the “WH” questions in a numerical feature for the analyzed textual materials, while the qualitative analysis will analyze and interpret the textual materials and its reflecting meanings (Julien, 2008).

As this study deals with the US administration tweets related to deal of the century and its consequent events which considered as an online data, a mixed of quantitative and qualitative content analysis will be used, which is highly relevant and suitable for answering the study questions.

The quantitative method will be used to demonstrate the numerical features for the repetition and counting of used themes, words, emotional appeals, and techniques used by the U.S Administration for promoting the deal and its consequent events,

As for the qualitative method, it will be used to examine the administration persuasive communication on Twitter, with a focus on message characteristics. Moreover, the qualitative content analysis will be used to describe and interpret the quantitative data based on the theoretical framework used.

Sample and Data Selection

For this study, the sample contains 161 Tweets related to “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events mainly normalization agreements under what so called “Abraham Accord”, which has been collected from the following U.S Administration’s official twitter accounts, in addition to the U.S Administration representatives’ accounts from the period between 01/01/2020 – 01/01/2021:

- Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump)
- The White House (@WhiteHouse)
- Ivanka Trump (@IvankaTrump)
- Secretary Pompeo (@SecPompeo)
- Department of State (@StateDept)

The selected accounts are the most influential US Administration accounts with a high number of followers and they represent the main actors in the US foreign policy, specifically those involved in the work related to deal of the century and normalization agreements.

The data was collected using two main online free databases called “All My Tweets” <https://www.allmytweets.net/> and the “Trump Archive”

<https://www.thetrumparchive.com/>, using the search engine tools provided on these platforms through a number of key words which are: Deal of the century, peace to prosperity, Middle East, peace plan, Israel, the Palestinians, normalization, Abraham Accord, Arab, peace, Oman, UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, Morocco. The links for selected tweets was saved and a screenshot for each tweet was taken and coded with numbers from 1-161.

Accuracy and Honesty of the Content Analysis Process

To ensure honesty and consistency in the analysis of the content of the study sample, a content analysis survey was developed which contains indicators on which the analysis was created based on the theoretical framework of the study. It was presented to arbitrators for comments and opinions, and it had been amended based on these comments before the analysis process began.

Because the study dealt with the use of language as a component of the analysis process related to Message Style, especially rhetorical devices, and emotion ladens, the analysis survey and a sample of the results were presented to an arbitrator specialized in applied linguistics to ensure that the analysis process was conducted based on accurate and valid indicators. A 5% of the study sample were also checked by another arbitrator to ensure consistency of the analysis with the theoretical framework.

Study Limitations

Despite the clear content of the pre-prepared research plan, this study has faced some minor limitations. One of the most notable limitations is the lack of open sources of literature related to the subject of the study, especially books in local and Arab libraries. This forced

me as a researcher to buy a collection of these books and literatures. Also, the lack of previous studies under the theoretical framework used, particularly regarding the characteristics of the message, was one of the most prominent challenges. In addition, the third question of this study which is “How is Twitter features was used by the U.S administration in promoting the deal?” has been excluded because Twitter has closed the two accounts of the US President, Donald Trump, (@POTUS and @realDonaldTrump), right after the American elections, because the Twitter’s digital analysis tools cannot retrieve the digital content of these accounts, especially when it comes to Retweets and how they are used in the other accounts that have been analyzed.

Also, the tweets sample related to @POTUS account has been excluded from the study sample as I could not retrieve them after closing the account, while I was able to retrieve the texts related to the tweets of the study sample from @realDonaldTrump account in text.

Chapter 2: Previous Studies & Literature Review

Previous Studies

Several previous studies examined the use of Twitter strategically for political communication in the United States of America, especially in the election campaigns, while some other studies examined the use of strategic communication for promotion and persuasion purposes.

Bai (2017) Study: The study conducted in Sweden in 2017 titled: “Tweets Win Votes: A Persuasive Communication Perspective on Donald Trump’s Twitter Use During the 2016 US Presidential Election Campaign”. The study aimed to investigate how Donald Trump used Twitter for persuasive communication during the political campaigns. Moreover, the study aimed to explore the characteristics and emphasis of persuasive messages reflected from his tweets. The study used both the qualitative and quantitative method and the content analysis as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- Trump employed a mix of one sided and two-sided messages in his tweets, while the two-sided messages was the majority.
- Trump’s persuasive messages consisted of both cogent evidence and emotional appeals.
- Two rhetorical devices, namely, irony and metaphors, are detected in the Tweets.
- The influence of rhetorical tropes on the persuasion effect was limited.

Abu Arqoub (2018) Study: The study conducted in Palestine in 2018 titled: **“The Deal of the Century from Media and Propaganda Perspective”**. The study aimed to investigate the methods and techniques used in the U.S official discourse in a bid to propagating “Deal of the Century”, in addition to explain how the U.S media normalize the term “Deal of the Century” across the globe. The study used the qualitative method and critical discourse analysis as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- The Official U.S discourse relied on the most important principles of audience engineering, which is the principle of influencing the subconscious mind of the addressee, by linking the deal to the positive and human values.
- The Official U.S discourse used a lined signification that has an important indications and effects on the unconscious mind.
- The U.S administration relies on the media flow principle, as it is the first and only media source that have the ability to talk about the deal.
- The official U.S discourse depends on the mystery strategy related to the deal and its specifications.
- The official U.S discourse was clearly bias to Israel and the Jews.
- There is a differentiations and misinformation between the official U.S discourse and what is really going on the ground.

Cablan (2013) Study: The study conducted in the United States of America in 2013 titled: **“Social Media and Politics: Twitter Use in the Second Congressional District of Virginia”**. The study aimed to investigate how the republican congressman Scott Rigell and the Democratic candidate Paul Hirschbiel used message characteristics and tactical

strategies on Twitter to attract citizens in the 2nd congressional district of Virginia election in 2012. The study used both the qualitative and quantitative method and the content analysis as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- Both candidates used Twitter to share related information for their activities.
- Candidate Rigell shared more direct communication tweets than Hirschbiel.
- Candidate Hirschbiel used personal messages to attract his followers on Twitter.

Liu (2016) Study: The study conducted in Sweden in 2016 titled: “**Reviewing the Rhetoric of Donald Trump’s Twitter of the 2016 Presidential Election**”. The study aimed to understand how Donald Trump used rhetorical means and techniques for persuasion among his followers on Twitter to become the 45th United States president. The study used the qualitative method and the critical discourse analysis as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- Trump's commonly used ethos and pathos rhetorical strategies on Twitter.
- Trump’s used "Logos" hardly as a rhetorical strategy.

Thayer (2018) Study: The study conducted in the United States in 2018 titled: “21st Century Propaganda: The Age of Twitter”. The study aimed to investigate propaganda techniques use on twitter, mainly by President Donald Trump, in addition to determine how the techniques have changed to fit with this communication medium. The study used both the qualitative and the quantitative method and the content analysis as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- Media and links are prominent in tweets containing propagandist material.

- Propaganda does have a place and a form on Twitter.
- Rational and emotional appeals are shown in the analyzed tweets.
- 7 IPA Propaganda analysis techniques are no longer a comprehensive analysis tool, as the study sample analysis shows that only 51% of the analyzed tweets included those techniques.

Khan; Yoon & Park (2014) Study: The study conducted in South Korea in 2014 titled: **“Social media communication strategies of government agencies: Twitter use in Korea and the USA”**. The study aimed to examine the use of Twitter by the US federal government and the Korean central government by employing the web-metric technique to extract their Twitter activities, in addition to the use of social media analysis techniques for mapping the linkage between the out-links directions and their Twitter accounts. The study used the quantitative and qualitative methods and the web-metric analysis technique as a tool to achieve its objectives. The study concluded the following related results:

- There is a difference between the Twitter strategies of the two governments.
- The Korean government are well connected through a dense network, engaged in collective cooperation, and re-tweeted common content to reinforce their collective agendas regardless of their main administrative functions.
- The U.S government was less collective and more individualistic and re-tweeted messages that specifically fit the purpose of each governmental department.
- The U.S government preferred private sources of information.
- The Korean government preferred government sources.

Literature Review

Strategic Communication

In the second decade of the 21st century, strategic communication has become a popular topic within communication science. At its beginning, strategic communication was used in different programs of the military and governments. Nowadays, it is becoming a popular topic serving different types of goal-oriented communication covered by PR, campaigning and public diplomacy (Farwell, 2012; Paul, 2011).

Strategic communication is defined as the “coordinated actions, messages, images, and other forms of signaling or engagement intended to inform, influence, or persuade selected audiences in support of national objectives” (Paul, 2011, p. 3).

It is also defined as “The practice of deliberate and purposive communication that a communication-agent enacts in the public sphere on behalf of a communicative entity to reach set goals” (Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2013, p. 74).

Strategic communication is a topic of interest in the military and national power context (Zerfass, A. et al., 2018). Based on Pashentsev (2013), strategic communication is a series of professional communication activities that is conducted simultaneously by the state, with the aim of consolidate a set of values, interests and goals into the conscience of the audiences locally and globally (p. 210).

As for NATO, strategic communication should be in the heart of planning and conducting the military operations. According to NATO policy, strategic communication is “the coordinated and appropriate use of NATO communications activities and capabilities

Public Diplomacy, Public Affairs (PA), Military Public Affairs, Information Operations (Info Ops) and Psychological Operations (PsyOps), as appropriate – in support of alliance policies, operations and activities, and in order to advance NATO’s aims” (NATO, 2011, p.33).

On its practical level, strategic communication is a cross topic among different disciplines, with a shared feature of deliberate and intentional, directed to achieve particular goals, comprises one or more communicators, acting on behalf of a communicative entity and communicates in the public sphere (Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2013, p.74).

Based on Paul (2011), strategic communication has four main elements that made the implementation of the process effective, a) informing, influencing and persuading is important, b) effectively informing, influencing and persuading requires clear objectives, and that what makes strategic communication “strategic”, c) coordination and deconfliction are necessary to avoid information fratricide and d) actions communicate, as actions speak louder than words (p. 4).

According to Freedman (2006), strategic communication is the tool for communicated narratives, which are designed to structure others responses and mobilize them to take actions. They are about influencing others and reflect the main message that persuade the audience, as they are created on the basis of shared values and experiences. It is also important to note that using narratives on the long term can shape the perceptions of the target audience, and if used strategically by politicians they can result in shaping the behavior of domestic and international actors.

As a conclusion, it is important to note that even though strategic communication is gaining more attention nowadays after being used in the context of terrorism and counterterrorism,

it is still negatively affected by notions of information warfare and propaganda, which resulted to the neglect of the strategic communication by communication science. That makes strategic communication to me as a researcher a study field that should be addressed (Botan, 2018, p.175-196).

Propaganda

The theoretical origin of Propaganda goes back to the ancient Greece. It has been used by Alexander the Great, the early Christians and the Roman Empire, and has become a used tool in the religious conflict. Propaganda finds the way to the public through the printing and press intervention adopted by Martin Luther, who used propaganda as a tool for fighting the Catholic Church. It also has been used by the Americans and French during their revolutions (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012).

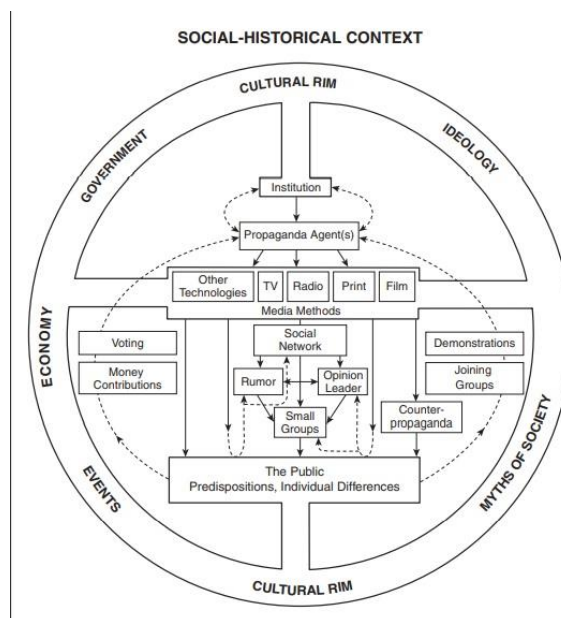
On the 19th century, the development and expansion in the mass media sector helped in strengthening the propaganda effectiveness. After World War I, Propaganda has become a popular topic in the social sciences and led to the studies of persuasion (ibid).

Propaganda defined as “a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of a public to an enterprise, idea, or group” (Bernays, 2004, p. 52). It is also defined as a “mass suggestion or influence through the manipulation of symbols and the psychology of the individual” (Pratkanis & Elliot, 2001, p. 11).

Propaganda in the context of political science, is the analysis of ideologies of the political actors and how they influence and impact the public opinion (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012). It is linked with the ideology as the political actors used it to maintain their power (Burnett, 1989).

As for political propagandist, ideology contains attitudes, behaviors and beliefs that should be adopted by a target group as a result of the propaganda implementation (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2015).

Propaganda considered as a whole process as it is a form of communication. Based on the social-historical propaganda model, the propaganda process contains different actors such as , ideology, government, economy, media, social network and public (Jowett, 2012).



*FIGURE 1: PROPAGANDA SOCIAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT MODEL
(JOWETT, 2012, P.361)*

Propaganda literature review shows three types of propaganda which is white, black and gray. As for white propaganda, the propagated information is accurate and comes from a reliable source, while the black propaganda information is coming from an inaccurate source and has 14 falsehoods with the aim of spreading lies and miss-information. The gray

propaganda is a combination between both the white and black, as the source may or may not be accurate and the information is not definitely reliable (Thayer, 2018)

The use of propaganda and its influence are linked to the use of media. Nowadays, the development and the wide spread of social media platforms including Facebook and Twitter helped propagandist in reaches broader audience through broader communications (Jowett, 2012). As for Thayer (2018), twitter has become a space to propagated messages as the users can easily and quickly develop their message and sent it out to a broad audience anonymously and without cautious.

As of today, the new media and social media platforms gives the propagandists an ideal opportunity to disseminate information and shape perceptions in un-ethical way, which is considered as a real threat for societies worldwide. However, this should be a strong reason for scholars to focus on fighting propaganda through investigating its use in the digital sphere, which is met in this study.

Public and Digital Diplomacy

The use of public diplomacy in history goes back to the United States and Soviet Union who used it in the Cold War as a tool to sustain the antagonistic relationships among the foreign societies with the aim of achieving the desired results on the long term. This use of public diplomacy resulted in unfavorable meaning that haunts its study (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59).

As defined by Nye (2008), public diplomacy is the communication with a long-term objective to produce desired results for foreign policy (p. 101). It has been also defined as

the marketing and branding of nations (Anholt, 2002). Based on Bruce (2011), public diplomacy includes understanding, planning, engagement and advocacy.

Public diplomacy is linked with power, specifically what so called “soft power”. Soft power is based on intangible and indirect effects such as culture, ideology and values. It is considered as the ability to gain a selected result through attraction. In another words, if a state or entity succeeded in setting others agendas or shape their preferences, they can save a great deal on rewards and punishments (Nye, 2009).

As the public diplomacy have evolved since 2001 as a political communication tool, the term of “New Public Diplomacy” has raised and described by Melissen (2005) as “version of public diplomacy that converges with cultural diplomacy, puts the accent on engaging with foreign audiences rather than selling message” (p. 21-23). It has been also described by Ociepka (2018) in the terms of communication models as more symmetric and dialogical than cold war public diplomacy, which was focused on international broadcasting (p.291).

The new public diplomacy aims to benefit from new technologies and utilize them as a part of the engagement efforts with internal and external audiences, trying to influence them by a country official view (Manor, 2016; Natarajan, 2014).

Scholars argue that the evolving of social media present a tremendous opportunity for public diplomacy for better networking, collaborating and connecting (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Moreover, the use of social media in public diplomacy encourages the free flow of information and engagement across boundaries (Hayden, 2011).

Multiple recent studies have observed the use of social media in public diplomacy. On the one hand, a study implemented in 2012 concluded that Israel “seeks to empower its citizens by enlisting social media in grassroots public diplomacy efforts”, while another study in 2012 analyzed the use of social media by U.S Department of State in engaging with Middle East citizens and concluded that creativity and strategic thinking in using technologies are vital for realizing the vision of public diplomacy. On the other hand, a study implemented in 2009 evaluated the effectiveness of using twitter as a public diplomacy tool during Iran’s 2009 election protests, concluded that it has a limited effect on the election process (Zhang, 2013).

Following to what previously mentioned, a new term has been emerged which is Digital Diplomacy. Digital diplomacy considered as a shift from the 20th century public diplomacy which was characterized by one-way communication method. It is considered as a two-way communication method with a dialogic, inclusive and collaborative features (Pamment, 2013). Thus, it represents a clear break from one-way broadcasting model of public diplomacy, and considered as transmitting from monolog to dialogue (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008).

As for Kampf et al. (2015), the most important benefits of digital diplomacy are engagement and listening. Engagement relates to the need to communicate with publics using different online tools, while listening relates to the use of those tools to understand the foreign publics in order to conclude on how to shape and deliver the “State” policies accordingly.

Through listening, the “State” also can “gauge public opinion and anticipate events” (Ociepka, 2012). Another benefit for public diplomacy is the ability to tailor messages to

a unique characteristic of a target group such as language culture and values (Metzgar, 2012; Seo, 2013), while tailoring effectively rests on the ability to identify specific target audiences, communication channels and platforms (Xiguang & Jing, 2010).

Studies show that social media platforms, specifically Facebook and Twitter are a tool for the digital diplomacy, which allows diplomatic actors to interact with online users (McNutt, 2014). Based on Twiplomacy (2015), there are more than 200 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign ministers active on Twitter, some 400 heads of state and more than 200 missions to UN institutions. In the Arab World, Ministries of Foreign Affairs such as Egypt, Qatar, Jordan and Bahrain all are using twitter through official accounts (Manor, 2015).

As this study is concerned about the use of political strategic communication by the U.S administration, it is important to mention that United States took the lead in tapping the new media including social media for public diplomacy use. That was translated into actions by the U.S department of state in 2007, by creating a public diplomacy platform that includes webcasts, blogs, videos, YouTube, Twitter and Facebook (Dale, 2010).

With all those benefits of social media for public diplomacy, a number of concerns are still appearing in this field as social media could be an opportunity and/or problem for public diplomacy practitioners, which gives the space to scholars to express their opinion through investigating case studies in relation to this topic.

Political Communication

As defined by Norris, political communication is the process of sharing information with different audiences including citizens, media outlets and political actors in an interactive manner. This process works vertically from government to citizens, and horizontally connected with politicians (Norris, 2001, p.11631).

It is also considered by other scholars as a part of communication sciences that integrate political elements into the elements of the communication process (Araci et al., 2019, p. 247).

On the strategic level, Nimmo defines political communications as “the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters” (Abu Arqoub, 2019, p.67), which is the case in the context of this study.

By going back to the history, we found that political communication developed over years with a starting point from the U.S presidential elections in the 1950s. In this period, the mass media played a major role in the development of the political communication. It is also noted that the oppose and pressure groups in the same period in the U.S, which are a non-governmental organization who has an economic and political power, contributed also to the development of the political communication (Araci et al., 2019).

As a research field, political communication started to emerge in the 1970s, as a field with concern to the production, dissemination, and effects of the information and media tools that is used in the political communication process. This research field includes three main areas which are mass communication research, social psychology and political science, and has been studied by different scholars such as Harlod Lasswell, Carl Hovland and Gordon

Allport. Those scholars and other scientists started with using observation and quantitative facts to develop political communication theories upon World War 2.

The elements of the political communication process are similar to those in the communication process. It includes transmitter, receiver, channel, message and feedbacks, and all these elements should work strongly together to achieve an effective communication process (Araci, Medyanin & Kullanimi, 2019). In the same context, the message and the purpose of the communication are the main two crucial elements in the political communication.

The political communication is practiced by different actors, which includes political organizations, lobbies, parties and leaders. Those groups aim through political communication, to influence the decision-making process. In addition to this, political communication is used by the mentioned actors as a tool to reflect their ideologies, interests and goals, with the aim of persuade their target groups on both national or international level (McNair, 2018).

With the development of the use of internet and ICT technologies, the processing of information has been changed in comparison with the traditional communication tools. Those developments have affected the political communication process in different ways (Boncheck, 1997).

A first major aspect of those developments is the enhancement of the strategies of communications by political actors, where the ICT technologies gave the politicians a cost-less information production process with more accessibility to the public. It is also provided them with a direct means of communication where they can bypass the media and send

their messages directly to their target audiences, which is considered as a dramatic change in the political communication process (Maarek & Wolfsfeld, 2003).

A second major aspect is the facilitation of the political mobilization by the ICT technologies, which provided a globally free-space for persons with common interest to get in touch and share their thoughts. The ICT is also has been used as a mean of advocacy by influencing decision makers through directed campaigns using social media or email (ibid).

As a result of the above-mentioned reasons, scholars argue that the use of ICT in political communications puts an end to the intermediates, specifically the gatekeepers, in the communication process between senders and receivers.

Twitter

Twitter is a micro blogging social communication channel founded in 2006. Based on Park, it eases communications between individuals, allowing them to share messages and pictures, in addition to other types of information (Park, 2013). Through what so called a “Tweet”, people can share their opinion in an open space publicly, with the possibility of interaction with other people.

With 330 million accumulated active users by 2020, Twitter works toward achieving internet safety and educations, free expressions and civil liberties, equality, environmental conservation and sustainability, in addition to crisis and emergency response (Twitter, 2020).

There is a number of features that makes twitter distinguish among other social media platforms, one of them is the limitation on the 140 characters that the user cannot exceed when posting. This makes it a unique tool for immediate and frequent communication. (Bay, 2017).

Another unique feature is that twitter is an open-source platform, which means that users can access others feedbacks and interact with them freely even without following them. That means that anyone can see what others are tweeting unless that the message is set to private mode.

Based on SimilarWeb rank analysis in 2017, Twitter was ranked as one of the most visited sites globally (SimilarWeb, 2017). The reasons behind this familiarity starts with the massive amount of content that has been created and shared among millions of users, in addition to receiving updated information without being edited (Bai, 2017). Moreover, hashtags and trending topics on twitter make the process of navigating information much easier for different audiences. Twitter also gives the opportunity to ordinary people to have access to the most updated information from political leaders in an easy and fast way (ibid).

The tweet can include text, hashtag, videos, pictures and hyperlinks, in addition to an interactive activity which are re-tweeting, replying, likes and mentioning. Through the Hashtag (#) twitter users can achieve wider dissemination of their messages as they can address special issues and allow the users to receive information related to a specific topic (Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). As for the retweet, users can copy any public message on twitter and share it with other users through a button called “retweet” (Guo & Saxton, 2014).

As other social media platforms are the place for the young audience and users, twitter is not the case. It is not a platform for young people, but a place for and older adults and

professional audience. This was shown in a study conducted by the Consultancy Firm Trend – Stream which found that 80% of the twitter users are workers from the information technology sector and other professional services such as law, accounting, education, finance, in addition to governmental employees. The study also concluded that twitter is ideal for political leaders who wants to touch base with influential audience, as they are educated and hold a position of responsibility. (Parmelee & Bichard, 2012, p. 6)

The U.S Administration: Its Structure & Role in the Middle East Peace Process

In the political sciences, the term administration or administrative state is a term that has been used among politicians and journalists in recent years. The term has been used for long period by academics and scholars in the political sciences since the 1940s (BallotPedia, 2020).

As for the U.S Administration, it is defined as the term that refers to the elected President of the United States of America and his executive team, who leads the White House. The power of the executive branch represented by the President who is also the head of state and commander in chief of the armed force. As the head of the administration, the president is responsible for implementing the Congress laws and appointing the heads of Federal Agencies. (The White House, 2020).

Under the full authority of the president, fifteen executive departments headed by an appointed member from the President's Cabinet are leading the administration of the federal agencies, in addition to the Executive Office of the President which consists of the

immediate staff to the President, along with entities such as the Office of Management and Budget and the Office of the United States Trade Representative (ibid).

On the 8th November 2016, President Donald Trump was elected as the 45th President of the United States with a total vote of more than 62 million after running the election race as the Republican nominee, becoming the leader of the U.S Administration along with his Vice President Michael Pence, first lady Melania Trump and second lady Karen Pence (ibid).

Based on the Article II, section two of the constitution, President Trump forms his cabinet which include Vice President Mike Pence, the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Education, Energy, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Labor, State, Transportation, Treasury, and Veterans Affairs, and the Attorney General, in addition to the White House Chief of Staff and heads of the Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Management and Budget, United States Trade Representative, Central Intelligence Agency, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and Small Business Administration (ibid).

The U.S administration support to Israel has been significantly increasing from past to Present. This support was started with the intention of Political power and has been evolved to be an asset. As most of U.S Presidents stated in their written diaries, the U.S relations with Israel has been always needed for both countries for many reasons such as facing threats from other countries, sharing knowledge and in more recent days being an originations of peace negotiations (Sirmanshahi, 2020).

From Camp David to Oslo Accords, passing by the Madrid Peace Conference, the successive U.S Administrations has reserved a broker role trying to resolve the conflict

between Palestinian and Israelis. As the literature shows, all the U.S attempts to achieve peace between the two side of the conflict has been largely to the interest of Israel. However, literature observed that the U.S administrations demonstrated a soft spot for Israel in diverse ways and has been a party to the conflict that support Israel and not an honest broker (ibid).

In this regard, it is important to mention that the Israeli lobby machinery in the United States succeeded in persuading the U.S successive governments to be soft on Israel which resulted in low pressure to agree on any possible solution to the conflict (ibid).

The current U.S administration (Trump's Administration) has made a turning point in the U.S role in the Middle East Peace Process and made political changes which effected the process of several conflicts significantly, promoting a new reality by restructuring status quo. The US – Israeli relations during Trump administration has doubled back up specifically with the efforts of Trump's senior advisor Jared Kushner, his Jewish son in law (Abdul Rahman, 2018).

This turning point is also linked to the promises that has been made by Trump during his presidency election campaign, which leads him to make some quick moves to fulfill his promises. These moves include the U.S recognition of Jerusalem as the united capital of Israel, moving the U.S Embassy to it, recognize the Golan Heights as an Israeli land, cut the US funds to the UNRWA, Palestinian Authority, Jerusalem Hospitals, closing PLO office in Washington, and releasing the what so called "Deal of the Century" (ibid).

Those moves were made based on the powerful principle of "recognition" and does not suggest any desire by the U.S administration to play the role of honest broker in the middle

east peace process and has jeopardized the possibility of achieving a two-state solution (ibid).

As a conclusion, the Trump's administration relation with Israel has taken the route of pleasing Israel as a main road and excluded the route of achieving peace in the Middle East, which is considered as a threat to the U.S national interest.

Strategic Communication and Propaganda use in the U.S

Administration and Government

In the United States, the White House clarified the meaning of the term "Strategic Communication" in the National Framework for Strategic Communication by referring to "the synchronization of words and deeds and how they will be perceived by selected audience, as well as programs and activities deliberately aimed at communicating and engaging with intended audiences, including those implemented by public affairs, public diplomacy, and information operations professionals" (Paul, 2011, p. 20)

The Strategic communication is linked with psychological operations mainly in the United States. Based on the U.S Defense department, both of them aimed to influence and shape the behavior of foreign audiences through different factors such as words, actions, symbols and images. Based on Christopher Lamb, of the national Defense University, "psychological operations support the military operations and aims to modify behavior directly". Lamb also pointed out that psychological operations use reasons, emotions and truth but in a selective manner, in addition to use facts occasionally with the possibility of mislead the target audience (Farwell, 2012, p.5).

It is also linked with public diplomacy, but with differentiation in the target audience. As for the public diplomacy, it targets a foreign audience with the aim of modifying perceptions in an indirect way and presenting it as per the message creator point of view, without aiming to mislead or lie, with a focus on using emotions to achieve its objectives (Farwell, 2012, p. 6).

Traditionally in the United States, the strategic communication is directed by the Department of Defense and other entities such as, national Counterterrorism Center and other governmental entities. This raises up the debate of the necessity to distinguish between the operational communication and strategic communication (Zerfass et al., 2018).

As for the public diplomacy, it is coordinated by the Department of State, which is the home for traditional state to state relationship which is managed by diplomacy. It is also functioning public diplomacy which is close coupled with strategic communications. That was changed in 2006 under president Bush administration, as the Department of State becomes responsible for strategic communication, under the policy coordinating committee headed by the undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs (DeYoung & Pincus, 2008).

The U.S National Security Council is another entity that practice strategic communication. The council is the arm of the president which is responsible for set up the foreign policy and national security collaboratively with president senior advisors and cabinet officials.

During Obama's administration, more serious actions has been taken in regard to the activation of strategic communication by the National Security Council in comparable with the period of Bush administration. As a result of this, a national security strategic

communication advisor and a senior director for global engagement were appointed. Both advisors are tasked mainly for a) ensuring that the message value and communicative impact are taken into consideration in the decision-making process, b) the mechanism for promoting strategic communication are in place within the council staff and c) similar mechanisms are developed across inter-agencies (Paul, 2011, p. 98).

Within the U.S administration's strategic communication process, several challenges were identified and has been raised in literature, including the following: (Paul, 2011, Kucera, 2005)

- Some communication themes have better chances of success if they have been delivered by a third party.
- Failing to do what has been said which affect the credibility of the U.S negatively.
- Explaining and raising out issues differently by multiple official speakers.

As for the US presidency communications, the strategic communication is a balancing act. Strength, quality and the direction of the message is a major aspect in the communication process in the white house, which reflects the ability of the president to give a due focus to his administration agendas and not to fell down under the pressure of entreaties and fulfill their interests. However, the strategic communication has been described in this context as “the use of the available tools and resources to be able to keep getting a message out in a “coherent way that’s your way, not others way” (Kumar, 2017, p. 29).

As for propaganda, literature review shows serious investment of propaganda by the U.S mainly after September 11 and during both Iraq and Afghanistan wars (Miller, 2003). Based on Miller, the U.S department of State through its public diplomacy office invested

approximately 1 billion Dollars in the Middle East and Arab region in campaigns related to what so called 'War on Terror'.

Literature review also shows that the White House Office of Global Communication set up under Bush administration was the result of the experience of the Collation Information Centre set up in October 2001 to function in Afghanistan and Kosovo operations (ibid).

The New York times published an investigative report in 2008 by David Brastow titled: "Behind TV Analyst, Pentagon's Hidden Hand" that shows how Bush administration and the Pentagon secretly creating propaganda to influence people through public debate in regard to the war in Iraq. The Investigative report which depends on 8,000 documents shows that the Bush administration used former military commanders to act as independent analysts on Television with the aim of spreading the administration perspectives in regard to the conflict in Iraq (Bartow, 2008).

In line with this report, Colin Powel former secretary of state said in an interview conducted in April 2003, that the U.S administration is doing as much as possible to carry out its messages to the Arab region mainly through television. He mentioned that the US through its embassies are sending a loads of communication materials targeting the governments and the public of the countries where these embassies are located, with the aim of breaking the back of Iraqi resistance (Miller, 2003, p. 52). This interview shows the intention of the US administration in using propaganda mainly toward the Arab region as showed in the literature review.

Twitter Use in Political Communication

In recent years, political actors, leaders and officials all around the world are sharing information and messages through the digital sphere, using what so called “Tweets”. Due to this rapid use of Twitter by politicians, a number of researchers and scholars from different fields, specifically communication and politics, have addressed this topic based on their perspective.

As multiple studies show, twitter use in political communication is divided into three major categories, which are: a) twitter use by politicians and political parties, b) the use of Twitter by public during elections or campaigning, c) the use of twitter by various actors when some mediated political events occur (Jungherr, 2014, p2).

As this study falls under the use of Twitter by politicians and political parties, researches show that politicians aim from using twitter to increase their transparency and outreach, and connect with public and send them a direct message without being filtered, which gives them the opportunity to control their own storytelling and raise influence through different media outlets (Aharony, 2012, p. 587).

The importance of the use of twitter by political leaders stems from its use as a tool for mobilizing actions, where many political tweets requesting followers to take actions. Moreover, there is no faster communication channel to transmit messages as faster than twitter in the modern 24-hour news cycle (Parmelee & Bichard, 2012).

Twitter also become a tool for promoting personalization in politics as political leaders are using twitter to attract the attention of users and strengthen the personal ties with the social

actors. Politicians are also using twitter as a marketing tool to promote themselves to the public and offer their political positions and declarations (Munoz et al., 2016).

What also make twitter a unique political communication tool is its capacity to facilitate direct dialogue between political leaders and citizens. A study conducted by Fernandez shows that one of the main principles that motivated citizens when following a political actor on twitter is the ability of having a direct contact with him. Moreover, twitter mentions and hashtags strengthen the ties between political leaders and citizens as they allow them to interact, reaffirm the content of the message and amplify its vitality (ibid).

In the United States specifically, the Republicans took the lead over Democrats in using twitter, the frequency of tweeting and attracting followers (Buley, 2010). A study by Jerome shows that Republicans hold 70 out of 100 most influential congressional twitter accounts. By fall 2009, less than 60 Democrats used twitter in comparison with 229 Republican twitter accounts (Parmelee & Bichard, 2012).

It is also important to note that the United States took the lead in the number of Twitter users worldwide, where England comes on the second place and Brazil on the third. (ibid, p. 13).

In recent years, the development of the high-powered search engines has made a huge power shift in the political communications. This power has been distributed and re-oriented upwards by giving a handful of media behemoths such as Facebook and Twitter with an extraordinary power. Those platforms play the role of the gatekeeper through which media must pass through to reach their target audience. Based on this, Twitter use in political communication plays a major role in enhancing the political leadership.

As per the strategic public communications efforts whether related to war propaganda or the general management of public opinion, it emphasizes the use of all kind of communication technologies to reach out to the target audience (Lippmann, 1997). In that regard, some of the political leaders chose to only use specific platforms and keep the rest unused. This choice has been practiced as an approach by political leaders only when they aim to have a one-way communication (Hemphill et al., 2013).

This was observed by Galley (2014) where this process take shape in the controlled interactivity of contemporary political campaigns. Controlled interactivity leans on the medium-specific affordances of a platform that do not involve person-to-person conversational elements. By controlling interactions to those between an individual and a technological interface, political elites open up some channels of connectivity while leaving digital face-to-face interactivity at a premium.

Twitter Use by President Donald Trump and his Administration

In 2009, Donald Trump created his twitter account under the name of @realDonaldTrump. During the period between 2009 and his presidential campaign in 2016, the presence of Trump on twitter was not that much influential, as his tweets on that period were covering his participation in some events, sharing his family pictures and promoting his famous TV show, The Apprentice (BBC News, 2016).

Before Trump announced his presidential candidacy, the 2017 twitter archive statistics shows that trump has a 22,140 tweet in total and approximately 3 million followers. After his campaign started, Trump had an average of 352 tweets per month in 2016, with a huge shift in the number of followers that raised from 5.5 million to 18 million approximately

(Bai, 2017) By December 2020, the number of @realDonaldTrump account followers jumped to 88.5 million followers (Twitter, 2020).

Trump used twitter at the beginning of his election campaign in 2016 by announcing an important event such as presenting his mate Mike Pence. In that period, the media gives a wide coverage to his tweets during the presidential campaign, by considering his tweets as a source of important political news, which contributed to the creation of the what so called “Trump Tweets Phenomenon” (Obeidallah, 2016).

In a published report by the New York Times Newspaper on November 2019, it clearly shows that Trump “has fully integrated Twitter into the very fabric of his administration, reshaping the nature of the presidency and presidential power”. Furthermore, the report stated that “as much as anything, Twitter is the broadcast network for Trump’s parallel political reality” (Michael, S. et al., 2019).

As Trump considers twitter as his main communication tool, he called his Twitter as “a method of fighting back” that “does get the word out”. Trump argued after his inauguration that he will keep his twitter account going because “It is a way of bypassing dishonest media”. This shows Trump willingness to use twitter as political communication channel during his presidency (Fuchs, 2018, p. 198).

In the same context, Twitter is considered by Trump as a political tool that helps him won the presidential elections and attack others on the digital sphere. During his presidency, Trump fully integrated twitter in the communication process of the US administration, which helped him with reshaping the essence of the presidency and presidential influence (Shear et al, 2019).

On 18 February 2020, Trump told the media reporters when asked about his use of twitter by saying “ I probably would not get fair press” adding that :”Social media, for me, has been very important because it gives me a voice, because I do not get that voice in the press. In the media, I do not get that voice. So, I am allowed to have a voice”.

During his presidency, Trump benefited from twitter by going directly public, circumvent the power of the press and establishing a new presidential communication path which is considered as a major development in the presidential power (Waterman & Ouyang, 2020). Moreover, he announces secret foreign policy decisions publicly on twitter before they have been ready to be consumed by public. That was the case in different events such as announcing the withdraw of the U.S troops from Syria and allowing Turks to carry out military operations against the Kurds (Morgan, 2019).

Through an analysis conducted by Scacco & Wiemer for Trump tweets about the news media between the period 20 January 2017 and 10 April 2018, they concluded that Trump sets himself as a national editor in chief and he used twitter to refute critical stories, harshly and viciously attack reports and media outlets that he did not agree with, and trying to lead his followers to alternative news sources. The analysis also concluded that Trump inverted the dynamics of the presidential relations with the press as he becomes to report on the media not the opposite (Davis & Taras, 2020).

This changing in Trump relations with the press resulted in pushing the presidential communication toward a more ubiquitous footing by the Americans, where the president finds them “ as they are, wherever they are – segmented in political and non-political media silos”. This also resulted in making the information management more difficult as the president seeks to reach disparate audience (Scacco & Coe, 2016, Farnsworth, 2018).

Literature of scholars who studied Trump use of twitter have observed and concluded a three major speech patterns that define his discourse, which are: a) simplicity: “Trump is not a simpleton, he just talks like one. He resists multisyllabic words and complex, writerly sentence constructions when speaking extemporaneously in a debate, at a news conference or in an interview”. b) impulsivity: Trump prefers to speak according to the moment, c) incivility: Trump use language violently and to insult others (Ott, 2017, p. 63).

As per the social network theory, the variety of relationships are important aspects that maintain vital information flow (Granovetter, 1973). However, this is not the case in Trump’s use of twitter, as the statistics shows that he is only following 46 people, including family members, executive white house members, and some other celebrities, which reflect one of the most popular ego cases on Twitter (Wasserman & Faust, 2009).

Through using twitter, Trump and his administration showed a continuous support for “Israel” in many occasions. A number of tweets has been made on updates related to future joint plans, meeting, calls and praises between the U.S administration and the Israeli Government, in addition to giving a space on twitter to support the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu during his battle with the Israeli Judicial System. Trump and his administration also used twitter as a platform to re-enforce the U.S position from the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, specifically the what so called “Deal of the Century” (Trump Twitter, 2019, 2020).

It is important to mention that it has been also observed through the literature review that Trump use of twitter has a major negative effect on public discourse. His use of twitter as a mode of communication helps in the spread of racism, xenophobia, sexism and homophobia ideologies, in addition to hatred and violence (Ott, 2017).

We can conclude that it becomes clear that Trump's use of Twitter as a direct communication tool was totally different from other former presidents, where Trump introduced a new era in political communication (Enli, 2017). He shows through his use of Twitter that he is a populist leader and his charisma helps him communicate effectively with his audience (Barr, 2009).

Deal of the Century: From Bahrain Workshop to Abraham Accord

On the 11th November 2016, and just few weeks from his inauguration as President, Trump said in an interview with Wall Street Journal that he is aiming to find a resolution for the Palestinian – Israeli conflict by an ultimate deal. From that time, Trump used to repeat his commitment for reaching a deal to end the conflict in several occasions. He met with President Abbas in Washington in 2017 and visited "Israel" and Palestine in May the same year, but he never gave any hints about what his deal is proposing (Langley & Baker, 2016).

In a meeting with President Trump aside the United Nations General Assembly in September 2017, Palestinian President Abbas said, "It is a test of your excellency's seriousness, Mr. President, to achieve the Deal of the Century in the Middle East this year or in the coming months" (Bayoumy & Mason, 2017). Trump responds to this talk by saying that a team from his advisors are working on the deal with Israel, Saudi Arabia and others, stating that there is a real chance to get this deal done (Person, 2018).

In regard to this deal, several media reports in 2017 stated based on Israeli officials that Trump peace plan (Deal of the Century) is supporting the establishment of a Palestinian

State without Jerusalem as a capital, with all Israeli settlement remaining, ignoring the Palestinian right of return and keeping the Israeli control on the Jordan Valley (ibid).

Later, on the 6th December 2017, Trump fulfilled his promise that he made during his election campaign, and announced Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and later on opened officially the U.S Embassy in Jerusalem on the 14th of May 2018 (White House, 2018).

The Trump announcements was a turning point in the U.S Palestinian relations, and led to the announcement of President Abbas to “cut the ties” with the Trump administration. President Abbas brand Trump’s peace efforts as “The slap of the century” and announced that Trump administration is no longer a partner in the Middle East Peace Process (Person, 2018).

The plan components start to be leaked later in 2018. Based on a report by Middle East Eye published on 31 May 2018, Saudis receives a draft copy of the what so called “Deal of the Century” and delivered it to Abbas who refused to look at it. However, the Palestinian Authority was aware about the component of the plan, which proposed a state in Gaza and half of the West Bank with a capital in a part of Jerusalem villages, keeping the Palestinian security and borders under the Israelis control, finding a humanitarian solution to the refugee cause and keeping the decision on settlements and final borders for negotiations (Middle East Eye, 2018).

Following the leakage of several components of the deal, the U.S Administration took the first official step to introduce its deal (Vision for Peace) in partnership with the Kingdom of Bahrain, through organizing “Peace to Prosperity” economic workshop, held on the 25 and 26 of June 2019 at Al Manama in participation of political and economic leaders from across the Middle East including official representation by United Arab Emirates,

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of Morocco and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (White House, 2018)

As declared in a US-Bahraini joint statement, the Peace to Prosperity workshop aimed to “facilitate discussions on an ambitious, achievable vision and framework for a prosperous future for the Palestinian people and the region, including enhancements to economic governance, development of human capital, and facilitation of rapid private-sector growth” (ibid).

Based on Kushner, the new Peace to Prosperity approach of Trump Administration is the way to build up a better future for Palestinian people and for the Middle East region, through three major pillars including unleashing the Palestinian economic potential, empower the Palestinian people and enhancing the Palestinian governance (ibid).

On the opposite, Fishman & Kuperwasser (2019) shows in their literature review that the real purpose of Bahrain workshop was convincing the Palestinian Authority to change their narrative and accept a peace agreement that recognizes Israel as the nation state of Jews. He argued that the only way to initialize a common ground for a stable lasting peace can only be concluded by the pressure of the International community and Israel on the Palestinian Authority to give up on their long-range objectives.

In this regard, the Palestinian position from Al Manama workshop was addressed through a statement in May 2019, by the Palestinian Liberation Organization which stated that the Palestinian will not attend the workshop. The statement pointed out that this position reflects the perspective of President Abbas, the PLO Executive Committee, all the Palestinian political movements and factions, in addition to national figures, private sector and civil society (PLO, 2019).

The period before holding the workshop witnessed a rapid financial and political pressure on the Palestinian Authority in order to change their mind and re-reconsider their acceptance and participation in the workshop (Melhem, 2019). Based on the Jerusalem Post, a number of Arab countries including Saudi Arabia, Egypt and United Arab Emirates, expressed their concern on the PA opposition of the conference and blaming them on not consulting with them before announcing their rejection to the workshop (Toameh, 2019).

Later, on 28 January 2020, Trump announced the “Deal of the Century” under the name of “Peace to Prosperity” in a live conference at the White House, accompanied by the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. He described his plan as a “Historic breakthrough” and said that he wrote to president Abbas telling him that the territory set for the Palestinian are set beside and would remain open for transition period of four years with a freeze in Israeli settlements expansion (Hjelmgaard, 2020).

Trump’s deal under the name “Peace to Prosperity”, was published on the white house website, in a 181 page with a political and economic framework. As for the U.S administration, the plan (The Deal) is “the most realistic solution to problem that has plagued the region for far too long”. From the administration point of view, it is the path of prosperity, security and dignity for all parties involved in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict, with an unlimited potential for the Middle East region (White House, 2020).

The Palestinian response to the announcement of the deal was immediate and clear. President Abbas held a live conference in his residency “Al Mukata’a” on 28 January 2020, announcing the Palestinian rejection of the deal by saying “ We say 1,000 no’s to this deal”, he added “ They kept asking us to wait until the plan is announced. Now, we see that we were right when we rejected it from the beginning. Jerusalem is not for sale. Our rights are

not for sale. The plot of the century won't pass, and it will end up in the dustbin of history” (The Jerusalem Post, 2020).

From his side, Dr. Saeb Erekat, the secretary-general of the Palestinian Liberation Organization described the deal by saying “Dictating unilateralism doesn't work. Never worked. Will never works. He is asking me (Trump) to accept to live as a third or fourth-class citizen under the boots of the Israeli occupiers and settlers. This will never happen, and Palestinians will never die standing on lines” (Stone, 2020). He added that the U.S administration did not consult with the Palestinians in regard of the deal, which is written and planed by Netanyahu and his settler council, not by the American peace team (ibid).

On the public level, a poll implemented by the Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey Research concluded that 94% of the Palestinian public rejects the deal. As for the most of the Arab and Western countries including the EU and the Arab League, they welcomed the U.S Deal and efforts to achieve peace through an official statement, and solely condemned the plan by reminding that any solution for the Palestinian and Israeli conflict have to consider the international law and UN related resolutions (Iriqat, 2020).

It was clear from the announced deal that Trump is eager to normalize relations with the Arab countries mainly in the Gulf, and promote a vision for peace through the Middle East. He relies on the deal to achieve stable and secure Middle East by creating a new theme for peace that is based on what so called “Peace to Peace” and economic cooperation and development with moderate Arab countries (Altai, 2020).

This is also consistent with what Iriqat (2020) concluded in the deal review, where she found that the deal focuses on developing ties between Israel and the Arab countries and

normalize the relations between them, based on the deal political framework which considered as an attempt to realize Zionist vision by the Trump administration.

Those ambitions turned later on into reality, when Donald Trump announced in August 2020 that Israel and United Arab Emirates reached an agreement to normalize their relations, and has agreed that Israel will freeze the Palestinian lands annexation which was outlined in Deal of the Century, while keeping the deal on the table (Al Jazeera, 2020).

One month later from this agreement, another deal to normalize the relations between Israel and Kingdom of Bahrain was also announced and officially inaugurated at the White House on the 15 of September 2020, under the what so called “Abraham Accord” (White House, 2020). Through this agreement, the US administration neglected the main deal which focuses on the Palestinian- Israeli conflict and succeeded in displacing it from being an obstacle in the way of normalizing relations with the Arab countries (Altai, 2020).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Persuasion

The persuasion history goes back to the ancient Greece and has become a ubiquitous part of our life nowadays. It is used as a tool for political mobilization, in addition to its use widely in the public relation and advertisement industry (Bai, 2017).

Persuasion defined by Perloff (2003) as the communicator attempt to deliver a message with the aim of encouraging others to change their attitude toward a specific topic freely (Cited in Koa, 2018, p. 574).

Whalen (1996) argues that what all the communicator can do is providing the target audience with the arguments, and tries to activate their desire, without the ability of forcing them to get persuaded by the argument. As per Whalen, the receivers need to convince and persuade themselves especially when they are asked to do things they do not used to do.

Persuasion is an interactive process that fulfills the needs of both the sender and receiver. It should result in taking actions by the message receiver in order to be considered as a successful process. Through persuasion process, the receiver processes the message and contrasts it with his own existing beliefs and experiences. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012)

Based on Roloff & Miller (1980), there are three forms of responses for the persuasion process, a) Response Shaping: which is similar to the learning process, where the teacher is trying to shape the response of an audience by teaching him how to behave by providing positive reinforcement, b) Response reinforcing: if the receiver of the persuasive argument already has positive attitudes toward a subject, the persuader reminds him about the

positive attitudes and stimulates him to feel even more strongly by demonstrating his attitudes through specified forms of behavior, c) Response Changing: which is asking the receiver of the persuasion argument to change his attitude to another or changing his positions of a subject from neutral to a negative or positive position, or to adopt a new behavior (p. 16).

In persuasion, the term “attitude” is a crucial aspect in getting a clear understanding of the subject (Roloff & Miller, 1980). In any persuasion process, persuaders aim to shape, reinforce and change the attitude, which means that communication exert more powerful effects only when the process of attitude changed and decision making are figured out (Bai, 2017). However, researchers have explored that attitude helps in understanding the knowledge, serve as a social-adjustive, ego-defensive, social identity and value-expressive functions (ibid).

Elaboration Likelihood Module – Dual Process Theory (ELM)

The Elaboration Likelihood Module (ELM) or the Dual Process theory was developed by Richard E. Petty and John T. Cacioppo (1986) with the aim of understanding the process of how the message affects the targeted audience. This module is considered as a “dual process module” that explains the detailed process of receiving the persuasive message by the audience and how they process it in their minds (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). It draws a conclusion on whether the message receiver elaborated or not on the persuasive message (Perloff, 2003).

The word “Elaboration” refers to “the extent to which the individual thinks about or mentally modifies arguments” (ibid, p. 128), while the word “Likelihood” referring to “

the probability that an event will occur, is used to point up the fact that elaboration can be either likely or unlikely” (ibid).

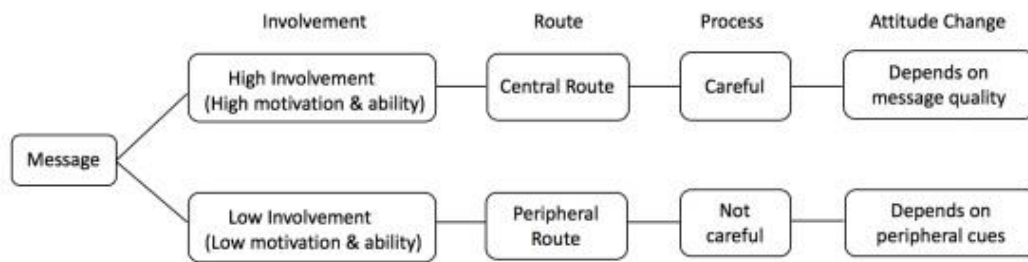


FIGURE 2: ELABORATION LIKELIHOOD MODULE (BAI, 2017, P.34)

As shown in the previous figure, the ELM structure shows two main routes that individuals may choose to process the persuasive messages (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), these are:

Central Route: This route occurs when individuals give an in-depth focus on the central characteristics of the persuasive message, in which they processed the provided arguments and evaluate them carefully. Using that route, the individuals also think about the implications of the communicator ideas and link them with their own experiences and values.

Peripheral Route: In this route, the individuals skim the message quickly while putting more focus on minor links such as emotional and physical appeals, metaphors and speaking style, which help the individuals to decide on whether they are willing to accept the arguments included in the persuasive message or not.

The individual's decision to process the persuasive message through one of the routes is linked with two major factors which are motivation and ability. On one hand, when

individuals have the motivation to consider the arguments of the message seriously, they choose to process it centrally. Moreover, individuals choose this route when they are cogently able to ponder the arguments of the persuasive message. On the other hand, individuals process the arguments of the persuasive message using the peripheral route when they lack motivation and ability to do so (Perloff, 2003).

Following the processing of the persuasive message by the individuals using one of the routes, another two crucial factors are still to be considered in order to determine whether the persuasion process is successful or not, which are message quality and peripheral cues. Message quality is described as a message that contains a solid evidence while the peripheral cues are described by the (Psychology Dictionary) as “an aspect exterior to the merits of an argument which can serve as a shortcut impact factor in decision making”. Both the message quality and peripheral cues can be included as major elements of the persuasive message (ibid).

In this regard, when individuals have a high motivation and ability to process the persuasive message arguments, then the message quality considered as a core element in persuasion. On the contrary, individuals with low motivation are more likely subjected to peripheral cues rather than message quality (Petty & Cacioppo, 1987).

It is also important to note that the ELM is not only used to understand how the persuasive messages is processed by the receiver. It can also be used to understand how the communicator shapes his message and whether he is using the central route or the peripheral route for changing attitude, which is considered in the analysis of this study.

Fundamentals of the Message

It has become clear to the contemporary scholars, that persuasive message cannot be understood without taking into consideration the psychology of the message receivers. For that reason, Perloff (2002; 2018) classified the component of the message which includes message structure, message content and message style, with the aim of exploring which component of the message is more influential to the receivers. Those components are used in this study to evaluate the US administration message persuasiveness.

Message Structure

This component of the message reflects the way of how the message is packaged before being sent out to the receiver. As for the communication practitioners, they are always concerned whether to decide to use two sides of a story in their communication medium or only use their own part of it in order to achieve persuasiveness (Perloff, 2018).

As for (Perloff, 2018), the message structure contains a major component which is the message sidedness. This component is reflected practically with the one sided and two-sided message. The one-sided message defined by Allen (2009) as “a message that presents only those arguments in favor of a particular proposition” while he defined the two-sided message as the message in which the presenter provides his argument along with the oppose argument as one package.

Some scholars argue that the one-sided message gives message creator the space to shed the light on why his argument is correct, as he believes that hiding the oppose argument makes his message more persuasive. However, the use of the one-sided message let the receiver assume that the message creator is hiding something (Perloff, 2018).

To deal with this arguments, Allen (1998) and O'Keefe (1999), a communications scholars conducted a meta-analysis research on the use of one- and two-sided messages by reviewing a number of studies in the field and came up with an identical result. Their study results show that the two-sided message is more influential than one-sided message if the message creator refutes the oppose arguments and not only mentioning it. Not to refute the oppose argument reflects negatively on the message persuasiveness and makes the two-sided message less compelling than the one-sided message.

Based on this result, Allen (1998) identified two types of two-sided message which are: a) the Refutational two-sided message b) the non-refutational two-sided message. The refutational message provides the counterargument and refute it by presenting the receiver with the reasons why this argument is incorrect, while the non-refutational message provide only the oppose argument without any explanation on why this argument is incorrect.

As per Perloff (2018), refutation of an argument in two-sided messages gives an advantage to the message creator in regard to persuasion by giving credibility to the message creator and provide cogent reason on why the oppose argument is wrong (p. 300).

It is also notable in the meta-studies results that the two-sided message is more persuasive for the audience with higher levels of education, while the one-sided message is recommended for persuading audience with lower levels of education (O'Keefe, 1999).

Message Content

This component of the message deals with the content of the communication medium and focuses on two major aspects which are the evidences and emotional appeals used by message creator for achieving a successful persuasion process among the receivers. In persuasive communication, evidences and emotional appeals have been used by

communication practitioners within different fields including those working in politics (Perloff, 2018).

The evidence is defined by McCroskey (1969) as the available factual statement, information or opinion in a persuasive message that used to indicate whether the speaker point is true (p. 170). These statements could be provided by the speaker himself or from a source other than the speaker. (McCroskey, 1969; Yu Bai, 2017).

The evidences can be presented in different forms. It varies from statistical facts, testimonials, factual statements to interesting narratives. (Perloff, 2018). However, those evidences that shed the light on testimonials and interesting narratives with emotional engaging stories are more effective in the persuasion process than those including numbers and statistical data (Nisbet et al., 1976).

Using a strong evidence in the message content along with the arguments are more effective in changing attitudes and achieving persuasion. In that regard, the effectiveness of the evidence only is not enough, as the message receiver should recognize that the provided evidence is legitimate and comes in support of a proposition (Reynolds & Reynolds, 2002). Moreover, using evidence from untrusted sources has a negative impact on changing attitude even if the message creator is credible (Luchok & McCroskey, 1978).

The other aspect of the message content is the emotional appeal. It is used as a way to facilitate the persuasion process through the use of emotion to create a connection with the message receiver (Yu Bai, 2017). Based on Dillard & Meijnders (2002), emotions have a behavioral component as it is functioning to guide behaviors (p.318). It also has an impact on physiological responses (Dillard & Shin, 2012).

On one hand, one of the most common used of emotional appeal in persuasive communication studies is the fear appeal (Perloff, 2002). On the other hand, the most commonly used positive emotions are: joy, gratitude, hope, pride, inspiration, serenity, amusement, awe, interest and love” (Frederickson, 2009).

Meta-analysis studies show that strong fear appeal has an impact on changing behavior and attitude and can be used effectively in the persuasion process (Witte & Allen, 2000). However, Boster and Mongeau (1984) concluded that “what appears to be a highly-arousing persuasive message to the experimenter may not induce much fear into the recipient of the persuasive message” (p. 375).

On the contrary, positive emotions have an impact on the persuasion process, as different studies show that positive emotional appeals increase the chance of accepting the persuasive message (Griskevicius et al., 2010).

Message Style (Language Use)

This component of the message deals with the use of language (Linguistics) in persuasive messages with a specific focus on intense language, words and symbols (Perloff, 2002). In the field of persuasive communication, linguistic style is defined as “a set of pragmatic features that can modify the intended assertion in a message” (Blankenship & Criag, 2001, p. 195).

One of the commonly studied linguistics styles is linguistic intensity (Intense Language). Intensifiers are usually language markers that show the extremity of a message in comparison to a neutral statement (ibid). As per Perloff (2018), intense language includes a variety of metaphors strong emotional laden words and humor, and are being used intensively in political rhetoric and public affairs.

In persuasive communication, metaphor is the most prominent features of the linguistic intensity (ibid). Metaphor is a phrase used to describe unknown or unfamiliar thing through link it with a known or familiar thing. It comes in “the form ‘A’ is ‘B’ to connect the attribute associated with “B to A” (Sopory & Dillard, 2002, p. 407). For example, Regan the former US president used to describe America in his speeches as “a torch shedding light to all the hopeless of the world” (Perloff, 2018).

As concluded in meta-analysis studies, the messages with a metaphor are more persuasive than those without a metaphor and produce more attitude change. The reason for this effectiveness is that a metaphor uses emotions to evoke semantic associations that activate mental elaboration (Sopory & Dillard, 2002).

Studies also show that communicators who use metaphor in their communications are more likely to be judged credible. Moreover, the use of a metaphor in presenting the message argument is better than the use of literal language as metaphors develop more semantic association in the mind of the receiver, which reflects on the argument acceptance by making them more salient (ibid).

Another aspect of intense language linked to persuasion and attitude change is emotional laden words. Emotion laden words are those words that “do not reflect the emotions directly but instead express or elicit emotions from the interlocutors (Pavlenko, 2008, p.147).

The messages that contain an emotional laden word are more likely to be memorable than those contain neutral words (ibid). Those words are also processed in the receiver’s mind faster than neutral words (Altarriba & Canary, 2004).

It is important to note that the use of linguistic style and its effect in the persuasion process may vary from culture to culture, as most of the related studies are conducted in the “Western Culture” which has a unique linguistic context (Blankenship & Criag, 2001, p. 195).

Persuasive Communication Techniques

The persuasive communication various techniques have been used by politicians as a tool for strategic communication with the aim of achieving their sited goals and to gain the widest appeal possible (Nergine, 2008, p. 195). Politicians also benefited from others disciplines related to communication such as marketing and public relations to reach their target audience specifically in competitive situations by consulting with media and advisory firms (McNair, 2018).

Through analyzing the persuasive communication techniques used by the U.S Administration for promoting the “Deal of the Century” and its consequent events, this study will help the target audience understand those techniques, give them a better opportunity to evaluate and decide on whether to accept the delivered message. Based on scholars, when target audience becomes familiar with the persuasive techniques, the effect of those techniques weakens and the choice is left to the target audience to accept or reject the persuasive message (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019).

Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA) 7 Techniques

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis cited 7 techniques in the book “The Fine Art of Propaganda” that aim to investigate the used strategies by propagandist to persuade their target audiences. These techniques consist of name calling, glittering generalities, transfer, card stacking, testimonial and plain folks. (Lee & Lee, 1939).

The IPA techniques have become familiar in our contemporary politics and continued to be used extensively on both mass media and social media platforms (Hamadani, 2017). They have been used previously by scholars to investigate how the US President George W. Bush used the religious rhetoric in his speeches mainly after 11/9 attacks (Allen, 2002).

The 7 IPA techniques are explained as follow:

Name Calling

The communicator uses this technique to attach hate and fear through emotional laden idea or symbol to an individual, groups, policies etc.(Sproule, 2001). Name calling has also been described by Lee & Lee (1939) as a bad label given to a person or group with the aim of making others criticizing them without scrutinizing the proof. Those labels have a strong implication on the process of neutralizing an opponent and affect their followers (Hamdani, 2017).

Based on Dunbar (2016), the US president Donald Trump used this technique extensively during his presidential elections campaign against his rivals mainly Hilary Clinton and others. As an example, Trump described Hillary Clinton as a “Devil” and in other occasions as “crooked Hillary”.

Glittering Generalities

The communicator uses this technique by associating his policies and programs to a popular emotion such as truth, freedoms, liberty, prosperity, honor, truth etc. with the aim of urging a specific audience to accept and approve the political authority without investigating the evidences (Koa, 2018). It also puts the targeted audience under the pressure of the emotional impressions which leads to forming a thoughtless judgment (Sproule, 2001).

In today's politics, glittering generalities are being used by the US in what so called "War on Terror" in relation to the wars in the Middle East (Ryan & Switzer, 2009). President Donald Trump also used it extensively in his tweets and his presidency campaign slogan "Make America Great Again" reflects directly the use of this technique (Dunbar, 2016).

Transfer

The communicator uses this technique to link over the authority, respect and sanction of something that is already respected to another thing with the aim of making others accepting it. The Transfer technique can also be used vice versa by linking something disrespected to make an associated object rejected (Koa, 2018). This technique often use visual assets including symbols such as flags, religious emblems etc. to transfer the respect that people devote them to a specific individual or event (Hamdani, 2017).

Card Stacking

The name of this technique comes originally from gambling where the card players stacking the deck of their favor (Koa, 2018). The communicator uses this technique to tell the targeted audience half of the truth by employing truth, facts, falsehoods, evidences,

reasonable and irrational accounts, to gain the targeted audience support for a policy, program or a political actor (Koa, 2019; Hamadani, 2017; Lee & Lee, 1939).

This technique is used extensively by politicians by presenting the positive side of their programs and the negative side of their opponents programs, with the aim of persuading the targeted audience on a specific issue by stressing the positives and hiding the negatives (Hamadani, 2017).

Plain Folks

The communicator uses this technique to convince the audience that his ideas are beneficial because they are “of the people” through actions or language use and expression of interests and feelings of normal people. Using this technique gives the audience a feeling that they are dealing with an ordinary people just like them (Koa, 2019; Hamadani, 2017; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 2004; Severin & Tankard, 2013).

This technique is being used by politicians, leaders and elites by practicing normal people daily activities, such as participating in public events, set down with normal people, sharing them with their meals and set down on floor with them. By doing this, the individual consider himself as a member of the “folk” and not the “elite”, which gives the people a feeling of comfort toward the individual, and gives him the confidence to persuade others (Hamdani, 2017).

Bandwagon

The name of this technique goes back to the 19th century where the “alludes to the wagon in a parade that carries the band and attracts a large crowd of followers marching behind it to enjoy the music” (Koa, 2019, p. 577). The communicator uses this technique to encourage people to “follow the crowd” by accepting a specific policy, program, or idea

because everyone is accepting it. It depends on the idea that “everybody is doing it! Therefore, you should be doing it too” (ibid).

The communicator often uses appeals with ties of nationality, religion, race, vocation, region, sex, or occupation to do this (ibid). This technique exploits what is called “the herding instinct”, as people always prefer to belong to a group or community rather than left behind (Shabo, 2008). A real example on this, is when people know through an election polls that one of the candidates is going to win, they become more likely to vote for him (Dahlgaard et al., 2016).

Testimonial

The communicator uses this technique to link an idea, project, program, person or product with a well-known or familiar person with the aim of gaining an audience endorsement (Koa, 2019; Sproule, 2001).

Based on Lee & Lee (1939), this technique is used positively and negatively to “Make an appreciated or unloved individual disclose that a certain idea, plan, or person is good or bad” (p.74). It is usually a quote given by a well-known person or celebrity to give credibility to a specific political idea or project (Hamdani, 2017).

Chapter 4: Analysis, Results & Discussion

This chapter aims to answer the study questions provided in the first chapter which are 1) What are the main characteristics of the U.S Administration Tweets related to the deal from the perspective of strategic communication and persuasion? 2) What are the propaganda techniques used by the U.S Administration for promoting the deal?

This chapter also aims to introduce and discuss the content analysis results in order to fulfil the main study objectives. To achieve this, the study sample will be examined by applying the theoretical framework of this study which refers mainly to message characteristics and 7 IPA techniques.

General Insights on Twitter Accounts Analyzed in the Study

Page Name	Number of Followers	Number of Tweets	Tweets Average Per Month
@realDonaldTrump	88,936,841	46,919	N/A Due to Account Freeze
@WhiteHouse45	26,384,407	24,100	465
@IvankaTrump	10,344,952	18,100	126
@StateDept	6,133,186	69, 100	423
@SecPompeo	3,050,750	4,100	114

Table 1: Twitter Accounts General Insights (Twitter, 2021)

Looking at insights of the twitter accounts of the US Administration and its representatives, which come within the study sample, we find that President Donald Trump's personal

account is the most followed, with 88,936,841 followers before it was closed by Twitter on January 8, 2021 due to a violation of Twitter Rules as stated in the company's statement. The President's account is the most tweeted among the accounts of the study sample (Twitter, 2021).

The official account of the White House comes second in terms of the number of followers, which reached 26,384,407 followers, in addition to the average tweeting per month, and it comes third in terms of the number of tweets, as after the official term of President Donald Trump's administration has expired, the account has been converted into an archive account.

On the other hand, the personal account of Ivanka Trump, the president's daughter and one of his advisers, comes third with 10,344,952 followers, and it comes fourth in terms of the number of tweets, while the State Department account comes fourth in terms of the number of followers which reached 6,133,186 followers as of the date of writing of this paragraph, and it comes in the second place in terms of the number of tweets and the monthly publishing rate, followed by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's personal account with 3,050,750 followers.

Through previous insights, we find that the US Administration and its representatives have owned accounts with relatively high numbers of follows, as the monthly average number of tweets reflects the US Administration's use of Twitter as a tool for political communication.

Themes of Tweets Related to the Deal and Its Consequent Events

Before applying the study theoretical framework, the sample tweets were classified under a group of themes (topics) to better understand the analysis of the US administration's tweets through giving an overview on the administration's Twitter pattern use during the study timeframe. The themes have been specified based on the researcher's observation in comparative with Yu Bai (2017) previous study regarding Trump's Twitter use in the 2016 presidential election for persuasion purposes. The developed classification included 5 main themes which are; Mobilization, Informative, Political announcements and remarks, gratitude expression and sharing news.

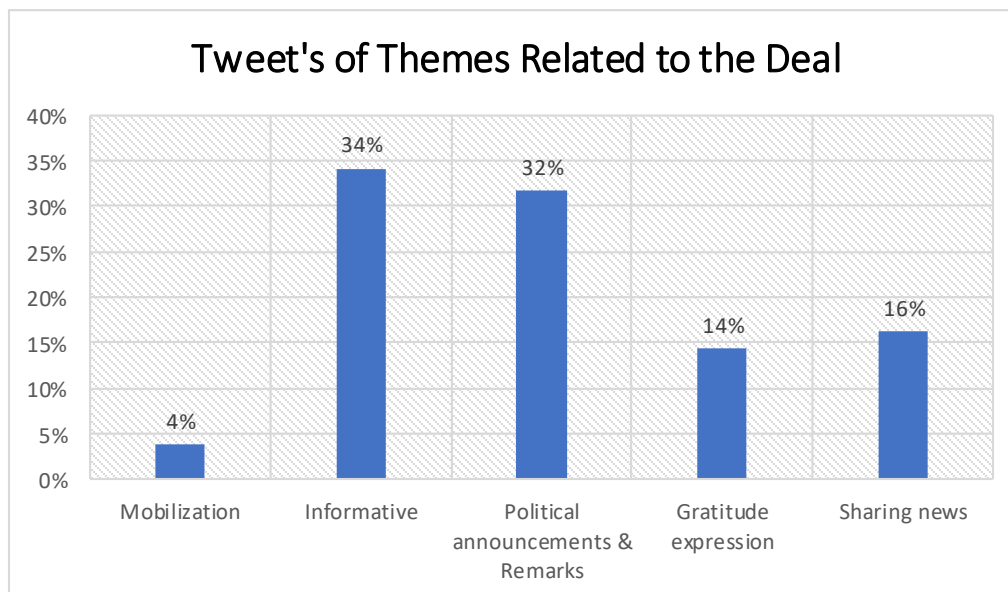


FIGURE 3: TWEETS THEME CLASSIFICATION

The analysis results showed that the most visible themes in tweets are those related to the provision of information (Informative) by 34% and a sum of 55 tweets out of the total number 161. The tweets that fall under this theme included a group of information about

the Trump peace plan “Deal of the century”, the normalization agreements with Arab countries, the efforts made by the US Administration and its representatives to achieve peace in the Middle East, in addition to the benefits of Arab countries joining these agreements.



FIGURE 4: INFORMATIVE TWEET

The tweets which included topics related to political announcements and remarks came in the second place with a percentage of 32% and a total of 51 Tweets. These tweets included a group of announcements by the US Administration and its representatives, especially president Donald Trump and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mike Pompeo, regarding the announcement of the Trump peace plan, the position of the US Administration on it, and the reasons behind announcing it. It also included announcements related to reaching normalization agreements with some Arab countries, in addition to announcing some of these countries' attitudes towards the normalization agreements during the signing ceremony of Abraham Accords through tweets that included quotes from the Arab Countries' Ministers of Foreign Affairs especially Bahrain and UAE.



FIGURE 5: TWEET WITH POLITICAL REMARK

The tweets which included topics related to sharing news came in the third place with a percentage of 16% and a total of 26 Tweets, as these Tweets included links of news and articles about the Trump's peace plan, the normalization agreements, and TV interviews with representatives of the US Administration talking about the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements, especially with Jared Kushner and Mike Pompeo, in addition to live videos of the ceremony of the announcement of the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements and its signing ceremony. Those informative tweets aimed mainly to promote deal of the century and its consequent events.

The tweets which included topics related to Gratitude expression came in the fourth place with a percentage of 14% and a total of 23 Tweets, most of them were by Ivanka Trump who, most of the time, expressed her gratitude to her husband, Jared Kushner, her father,

Donald Trump, and to the US Administration for their role in the completion of the normalization agreements and their contribution to achieving peace in the Middle East. Those tweets also included Mike Pompeo expressions, in which he thanked the Arab countries that joined the normalization agreements and their nations, as well as the other Arab countries, like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, for hosting him to talk about peace in the region.



FIGURE 7: TWEET WITH EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE

Throughout the aforementioned results, we find that the US Administration and its representatives used Twitter as a main communication tool for providing information and political advertisements related to the Trump's peace plan and the normalization agreements and their positions towards it. In most cases, the US media, as well as the international media, relied on the US Administration's Twitter accounts for getting news facts and updates, especially the ones related to the ceremony of the announcement of

Trump's peace plan and the announcement of the normalization agreements and the details they contained. This is in line with what (Aharony,2012, p587) mentioned that politician's use Twitter in the aim to reach the largest segment of the public and achieving transparency through controlling their own storytelling and raising influence through different media outlets.

Moreover, it confirms what (Golbeck, Grimes, and Rogers, 2010) mentioned that Twitter is used by politicians as a tool to promote their political attitudes and advertisements to public. Moreover, using Twitter as a main communication tool by the US administration reflects the results of the study conducted by (Jerome,2010) which indicates that Republicans hold 70 out of 100 most influential congressional Twitter accounts. We also find that the use of Twitter by the US administration and its representatives for advertising the political attitudes and their details reflects the summary of the New York Times Newspaper report which clearly stated that Trump has fully integrated Twitter into the very fabric of his administration, reshaping the nature of the presidency and presidential power (Michael, S. et al., 2019).

Analyzing the Message Characteristics of the Tweets

Message Structure

The results of the analysis related to the message structure shows that the US administration and its representatives used one-sided messages in most of the tweets of the study sample with a percentage of 98%, that is a total of 158 tweets out of 161 tweets, while the two-sided tweets reached only 2%.

Message Sidedness	Number of Tweets	Percentage of Tweets
<i>One-Sided</i>	158	98%
<i>Two-Sided</i>	3	2%

Table 2: Message Sidedness

Through the one-sided messages, the US Administration presented its attitudes, point of view and its arguments to support the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements to the public, without presenting the attitudes and point of views of the opposition parties in the same tweets.

Even though it is difficult to include communication messages on Twitter with different arguments from different perspective, as the maximum number of letters that can be used is limited to 140 letters only, the two-sided messages are considered more convincing and can change the attitude especially of the educated audiences (Allen, 1998; O'Keefe, 1999). Also, the two-sided messages enhance the credibility of the sender and express their principle of transparency (Perloff, 2003).



FIGURE 8: TWEET WITH TWO-SIDED MESSAGE



FIGURE 9: TWEET WITH ONE-SIDED MESSAGE

It is drawn from this analysis that the US Administration, through using one-sided messages in most of its tweets, seeks to promote the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements through misleading the public and gaining their support by showing the advantages without addressing the disadvantages that may clearly appear in the arguments of those opposing the deal especially Palestinians. Also, the use of one-sided messages indicates that the US Administration wanted to show its arguments that are related to the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements as postulates that must be accepted.

This is consistent with what Perloff (2018) mentioned that the one-sided message gives the message creator the space to shed the light on why his argument is correct, as he believes that hiding the oppose arguments is more beneficial to the persuasion process.

As per Paul (2011) and Kucera (2005), the direction of the message is a major aspect in the communication process in the white house, which reflects the ability of the president to give a due focus to his administration agendas.

The results of the analysis related to the message sidedness conflicted with the results of the study of Yu Bai (2017) which indicates that Donald Trump employed a mix of one sided and two-sided messages in his tweets, while the two-sided messages were the majority.

However, the results of the analysis agree with the results of Abu Arqoub (2018) study, which concluded that the official US discourse was clearly bias to Israel and the Jews, as the presentation of the positives of the Trump peace plan and blocking the opposing Palestinian perspectives by the US Administration through using one-sided messages falls within the framework of siding with Israel as the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements primarily serve the interest of Israel.

Message Content

The results of the analysis related to the message content showed that the US Administration and its representatives used evidences in 44 tweets; 27% of the tweets of the study sample, while they haven't used evidence in the rest of the 117 tweets which make 73%.

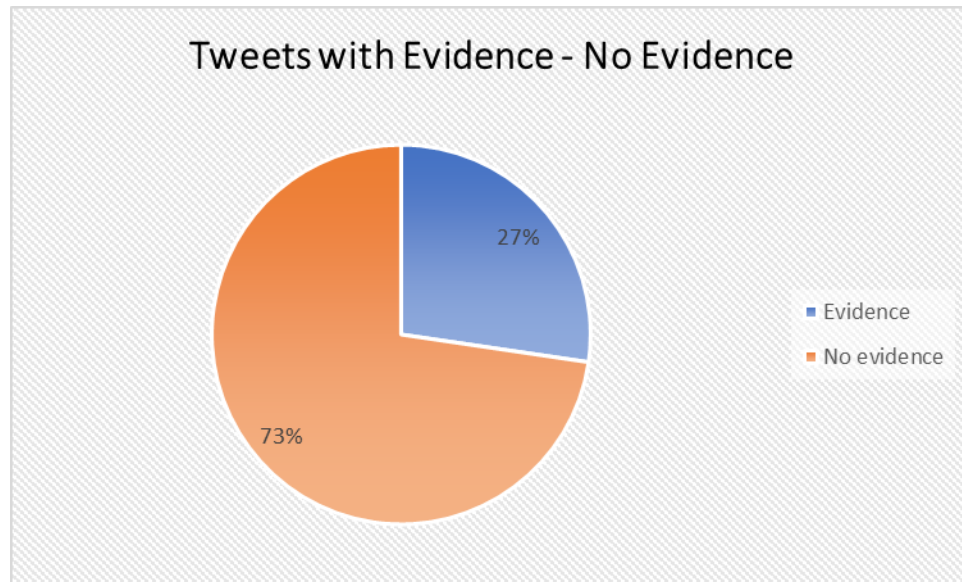


FIGURE 10: EVIDENCES – NO EVIDENCES IN TWEETS

According to (Reynolds & Reynolds 2002), the process of convincing and influencing through presenting messages that have ample evidences along with arguments makes the convincing process stronger than those messages that don't have any. Moreover, (Nisbett, 1976) notes that evidences contain interesting stories, and those who contain testimonials have a stronger convincing effect than those that rely on statistics.

Through the results of the analysis, we find that the US Administration used evidences that contain testimonials and an interesting content in 43 out of 44 tweets, while it used the evidences that contain statistics only in one tweet.

The US Administration focused, through its tweets that contain evidences, on the positives related to the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements, as an attempt to convince the public that they are a good choice and they have benefits for the Middle East in general and for the Palestinian people in specific. For example, one of the tweets focused on the evidence that people in the Middle East have lived in conflicts for generations, which

is considered a realistic evidence, and that the normalization agreements will free those people from the previously followed failed approach.

Moreover, it focused on evidences from the Palestinian and Arab reality and other evidences related to Iran and ISIS as an attempt to promote the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements as the best option to change this reality.



FIGURE 11: TWEET WITH EVIDENCE



FIGURE 12: TWEET WITH STATISTICAL EVIDENCE

Although these evidences are used in a relatively limited number of Tweets, the US Administration's lack of use of evidences in most of the tweets affect the strength of persuasive messages, this may be due to the US Administration's lack of clear and logical evidence, which reflects the weak content of the Trump peace plan and normalization agreements, making it implausible.

The analysis also finds that the US Administration's lack of use of evidence is reflected in the quality of its messages provided according to ELM, as it preferred to use peripheral cues rather than focus on the quality of the message, which means that it pushed the receivers of the message to address it according to the Peripheral route and not the Central Route.

As for the use of Emotional Appeals, the results of the analysis show that the US Administration used positive emotional appeals in a total of 129 tweets which makes 78% of the tweets of the study sample, while it used negative emotional appeals in two tweets only, which make 1%. On the other hand, it used a complex of positive and negative emotional appeals in a total of 13 tweets which makes 8%, while 20 tweets of the study sample had no emotional appeals at all.

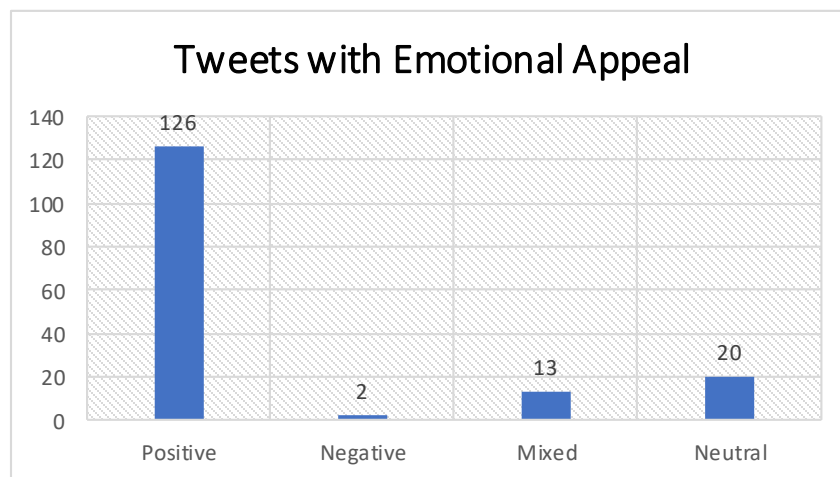


FIGURE 13: TYPES OF EMOTIONAL APPEALS IN TWEETS

Based on Frederickson (2009), the most common positive emotions include joy, gratitude, hope, pride, inspiration, serenity, amusement, awe, interest, and love. Most of these

positive emotional distresses used in the study sample are grateful, hopeful, inspiration and gratitude.

The intensive use of positive emotional appeals by the US administration in 120 sample tweets strengthen its persuasion process, as emotions have a behavioral component that functioning to guide behaviors (Dillard & Meijnders, 2002, p.318). It also has an impact on physiological responses (Dillard & Shin, 2012). This is consistent with what different studies shows that positive emotional appeals increase the chance of accepting the persuasive message (Griskevicius et al., 2010).



FIGURE 14: TWEET WITH POSITIVE EMOTIONAL APPEAL



FIGURE 15: TWEET WITH MIXED EMOTIONAL APPEAL

The results of this study that is related to message content is in line with the results of Yu Bai's study which found that his study sample persuasive messages consisted of both cogent evidence and emotional appeals.

Message Style

The results of the analysis related to Message Style showed that the US Administration used metaphor rhetorical device in a total of 15 tweets of the study sample. According (Sopory & Dillard, 2002), the metaphor has a strong connection with persuasion as it links between the known thing with those unknown. Thus, the messages containing metaphors have a greater effect and they result in a change of attitudes compared to the messages that do not have any metaphors as they evoke semantic associations that activate mental elaboration.

Message with Rhetoric	Number of Tweets	Percentage of Tweets
<i>Metaphor</i>	15	9%
<i>No Rhetoric</i>	146	91%

Table 3: Message with Rhetoric Device

The use of metaphor in 15 tweets of the study sample indicates that the US administration tried to persuade the targeted public through linking unknown ideas with a specific familiar idea to the public and transferring it smoothly to create a greater effect on the public. Based on Sopory & Dillard (2002), the message with metaphor is more persuasive than those without a metaphor and produce more attitude change. The reason for this effectiveness is that a metaphor uses emotions to evoke semantic associations that activate mental elaboration. Moreover, the use of a metaphor in presenting the message argument is better than the use of literal language as metaphors develops more semantic association in the

mind of the receiver, which reflects on the argument acceptance by making them more salient

For example, Ivanka Trump, in one of her tweets, described “Peacemakers as Sons of God”, here it is known that “Sons of God” are the faithful people who are close to God, while another tweet of the white house described the region as “A long-held hostage by conflict”, while it described the first visit of Donald Trump to Israel as the “Light unto the world”. Another tweet described the holy land as “Eternal symbols of peace”.



FIGURE 16: TWEET WITH METAPHOR

Also, the results of the analysis showed that the US Administration laded a total of 121 tweets with strong emotion words, i.e., 75% of the total tweets of the study sample. According to (Knickerbocker & Altarriba, 2011), “Emotion-laden words are words that

The results of the sample that is related to Message Style is conflicted with the results of Chang Liu's study which found that the commonly used rhetorical strategies on Twitter are ethos and pathos. While the results are in line with the results of Yu Bai's study which found that metaphors have been used in the tweets of the study sample. In regard to the use of emotion laden words, As for Pavlenko (2008), the messages that contain an emotional laden word are more likely to be memorable than those contain neutral words. Those words are also processed in the receiver's mind faster than neutral words (Altarriba & Canary, 2004).

7 IPA Techniques Use in the Tweets Related to the Deal and Its Consequent Events

The results of analyzing the study sample show that Propaganda techniques have been used in most of the tweets of the US Administration that are related to the Trump peace plan which reached 137 tweets with a percentage of 85% of the study sample tweets which are 161 in total. On the other hand, no techniques were used in 24 tweets which make the percentage of 15%. Therefore, it must be noted that the tweets that had no techniques used was due to not having a content that falls within the indicators of the techniques' analysis, especially those tweets that fall under the theme of Sharing News, as most of them contained sources of news, articles, or announcements to follow the broadcast about the announcement of the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements and its signing ceremony.

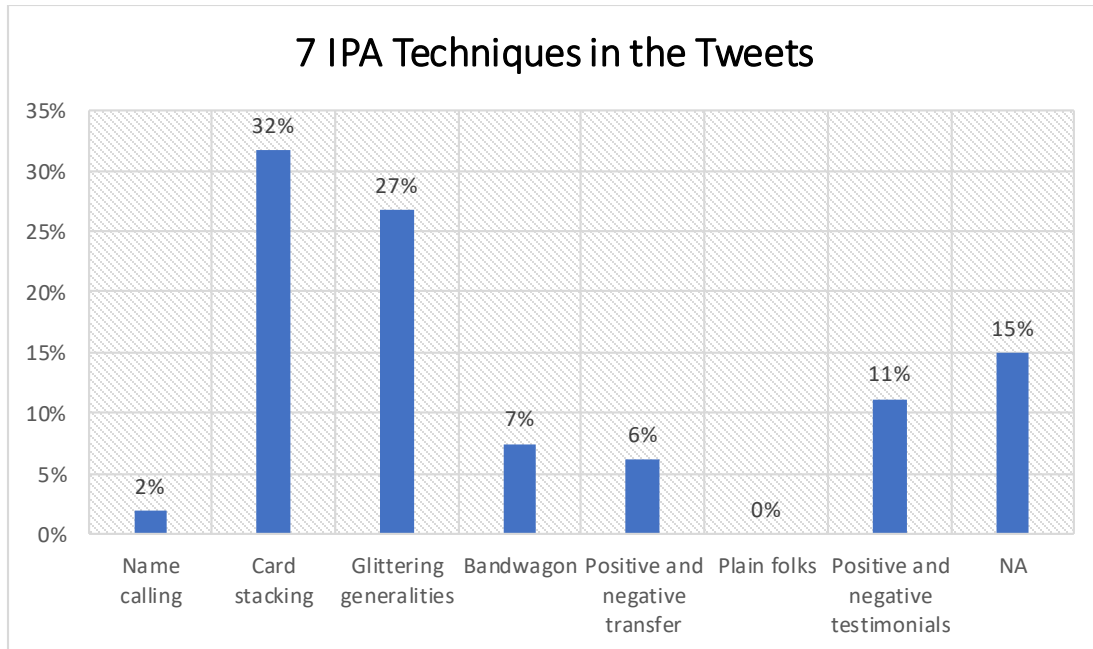


FIGURE 18: DISTRIBUTION OF 7 IPA TECHNIQUES IN TWEETS

The detailed analysis for each technique came as follows:

The **Card Stacking** technique appeared in 51 tweets with a percentage of 32% of the total percentage of the tweets that used techniques which is 85%, and it is the most used technique in the study sample. Through using this technique, the US Administration tried to focus on half-truths through presenting a set of correct and wrong information that is related to the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements as an aim for promoting it and convincing the public that it is a good choice to achieve peace for the Palestinians and Arabs. By this technique, the US Administration also focused on presenting the positives and hiding the negatives of the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements as an attempt to mislead the targeted audience and manipulate its opinions.



FIGURE 19: TWEET WITH CARD STACKING TECHNIQUE

The **Glittering Generalities** technique came in the second place as it was used in a total of 43 tweets which makes 27% out of the total number of tweets. Through using this technique, the US Administration worked to extensively link the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreement with a number of resonant phrases that provoke emotions, especially those associated with peace, faith, justice, prosperity, and security.



FIGURE 20: TWEET WITH GLITTERING GENERALITIES TECHNIQUE

By using this technique, the US Administration aimed to convince the public that the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements are considered a good choice for the people as they are connected to the values that touch their feelings. Thus, the US Administration attempted to put the public under the influence of those feelings to urge them to take positive attitudes towards the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements without caring about the facts. The Trump peace plan also carried the slogan “Peace to Prosperity” as an attempt to directly connect the deal with those values.

The **Positive Testimonial** technique, however, came in the 3rd place as it was used in a total of 18 tweets, 11% of the total number of tweets. Through this technique, the US Administration and its representatives worked to link the Trump peace plan and the

normalization agreements with Arab political figures and entities, who are balanced and trusted by their people, and who accepted the Trump peace plan and appreciated the role of the US Administration in achieving peace in the Middle East, as an effort to convince the public about these ideas through the credibility of those figures and entities.



FIGURE 21: TWEET WITH POSITIVE TESTIMONIAL TECHNIQUE

The **Bandwagon** technique came in the 4th place as it was used in 12 tweets, 7% of the total number of tweets. This technique was used by showing that many countries and populations, whether Arab or foreign, support the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements, as an attempt to urge the public to catch up with the herd and accept. Through using this technique there was a focus on presenting Iran and Palestine as the only countries

that rejected the deal and the normalization agreements, while most of the countries were in favor, which creates an impression within the populations rejecting those deals that they should follow the leads of those countries and their populations who accept them.



FIGURE 22: TWEET WITH BANDWAGON TECHNIQUE

As for the Positive Transfer technique, it was used in 10 tweets, i.e., 6% of the total number of tweets, as the US Administration used it primarily to connect the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements with a group of concepts like the Anti-Semitism and Holocaust, which are concepts that are respected and appreciated at the global level. The aim is to achieve acceptance by the world public opinion of these agreements, as the US Administration considers that achieving peace through the Trump peace plan and

normalization agreements is part of the fight against Anti-Semitism. Also, the announcement of the Trump peace plan on the 27th January came on the Holocaust Memorial Day, which the US Administration considered it to be a tribute to the lives of the victims.



FIGURE 23: TWEET WITH POSITIVE TRANSFER TECHNIQUE

The **Name Calling** technique was the penultimate as it was only used 3 times, 2% of the total tweets. This technique was used by the US Administration by attaching negative qualities to the state of Iran by describing it as a “Sponsor of Terror” and a “State of Malign Influence” in the aim of neutralizing it and influencing the supporters of its policies in the Middle East. This technique was used in the tweets related to the normalization agreements

with the Arab countries only, while it was not used against the Palestinians in any of the tweets.



FIGURE 24: TWEET WITH NAME CALLING TECHNIQUE

The Plain Folks technique was never used in any of the tweets of the study sample. This is since this technique is often applied through the practice of an important and well-known figure who performs acts that mimic the lives of simple people, so appearing in written tweets often very rare, although it can be used through verbal expression. From my point of view, the US president's ego, which is reflected on his administration, prevents the use of this technique regardless of whether on Twitter or through any other communication activities.

The results of the previous detailed analysis of the study sample show that the US Administration used 6 Propaganda techniques in most of the tweets of the study sample, while the Plain Folks technique was not used because it was inappropriate for the nature of the content provided. This result is consistent with what Colin Powell, former secretary of state said that the US administrations intends to use propaganda mainly toward the Arab region (Miller, 2003, p. 52).

This can be explained by saying that the communication activities of the US Administration that are related to the promotion of the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements are in line with the Propaganda techniques as it used it effectively through the political communication on twitter in the aim of influencing the public. This result is in line with what (Miller, 2003) provided in his literature that the successive US administrations have effectively used the Propaganda, especially towards the public in the Arab region.

The results of the analysis also show that the US Administration focused on lobbying for the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements by showing it brightly, amplifying its benefits and ignoring its negatives, which reflects the use of Card Stacking and Glittering Generalities techniques in most of the study sample tweets.

Through the analysis, it was observed that the Positive Testimonial technique was used in a different way in the study sample tweets. According to (Koa, 2019; Sproule, 2001), this technique is represented by connecting an idea, project, program, person, or product with a well-known or familiar person with the aim of gaining an audience endorsement. Nevertheless, the US Administration does not only link the Trump peace plan with known Arab figures who accepted the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreement, but it tried also to link it with countries and entities, not only persons. Through a number of the

study sample tweets, it was indicated that Saudi Arabia, as a country, allowed the first flight between the UAE and Israel to cross through its airspace. This gives the public a feeling that Saudi Arabia, an Islamic country that has its acceptance and respect by the Arab and Islamic peoples, accepts normalization agreements and their consequences, in an attempt to convince that public of the positives of the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements and urge them to accept them. This considered as an addition to the IPA Propaganda Techniques Literature.

The results of the analysis conflict with the results of Thayer (2018) study, which found that IPA Propaganda analysis techniques are no longer a comprehensive analysis tool, as the study shows that only 51% of the analyzed tweets included those techniques, and the results of this study indicate that the US Administration used these techniques effectively in its promotion for the Trump peace plan and the normalization agreements.

The results of the study agree with what (Hamadani, 2017) indicated, which is the IPA techniques have become familiar in our contemporary politics and continued to be used extensively on both mass media and social media platforms. The results also agree with (Rawlins) study which summarized that propaganda techniques were used in the tweets of his study sample and the most used was the Glittering Generalities.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Summary of the Study Results

The overall analysis shows that the US Administration under Trump actively used twitter as a main tool for strategic political communication to promote deal of the century and normalization agreements. As results show in chapter 4, twitter has been used primarily in the context of providing information and political advertisements related to the deal and its consequent events, making it a main source of information for the US and international media outlets, in addition to the public audience.

On the strategic communication level, the study found that the US Administration used persuasion and its techniques including propaganda via Twitter effectively, in promoting the Trump peace plan and normalization agreements. By investigating the message characteristics of the study sample, the analysis results of the message structure concluded that the US administration used one-sided message in the majority of the study sample tweets, while two-sided message use was limited.

Through using the one-sided message, the administration intended to manipulate the public audience and gain their support to the deal and normalization agreements by shedding the light on the advantages of the deal in the provided arguments on twitter, while hiding the oppose arguments that include the disadvantages of the deal.

As for the message content, the analysis process showed that the US Administration focuses mostly on the use of emotional appeals in the tweets rather than focusing on evidence. A number of positive, negative and mixed emotional appeals were used in the

tweets with a majority of the positive ones which are grateful, hopeful, inspiration and gratitude. On those tweets that contain evidence, the US administration focuses on the use of testimonials and interesting content rather than using statistics and numerical evidence. However, the lack of clear and logical evidence in the study sample tweets could be attributed to the weak content of the deal and normalization agreements and affected the credibility of the US administration under President Donald Trump.

In regard to the message style, the results show that the US administration focuses on the use of strong emotion-laden words in the study sample tweets. As the analysis shows, the US administration uses negative and positive strong emotional-laden words in the persuasion process by putting the audience under the pressure of feeling that those words might provoke. The strong emotion laden words used mostly in the study sample tweets are peace, prosperity, stability and faith. Moreover, the analysis result shows that the metaphor rhetorical device is used in the study sample tweets, with the aim of persuading the audience by linking unknown ideas with known ones and creating greater message effect on them.

As for the propaganda techniques, the analysis shows that 6 out of 7 IPA propaganda techniques namely: Card stacking, glittering generalities, plain folks, name calling, bandwagon, testimonial and transfer were used in most of the study sample tweets, with card stacking and glittering generalities being the mostly used techniques.

As shown in the analysis, those techniques were used with the aim of lobbying for the Trump peace plan and normalization agreements among the targeted audience, by showing them to be superficially positive, amplifying their benefits and ignoring their drawbacks.

Final Remarks

By completing this study and passing by the literature review, related theoretical frameworks in addition to the completion of the analysis process, it became clear that Twitter has become one of the most prominent networks of political communication. It is also the most used social media platform for political communication by countries and governments around the world, especially in the United States of America.

The study shows that the use of Twitter in political communication has gone beyond the fact that it is a mean of direct communication with the target audience for the purpose of informing and sharing news only. It has become a way that enables countries and governments to address the minds of their audiences, influence them, and try to change their behavior by pursuing different types of persuasion techniques positively and negatively in order to mobilize support for their national and foreign policies, as well as winning local and international public opinion on issues of global concern, including the peace in the Middle East as in the case of this study.

It also became clear after conducting this study that President Donald Trump has played a major role in consolidating the use of Twitter by the US Administration and its bodies such as the White House, the State Department in addition to his close advisors, given his successful experience in using Twitter in his presidential campaign which brought him to the White House to become the 45th president of the United States of America. This enhances the results of New York Times report which stated that Trump “has fully integrated Twitter into the very fabric of his administration, reshaping the nature of the presidency and presidential power” (Michael, S. et al., 2019).

Through conducting this study, an in-depth understanding of strategies and techniques used by the US Administration under Trump to promote deal of the century and normalization agreements was provided to the Palestinians and Arabs in particular. This is considered as a contribution to awareness raising on propaganda techniques and their uses in the context of promoting US policies and political projects that contradict with the interests of the Palestinians in particular and the Arabs in general.

On the other hand, the study provided a focused approach on the use of strategic communication via Twitter from persuasion and message characteristics perspective, that aim to persuade audience and change their attitudes. This enables Palestinian official and governmental institutions to benefit from that in developing official communication plans, especially those associated with public diplomacy, addressing the international community and lobbying for the Palestinian cause. Moreover, this study helps official governmental institutions in developing counter-strategies to deal with the US administration's attempts to promote its policies and political projects toward Palestine and the Middle East.

Most importantly, and as the majority of previous studies addressed the use of Twitter strategically for political communication in the United States during election campaigns, this study attempted to fill this research gap by analyzing the US administration's use of Twitter for promoting its political projects toward the Middle East from strategic communication and persuasion perspective, which is considered as an added value to the strategic communication and persuasion research field.

Recommendations

The study concluded the following major recommendations:

- Raising awareness among Palestinian and Arab communities on propaganda techniques and their uses in political communication on Twitter for promoting the US political projects and policies towards the Middle East. This can be done by focusing the research efforts of the Palestinian and Arab educational institutions that teach related topics.
- Palestinian official institutions, especially the Palestinian Presidency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, must work on developing a clear strategic political communication plan that is prepared by experts and specialists in the field of strategic communication. Those plans should be based mainly on strategic communication and persuasion techniques, especially those related to the characteristics of persuasive communication messages, in addition to the use of Twitter as a key tool of political communication.
- Focusing the governmental efforts on developing the use of Public Diplomacy on different social media platforms, especially Twitter, in addition to addressing the international community by taking into consideration the psychology of the target audience.
- Palestinian official political communications with the international community should focus on the use of two-sided message on twitter, through the provision of the Palestinian arguments and the oppose arguments. A due focus should be given on refuting the oppose arguments as it gives credibility to the message creator and provide cogent reason on why the oppose argument is wrong.

- Palestinian official political communications with the international community should focus on providing ample arguments, using testimonials and interesting narratives with emotional engaging stories which are more effective in the persuasion process than evidences including numbers and statistical data.
- Palestinian political communications messages on Twitter should focus on the use of emotion-laden words as they are more likely to be memorable than those containing neutral words, in addition to using metaphors as using them makes communication messages more convincing.
- More efforts should be invested in implementing comparative future studies between the former Administration (Trump Administration) and the current US Administration (Joe Biden Administration) in the use of strategic communication and persuasion techniques via Twitter.
- As this study focuses only on one component of the communication process which is the message, further studies should address the other components, mainly the targeted audience and evaluate the effect of the message persuasiveness on them.

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- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/our-government/the-executive-branch/>

Annexes

Content Analysis Survey

1. Themes of the Tweets Related to the Deal and Its Consequent Events

Themes	Description
Mobilization Tweets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tweets encouraging Palestinians to accept the deal. • Tweets call on Arab countries to join the Abraham Accord and normalize relations with Israel. • Tweets encouraging other countries to take actions toward enhancing Middle East Peace Process.
Informative Tweets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tweets that provide updates and information related to the deal and normalization agreements.
Political Announcements and Remarks Tweets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tweets that express the US administration position from the deal and normalization agreements, in addition to other related aspects.
Gratitude Expression Tweets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tweets that include gratitude to US administration members, countries and international leaders for their support to the deal and normalization agreements.
Sharing News Tweets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tweets that include sharing news resources related to the deal and normalization agreements (Media Links, TV Interviews)

2. Message Characteristics of the Tweets Related to the Deal and Its Consequent Events

Message Characteristics					
Message Structure		Message Content		Message Style	
Message Sidedness		Evidence	Emotional Appeal	Rhetorical Devices	Strong Emotion Laden Words
<i>One Sided Message</i>	<i>Two-Sided Message</i>	Examining if the U.S administration Tweets contain any evidences that has been used to convince Palestinians and other Arab countries to support /accept the deal and normalization agreements.	<p><i>Positive emotions:</i> Tweets include positive statements, emotions and gratitude.</p> <p><i>Negative emotions:</i> Tweets include negative statements and emotions.</p> <p><i>Mixed Emotions:</i> Tweets include both negative and positive statements and emotions.</p>	The commonly used rhetoric devices used in the US administration tweets	The common strong emotion laden words used in the US administration tweets
Tweets contain the US administration position from the deal.	Two-sided message: Tweets contain the US administration position from the deal and any other oppose position.				

3. Strategic Communication Techniques used in the Tweets Related to the Deal and Its Consequent Events

Strategic Communication Techniques	Variables
Name Calling	Tweets contain negative emotional laden or symbol to a specific target (Person, country, agreement) related to the deal and normalization agreements that appears frequently.
Card Stacking	Tweets contain due focus on stating half of the truth in issues related to the deal and normalization agreements.
Glittering Generalities	Tweets contain popular emotions that urges the audience to accept the deal and normalizations agreements without investigating the evidences.
Positive Transfer	Tweets that use something or someone with respected authority to promote the deal and normalization agreements.
Plain Folks	Tweets that use languages and actions to convince the target audience to accept or support their ideas in relation to the deal and normalization agreements, as their ideas are good because they are “of the people”.
Testimonial	Tweets that use respected and admired person to endorse the deal and normalization agreements, urging the targeted audience to follow them.
Bandwagon	Tweets that courage the audience to follow the crowd and accept or support the deal and normalization agreements rather than being left behind.

Analysis Tables

Tweets Themes Analysis Table

Tweet #	Mobilization	Informative	Political Announcements & Remarks	Gratitude Expression	Sharing News
1	no	no	yes	no	no
2	no	no	yes	no	no
3	no	no	no	yes	no
4	no	no	yes	no	no
5	no	no	yes	no	no
6	no	no	yes	no	no
7	no	no	no	yes	no
8	no	yes	no	no	no
9	no	no	no	no	yes
10	no	no	yes	no	no
11	no	no	yes	no	no
12	no	no	yes	no	no
13	no	yes	no	no	no
14	yes	no	no	no	no
15	no	no	yes	no	no
16	no	no	yes	no	no
17	no	no	yes	no	no
18	no	no	yes	no	no
19	no	yes	no	no	no
20	no	no	yes	no	no

21	no	no	yes	no	no
22	no	no	yes	no	no
23	no	yes	no	no	no
24	no	yes	no	no	no
25	no	no	yes	no	no
26	no	no	yes	no	no
27	no	yes	no	no	no
28	no	yes	no	no	no
29	no	yes	no	no	no
30	no	yes	no	no	no
31	no	yes	no	no	no
32	no	no	yes	no	no
33	no	yes	no	no	no
34	no	no	yes	no	no
35	no	yes	no	no	no
36	no	yes	no	no	no
37	no	yes	no	no	no
38	no	no	yes	no	no
39	no	no	no	yes	no
40	no	no	no	no	yes
41	no	no	no	no	yes
42	no	no	no	no	yes
43	no	yes	no	no	no
44	no	no	no	no	yes
45	no	no	no	no	yes

46	yes	no	no	no	no
47	no	no	no	no	yes
48	no	yes	no	no	no
49	no	no	no	no	yes
50	no	no	no	no	yes
51	no	yes	no	no	no
52	no	no	yes	no	no
53	no	no	no	no	yes
54	no	yes	no	no	no
55	no	yes	no	no	no
56	no	no	no	yes	no
57	yes	no	no	no	no
58	yes	no	no	no	no
59	no	no	yes	no	no
60	no	no	yes	no	no
61	no	yes	no	no	no
62	no	yes	no	no	no
63	no	no	no	no	yes
64	no	no	no	no	yes
65	no	no	no	yes	no
66	no	yes	no	no	no
67	no	yes	no	no	no
68	no	no	no	no	yes
69	no	no	no	yes	no
70	no	yes	no	no	no

71	no	no	yes	no	no
72	no	yes	no	no	no
73	no	yes	no	no	no
74	no	no	no	yes	no
75	no	no	no	yes	no
76	no	yes	no	no	no
77	no	yes	no	no	no
78	yes	no	no	no	no
79	no	yes	no	no	no
80	no	no	yes	no	no
81	no	no	no	no	yes
82	no	no	no	yes	no
83	no	no	yes	no	no
84	no	no	no	no	yes
85	no	yes	no	no	no
86	no	no	no	no	yes
87	no	yes	no	no	no
88	no	no	no	no	yes
89	no	yes	no	no	no
90	no	no	yes	no	no
91	no	no	yes	no	no
92	no	no	yes	no	no
93	no	no	yes	no	no
94	no	no	no	no	yes
95	no	yes	no	no	no

96	no	yes	no	no	no
97	no	yes	no	no	no
98	no	yes	no	no	no
99	no	yes	no	no	no
100	no	yes	no	no	no
101	no	yes	no	no	no
102	no	yes	no	no	no
103	no	yes	no	no	no
104	no	no	yes	no	no
105	no	no	no	yes	no
106	no	yes	no	no	no
107	no	no	no	yes	no
108	no	no	no	yes	no
109	no	no	no	yes	no
110	no	yes	no	no	no
111	no	no	no	yes	no
112	no	no	no	yes	no
113	no	no	yes	no	no
114	no	no	no	yes	no
115	no	no	no	yes	no
116	no	no	yes	no	no
117	no	no	no	yes	no
118	no	no	yes	no	no
119	no	no	no	yes	no
120	no	no	no	no	yes

121	no	no	no	no	yes
122	no	yes	no	no	no
123	no	no	no	yes	no
124	no	no	no	no	yes
125	no	no	no	yes	no
126	no	no	no	no	yes
127	no	no	no	yes	no
128	no	no	no	no	yes
129	no	no	no	yes	no
130	yes	no	no	no	no
131	no	yes	no	no	no
132	no	no	no	no	yes
133	no	yes	no	no	no
134	no	no	no	no	yes
135	no	yes	no	no	no
136	no	yes	no	no	no
137	no	no	yes	no	no
138	no	yes	no	no	no
139	no	yes	no	no	no
140	no	no	yes	no	no
141	no	no	yes	no	no
142	no	no	yes	no	no
143	no	yes	no	no	no
144	no	yes	no	no	no
145	no	yes	no	no	no

146	no	no	yes	no	no
147	no	yes	no	no	no
148	no	no	yes	no	no
149	no	no	yes	no	no
150	no	no	yes	no	no
151	no	no	yes	no	no
152	no	no	yes	no	no
153	no	no	yes	no	no
154	no	no	yes	no	no
155	no	no	yes	no	no
156	no	no	yes	no	no
157	no	no	yes	no	no
158	no	yes	no	no	no
159	no	no	no	no	yes
160	no	no	yes	no	no
161	no	no	yes	no	no
Total	6	55	51	23	26

Message Characteristics Analysis Table

Tweet #	Message Sidedness			Evidence	Emotional Appeals				Rhetorical Devices	Strong emotion laden words
	One sided	2 sided	Other		Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed		
1	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
2	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peaceful, prosperous
3	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	fight, extremism
4	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peaceful, prosperous
5	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
6	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
7	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	faith, fight
8	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
9	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	threat, harm
10	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
11	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	stable, risk
12	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperous
13	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	threat

14	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
15	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	division, conflict
16	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
17	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
18	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	conflicts, hostilities , lies, treacherie s
19	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperit y, noble
20	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	stability, peace
21	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	stability, peace
22	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
23	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	hatred
24	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	stability, peace
25	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
26	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperou s
27	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no
28	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no
29	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
30	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	terror
31	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	confidenc e, prosperit y

32	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
33	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperity, noble
34	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
35	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	stability, peace
36	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperity, stability
37	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperity, noble
38	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperous
39	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
40	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	victory
41	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	blessed
42	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
43	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace, honor, greeting
44	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	incredible, peace
45	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
46	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
47	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
48	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
49	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
50	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
51	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	prosperity,

											dignity, peace
52	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	confident
53	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	peace
54	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
55	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
56	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	proud, peace, bright
57	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
58	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	opportuni ty
59	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
60	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
61	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
62	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
63	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
64	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
65	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
66	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
67	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	destroyed , dead, fight, terrorist, peace
68	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
69	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperit y

70	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	harmony, peace
71	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	faith, courage, peace
72	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	peace
73	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	legacy
74	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	Succeed, Failed
75	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperit y
76	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
77	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperit y
78	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperit y
79	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	peace
80	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
81	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	chaos
82	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	courage, faith, peace, prosperit y
83	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
84	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
85	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	hopeful
86	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace

87	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	peace
88	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
89	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
90	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace, Prosperity
91	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
92	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace, heralds
93	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
94	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	peace
95	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Beautiful, Peace
96	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
97	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
98	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
99	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
100	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peaceful, prosperous
101	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
102	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Stability, Opportunity
103	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Courageous, Peace
104	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
105	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Honored, Grateful, peace,

										prosperity
106	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
107	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Glad, Proud, Friendship, peace, prosperity
108	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperity
109	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	glad, peace
110	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Happy
111	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Proud, peace
112	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperity
113	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
114	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	wonderful, peace, prosperity
115	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Excited, Congratulate, Hopeful
116	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
117	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Delighted, Peace
118	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no

119	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Congratulates, achievement, peacemakers, peace
120	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace
121	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Extraordinary
122	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	appreciation
123	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
124	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
125	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace
126	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace, Beautiful
127	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	Succeed, Failed, Congrats
128	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace
129	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
130	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
131	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
132	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
133	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Beautiful
134	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
135	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Incredible
136	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no

137	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Courage
138	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Holy
139	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no
140	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	glories, soul, spirit, peace
141	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
142	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Failed
143	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	Peace
144	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
145	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
146	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	More Prospero us
147	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	Peace, Prosperit y
148	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	Prosperit y
149	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	No
150	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	Saddened
151	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Pleased
152	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	Hopeless, Good Faith
153	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	win, peace

154	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace, Prosperit y
155	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
156	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
157	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	peace, welcomin g
158	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	Tough
159	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	No
160	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
161	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	Peace
Total	158	3	44	117	126	2	13	20	15	198

7 IPA Techniques Analysis Table

Tweet #	Name calling	Card stacking	Glittering generalities	Bandwagon	Transfer	Plain Folks	Testimonial	NA
1	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
2	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
3	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
4	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
5	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
6	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
7	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no

8	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
9	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
10	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
11	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
12	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
13	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
14	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
15	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
16	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
17	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
18	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
19	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
20	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
21	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
22	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
23	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
24	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
25	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
26	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
27	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
28	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
29	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
30	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
31	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no

32	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
33	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
34	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
35	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
36	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
37	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
38	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
39	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
40	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
41	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
42	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
43	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
44	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
45	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	ye s
46	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
47	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	ye s
48	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	ye s
49	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	ye s
50	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	ye s
51	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
52	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
53	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
54	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no

55	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
56	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
57	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
58	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
59	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
60	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
61	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
62	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
63	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
64	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
65	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
66	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
67	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
68	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
69	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
70	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
71	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
72	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
73	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
74	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
75	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no

76	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
77	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
78	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
79	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
80	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
81	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
82	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
83	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
84	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
85	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
86	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
87	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
88	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
89	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
90	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
91	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
92	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
93	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
94	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
95	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
96	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
97	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
98	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
99	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
100	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no

101	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
102	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
103	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
104	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
105	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
106	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
107	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
108	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
109	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
110	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
111	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
112	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
113	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
114	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
115	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
116	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
117	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
118	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
119	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
120	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
121	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
122	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
123	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
124	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no

125	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
126	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
127	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
128	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
129	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
130	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
131	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
132	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
133	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
134	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
135	no	no	no	no	no	no	x	no
136	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
137	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
138	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
139	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
140	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
141	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
142	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
143	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
144	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
145	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
146	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no

147	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
148	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
149	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
150	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
151	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
152	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
153	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
154	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
155	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
156	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no
157	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
158	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
159	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
160	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
161	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
Total	3	51	43	12	10	0	18	24

Abstract in Arabic

ملخص الدراسة:

في السنوات الأخيرة، بات استخدام منصة "تويتر" في الاتصال السياسي أمراً شائعاً وأعطى اهتماماً خاصاً من قبل الباحثين في المجالات المختلفة. في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، تم استخدام "تويتر" بشكل مكثف من قبل "دونالد ترامب" في حملته الانتخابية عام 2016 ولاحقاً من قبل الإدارة الأمريكية.

وتتبع المشكلة الرئيسية للدراسة من وجود فهم محدود لتقنيات الإتصال الاستراتيجي والإقناع المستخدمة من قبل الإدارة الأمريكية في الترويج للسياسات والمشاريع السياسية المستجدة، وبشكل رئيسي "صفقة القرن" وما تبعها من اتفاقيات تطبيع مع بعض الدول العربية، بالإضافة إلى وجود فهم محدود لدى المؤسسات الفلسطينية الرسمية والسياسية المنخرطة في الاتصال السياسي حول آليات استخدام الإتصال السياسي الاستراتيجي عبر تويتر في يومنا هذا، الأمر الذي توفره هذه الدراسة بشكل معمق.

وتختبر هذه الدراسة استخدام تقنيات الإتصال الاستراتيجي والإقناع من قبل إدارة "ترامب" عبر تويتر في الترويج للصفقة وما تبعها، كما تعالج على المستوى النظري خصائص الرسالة المرتبطة بالتغريدات ذات العلاقة، إضافة إلى معالجتها لاستخدام التقنيات السبعة التي قدمها معهد تحليل البروباغندا. واستخدمت الدراسة تحليل المضمون الكمي والنوعي لعينة الدراسة المختارة والمكونة من 161 تغريدة من حسابات الإدارة الأمريكية وممثليها بين الفترة الواقعة من 1 كانون ثاني 2020 حتى 1 كانون ثاني 2021.

وأظهر تحليل بنية الرسالة بأن غالبية التغريدات المستخدمة اشتملت على رسائل ذات اتجاه واحد، وذلك بهدف كسب تأييد الجمهور للصفقة واتفاقيات التطبيع. بينما أظهر التحليل الخاص بمحتوى الرسالة بأن الإدارة الأمريكية استخدمت غالباً الندانات العاطفية الإيجابية عوضاً عن استخدامها للدلائل. في عدد قليل من التغريدات، استخدمت الإدارة الأمريكية الشهادات والقصص المثيرة للاهتمام كدلائل لجعل الرسائل أكثر إقناعاً.

أما فيما يتعلق بتحليل نمط الرسالة، فأظهر التحليل أن الكلمات القوية المحملة بالعواطف استخدمت بشكل مكثف لإثارة العواطف التي قد تستثيرها مثل هذه الكلمات لدى الجمهور، بالإضافة إلى استخدام

الخطاب المجازي في إقناع الجمهور من خلال ربط الأمور غير المعروفة بالأمر الأخرى المعروفة، والذي بدوره يجعل التأثير على الجمهور أكثر قوة.

أما فيما يتعلق باستخدام تقنيات البروباغندا السبعة التي قدمها معهد تحليل البروباغندا، فإن ستة من هذه التقنيات تم استخدامها في غالبية تغريدات عينة الدراسة، حيث كانت تقنيتنا "بطاقة التراص" و"العموميات البراقة" الأكثر تكراراً.

كلمات مفتاحية: الإتصال الاستراتيجي، الإتصال السياسي، تويتز، الإقناع، التقنيات السبعة لمعهد تحليل البروباغندا، دونالد ترامب، الإدارة الأمريكية، صفقة القرن، التطبيع.