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"Their Eyes [*Are*] Watching God": Palestinian Women Journey in

Search for Personal and Political Identity through the Lens of Palestine

TV

By

Nisreen Rezek

Supervisor

Dr. Adel Atawneh

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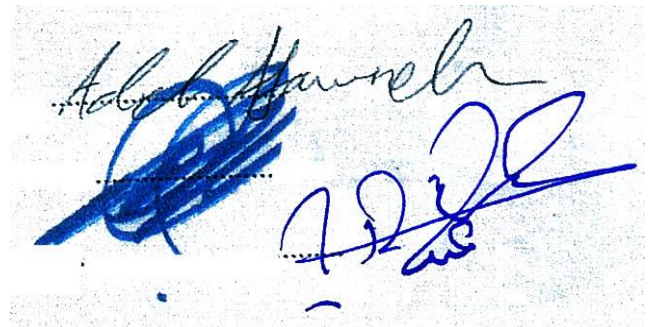
By

Nisreen Rezek

This thesis was successfully defended on March 13, 2021, and approved by:

Committee members: Signature

1. Supervisor: Dr. Adel Al Atawneh

2. Internal Supervisor: Dr. Aysar Yaseen

3. External Examiner: Dr. Ghassan Nimer

Dedication

I dedicate the fruit of my humble effort to my first school, where I learned the meaning of good and giving, My Father and Mother. To my dear husband, a partner of patience and success. To my Children for what they endured during my absence for long hours over the study period. To my beloved Friends, I love you sincerely. To everyone who supported me and believed that I deserve the best.

Name: Nisreen Rezek

Signature

Date:

Acknowledgments

My utmost gratitude goes first to Allah (God), who helped me in my determination to complete this colossal research. I extend my endless appreciation to my able supervisor, Dr. Adel Al Atawneh, whose support, insight, and guidance was invaluable. To the external examiner Dr. Ghassan Nimer and the internal examiner Dr. Aysar Yaseen: thank you for your insightful evaluations. I do not forget to extend my sincere thanks to the faculty members in the Graduate Studies/Intercultural Communication & Literature Master's Program at Arab American University for all their guidance and valuable information that were enriching to the subject matter of the study in its various aspects.

Nisreen Rezek

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research except as cited in references. This thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Student's Name: Nisreen Rezek

Signature:

Date:

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Abstract

This study investigates the role of Palestinian official media, namely, (Palestine TV) in the construction of Palestinian women's personal and political identity.   On the one hand, this MA thesis uses Palestine official TV station as a case study; it proposes a dialogue between gender and educational differences, decision and policy making, social and political ramifications essential in the process of constructing Palestinian women's political and personal identities . On the other hand, it suggests a set of recommendations aiming at improving the current practices and dealing with the current shortcomings in the construction of personal, political, and national identity. In addition, the study depends on both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, which are translated into a questionnaire focused on how Palestine TV perceived by a random sample of 156 Palestinians. As well as, an in-depth interview with key and influential Palestinian women to reflect on the Palestine TV experience in addressing women identity issues. Regarding the statistical analysis of the questioner, it is clear that there was a vital role for the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity with regard to the fields of study. But, according to the interviewees, there is a failure in the role and the impact of the official media. The Palestinian media concept is related to the political, social, and economic system hierarchies prevailing. Since the relationship between media construction and the development of society is close, the Palestinian media has been affected like any other media in any country, by the reality of its society. Plus, the Palestinian political system is a distinct system that affects and is affected by the reality of the Palestinian society, which, in most cases, is dependent on groupings and affiliations.

Keywords: Media, Palestinian Official Media, Personal Identity, Political Identity, National Identity, Palestinian women, Palestine TV

Chapter One

Study Problem and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

In Zora Neale Hurston's debut *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Janie Crawford, the protagonist, had to overcome many obstacles in search for her Identity. Janie finds her voice through relationships and change; she struggles to overcome limitations imposed by gender and other social norms to eventually gain her freedom in spite of suppression and control. Janie mirrors and reflects many women who face such obstacles in many societies around the world. Palestinian women are no exception. Their private and complex spheres are defined and dictated by both an oppressive Israeli occupation and a heavy patriarchal legacy. It seems that Palestinian women need to deal with those two extremes to surmount the higher walls which hinder the fulfillment of their personal and political identity.

Many recent scientific studies in political communication have proven that the media is a fundamental force on the political, economic, and social levels, such as (Fahmy, 2020), (Pintak, 2014), (Mellor, 2007), (Hamdy, 2009), (Aruguete, 2017). Extending to this context, this research focuses on the personal and political identity in the context of belonging to multiple groups, and the negotiations that the individual uses to preserve his own identity especially within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through focusing on Palestinian's women identity, I will try to reflect on several factors that could shape Palestinian women identity. One of these factors is media, which is a tremendous and effective tool in the twenty-first century that has a transforming and an ever-lasting evolution of Palestinian women rights, if seized and utilized accordingly. This chapter includes a presentation of the methods and procedures that the researcher followed; it also

covers the theoretical side concerning this study. On top of that, it reviews some of the most recent studies that address my topic wholly or partially.

1.2 General Overview

Media plays a fundamental role in shaping people's attitudes and perceptions of all life matters and Palestinian women are no exception. Palestinian women have specific privacy, which makes them different from other women around the world. This peculiarity is evident in their active participation in the Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation for more than seventy years. Palestinian women encounter inhumane and degrading violations and policies, such as murder, oppression, displacement, imprisonment, confiscation of land, demolition and break-in of homes, restriction of freedom, family separation, travel bans, and many forms of physical and psychological traumas. However, their dramatic suffering did not qualify them for equal and effective participation in various life fields, nor did it change their cultural and stereotypical image in the media. On the contrary, Palestinian women are presented as weak and victims by a manipulative hegemonic patriarchy. They are symbolized solely by their human and tender traits rather than by focusing on their educational skills, capabilities, and experiences. Generally speaking, they are middle class housewives whose engagement and participation in political, economical, and social issues is secondary. Generally, their sacrificial roles are neglected as patriot activists against the occupation, and are regularly marginalized from being represented in the Palestinian diplomatic missions, in the political, social and economic forums, and from the formation of political parties or governmental bodies. In fact, Palestinian media does not display these influences fairly for women, but instead perpetuates a stereotype through various traditional roles and minimal topics. This absence/negligence of Palestinian women in media and news keeps their

voices inaudible. Moreover, their opinions are not shared through the most critical topics that have been seen and followed up in media and news (Abdallah, 1995). In that sense, the role of media is very significant in influencing women, especially the role of official media, which is very efficient in shaping and constructing women's personal and political identity.

The scholarship on media has an intrinsic history. In the early 1960s, Marshall McLuhan wrote two books that had a great effect on media studies' history; "Both of McLuhan's books *Gutenberg Galaxy* and *Understanding Media* were published respectively in 1962 and 1964, and both illustrated how media power and technology, are able to change human behavior and culture by time" (McFadden, 2010). McLuhan became notable for a phrase in media: "The medium is the message." (McFadden, 2010). This concept represents a narrative in attitudes towards the media - that the media themselves have an active role in shaping the human cultural experience (Stille, 2000). Indeed, in many countries around the world, culture is produced through mutual human interaction and influence. Cultural development, as well as communications and the Internet, confirmed McLuhan's vision so it became a reality. In fact, his work has garnered a great attention in recent years. It brought the idea of media influence into the public arena, and created a new way for audiences to look at the media's influence on culture, although some scholars criticize McLuhan's lack of methodology and theoretical framework (Stille, 2000).

In recent years, Palestinian media have acquired new dimensions to increase its influence. Strategically, Palestinian media experts viewed social media is an essential social institution in our society that carries economic, political, and cultural impacts. Nonetheless, the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), like any other media, has a role to play and a social responsibility to serve its community, to which women belong

politically, socially and economically. In addition, a double responsibility lies on its shoulders to preserve the Palestinian material, cultural, literary, artistic, and musical heritage from distortion, theft, and loss, in light of the violent Israeli occupation attack on it (Nairat, 2018).

In Palestinian media, the realization is directed to the message(s), ideas, and concepts that are being conveyed. This directly touches the identity of the community whether it's male or female; it works to influence directly or indirectly over their personal, political, national or cultural identity. Therefore, we must realize the extent of the media's influence on the individual's identity, because it represents the traits, beliefs, personality, appearance, and expressions that make a person (self-identity) or a group (collective identity). One can view the classification of identity as either positive or destructive (Van et al. 2017).

In this MA Thesis, the researcher deals with the official Palestinian media by clarifying the media concept and its functions in general, as well as, media influential theories that serve this research. Moreover, a general look on Palestine TV was taken into consideration, including its mission and vision.

The democratic countries consider that the function of media revolves around informing the public about what is going on to form a group of public opinions. Consequently, media has unrestricted access to the masses and the public sphere, with the ability to choose, shape, and apply the representation of messages, words, and symbols. They also help us better understand a rapidly changing and complex world by giving different meanings of the presented information. However, media can bring up specific issues in the minds of the public; for example, they can influence the political judgment, and form the human personality and knowledge values. Such a task is considered to have a social and a psychological impact on humanity, especially in our times, when we cannot

deny the existence of new media technology. It becomes an integral part of our life; in education, entertainment, knowledge, economy, science, politics, sports, and relationships.

The beginnings of the Palestinian media appeared in the early twentieth century, when many newspapers appeared, most notably *Al-Quds Al-Sharif* and *Al-Ghazal Newspapers*, which served as a breakthrough for media and journalistic work in Palestine. Then, they were followed by *Palestine Newspaper* in 1911, which was considered as the most prominent newspaper at the Palestinian level. The Palestinian press raised national awareness among the Palestinian masses by warning them against Zionists' aggressions and dangers during the British Mandate. Very importantly, those newspapers revealed the plots woven by the British authorities in cooperation with Zionist organizations, which aimed to facilitate migration and to Judaize the Palestinian identity (Al-Masry, 2016). Palestine TV was established according to a decree by the late Yasser Arafat on July, 1993 in Jericho city. Radwan Abu Ayyasha worked as a head manager for (PBC) with a group of media professionals and writers (his crew consisted of 23 members). The television broadcast started from a transmission station established in Ansar Camp in Gaza in 1994. Palestine Satellite Channel was established in Gaza in 1998.   Palestine TV worked objectively to convey and express different competing views; that is, without bias or any favoritism to authority or ruling party. In that sense, Abu Ayyash held a conference with a group of media professionals, intellectuals, and politicians in 1993 to set up such goals. These goals can be summarized in producing a creative Palestinian media by relying only on Palestinian participants. To achieve that end result, Palestinians relied on their national will in order to address Palestinian public opinion freely, to discuss all societal, political, and economic issues, and to preserve the Palestinian cultural and political identity that is threatened by occupation.

1.3 Study Problem and Questions

Writers, political figures, and philosophers have never ceased addressing the role of media and justice. Malcolm X (1965) writes: "the media's the most powerful entity on the earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power because they control the minds of masses." Henry Miller (1969) philosophizes that: "Everything we shut our eyes to, everything we run away from, everything we deny, denigrate or despise, serves to defeat us in the end. What seems nasty, painful, evil can become a source of beauty, joy, and strength, if faced with an open mind." The role of the communicative processes in influencing values, principles, and ideas cannot be denied. Its inception was at the dawn of history and its influence, shaping, reshaping continues until now. Individual's own opinion and behavior are formed through many stages, or in other words, are based on the communication process. Therefore, whether the impact of this process is positive or negative, direct or indirect, there is no doubt that it constituted a milestone in the lives of individuals and peoples, and since the presented media materials are considered to be the most important communication processes, especially at this time, they have the ability to form opinions and build specific attitudes among individuals. From this point, the idea of the great impact of media in influencing people came to be discussed and analyzed, in order to uncover mistakes and overcome shortcomings in our media institutions, especially our official Palestinian media. To uncover and consolidate the features of Palestinian personal and political identity became a necessity.

It's well known that Palestinian identity has features that distinguish it from others as the State of Palestine is an occupied state, the Israeli occupation works to obliterate the personal, political, cultural, and national Palestinian identity. Palestinian women are part of this society and their marginalization is witnessed in many locations, especially media.

Thus, media negatively affects the construction of the personal, political and national identity of Palestinian women. Apparently, as Eckert (1989) has pointed out the way how gender operates in a pervasive and complex way from other systems of oppression. He sums up "whereas the power relations between men and women are similar to those between dominated and subordinated classes . . . our traditional gender ideology dictate just this kind of relationship between men and women." From this standpoint, this study will try to shed light on the role of the Palestinian media, especially Palestine TV, on constructing and preserving personal and political identity of Palestinian women, and to examine whether media develops the required awareness and influence. Consequently, the problem of the study may lie in answering the following main question:

What is the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing Palestinian women's personal and political Identity?

The main question is subdivided into the following sub-questions:

1- Do the Palestinian people's estimates differ about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing the personal, political Identity of women with different variables (gender, educational qualification, age, and place of residence)?

2- How can Palestine TV present and intensify the role of Palestinian women in society?

3- What policies are pursued by Palestine TV in the enhancement of Palestinian women's personal and political identity?

4- What is the impact of Palestine TV on building woman's personal and political identity?

5- How successful has Palestine TV been in addressing and influencing women's issues?

1.4 Study Significance

Recently, the question of identity has been shaped and reshaped by scholarship in and on Critical Discourse Analysis, Intercultural Communication studies, Political Science conferences and more. The question of identity is multifaceted and diverse; there is the political, the social, the economical, the psychological, and the individual identity. Discourse, to Michel Foucault (1972), refers to a group of related statements that are manifested through interplay, for example, between language and visual structures (Lazar, 2000) that can give birth and rise to and systematize a particular order of reality. Consequently, the critical perspective of critical Discourse Analysis has mostly been focused on social justice, and, in particular, on the unequal social hierarchies sustained through language use and representation in media, and their ideological and power ramifications and hierarchies. The specific aim of this MA Thesis is to advance a rich and invaluable understanding of the complex workings and underpinnings of power, ideology, and gender issues to sustain gendered equity and social order. Henceforth, the urgency to identify (with its personal, political, cultural branches), and to have a feminist perspective in language and critical discourse studies has been part of what feminists in the academia had sought and criticized across male-stream disciplines in the humanities, (Spender 1981). Ruth Wodak (2007) states that "Although more women have achieved higher status in their professions, there still exist subtle (and also manifest) procedures on discrimination, mainly due to the fact that organizations are still characterized by a male culture of domination". As a result, the importance of this study is reflected in two ways, namely:

First: Theoretical Significance:

1. This study is considered one of the studies investigating the official media's role in constructing Palestinian women's personal and political identity. Palestine TV will be chosen as a case study, as it is the main official Palestinian media.

2. It is also hoped that this study will contribute to keep pace with scientific development by the optimum utilization of the official media.

3. The importance of this study stems from the novelty of the topic. The fact that there is a great tendency to pay attention to the personal, political, and national identity of Palestinian women and not to marginalize them.

4. Highlighting any shortcomings in the official Palestinian media coverage in the support and the promotion of Palestinian women.

Second: Applied Significance:

1- The study's importance stems from practice. It provides improvements and recommendations to decision-makers in media institutions represented by the Palestinian Ministry of Information, towards an interest in constituting Palestinian women through media programs.

2- This study is essential for the Ministry of Information, and the Palestinian Ministry of Women, by reviewing its results and recommendations in order to contribute in achieving improvements.

3- This study is hoped to enrich the Arab Library; in that, it is the first study in Palestinian society that deals with constructing the personal, political, and patriotism of women identity through the lens of Palestine TV - according to the researcher's knowledge - in this field.

4- This study is trying to clarify the essential role of media in defending and protecting our existence.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1- To recognize the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constituting Palestinian women's personal and political identity. Knowing how Palestinian people are estimating the role of official media represented by Palestine TV in constituting the personality, political, and patriotism of women with different variables (gender, educational qualification, age, and place of residence).

2- To identify how Palestine TV can show and intensify Palestinian women's role in society, and to find out if it is really trying to change the stereotype of women.

3- To identify some proposals through which the role of Palestinian women in society can be intensified.

1.6 Study Hypotheses

Main Hypothesis:

Shaping and constructing personal and political identity is directly influenced by media.

Sub-Assumptions

1- Media influences the activation, motivation, and shaping of cultural identity values.

2- People are influenced by the popular heritage that is presented in the media realm.

Media has influenced the values of belonging to the land and history and can

contribute to affecting the personal and political identity of society permanently.

This Study Sought to Test the Following Zero Hypotheses:

1- There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the means of the view of members of Palestinian people about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing women's personal, political, and national identity, due to the gender variable.

2- There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the means of the view of members of Palestinian people about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing women's personal and political identity, due to the educational qualification variable.

3- There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the means of the view of members of Palestinian people about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing women's personal and political identity, due to the age variable.

4- There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the means of the view of members of Palestinian people about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing women's personal and political identity, due to the place of residence variable.

1.7 Study Limitations

This study is focused on members of the Palestinian people; study's population is all members of the Palestinian society who live in Palestine during the year (2020), distributed by their place of residence (cities, villages, camps, others who live outside the homeland). In that sense, this study took place during the second semester of the academic year 2019-2020.

1.8 Methodology

In order to identify the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of Palestinian women - Palestine TV as a model, the researcher used the descriptive method as one of its analytical forms for its suitability to the nature of the study. The researcher also interviewed some experts, who are all related to media and women's issues. The quantitative approach is also used in this study, as recently it is widely used in different disciplines of social sciences. Accordingly, the researcher selected a random sample to represent a number of individuals in order to determine the study population. In addition, statistical processer was used in data analysis for verifying the validity and reliability of the tool. The sample size reached (170) individuals from the study population. The questionnaires distributed in a computerized manner through Google Form, and the number of questionnaires on which the statistical analysis conducted was (156) questionnaires, i.e. (92%) of the study sample. Table (1) shows the distribution of the study sample individuals according to their independent variables:

Table (1): Distribution of study sample individuals according to their independent variables.

Variable	Variable categories	Number	Percentage%
Sex	Male	87	55.8
	Female	69	44.2
	Total	156	100.0
Educational qualification	Secondary & less	23	14.7
	Diploma	23	14.7
	Bachelor	64	41.0
	Postgraduate	46	29.5
	Total	156	100.0
Age	18-less than 30	28	17.9
	30-less than 40	65	41.7
	40 - less than 50	48	30.8
	More than 50	15	9.6
	Total	156	100.0
Place of residence	Village	24	15.4
	City	89	57.1
	Camp	20	12.8
	Abroad	23	14.7
	Total	**156**	**100.0**

1.8.1 Study Tool

In this study, the researcher used two tools:

First: Quantitative Tool (Questionnaire)

The researcher built the questionnaire as a study tool by collecting data related to the subject of the study, after examining the theoretical literature and previous studies related to the subject. The questionnaire consisted of three sections: (See Appendix 8)

The questionnaire consisted of (41) sections distributed in four fields related to the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women - Palestine TV as a model, and these four areas as Table (2) shows:

Table (2): The fields represented in the questionnaire

Field number	Field	Section number
1	Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	10
2	Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	10
3	Promoting the political participation of women	10
4	Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	11
	Total	**41**

The sections designed based on the 5-D Likert scale, and the weights were given as follows:

Rating	Very big	Big	Fair	Poor	Very poor
Relative weight	5 degree	4 degree	3 degree	2 degree	1 degree

Second: Qualitative Tool (Individual Interview)

The researcher used the standardized interview method by posing four open-ended questions, and in this type of interviews the questions are determined in advance, formulated and arranged to serve the purposes of the study. The researcher can make changes and additions to these questions depending on the ensuing discussion with the interviewee. The researcher built the interview tool after reviewing previous studies and educational literature related to the topic. The interview was formulated in the form of questions; the main questions are as follows:

Q1: Do you see the policy pursued by Palestine TV, neutral and credible towards women?

Q2: Does Palestine TV have an effect on building women's personal and political identity?

Q3: Where has Palestinian TV succeeded and where has it failed in influencing women's issues?

1.8.2 Validity

The researcher prepared the study tool in its initial form (as shown in appendix 1). For verification, the researcher submitted the study to a group of arbitrators, who have experience and competence in Palestinian universities; they were three (see appendix 8). The researcher asked the arbitrators to express their opinion on the sections of the study tool to ensure that the contents are valid and suitable for the aims and variables of the study. The researcher had their approval with some modifications in drafting the sections. The percentage of their approval was (80%). Thus, the validity of the questionnaire achieved, and the study tool has become in its final form as in appendix (8).

Second: The apparent validity of the interview tool was verified by exposing the interview questions to some of the questionnaire referees from the faculty of Palestinian universities, and specialists in the field of women studies and media. The wording of some

questions was modified based on their opinions, and thus the validity of the interview tool was achieved.

1.8.3 Reliability:

The reliability coefficient of the study tool used (Cronbach's Alpha) equation, table (3) shows the reliability coefficients of the study tool and its fields:

Table (3): reliability coefficients for the questionnaire fields and the total degree

Field number	Field	Reliability Coefficients
1	Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	0.93
2	Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	0.94
3	Promoting the political participation of women	0.82
4	Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	0.95
	Total degree	**0.94**

It is clear from Table (3) that the reliability coefficients for the questionnaire fields ranged from (0.82-0.95) while the reliability coefficient for the total degree of is (0.94), which is high and able to achieve the purposes of this study.

1.8.4 Study Variables:

The study included the following variables:

First: Independent Variables:

1- **Gender**: It has two levels: (Male, Female).

2- **Educational Qualification**: it has four levels: (secondary and less, diploma, Bachelor, postgraduate studies).

3- **Age Groups**: (18 - less than 30, 30 - less than 40, 40 - less than 50, more than 50 years).

4- **Place of Residence**: it has four levels: (village, city, camp, and abroad).

Second: The Dependent Variable:

The role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women, Palestine TV as a model.

1.8.5 Statistical Processors

The data statistically processed by (SPSS) program using the following statistical processors:

1- Frequencies, percentages, arithmetic means, and standard deviations, to estimate the relative weight of questionnaires items.

2- Independent T-test.

3- One –Way (ANOVA) test.

4- LSD test for post hoc between the arithmetic means.

5- Cronbach Alpha test to calculate the reliability of the questionnaire.

In order to explain the results, the researcher based on the following criterion:

• Arithmetic average (4 or more) indicates a very big role in constructing identity.

• Arithmetic average (3.5-3.99) indicates a big role in constructing identity.

• Arithmetic average (3-3.49) indicates a fair role in constructing identity.

• Arithmetic average (2.5-2.99) indicates a poor role in constructing identity.

• Arithmetic average (less than 2.5) indicates a very poor role in constructing identity.

Chapter 2

Literature Review Part 1

Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies

2.1 Introduction

Bobbi Gentry (2018) writes that "Identity is the story we tell others and ourselves about who we are? Who we were? Who do we expect to be?" However, how does this concept work when we try to understand identity from a political perspective? Political identity is problematic in terms of meaning. Much of the literature on identity acknowledges that political identity is an inherently vague concept that is difficult to measure (Valde, 1996). The concept of political identity can be best understood as an internal individual's political self, (Valde, 1996). The political ego identity is the interest of political issues, the possession of a set of organized beliefs about the political system, and the engagement in political behaviors that support specific beliefs. This definition also takes into account the level of importance of politics in a person's life. If politics matters, these individuals will likely have a highly developed identity status (Gentry, 2018). Accordingly, a person's identity is defined from Peter Weinreich's (2003) point of view as: "It is the sum of the self-interpretation, where it expresses how one interprets oneself in the present the continuity between how one interprets himself as he was in the past and how he interprets one is the same as one aspires to be in the future" (Weinreich & Saunderson, 2003). However, the term identity is commonly used to describe the personal identity or the extraordinary things that make a person unique, which is common among psychologists. Generally, personal identity is a person's unique numerical identity over time. It can be said that a person at one time and a person at another time is the same person, in terms of his essence, what enables a person to be unique, making him the same person at different

times (Olson, 2019). According to John Locke, "Personal Identity is only based on the repetitive act of consciousness" (Nimbalkar, 2011). This may explain to us where the personal identity is formed; it is in our consciousness, that is shaped by untouchable effect, the effect is passed to us through massages, either these massages are seen or heard, in which it actually starts since we begin to understand our parent's talks and behaviors in our childhood, and then by our surroundings, (Nimbalkar, 2011). Identity according to Face work Theory is co-constructed meaning; that a given identity is the result of the interaction between more than one people; so you would have a different identity as a result of communicating with your priest than you would have communicating with your mother or father (Domenici & Littlejohn, 2006). Additionally, people can also have a continuum of identity ranging from personal identity, which is focused on who you are as a person in relation to community identities, or, who you are in larger contexts (Domenici & Littlejohn, 2006). This indicates that identity is heavily context dependent. To that end, one can have both a personal identity which is related to who he/she wants to be as an individual, and, a political identity which is related to a social affiliation. Political identity could be identified as an inner narrative of one's political self, which I think could be considered as one of our multiple identities. These identities can be called according to the context. At the same time, we cannot deny that one's political identity could be changed or affected according to social, political, or psychological circumstances; which means you may belong to this party today, and affiliate with another party tomorrow. In that sense, personal identity could be the unique numerical identity of a person over time, or could change and be modified or developed according to various or unexpected factors. So, what do we need here? Essentially, in order to keep one's own identity without any touchable change, this requires special conditions, as Behan (1979) highlights the necessary and sufficient conditions under which a person can achieve full identification

that will persist through time. Yet, if we aim at constructing or creating our developed, sufficient, creative, strong, and valuable identity, we need to encourage that influence by other strong tools like media which has the ability to achieve that influence (Behan, 1979).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

There is hardly one single media theory that is agreed upon how it works, or its impact. In fact, there are several theories that provide perceptions about how media tools work and their influence. Mostly all clarify the purpose of media messages and how they influence society. Media could predict what may happen in the future, or provide a perception of social or political changes. It is well known that individuals need a long time to change their thinking patterns, or their way of dealing with things. The transformation that occurs to individuals can only be achieved through an exposure to information sources, not just from which they acquire through their life; but also through what media presents. Individuals will adopt some of new ideas or values as they are exposed to various contents. This is for sure differing according to their personality, the social circumstances, the type of media in which they are exposed to, and the political agenda of this media. Actually, this idea is compatible with the bullet or injection theory, or the theory of the magic bullet; which was presented by "Harold Lasswell" in the First World War. It was the first theory of media influence; this theory assumes that media massages and propaganda directly and quickly affect the audience, their attitudes, behavior, and ideas, just like a gun bullet (Makkawi & El-Sayed, 1998). No doubt that the effects of media on the public are strong and direct, however, it has some flaws, such as it did not focus on the importance of audience's feedback, especially when public are exposing to many different media channels, every channel is presenting what it wants according to its agenda. This

theory does not necessarily give a comprehensive picture of media influences, but rather it sheds light on a specific media influence aspect (Hanson, 2009).

Another theory could serve this study is the agenda setting theory, Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw initiated the agenda-setting theory, or prioritization theory, in 1972. This theory assumes a relationship between issues that the mass media pay more attention to, and the increasing public interest. Prioritization means shifting prominence, attention, and moving issues from media agenda to the public's agenda (Scheufele, 2000). Media agenda is the programs it broadcasts, and the topics it offers, so that they appear more important than others and deserve public's attention. In fact, this is another aspect of the cumulative effect of media; it has the power to specify the main issues of the day, and to indicate to the audience what is important in which public opinion is more comfortable. Media is convincing in focusing public's attention on specific events, issues, and matters. People tend to include or exclude media content from their content (McQuail, 2009). This means that the media determine the issues and stories that the audience interested in. Therefore, when media fails to address a particular issue, it becomes marginalized in public's minds (Hanson, 2009).

Al-Hamami and Ahmed (2006) define media as a tool for providing the masses with the most massive possible amount of correct information, or for clarifying facts. The term media is used for all means, technologies, organizations, and institutions, whether commercial or non-profit, public or private, formal or informal, whose mission is to publish and transmit news and various information. Currently, the media role has gone beyond these matters, as it has become to include entertainment, especially after the spread of television and internet. Media is defined as the process in which news, facts, opinions, and ideas are disseminated among people by various available means to persuade, spread awareness, and obtain support (Badawi, 1994). Mass communication refers to the

technology used to communicate with a large group of people in a short time frame, in which it includes publishing various information, through sharing it with the public regardless they are readers, listeners, or viewers (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2004). Indeed, media is the expression of the mentality of masses, their spirit, their tendencies, and their trends at the same time. Mass media spread messages across countries and around the world. The value that each message carries is changed depending on the country social, political, and economic situations. Actually the pinnacle of media was in the twentieth century, and its success was undeniable. The revolution in technology resulted in and hastened media technology that had touched all aspects of life. At any time, we can find news, articles, and opinions on every topic that human existence might be interested in (McQuail, 2009).

2.3 Previous Studies

Many studies and dissertations have discussed media and its effect on human's behavior and personality, especially in the Palestinian context. In this part of the study the researcher will shed light on some of these studies. El Masri study (2016) aimed to determine the extent of official media influence on promoting the Palestinian national identity, "Palestine TV as a case study". In order to achieve the objectives of the study, a descriptive and analytical approach was adopted, where a questionnaire was designed consisting of (49) items, it was distributed to (500) male and female students in order to investigate the influence of the official media on promoting Palestinian national identity, the study found that the influence is not great, and there are no statistically significant differences in the extent of the influence of the official media due to university variable. It was also found that there are statistically significant differences in the extent of the influence of the official media on promoting the Palestinian national identity due to the variable of gender, academic level, college, and place of residence.

Identify the role of Palestinian channels in promoting political awareness of university students in Gaza was conducted by Abu Jazar study (2011), which aimed to investigate Al-Aqsa and Palestine TV channels, the study utilized the descriptive analytical method. The study concluded that there is a large role for Palestinian channels in promoting political awareness among university students in Gaza, and also indicated that (62.9%) of the respondents are keen to watch Al-Aqsa TV, while (37.91%) watch Palestine TV. The study revealed that all respondents watched political programs and news in each of the two channels. There is a belief among the respondents that the two channels constitute a major and important factor in shaping their political awareness. The study recommended avoiding the focus on what disturbs national unity.

Kynake Study (2006) aimed to identify the relationship between political culture and media, the study relied on data from some previous studies, and on interviews for a wide range of young people in Singapore. The study tried to identify how different media tools can influence the cultural and political effectiveness of youth, and how media has great impact on their political participation. The results of the study showed that media influences the political culture of youth, as well as, it influences the formation of their political values, besides it affects the political effectiveness of them.

Another article by Alam (2013) aimed to identify the role of the media in shaping political awareness among young people. The study investigates how online political activities impact political efficacy and real-life political participation among university students in rural Pakistan. In addition, this study also sheds light on the relationship between political activities and political awareness. Online survey of ($N = 200$) male and female undergraduate and graduate students from the University of Narowal/Pakistan was conducted. The results of the study showed that there was a significant impact of the media on increasing the political effectiveness of youth. There were no statistically significant

differences in the sample responses towards the impact of the media on increasing the political effectiveness of young people according to age, monthly income, place of residence, and educational qualification variable. The most prominent recommendations were to provide knowledge that increases their awareness on political issues, and to allow them to express their thoughts and opinions on political issues as responsible citizens.

In his article, *Demanding a Bigger Role: Palestinian Women in Politics and Decision Making* Varsen Aghabekian (2019) has discussed the political participation of Palestinian women in many forms, and how it has been significantly influenced by Palestinian history, in which male dominated society and political system and hindered women's prominence in society and in politics. According to Aghabekian (2019), Palestinian women's participation in social life has been significantly constrained by the male-dominated (patriarchal) culture and the discriminatory social norms prevailing in their society. Aghabekian's paper sheds light on the Palestinian women's involvement in politics and decision making, firstly in pre-Oslo era under non-indigenous Palestinian government, and then in post-Oslo era after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Despite women's political activism, their involvement in negotiations with Israel and internal Palestinian reconciliation efforts was intangible. It also focused on women's role in nation-state building, reconciliation, and peace negotiations. Recommendations were offered for measures to increase future participation.

It appears through the review of the previous studies that the majority of studies dealt with topics related to the role of the media, some of which dealt with cultural identity, others dealt with national and political identity. The researcher considered that all studies came to reach new results; the researcher did not divide the studies into local or international as this science is a unified science for all regions, and all researchers seek to complete the results of their research colleagues. Through the presentation of the previous

studies, we found that the most recent in 2019, and the oldest in 2006. This indicates that media-related topics and their role are important and remain an interesting topic to date. Moreover, this study benefited from previous studies in conceptualizing the theoretical framework, the used methodology, the sample size, the construction of the study tool, and the statistical processes. Thus, they helped the researcher to form the research questions and hypotheses. So this research is an extension to the previous studies that dealt with the role of media in constructing cultural and national identity in particular. This study distinguished from previous studies in that it focused on constructing, developing, and enhancing the personal and political identity of Palestinian women through official media, as we will explore through the next pages.

Chapter Three

Literature Review Part 2

Palestinian Women Quest for Social Justice: The Pursuit of Personal, National and Political Identity

3.1 Introduction

Michelle M. Lazar (2007) theorizes that "A feminist political critique of gendered social practices and relations is aimed ultimately at effecting social transformation." Women's access to justice is not a new life style, since the very beginnings women have struggled for it. The quest for social justice and the pursuit of personal, national and political identity were and still women's goal. In fact, the development of a feminist framework that is looking forward to equality was and still a thorny process. In this part of the study, I will expose and discuss the three different conditions Palestinian woman was and still living, as well as, her pursuit for independent identity during the past decades till the present time. Moreover, I will highlight her suffering, her challenge, and her uniqueness. But, the question that we need to raise: can social justice be achieved? Before searching for an answer, let's define the meaning of social justice. Social justice can be defined as equality in many means of life: in power, resources, and obligations to all people in society, regardless of age, gender, race, ethnicity, ability status, sexual orientation, and religious background (Van den Bos, 2003). In one word, its fairness, this is the dream of many on this plant. Everybody needs equal access and equal opportunities. Such values are essential to every society looking forward to the foundations of democratic and egalitarian society (Sue 2001). The quest for social justice is the need for everyone, but, could it be a utopian dream? What are the hurdles that prevent Palestinian women from fulfilling their personal, political, and national aspirations? Is their quest achievable amidst an unfinished and unsuccessful Arab Spring and a bitter internal political reality? I

think every dream can come true if we work in the right way to achieve. Our story will start from here; our story is the story of Palestinian woman who tried and is trying hard in order to make her dream come true. Palestinian woman contributed in making her history, just as history contributed in making her. She has proved her resilience through her constant endeavor to overcome difficulties, she always knows -how to adapt in order to survive.

3.2 Historical Overview

The status of women in the Arab world and in third world countries is very similar to Palestinian women in many situations; such as in the political, the economic and the social realms. Most importantly, they share similar circumstances in the context of oppression, marginalization, subordination, and many other authoritarian practices. The problems that accompanied the era of colonialism, and later the building of the Arab sovereign state and the obstacles to development, were largely the same between various Arab countries and Palestine. Yet, Palestine is still under the Israeli occupation. Perhaps the current challenges that women are facing in the Arab region are the most difficult despite the many changes happened globally politically, economically and socially. The current situation of the Arab region is incomprehensible. We find women more suffering because they face what affects their daily lives directly, and this is a result of inherited customs and traditions. There are also political challenges, which are evident in their low representation in legislative and municipal councils. Plus, they also face challenges in highlighting their voice and presence in the media. Perhaps the biggest challenge for them is the fear of going backwards due to the opposite force sweeping through Arab societies. But, what hinders women from moving forward? And, why such reality not advancing in light of the technological and communicational revolution that the world is witnessing, in

the light of many rights that have been given to women, and in the light of the many institutions that existed to take care of them and their rights? In fact, this is the uncomprehending situation we drowned in.

The reasons are many and varied, starting from the limited slow development that Arab societies are still experiencing. This situation contributed to poor educational opportunities, high rate of illiteracy among women, denial to work outside the home, and a lack of actual participation in economic production. Of course this led to the weakness of their participation in public political action through political parties or movements. All of these factors reinforce the state of losing the sense of self independent, or the so-called alienation.

The issue of Palestinian woman has witnessed many paradoxes as a result of the sharp overlap between considerations that concern women, which affect their lives and behavior, and the limits of their role and influence. There are also special considerations related to occupation, the absence of the state, the experience of asylum, revolution, and popular resistance. All these considerations have produced multiple roles for Palestinian women, and granting them a special identity, identity that is not perfect or complete because of the permanent conflict they deal with or affected by. The status of Palestinian woman is unique; unique in its diversity due to the political and social realities that were imposed on her. Therefore, three sociopolitical forms were established: the woman in her homeland Palestine, but now holds the Israeli nationality; she is a citizen of a country that occupied her homeland. The second: Women in the Diaspora, after the catastrophe of 1948, they are refugees in a host country, their legal status under the jurisdiction of the United Nations or outside this classification. They belong to the host country, considering that the Diaspora is witnessing a sharp difference between one host country and another according to the laws of those countries and the social, economic and cultural reality. The

third type: Palestinian women in The West Bank and the Gaza Strip are legally citizens of the National Authority, yet, the Israeli occupation is still holding on to all essential issues of national sovereignty. This is without neglecting the nature of the geographical division between the West Bank and Gaza, as well as, political division. Taking into consideration that refugee community divides the Palestinian citizens in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between urban residents and camp residents. The separation of Palestinian communities from each other and the difficulty of communicating even within one country create a complex situation, in which all the entire Palestinian people are suffer. This makes women's issues really complicated, especially in the existence of systematic policies of marginalization, closure, and siege.

The Palestinian woman who did not leave her homeland in 1948, and lived until 1960s under the Israeli military rule, like 90% of Palestinian, who lost their place of living, this woman displaced from her homeland to other places, she marginalized like the entire national minority, she was also subjected to gender discrimination as a female within the Israeli and Palestinian societies, where the male mentality prevails in Israel as well without neglecting that Israeli society is a military society. Palestinian women in Israel have been also subjected to discrimination as a female within their Palestinian community, which is considered as a suburban community; in which 95% of Palestinians live in the countryside, therefore, we now find two contradictory phenomena in Palestinian society in Israel . . . the phenomenon of participation in municipal and parliamentary elections, and the phenomenon of low representation in political participation. Whether at the municipal level, parliament, or party participation, this makes the conclusion that, Palestinian women in Israel are closer to an electoral reservoir, an attached voice, they subordinate to men, especially with the low real participation in policymaking, and this makes her role difficult in defending her identity, and translating her struggle into concrete political facts.

In refuge department, the matter is more complicated according to the laws that are applied to Palestinian women in host countries. This resulted variable levels of integration and separation in these societies, for example, refugees in Jordan and Syria are representing a clear indication in terms of the high rate of integration to citizenship, but Palestinian refugee in Lebanon are indicating a high level of isolation, besides, their societal and cultural situation are much harder. Palestinian women in refugee camps in Lebanon have paid many taxes, the tax of Palestinian armed revolution, the civil war tax, the tax of the Israeli invasion of 1982, and the camp war tax, as well as, the tax on the laws of isolation and marginalization before 1969. Although they are still under this situation, they continue to pay the tax of discrimination due to the basis of sex within their community in camps. The problem increases as the surrounding society turns towards extremism in all its forms. Likewise, today, Palestinian refugee women in Syria pay double taxes due to the policies of siege, brutal repression, and explosions. It is just a new Nakba (Catastrophe), no less than the Palestinian Nakba of 1948.

For the first time, legislations and laws were produced after the establishment of Palestinian self-government authority, which constituted a good ground for participation and change. The general outcome of the legislation is positive and fair with regard to rights, citizenship, legal personality, social justice and equality. To some extent, this could be touchable in many fields like work, education and jobs. The matter now depends on how these laws are applied and enforced in society, as these laws could collide with the society culture and the level of acceptance. Here, it is imperative to show that the level of illiteracy of Palestinian women has halved in the light of the National Authority, as well as, high levels of protection for mothers and children are available. There are equivalent educational rates for females and males, in addition to the progression of political participation rates in municipalities, village councils, and parliament. However, this

remarkable progress does not eliminate the basic problems, and does not mean that the feminist situation is in the best condition. The scale is only relative, and is related to the general societal situation in certain areas, such as education, health, and legal status. Whereas the law is suspended in some aspects related to women such as honor crimes, cases of harassment, and others. In fact, the old laws still persist, such as Jordanian Personal Status Law of 1976, which is applied in The West Bank, and Family Rights Law of 1954, that is applied in Gaza Strip.

There is no doubt that the journey is long for Palestinian women. The reality may be difficult and frustrating in some aspects, but the will to challenge is the qualities of women in general and Palestinian women in particular. The history of dispossession, searching for refuge, and nation building have forced Palestinian women to enter the resistance and nation-building movements over the past decades, and have stimulated their consciousness and awareness of how their political activism affects their lives as women in the context of patriarchy (Peteet, 1986).

Since the beginning of crystallization of the Palestinian identity, Palestinian women participate in the battle of social and political independence through different formations, events, activities, positions and roles, which construct the foundations of steadfastness through their direct and indirect contribution to the liberation struggle. The differentiated work of Palestinian women has begun through the charitable societies, which was the first core for them to integrate into life issues. They were able to express themselves through demonstrations, petitions, and various methods of protest, even before the Zionist aggression. Meaning that, Palestinian women have strongly contributed in the formation of Palestinian society, and one of the most important props of the constituents of society and civic life in Palestine, even decades before the Nakba. For example, a special prominent role of Palestinian women began since the first women's political activity in1893 at the Al

Afula demonstration, where women protested against the establishment of the first Jewish settlement at that time. In 1920, they participated in national demonstrations to protest the issuance of Balfour Declaration, and the policy of the British Mandate which encouraged Zionist immigration to Palestine[1]. Al-Buraq battle in 1929, constituted a turning point in Palestinian women's life, as they participated strongly in this popular battle, as 9 women were killed by the bullets of the British army. These posts were followed by more mature and organized participation such as: the establishment of the first Palestinian Women's Union, and the formation of a women's delegation in order to meet the High Commissioner Britain in 1929. At the same year they held the first women's conference in Jerusalem (Shafiq, 1985).

Women's maturity was expressed in an organizational form, so that, elite and politicians had the awareness of this role. The trend was strongly directed towards providing an opportunity for women's organizations. During the period from 1948 to 1967, women's charitable institutions such as associations, social care centers, workshops and others, were active in providing help to distressed families, in addition to prepare women and qualify them professionally. Women's struggles during this period were crowned with the establishment of the General Union of Palestinian Women, which was later one of the pillars of PLO in 1965. It was a popular women's organization that carried out its social and political role in the occupied territories and the Diaspora. In fact, this progress was an indication for their political awareness and liberation struggle. Women moved ahead through community institutions. Moreover, the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964 provided a political alternative, as it constituted a reference for the Palestinian national movement in which the feminist movement grew, as well as, it created homogeneity with the strategy of the PLO which aimed to politicize the masses and thrust

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[1] Letter to the Administrator, O.E.T.A, from Arab Women in the North, 23 March 1920, Israel State Archives, RG 2 30/1.

them into the national struggle. Despite their political and educational progress, and despite the specificity of the catastrophe that hit the Palestinian society as a whole and caused a refugee status, parties and organizations did not consider the importance of their political role. Women did not occupy any mentioned leadership roles. Women's institutions were limited to social activity; they did not have any influential political activities. The socioeconomic political cultural context and practices have shaped Palestinian women's engagement, and have revealed possibilities and limitations for women. They were part of groups, and individuals in a larger Political body within or outside the political parties. Actually, they had an increasing political and feminist consciousness (Joseph, 1986).

After Arab defeat in 1967, a remarkable development has been emerged in their role through Palestinian liberation movement, as well as, in the economic, social, political and cultural contexts; Palestinian women have been actively involved in public work. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 was a major turning point in encouraging the Palestinian women's movement towards mass mobilization and further political activism. They were included in the grassroots non-governmental women's organizations; they were confronting occupation with all forms of resistance (Cohen 1995). This period witnessed a remarkable increase in the enrollment of women in political parties and organizations. Women were mobilizing within the framework of the political and military struggle, as well as, women's associations, centers, and institutions have been increased. Moreover, they were carrying out the tasks of supporting the struggle of the popular movement; they were working on mass women's mobilization in demonstrations and protests. By the end of 1967, there were 68 Palestinian women associations working in philanthropy and social work (Samaroo, 2018). Women participated in battles against the occupation in homeland and abroad, like in the Battle of Dignity and the invasion of

southern Lebanon in 1978, and the Israeli siege of Beirut, as well as the invasion of Lebanon 1981-1982.

General Union of Women had a role in highlighting the social implications, it was the first union organization to which Palestinian women joined, and a complement to Palestine Liberation Organization where women held many media and administrative positions. Women had contributions in research centers and security services of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Their political social work was taking place, the influence of women had increased as thousands of men were imprisoned or exiled (Aziza, 2017). This role increased significantly during the popular uprising in 1987, where the features of women's political participation varied in different forms of struggle, in military, societal work, and economic. This was associated with the high rates of education in various stages including university. Statistics show that 7% of the Palestinians who were killed during the period between 1987 and 1997 were women, and 9% of the injured were women. In 1996, forty women were among the Palestinian prisoners who remained in detention in Israeli jails (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 1998).

In addition to the General Union of Women, women have participated in professional organizations, such as the General Union of Palestinian Artists, the General Union of Palestinian Teachers, the Writers' Union, and professional unions. On the other hand, she was excluded in some unions; she was not present in the Palestinian Union of Palestinian Women Workers or in the Engineers Union, although one of the Palestinian feminists was a member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Jurists. The main feature that prevails over all of these unions is their lack of serious expanding in the base of women's affiliation, or setting them up special programs, they were not represented in their executive structure, and if that happened, it would be symbolic. In 1983 there were four women's frameworks representing four political parties. These parties became an

entry point for organizing women in political frameworks which intended to increase their national effectiveness and their participation. In 1987 the number of frameworks became six, as they were providing services in cities and villages to the Palestinian public.

The peace process and the arrival of the Palestinian National Authority in 1994 constituted an important turning point in the life of the Palestinian people. Women tried to allocate more space within the social and political map, sometimes they succeeded and sometimes they failed. During the Oslo Process, women were involved in the backstage of formal negotiations, acting as mid-level negotiators, professional, legal advisors, spokeswomen, and secretaries (Aharoni, 2011). Three women were part of the higher-level delegation of the Madrid Peace Conference: Hanan Ashrawi, Zahira Kamal and Suad Ameri. Because they were residents of East Jerusalem, Israel vetoed their presence at the negotiating table. Ashrawi became the spokesperson and was shortly known worldwide (Sharoni, 2012), while Kamal was appointed as the first minister of ministry of women affairs (MOWA). After the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), and after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, activists' women during the first Intifada were frustrated, as they were losing their leadership roles to predominantly male politicians, they inevitably pushed aside through the new structures created by the PNA (Hawari, 2019). As the PLO program was replaced by the Oslo program, the matter began to take a different turn at Palestinian-Israeli level.

3.3 Conclusion

Many factors affected the Palestinian Feminist Movement such as the incompleteness of this project and the obsession of some political parties and social formations to engage and influence it. Moreover, the division of the Palestinian political community with those who support and others who were against it. Actually, the

Palestinian authority was and still shackled by conditions of transitional agreements with Israel, international and regional restrictions, as well as, the inaction of the social base, and the suppression of popular and national movements. All this negatively affected the priorities of the feminist movement in Palestine, where women found themselves in confusion between work according to the social program or the national program. Through the masculinity of political parties and the absence of democracy, it was hard for Palestinian women to succeed in shaping these dialectical relations. Undoubtedly, socioeconomic factors, male-domination and the politics of authoritarianism pose obstacles to women's prominence in society (Shalaby, 2016). Men are further advantaged by their social capital and homo sociality, which offer them resources and instruments unavailable to women (Benstead, 2013).

Despite all these complications, Palestinian women have kept pace with the development at the regional and the international levels, especially in advocating women's rights, she is fighting against the occupier who hinders the political participation of society as a whole, and she is preserving her political participation despite the negative cultural heritage that is reproduced by society itself. For example, the participation of Palestinian women in the legislative elections held on January 20, 1996, is considered the most modern form of political participation; it can be seen as an indicator of an increased political activity and social status of Palestinian women. The number of registered women for the elections was 495,839, compared with 517,396 male voters out of 1,013,235, i.e. 49% women versus 51% men up to December 27, 1995 (Jad, 1996, p. 19-25). This indicated the growing awareness of women by insuring on the importance of their presence in the decision-making process.

Women did not stop to develop goals and visions compatible with the new changes that feminism was going through. There are many Palestinian women who wrote honorable

pages in our history, many participated in various fields since the beginning of the twentieth century. They all contributed in recording the narrative of struggle. They worked hard to deliver their noble message, to document our suffering, and to get rid of occupation, as well as, to relieve the pain and suffer of poor and miserable classes. They became a source of inspiration. Among the most prominent pioneering women who should not be neglected: In the press: Sadhij Nassar, Mary Shehadeh, and Fayza Abdel Majid. In fine art: Zulfa Al-Saadi, Sophie Halaby, and Karima Abboud. In literature: Kulthum Odeh, Anbarah Salam al-Khalidi, Asma Toby, Fadwa Toukan, Samira Azzam, and Najwa Kawar. In the women's movement: Zulekha Al-Shehabi, Andaleeb Al-Amad, and Issam Al-Husseini. And in constructing charitable educational institutions: Nabiha Nasir, Elizabeth Nasir, and Hind Taher Al Husseini.

Chapter Four

Literature Review Part 3

Journey of Palestinian Women in the Official Media: Reflections, Participation, Representation

4.1 Introduction

Our time is the time of power and force; it is not the old power of wars and weapons. In fact, the new power is the power of media, which can create and achieve every demand we and the other want. Besides, the power of internet which makes everything easier, all ideas, solutions, thoughts, needs, and many other things are available. The development of technology had a tremendous impact on society, which definitely caused rapid changes. The media is the basis of the contemporary world. We get information quickly and daily from media. At any time, we can find news, articles, and opinions on every topic that human existence might be interested in (Mc Quail, 2009). Through the coming lines I will shed light on the importance of the media role in shaping the lives and ideas of individuals in general and Palestinian women in particular. As well as, I will try to find answers to the following questions. To what extent has the media power influenced the creation of an independent entity for Palestinian women, and has it really contributed to their presence, to their personal and political identity. Has media power reached to the required extent to fulfill the requirements of Palestinian women? To what extent has the media succeeded in showing the social and political contribution of women? Firstly, let us discuss how this role influencing identities in general.

We are daily exposed to massive amounts of information, this much information can mislead us. People depend on media to make decisions about important matters, but as we live in a mediating world that affects cultural production and the formation of identity,

our decisions and ideas are not independent. The nature of political, economical, and social life has changed. In times of rapid political change, the media's superpower is in doubt. However, the media can bring up specific issues to the minds of the public; for example, it can influence the political judgment of the audience. According to Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw who initiated the agenda-setting theory, or prioritization theory, in 1972, there is a great relationship between issues that the mass media pay more attention to, and the increasing public interest. Prioritization means shifting prominence, attention, and moving issues from the media agenda to the public's agenda (Scheufele, 2000). When Marshall McLuhan wrote, "The medium is the message," he meant to emphasize the implications of any new technology (or medium) beyond the specific context of its use (or content of its message). The import of any medium inevitably goes beyond its contents to its effects on the work in which it is embedded. This message can be summarized, according to McLuhan and his son Eric, in four "media laws": each new technology, or "extension of man," 1) intensifies or enhances something in the world, 2) makes something else obsolete, 3) retrieves some attribute of the past, and 4) at its extreme, reverses into a caricature of itself (McLuhan and McLuhan 1988). For McLuhan, it was the medium itself that shaped and controlled "the scale and form of human association and action" (McLuhan, 1964). Taking the movie as an example, he argued that the way this medium played with conceptions of speed and time transformed "the world of sequence and connections into the world of creative configuration and structure" Therefore, the message of the movie medium is this transition from "lineal connections" to "configurations" (McLuhan, 1964).

Media has the power to identify the main issues of the day and to indicate what is "important" In that sense, media has the ability in affecting our personal, political and cultural identity, which means that we can benefit from this power in creating and

constructing our social needs, including social justice. Knowledge development is directly affected by communication. It is also very contextual, Yerby points out that "Our identity as persons, the stories we tell as we negotiate diverse situations, and what counts as knowledge - including our knowledge and understanding of communication - are systemically embedded in a vast web of ever-changing social and historical contexts" (Yerby, 1995). When we talk about communication, we indeed are taking about media, the greatest communicational tool in our time in all its forms. But in terms of consequences, the question remains: How do people use communication to negotiate personal and political identities?

4.2 Media and Identity

A number of authors emphasize the role of mass media in the identity formation process. Media is also labeled as the "frontier guards of identity "(Cohen, 1994 in Schneeberger, 2009). Smith argues that: "nations must have a measure of common culture and a civic ideology" which can be gained while involving in a public education system and consuming mass media (Smith, 1991). The media chose the items that are delivered to the consumers, "... [They] have given us the words to speak and ideas to utter." Everyday realities are being framed by the media narratives and the shared source of information helps the nation to maintain common sense (Silverstone, 1999). Sjursen (2006) highlights the contribution of the media to national identity construction process and states, "identities ... are shaped and reshaped through communicative processes" (cited in Schneeberger, 2009, p. 86). Schneeberger argues that, media has a significant part in defining our view of the universe," how we see ourselves in relation to this world and how we see others" (Schneeberger 2009, p. 87). In the twenty-first century, we live in some overloaded media surroundings, as we are surrounded by big contents of different

information and ideas; advertisements, messages, and lots of propaganda kinds which aim to push through. Based on established rhetorical principles, these persuasive techniques and the psychology behind them became more complicated during the 'Age of Persuasion', a century of applied research in advertising, advocacy, public relations, mass entertainment, and social control (Soules, 2015). The media, the convincing, the promotion, and the propaganda guide the audience through many types of convincing tools and practices. Media always seek in public's interest in order to address its goal, what do they speak, what do they see, what do they are interested in, what movies they watch, or what is the trend of today. This definition corresponds well in this study where propaganda has a tremendous influence on our persuasion; for example, when dealing with a specific topic or a specific issue that concerns Palestinian women or influencing their culture or personal identity, an informational and advertising material is pumped. For example, when dealing with the issue of violence against women, or the right of women in inheritance, we find that there is a focused promotional material everywhere on this topic. Whether propaganda has a positive or negative impact on society and culture, that effect depends on the motives of those who use it.

4.3 Palestinian Woman and Media

Palestinian media in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip are trying to gain their audiences' trust by providing a space for them to express their opinions, and freely express their daily concerns. It searches for solutions related to their social and economic problems. Gaining audience confidence is greatly important, because it helps in building strong relationships between the media and their audiences, and it ensures sustainability in an environment of intense competition to achieve the audience's needs. For example, local media are dealing with issues of real importance to the Palestinian people. Most local radio

stations dedicate their morning programs to interact with their audience, and hearing their comments or complaints. After that, the radio station staff responds immediately, or the next day by contacting the relevant officials to address the issue of concern. Many calls are received daily from the public, who are seeking to express their social, economic, and living problems. This is an indication that the public sees local media as a mean of communicating tool, which exposes their point of view. Variety magazine is an example of a popular program that has been broadcasted on Ajyal Radio for more than 12 years to address Palestinian public's daily concerns, and has many listeners in Palestine.

Despite the local radio programs' success, they may not necessarily appear to be much confidence tool in the media. For example, Khaled Abu Aker, who is the general manager of the *Internet for Arab Media (Amin)*, believes that there is a challenge in finding ways to build such trust. One of the methods he suggests is through journalistic investigations into community problems in order to achieve results and solutions. He believes that the absence of investigative journalism in the country leads the Palestinians to distrust local media. From Abu Aker's perspective: marginalized villages and remote areas are incredibly difficult to be accessed by media, such as helping low-income family. Another reason is given by Abu Aker which make people distrust media, is the weakness of the role of media censors in holding accountable those in positions of authority. (Abu Aker, 2014). On the other side, we cannot deny that the Palestinian press succeeded, to a large extent, in conveying the voice of the Palestinian people and their concerns, as well as, preserving their identity and presenting their cause to the world. The Palestinian press worked to change the false image that the Israeli occupation promotes about Palestinian people. Furthermore, it turned Palestinian's case into a militant one by revealing the falsity, and proving to the world that we are still here. As a result, the Palestinian cause

gained an international support, and become one of the most important causes in the Middle East. It may be the one which controls other situations in the Middle East area.

One of the most influential media tools is television. Television is distinguished from other media in that it combines sound and image, and accordingly becomes very important. It is one of media institutions that are capable of crystallizing ideas, influencing them, and changing individual and society's behavior patterns. Because of this, democratic media experts believe that television must strive to achieve a set of goals, the most important of which is that television programs, which faithfully reflect various issues, problems, and the concerns of society. Plus, television works to convey and express different and competing views, that is, without bias, and without any favoritism to authority or the ruling parties. Under the guidance of these two main goals, the need of establishing official media was a necessity. In that sense, and through the following pages, we will discover if Palestine TV succeeded in achieving these goals, and does it contribute in constructing and preserving personal and political Palestinian identity, especially Palestinian women's identity?

4.3.1 The Journey of Palestinian Women in the Official Palestinian Media Content

As in some parts of the world, women in Palestine are nearly invisible in news reports about peace, conflict, and security. Women make up half of the Palestinian population, yet they are still under-represented in the media. Media messages often perpetuate negative and biased stereotypes about women, and usually highlight their exposure to abuse, rather than focusing on their unique abilities and contributions in society. Through a project entitled "*Women in Palestinian Media*," and with funding support from the World Association of Christian Communication's WACC, the Association for Women Development and Media (TAM) seeks to increase women's role

on issues related to peace, conflict, and security. The project aimed to promote a fair and balanced image of women in media using four strategies: awareness-raising, media monitoring research, advocacy and mobilization, plus, disseminating research at the national level. The project grew out of TAM's work, as TAM is the Palestinian coordinator for the Global Media Monitoring Project (Macharia, 2015). TAM has successfully conducted training for media students about Palestinian legal frameworks related to women's rights, and provided them with knowledge about women's position in media. The project also interested in teaching students how to document stories using visual, audio, electronic, and printed media. TAM activists hoped to enhance the project results, and to raise the role of women in leadership and decision-making in Palestinian media. Ultimately, the project helped in creating more opportunities for media professionals to challenge in prevailing gender inequality, and in increasing media coverage for women's issues; moreover, the project inspired female journalists to take on leadership and decision-making roles (see appendix 7). In fact, Palestinian women suffer from lack representation in local male-dominated media, in which advocacy campaigns for gender and women's rights will tend to fail without publicizing women's issues and stories, TAM project supports social change, through enhancing Palestinian women's rights and activists' contribution. In fact, this project enhances Palestinian women's representation in local media. As a result, this influential role for women in media will have a strong effect on women's issues to come over the surface, and to get their voice up.

Panos Paris Institute and the Mediterranean Observatory of Communications noted that women are "seldom seen and heard as news talkers," and their views are rarely sought during evening news programs on Palestine's national radio. An analysis took place in May 2010 observed that women made up only 7.4% of all guests speakers invited to appear on the evening news on Palestine TV (Panos Paris Institute, 2012). However, one can observe

media workers in the field where women often occupy positions such as press reporters, editors, and broadcasters.

Morning programs are presented on major Palestinian local radio stations and official radio, as well as, television stations. In past years, there has been an increase in women's media work, as photojournalists or specializing in audio, video, and multimedia lighting technologies at television stations and local radio stations in the West Bank. Also, the Mediterranean Communication Observatory and Panos noted that there is no mechanism for monitoring content in Palestine TV; programs are more dependent on individual decisions of the administration than on any clearly stated policy regarding public service and requirements (Panos Paris Institute, 2012).

According to a survey conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics on International Women's Day in 2012, only 10% of media editors-in-chief in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are women. This means that Palestinian women were facing few opportunities to take up positions in decision-making in Palestinian media organizations. Recently, female journalists' opportunities to occupy high-ranking positions are becoming higher. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics report *Women and men in Palestine issues and statistics*, issued in December 2018, 29.3% of the journalists registered in the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate are women compared to 70.7% of males, 33.3% of editors-in-chief in the West Bank are women, compared to 66.7% of males. In that sense, it is essential to create opportunities for women who generally do not have the potential to have positions such as editors-in-chief, or directors in media organizations in order to come over all challenges which prevent them from getting their voices up, as well as making that change in society.

According to Palestinian women's rights activist and gender specialist Suheir Azzouni, women influence gender issues through their participation in the media,

especially through written publications. Some women's organizations have their own newspapers, such as *Sawt al-Nisa*, published by the Technical Committee for Women's Affairs in Ramallah, *Al-Ghaida* (Beautiful Woman) newspaper, published by the Center for Women's Affairs in Gaza, and *Yanabea*, published by the Palestinian Working Women Society for Development. Some also have radio shows like *Did Al-Samt* (Against Silence) and *Bi-Ouyoon Al-Nisa* (Through Women's Eyes), Azzouni asserts that despite these achievements, many media outlets continue to discriminate women, and promote traditional gender roles that are inconsistent with gender equality. Azzouni also mentioned that *Al-Quds* newspaper, the most widespread newspaper in the Palestinian Territories, portrays women stereotypically, most articles related to women publish religious issues (UNESCO's media development indicators, 2014, p.79).

Between 14 and 27 May 2010, the Panos Institute and the Mediterranean Communications Observatory analyzed 23 media magazines on Palestine TV. The study confirmed that most programs dealt with political issues, while the programs on economics, health, religion, children, and youth are "completely absent". According to the study, "the political presentations mostly dealt with the Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation, at the expense of other pressing national issues related to the daily life of Palestinians" (Panos Paris Institute, 2012).

Women's representation in the media has taken seriously by TAM organization, which specializes in promoting women's rights, TAM highlighted several flaws in the way women are portrayed in media content. According to TAM, women are often stereotypically presented as victims. They are also used as a promotional tool to sell merchandise, and their bodies are exposed for this purpose (see appendix 7). A similar opinion was mentioned by Nisreen Awwad, who is a radio presenter on *Qahwa Mazbout* program on Nisa '96 FM Radio (the first female radio station in the Middle East), where

Palestinian media institutions did not address or discuss issues related to women's freedom and rights in depth. Instead, women's issues are often addressed for consumption purposes (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). *Filastiniat*, is another non-governmental organization interested in women's rights. It believes that women are underrepresented. The organization challenges this representation by focusing on marginalized women, it also develops and implements a media strategy to address negative cultural and social heritage about women's issues. In fact, media has improved recently, and has become more challengeable than before; many sensitive issuers are now being discussed and addressed by local media. The journalist Nahid Abu Taima, who specializes in gender and media, believes that there is a modest progress in the media's approach for addressing women's issues. For example, she stated that, while it was prohibited to cover "honor killings" against women, the media today is more willing to discuss this topic. Cases that were previously considered "unworthy of investigation" are now receiving media attention. However, Abu Taima believes that, the critical issue of feminist is still being dealt superficially (Ma'an News, 2014).

In general, media sends messages that reinforce the cultural values of society. Perhaps these values are most evident in the celebrities and the roles they embrace. When comparing the Palestinian women's image in the Palestinian media, we find a prominent role for women in the Palestinian media, such as fighters, captives, immigrants, and martyrs, even actresses, directors, and writers. Sameha Khalil, Dalal al-Maghribi, Ahed Tamimi, Khaleda Jarrar, and others represent an image of the national and cultural identity of Palestinian women. Celebrities can also reinforce cultural identity, they can send out several different messages about cultural values. They can promote truth and courage, and provide a concrete example of abstract cultural values.

Whether propaganda has a positive or negative impact on society structure and formation, its effect depends on the motives of those who use it. Although some view the content broadcasted by the Palestinian Public Broadcasting Corporation as biased in favor of the Palestinian Authority's political position, Palestine TV has recently devoted more time to discuss matters of concern to society in order to reach new audiences, as by concentrating on special programs that deal with issues affecting Palestinian youth. However, no significant change can yet be seen in radio or television programming, Nibal Thawabteh, director of the Media Development Center at Birzeit University, agrees that the Palestinian media fails to address societal issues and prioritize political issues. Moreover, everyday concerns that may affect societal change, such as those related to education or health, are not addressed. Thawabteh argues that, " There is no reflection on strengthening and constructing woman's political and personal identity, there is a failure in specialized media, there are public media, there are no specialists in the preparatory and informational side to enhance this role" (see appendix 6). According to Thawabteh, We did not reach the required percentage or the required effort in the production of official media, because of the inefficiency of those behind the content and the lack of vision, the content appears scratched or deficient, and it is not supportive as it has a kind of insult, underestimation and recklessness, due to the lack of knowledge abundance of media, and the lack of specialization. Therefore, an army of female media and media professionals must be created, who have the ability to deliver the message correctly and specialize in gender. She thinks that the human cadre must be strengthened in this aspect, and there must be an official decision with specialized media, so that there should be more than 3 weekly programs related to gender, besides the emergence of women should be intensified daily through the evening news programs, so that a woman next to the guests, as we have many Palestinian women who are experts in all fields (see appendix 6). Mrs. Amal Hamad,

Minister of Women's Affairs, believes that Palestine TV has tried in all circumstances to form a state of balance, but the problem is not related to it directly, the problem is in the stereotype and masculinity of society, which is embodied in the workers of the institution. According to Hamad, there is a difference between the institution's vision and its employee's attitude, they should translate women's issues, and form a vision of social justice. In that sense, we must focus on workers within the institution with regard to gender issues and concepts of equality; therefore, work is futile if people in the institution do not have this faith in women's issues. Hamad thinks that this loophole exists in most state institutions, including Palestine TV. Hamad believes that, regarding the national identity, woman may have surpassed the man, she has proved her role and it was socially acceptable. Actually, her national role in resisting the occupation was so clear, whether as a supporter, advocate, a martyr, or a captive. There is an enhancement for her role in all fields, especially after the existing of Palestinian Authority. Her national role was parallel to her social role, as well; there was an acceptance for the setting legislation and policies. But, after the so-called Arab Spring, the Arabic extremism and regional extremism became so clear towards more radicalism and Islamism. Islam has been exploited to serve political party agendas in order to serve their interests. According to Hamad, this is the reason for a totalitarian decline, which is not only here, as well as, the poverty which has spread in society and had a role in increasing extremism in conjunction with an extremist Islamic ideology. Hamad thinks that women who pay the price; they are the most unemployed and the poorest. In that sense, the official media organization did not realize this situation, and did not try to make the required qualitative transformation; it just tried to conform to the general context away from the social context, and focused only on the political role as a result of our battle with the occupation. This was of course at the expense of women's social and cultural role, accordingly, this strengthened extremism more. On the other

important side, even people who believe in women's issues need to organize their accumulated ideas and their mechanism in order to be able to provide organized media content. Media content needs to be systematic, it has not worked sufficiently to confront this extremism that invades society, official media must raise women's issues, it is not a taboo that is forbidden to address, official media did not realize and did not work seriously to confront this danger, there is a deficiency in the media establishment and its workers, in fact there is a lack of awareness of this seriousness moment, in addition to, a lack of faith in the true role of women (see appendix 3).

Although official media may fail in convening and strengthening the role of women, or in constructing her identity, other unofficial constitutions succeeded in that mission. In an interview with Soheir Farraj, the director of *Women Media and Development institution*, and by referring to her experience working on Tam Institution, Farraj states that:

> We are media professionals, so we decided to form a complete change of the traditional and stereotypical image of women in the media, and the unrealistic image of women. We were able to make an impact. Although change is a long-term road, we have trained many male and female media figures, indeed the attitudes of some of them have changed. We brought about a change in the local media production, and we are still continuing, we are producing media to change this stereotype about women. We were also part of the curriculum development process at Birzeit University to be sensitive, not racist, and discriminatory towards gender, so here was the challenge, because media colleges do not accept re-reading journalistic and media curricula, but rather agree to an additional one. We worked with the women themselves to find out how to present themselves in the media, and

how to prepare themselves, plus, how to address the media in a simple,

clear, effective and accurate way"(see appendix 7).

4.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the challenge of such private institutions is great, and makes a difference, as this creation of professional media figures has the power to make a change in our society. There should be attempts to search for female experts specializing in different fields to speak in media. For me, as a director in Palestine TV, I think, there is a big exclusion in political issues; there is not enough presence for women to talk about political, economic, or scientific research issues. Women are restricted in talking about women's issues, issues of raising children, or women's health issues. Among those feminists who have spoken out for the need to refuse being victims is Dworkin. She writes that women should have solid "refusal to be a victim." What Dworkin implies here and has in mind is that women should be nonviolent, a matter of "repudiating our programmed submissive behaviors" (Dworkin 1976). I think we need to focus on the presence of women in all sectors, such as engineering, infrastructure, protection or security; women should make a decision in producing media materials, and develop a media plan that appears clearly on the screen. In fact, if we focus on such sectors on media, the change will be very touchable in women's identity, and this effect will reach very great results in achieving women's dream.

Chapter Five

Results of the Study

This study aims to identify the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity, Palestine TV as a model. It also aims to identify the role of some variables such as gender, educational qualification, age, and place of residence. In this part of the study I will explore our results according to the followed procedure.

5.1 Results Related to the Main Study Question:

What is the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women - Palestine TV as a model?

Table (4): Arithmetic averages and standard deviations for the fields of the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women - Palestine TV as a model (N = 156).

Number	Order	Field	Degree	Arithmetic Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	2	Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	High	3.7314	0.66583
2.	1	Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	High	3.8103	0.83451
3.	4	Promoting the political participation of women	Fair	3.2712	0.79263
4.	3	Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	High	3.5758	0.94967
5.		**Total degree**	**High**	**3.5971**	**0.73940**

It is clear from table (4) that the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women was significant, as it came with an arithmetic average (3.59) and a standard deviation (0.73) on the total degree for the fields, (Appendix 4) shows the arithmetic average for all the sections of the questionnaire in detail. The results of the previous table confirmed that the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women was great. With regard to the order of the fields, the field of enhancing national belonging by Palestine TV got the first rank. The field of neutrality of Palestine TV and its credibility towards women got the second rank, the field of Palestine TV's role in protecting the feminist struggle got the third rank, and the field of promoting women's political participation came fourth and last. It noted that the arithmetic means for the fields of study ranged between (3.81-3.27), and this result confirmed that there was a major role for Palestine TV in constructing the personal and political identity of women, meaning that the role of the official media was significant.

5.2 Results Related to the Second Study Question.

Do the estimates of the Palestinian people differ, on the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women, according to different variables (gender, educational qualification, age, place of residence)?

In order to answer this question, the researcher tested the study hypotheses related to the independent variables as follows:

5.3 Results Related to the Study Hypotheses:

First: Results Related to the First Hypothesis

There were no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views on the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to gender variable.

To examine the hypothesis, the researcher used a (T) test for two independent samples, and the results of Table (5) show that.

Table (5): results of the T-test for independent samples to indicate the differences in the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to gender variable.

Study Field	(N=87) Male		(N=69) Female		Value (T)	significance (P)
	Arithmetic Mean	Standard Deviation	Arithmetic Mean	Standard Deviation		
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	3.8793	.565920	3.5449	.736350	3.207	*0.002
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	3.9943	.657220	3.5783	0.97118	3.182	*0.002
Promoting the political participation of women	3.4287	.626710	3.0725	0.92924	2.852	*0.005
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	3.7064	.851980	3.4111	1.04326	1.946	0.053
Total degree	**3.7522**	**.592430**	**3.4017**	**0.85602**	**3.016**	***0.003**

* Statistically Function at the Significance Level ($\alpha = 0.05$)

It is clear from table (5), that there were statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views about the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to gender variable, on all fields and the total degree. Except for the last field, where the values of the significance level ranged between (0.002-0.005), and all of these values were less than the level of significance (0.05). This result indicated that the zero hypotheses related to the gender variable were not accepted. The previous table found that the differences favored males, as the male mean was more significant than the female mean.

Second: Results Related to the Second Hypothesis

There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α = 0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views on the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to the variable of educational qualification.

To examine the hypothesis, the researcher used one -way (ANOVA) test to analyze the samples, and the results as tables (6, 7) show:

Table (6): Arithmetic averages the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the variable of educational qualification

Fields	Variable	Number	Arithmetic mean	Standard Deviation
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	Secondary &less	23	3.7478	0.56155
	Diploma	23	3.9087	0.68285
	Bachelor	64	3.8953	0.48352
	Postgraduate	46	3.4065	0.80950
	Sum total	156	3.7314	0.66583
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Secondary &less	23	3.9870	0.58953
	Diploma	23	3.9391	0.80439
	Bachelor	64	3.9984	0.63808
	Postgraduate	46	3.3957	1.04498
	Sum total	156	3.8103	0.83451
Promoting the political participation of women	Secondary & less	23	3.4130	0.61887
	Diploma	23	3.4565	0.74335
	Bachelor	64	3.4766	0.54736
	Postgraduate	46	2.8217	0.99642
	Sum total	156	3.2712	0.79263
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	Secondary & less	23	3.6877	0.95063
	Diploma	23	3.7312	0.83611
	Bachelor	64	3.7855	0.83168
	Postgraduate	46	3.1502	1.04310
	Sum total	156	3.5758	0.94967
	Secondary & less	**23**	**3.7089**	**0.59195**
	Diploma	23	3.7589	0.73350
	Bachelor	64	3.7890	0.54626
	Postgraduate	46	3.1935	0.89016
Total degree	**Sum total**	156	3.5971	.739400

It is clear from Table (6) that there were differences in arithmetic averages for the categories of the qualification variable. The highest arithmetic averages were in favor of the bachelor category and the lowest for the postgraduate category. To check whether the differences in the arithmetic averages have reached the level of statistical significance, the researcher used the analysis of the One-Way (ANOVA) test. Table (7) shows this:

Table No. (7): Results of One -Way ANOVA test of the significant differences in the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the variable of educational qualification.

Field	Source	sum of Squares	DF	Squares mean	F	Sig.
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	Squares between categories	7.304	3	2.435	6.026	.001
	Inner squares	61.412	152	0.404		
	Total sum	68.716	155			
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Squares between categories	11.274	3	3.758	5.909	.001
	Inner squares	96.670	152	0.636		
	Total sum	107.944	155			
Promoting the political participation of women	Squares between categories	13.244	3	4.415	7.976	.000
	Inner squares	84.136	152	0.554		
	Total sum	97.380	155			
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	Squares between categories	11.991	3	3.997	4.754	.003
	Inner squares	127.800	152	0.841		
	Total sum	139.791	155			
Total degree	**Squares between categories**	**10.737**	**3**	**3.579**	**7.351**	**.000**
	Inner squares	**74.002**	**152**	**0.487**		
	Total sum	**84.740**	**155**			

* Statistically Function at the Significance Level (α = 0.05)

Table (7) shows that there were statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's view on the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the variable of educational qualification. The value of the total degree's statistical significance was (0.00), and it was less than the significance level (0.05). To determine which levels of educational qualification were different, the researcher used (LSD) test to compare the averages. The results of Table (8) show that.

Table No. (8): LSD test results for dimensional comparisons between arithmetic averages of the role of the official media in building the personal and political identity of women according to the educational qualification variable.

Comparisons	Diploma	Bachelor	Postgraduate
Secondary and less	0.05000-	0.08006-	*0.51537
Diploma		0.03006-	*0.56537
Bachelor			*0.59543

*Statistically Function at the Significance Level (α = 0.05)

It is clear from Table (8) that there were statistically significant differences between the categories of educational qualification.

The differences were as follows:

• Between (secondary and less and postgraduate) and in favor of secondary and less.

• Between (diploma and postgraduate) and in favor of a diploma.

• Between (Bachelor and postgraduate) and for the benefit of the Bachelor.

Third: Results Related to the Third Hypothesis

There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α = 0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's view on the role of the official media in

constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the age variable. To

examine the hypothesis, the researcher used one -way ANOVA test to analyze the samples,

and the results were as the following tables (9, 10):

Table No. (9): Arithmetic averages for official media's role in constructing women's personal and political identity according to the age variable.

Fields	Variable	Number	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	18-less than 30	28	3.9786	0.60941
	30-less than40	65	3.7277	0.74404
	40-less than 50	48	3.5667	0.61621
	More than 50	15	3.8133	0.40509
	Sum total	156	3.7314	0.66583
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Secondary and less	28	4.0393	0.70361
	Diploma	65	3.7769	0.89596
	Bachelor	48	3.6521	0.90059
	Postgraduate	15	4.0333	0.33736
	Sum total	156	3.8103	0.83451
Promoting the political participation of women	18- less than 30	28	3.4786	0.66352
	30-less than40	65	3.2185	0.87855
	40-less than 50	48	3.1979	0.81201
	More than 50	15	3.3467	0.49116
	Sum total	156	3.2712	0.79263
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	18- less than 30	28	3.7727	0.86651
	30-less than40	65	3.6056	1.00261
	40-less than 50	48	3.4053	1.00883
	More than 50	15	3.6242	0.58399
	Sum total	156	3.5758	0.94967
Total degree	**18- less than 30**	**28**	**3.8173**	**0.61166**
	30-less than40	**65**	**3.5822**	**0.83297**
	40-less than 50	**48**	**3.4555**	**0.73126**
	More than 50	**15**	**3.7044**	**0.43032**
	Sum total	**156**	**3.5971**	**.739400**

It is clear from Table (9) that there are differences in the arithmetic averages for the categories of age variable, where the highest arithmetic average was in favor of a group of (19-less than 30) and the lowest for a group of (40-less than 50). To check whether the arithmetic average differences have reached the statistical significance level, the researcher used the One-Way (ANOVA) test, and Table (10) illustrates this.

Table (10): Results of the One -Way (ANOVA) test for the significance of differences in the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to the age variable.

Field	Source	Sum of squares	DF	Squares mean	F	Sig.
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	Squares between categories	3.115	3	1.038	2.406	.070
	Inner squares	65.601	152	0.432		
	Sum total	68.716	155			
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Squares between categories	3.488	3	1.163	1.692	.171
	Inner squares	104.455	152	0.687		
	Sum total	107.944	155			
Promoting the political participation of women	Squares between categories	1.728	3	0.576	0.915	.435
	Inner squares	95.652	152	0.629		
	Sum total	97.380	155			
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	Squares between categories	2.574	3	0.858	0.950	.418
	Inner squares	137.217	152	0.903		
	Sum total	139.791	155			
Total degree	**Squares between categories**	**2.507**	**3**	**0.836**	**1.545**	**.205**
	Inner squares	**82.233**	**152**	**0.541**		
	Sum total	**84.740**	**155**			

* Statistically function at the significance level (α = 0.05)

It is clear from Table (10) that there were statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05) between the means of t the Palestinian people's views on the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the age variable in all areas. The value of the total degree's statistical significance was (0.20), which was greater than the significance level (0.05). This confirmed that, there were no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05), between the averages of the Palestinian people's views on the role of official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to age variable.

Third: Results Related to the Third Hypothesis

There are no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views on the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to the place of residence variable.

To examine the hypothesis, the researcher used One -Way (ANOVA) test for the samples, and the results were as tables (11, 12) show:

Table (11): Arithmetic averages to the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to the variable of place of residence.

Fields	Variable	Number	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	Village	24	3.9875	0.62992
	City	89	3.6910	0.69685
	Camp	20	3.8400	0.51340
	Abroad	23	3.5261	0.63691
	Sum total	156	3.7314	0.66583
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Village	24	4.0458	0.77458
	City	89	3.7124	0.93515
	Camp	20	4.0900	0.32428
	Abroad	23	3.7000	0.71223
	Sum total	156	3.8103	0.83451
Promoting the political participation of women	Village	24	3.4792	0.83405
	City	89	3.2191	0.83447
	Camp	20	3.4000	0.42302
	Abroad	23	3.1435	0.81788
	Sum total	156	3.2712	0.79263

Fields	Variable	Number	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	Village	24	3.7008	1.03008
	City	89	3.5465	1.00977
	Camp	20	3.7682	0.72396
	Abroad	23	3.3913	0.78988
	Sum total	**156**	**3.5758**	**0.94967**
Total degree	**Village**	**24**	**3.8033**	**0.78241**
	City	**89**	**3.5422**	**0.79374**
	Camp	**20**	**3.7745**	**0.38122**
	Abroad	**23**	**3.4402**	**0.67325**
	Sum total	**156**	**3.5971**	**.739400**

It is clear from Table (11) that there were differences in the arithmetic averages for the place of residence variable categories, where the highest arithmetic average was in favor of the village category, and the lowest for the abroad.

To check whether the arithmetic average differences have reached the level of statistical significance, the researcher used the One-Way (ANOVA) test. Table (12) illustrates this.

Table (12): Results of the One-Way (ANOVA) test of the significance of differences in the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity according to place of residence variable.

Field	Source	Sums of squares	FD	Squares means	F	Sig.
Neutrality and credibility of Palestine TV toward women	Squares between categories	2.925	3	0.975	2.252	.085
	Inner squares	65.791	152	0.433		
	Sum total	68.716	155			
Enhancing the national affiliation by Palestine TV	Squares between categories	4.030	3	1.343	1.965	.122
	Inner squares	103.914	152	0.684		
	Sum total	107.944	155			
Promoting the political participation of women	Squares between categories	1.987	3	0.662	1.055	.370
	Inner squares	95.394	152	0.628		
	Sum total	97.380	155			
Palestine TV's role in protecting feminist struggle	Squares between categories	1.974	3	0.658	0.726	.538
	Inner squares	137.816	152	0.907		
	Sum total	139.791	155			
Total degree	**Squares between categories**	**2.484**	**3**	**0.828**	**1.530**	**.209**
	Inner squares	**82.255**	**152**	**0.541**		
	Sum total	**84.740**	**155**			

* Statistically Function at the Significance Level (α = 0.05)

It is clear from Table (12) that there were no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (α=0.05) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views on the role of the official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women, according to the place of residence variable in all fields and total degree. The value of the total score's statistical significance (0.209) was greater than the level of significance (0.05). This confirmed that there were no statistically significant differences at the level of significance (0.05 = α) between the means of the Palestinian people's views on the role of official media in constructing the personal and political identity of women according to the place of residence variable.

By comparing our results with some previous studies in relation to the statistics, we find that in Al Masri study that took place at AL Najah University in 2016, which was searching about the role of Palestine TV in enhancing the national Palestinian identity, the arithmetic average was (2.92), and the standard deviation was (0.476) (Al Masri 2016). Another study about the role that the Palestinian media plays in supporting the rights of Palestinian refugee women and educating her about her rights by Middle East University in 2013, where the arithmetic averages of the role played by the Palestinian media in supporting women's rights was ranged between (2.47) and (2.71), as the overall average is (2.59), and the standard deviation is (0.77), with respect to the support of Palestinian media to the rights of Palestinian refugee women, the arithmetic mean was (2.47), and the standard deviation was (0.70), which is of the middle level (El Bayadi, 2013). Another study titled, *Trends of Palestinian University students towards the role of Palestinian Satellite TV channels in enhancing national nurture values* , where the field study was Al-Aqsa University students in Gaza in 2017. The results came as follow: Palestinian satellite channels contribute to instilling the concepts of national education in the hearts of university students by 96%, and that satellite channels have a great role in the educational

process that is based on consolidating the values of national education, at a rate of 95%, plus, Palestinian satellite channels spread the concepts of national education represented in tolerance and respect for others among youth by 43.8%, and that work must be done to develop programs to encourage youth to participate in state building, at a rate of 99.2% (Abu Zaanneh, 2017). In that sense, we notice that our results come higher when comparing to the first two studies, and came close to the third one, in which this indicates that the influence of media has taken a bigger role in enhancing Palestinian identities recently, which means that the official media is going in the right direction even if there are still some shortcomings.

Results Related to the Third Question

How do you think that Palestine TV can present and intensify women's role in society? Mention your suggestions?

In order to answer this question, an open question designed and included at the end of the questionnaire, whereby the suggestions of the members of the study as table (13) illustrates:

Number	Suggestions	Percentage%
1.	Working to produce more programs for women, whether reviewing the biography of female martyrs and captives, and exposing the role of women in building society, and her national education which is reflected in society as a whole, as well as stories of women's struggle against occupation	70%
2.	Giving women a big role by being a guest in political programs and political analysis	13%
3.	constructing a common values base with men, and instilling citizenship values	10%
4.	Enhancing the role of women in all Palestinian political institutions, and giving them their rights without discrimination	7%

Through the data provided in the previous table, we observe that (70%) of the respondents suggested producing more programs for women. Such as, reviewing the biography of female captures and martyrs, and their role in building society, as well as, her national role, which is reflected in society, and to present stories about women's struggle against the occupation, (13%) of the study sample indicated that Palestine TV should give women a big role, women should be guests in political programs. (10%) of them suggested working on building a base of shared values between women and men, and instill the values of citizenship by offering specialized topics, and national stories. (7%) indicated working to enhance women's role in all Palestinian political institutions, and giving them their rights without discrimination.

5.4 The Results of the Interviews

Do you see the policy pursued by Palestine TV neutral and credible towards women?

According to the interviewees, the concept of media is related to the political, social, and economic system that is prevailed in society, because the relationship between media construction and the development of society is close, in that sense, the Palestinian media has been affected like any other media in any country, by the reality of its society. Plus, the Palestinian political system is a distinct system that affects and is affected by the reality of the Palestinian society, which in most cases depends on groupings and affiliations. However, it appears from the interviews, which have been conducted, that most of the answers are problematic in dealing with social issues, especially those related to women. Through an interview with Suheir Faraj, a feminist activist and Director of Women's Development and Media - TAM, she claims, "The issue is not through gender-sensitive media on Palestine TV, but through the programs that present women. This figure limits women to a certain angle, so these programs do not show them comprehensively". Umm

Nasser Abu Hamid, a mother of a martyr and six prisoners, agreed with Faraj, as she confirmed, "Frankly, women are oppressed in many aspects, and there is no one who gives them their rights in all cases" (see appendix 7). The opinion was neutral among the Palestinian journalist and writer Nibal Thawabteh, who is the director of the Media Development Center at Birzeit University, Thawabteh pondered upon, " According to how we define neutrality and credibility, because definitions and standards differ, but in general there has been improvement in the last five years in gender balance within media coverage, this coverage could be divided into 3 parts: the percentage of our coverage to women's stories, the extent of their appearance on the screen, and the number of media women's workers, the latest study of Birzeit University and Media Center found that, there are shortcomings regarding these axes, and the percentage does not exceed 20%" (see appendix 6). Amal Hamad, Minister of Palestinian Women's Affairs, also confirmed this by agreeing, "Palestine TV tried under all circumstances to form a balance, but the problem is not in the television as an institution, it's in the stereotype, the traditional view, and the masculinity of society, for many of the institution's employees, it is a reflection of the cultural and social reality of the Palestinian society, we need to focus on those who work in these institutions, from the social perspective, and the concepts of social justice, equality, democracy, and human rights "(see appendix 3). Ghassan Nimer, the official speaker of the Palestinian Ministry of the Interior, and an assistant professor at Media Department at Al-Quds University, also confirmed by saying: "Yes, there is neutrality in presenting stories and novels; Palestine TV tries to shed light on women's issues"(see appendix 4).

Does Palestine TV have an impact on building woman's personal and political identity?

The answers were overwhelmed by a lack approval of the impact of Palestine TV in building woman's identity. Hamad thinks that, "Unfortunately, society is now bending towards more extremism and hegemony, media institutions are so late in general, not only Palestine TV, there is hegemony by Islamists, and women's issues are controversial". Umm Nasser was more hesitant: "No, of course, there is no shortcoming in this regard, but we need to get more justice"(see appendix 3). Faraj indicated a weakness in Palestine TV; she claimed: "I think it had a weak role in dealing with women's personal and political issues, and there is no big role"(see appendix 7). On the other hand, Thawabteh stands in a neutral position by leaving the answer for decision-makers. She interrogated, "It is more appropriate for the TV content maker to answer this question, because it is a political topic, anyway it is not reflected in the required level, as Palestinians, we have our cultural identity, and this cultural identity is visible in multiple visual forms, we are proud of being one of the first countries that possess this cultural identity, which is honest, influential, and sober"(see appendix 6). Ghassan Nimer disagreed with them, as he contradicted, " Of course Palestine TV is enhancing this role, because this is the role of it since its inception, with regard to women's issues, I have not followed programs related to the political or national role, but in general there is an enhancement of this role, but I think that, there are many feminist stories which need to be given more attention, there are many women's struggle roles that need to be worked on"(see appendix 4).

Where has Palestine TV succeeded, and where has it failed to address and influence women's issues?

Views differed regarding the points in which Palestine TV fails or succeeds in dealing with women's issues and influencing them. Faraj thinks, "Its success is in focusing on local

news and national issues, but in developing awareness, the plans are not sufficient" (see appendix 7). Umm Nasser Abu Hamid commented on the negligence for women's issues by remarking, " as for my case, all media participated in it, because it is a legitimate issue, the media did not delay in supporting me and presenting my case to the world, especially when my house was demolished twice, but when we come to women's issues, there is a failure in general"(see appendix 5). Hamad indicated that, "There is a real deficit in media institutions, in addition to the lack in the faith of the true role of women"(see appendix 3). Ghassan Nimer also agreed, "Palestine TV highlights the role of women in political issues, but it has not succeeded in topics related to women's struggle"(see appendix 4). Thawabteh mentioned the negligence for many women's issues by claiming, "The success is measured by the extent of the depth of the raised issues. There is no specialization, so a team of media professionals must be created; we also need an official decision in this regard"(see appendix 6).

Does it have an active role in sensitive issues such as CEDAW or the Family Protection Law, and how did he deal with such issues?

With regard to the role of Palestine TV towards sensitive issues, Thawabteh thought, "In order to be accurate, there was no supportive role for such issues, but there is a role in terms of media coverage in a formal way, such as having a workshop. However, is this effort sufficient, supportive?" Nimer agreed, "I think that the official media does not play the required role in CEDAW issue, there were not enough programs to clarify these matters. Television was afraid to put itself into trouble with the opposition. Likewise, we did not see programs condemning and combating violence that leads to the killing of women. There is a media failure in these aspects".

According to the interviewee's answers, we found that there is a shortage in addressing women's issues sufficiently by the official media, and its contribution in constructing

women's personal and political identity, anyway through the following chapter I will analyze the founding results, as well as, the answers of the interviews.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis is defined by Fairclough (1995) as the analysis of relationships between the three dimensions or layers of a communicative event: the text, the discourse practice, and the socio-cultural practice. In this framework, texts may be either just spoken or written, or spoken or written and visual; discourse practices are processes of text production and text consumption; and socio-cultural practices are the social and cultural activities of which the communicative events are a part. The theoretical assumptions supporting the framework stress the fact that language use is always constitutive of social identities, of social relations and of systems of knowledge and belief, in the sense that it helps shape these aspects of society and culture. As Fairclough (1995) puts it, the way this process takes place will depend upon different factors: There is no doubt that media is the language that dictates and influences our contemporary lives. Such dictation and influence is a complex one because it is associated with many transformations, and is affected by several factors; the most important of which is the political factor. In fact, the rapid large amount of information, in addition to the great diversity in media tools, plus the technological development which allows everyone to be a media person, or a journalist through his/her various accounts on social media. All of these factors make media the first and the great influential communicational tool. The aim of this research is the advancement and amelioration of Palestinian women personal, political, and national identification aspirations benefiting from Palestinian official media represented in our national TV. The goal is to make progress in official media, to benefit of this tool, as well as, finding ways and solutions to manipulate the shortcomings. In this chapter, I will expose, present, and discuss my findings, plus making an epilogue out of the

statistical analysis and the interviews. The results of the questions and hypotheses will be discussed in relation to the variables of the study, and to offer some recommendations in the light of the study results.

6.2 Discussion of Results

Through the previous pages, I tried to come up with an answer to our main question: what is the role of the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity? In facts, the results of the two main procedures that were followed are contradicting. According to the statistical analysis of the questioner, which came from the audience and followers who are ordinary people not specialized in media field, it is clear that there was a good role for the official media in constructing women's personal and political identity with regard to the fields of study. I may refer this result to that Palestine TV distinguishes through its programs that talk about the wounded and martyrs, who contribute to instilling the values of nationality and citizenship. Moreover, Palestine TV clarifies the captive feminist nationalist movement's struggles through specialized programs that it shows. Besides, it enhances the willingness of women to fight, in order to defend the country in times of wars and crises. Palestine TV shows women entrepreneurs' role in serving the country, and shows the importance of women's participation in reviving national events such as: festivals, marches, celebrations, and others. Also, it works to promote and respect feminist issues in its entire spectrum without discrimination. Palestine TV works as much as possible to establish the values of loyalty and belonging to the cause of gender equality. Regarding the result of our main question in the significant impact of Palestine TV on political and personal identity of women, we find it agrees with the theory of the magic bullet, which assumes that media's massages and propaganda, directly and quickly affect the audiences' attitudes, behavior, and ideas. Just like a gun

bullet, in which the effects of media on the public are strong and direct. This result is also consistent with Alam study (Alam, 2013), that confirmed the presence of a significant impact of the media in raising political awareness among young people, as well as, Jazar study (2011) which indicated a significant role for Palestinian satellite channels in promoting political awareness among university students in Gaza, and Kynake study (2006), which explained that media affects the political culture of young people and influence the formation of their political values and their political effectiveness. This result, also, agreed with the Agenda Setting theory, which assumes a relationship between issues that the mass media pay more attention to, and the increasing public interest in. It is certain that public opinion is closely related to the method of coverage, and the priorities provided by media for events, as communication is the pillar and basis of social life since it has developed over the ages, until it reached modern communication technology, that is considered as the advantage of contemporary life in most societies. In that sense, media agenda is the programs it broadcasts and the topics it offers. They appear more important than others and deserve more attention. In this regard, Palestine TV focuses the attention towards the history of great Palestinian women, besides the promotion of programs related to women's issues, in order to influence its audience, and mainly achieve the desired goal.

Regarding the question: do the Palestinian people's estimates differ about the role of the official media represented by Palestine TV in constructing the personal, political Identity of women with different variables (gender, educational qualification, age, and place of residence)? It is found that there are statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the averages of the Palestinian people's views according to gender variable. The differences favored males, i.e., males in the study sample indicated an official media role in constructing women's personal and political identity more than females indicated. I may refer this result to the fact that, females aspire to a higher level of

attention provided by Palestine TV, and they seek to shed more light on the topics that concern them. Women think that, Palestine TV is not doing a proper role for them; they look forward to seeing more programs and discussions focused on them; they think that more attention is required.   On the other hand, from the male point of view, Palestine TV offers an appropriate and sufficient role for women; they think that Palestine TV is giving the required interest for women's issues. This result was consistent with the Al-Masry study results (2016), which indicated that there were statistically significant differences in the extent of the influence of the official media on promoting the Palestinian national identity according to gender variable. Mary Talbot writes that "The distinction between rhetoric and reality is at best elusive. If we lose sight of it altogether, however, we risk also losing sight of any political engagement, which is why CDA practitioners insist on it (for example, Fairclough 2001).

Regarding the educational qualification variable, the result came differ from our hypothesis, in which it is found that there were statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the averages of Palestinian. The researcher refers this result to the fact that those with a high educational level think that, Palestine TV can implement broad strategies and unlimited ideas in constructing the personal and political identity of women; they think the strategy which is followed today, needs to be more professionalized. They believe that Palestine TV can present serious topics related to women. This result is consistent with the Al-Masry study results (2016), which indicated that there were statistically significant differences in the extent of the influence of official media on promoting the Palestinian national identity according to the educational qualification. But, this result differs from the results of the Alam study (2013), which showed no statistically significant differences in the respondents' responses to the presence

of a media impact on increasing political effectiveness among young people according to the educational qualification variable.

Concerning the age variable and the place of residence variable, it is found that no statistically significant differences at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the means of the Palestinian people's views. This result indicates the presence of ties, customs, traditions, as well as, the cultural and national affiliation that brings together Palestinian people, regardless of their place of residence, whether they live in cities, villages, camps, or even if they live abroad. All respondents are from Palestinian people who are living in same conditions; they share the same customs, traditions, culture, and struggle, they are governed by one national circumstance.

According to the answer of: How do you think that Palestine TV can present and intensify women's role in society? Mention your suggestions? With regard to the suggestions that were mentioned by respondents, they think that Palestine TV should intensify the role of women in society, their most suggestions were to include women in special programs on Palestine TV, and to give them the job role by being a guest in political social programs. They think that Palestine TV should construct a mutual value base between women and men, it should instill the values of citizenship by presenting specialized topics and national stories, besides, a more intensive work is required by media makers to enhance women's role in all Palestinian political institutions, women should get their rights without discrimination in order to build and maintain their cultural identity. I refer these suggestions to the reason that, the study sample members are realizing the importance of TV programs in constructing the personal and political identity. It is imperative that the more TV programs that pay more attention to women's issues, the more it plays a bigger a role in influencing women's identity, and give them the ability to raise their voices up. Talbot (2007) says: " In order for women to be valued as citizens with the

right to a position in political life, they must have their own social place and their own voice in public domains, which have both prestige and power. This position is connected with literacy/education."

Media and the extent of its influence on identity building or public opinion, are not an easy process, the rapid and unlimited flow of information in light of the growing technology can influence and change the fateful decisions of countries, as we saw this effect and its power in the American elections 2020. What distinguishes the virtual media, is its independence and freedom to some extent, but what we are certain about is that media in all its forms, can provide an extent for viewing, listening and making decisions, it has become a part of the life of societies, and can influence their behavior.

According to the interviewees, there is a failure on the role and the impact of the official media. This result agreed with Al-Masry study (2016), which indicated that the extent of official media's influence on promoting the Palestinian national identity was moderate. In fact, a big contradiction found between the interviewees' opinion, and the main result of the questioner. I think the point of view of some professional is more accurate, and can give the study a good and a reliable result. Actually, most of them agreed on the default of the official media, in which Palestine TV should have a big inflectional role in constructing women's identity. As Hamed confirmed," media content needs to be organized, it has not worked sufficiently to confront the extremism that invades society, it must raise women's issues and not deal with them as if they are taboo and forbidden to address, official media did not realize and did not work seriously to cope with this danger, we need someone who sacrifices for freedom, dignity, and rights. There is a deficit in the media establishment and its workers, there is a lack of faith in the true role of women" (see appendix 3). Nimer also believed that there are many feminist stories that need to be highlighted, as well as many struggle roles for women. He thinks that the most

prominent scene is the political one; there is no focus on social issues and the role of women in all fields (see appendix 4). In order to make the question of gender more visible, we need a form of ideology critique that's two-folded. On the one hand, it is a critical discourse analysis of the gate-keeping practices of the printed media but, at the same time, on the other hand, it is also a form of self-analysis, a criticism of the limits of the feminist ways of struggling for that space in the media. This double edge is informed by my understanding of the importance of self-reflexivity as formulated by Deborah Cameron (1995):

> Feminism is not about giving housewives their due, it is about
>
> changing the conditions of domestic labor altogether. Similarly,
>
> feminism cannot stop at validating the linguistic strategies typical of
>
> women; it must also ask why women find some communicative
>
> practices more relevant than others to their circumstances: a question
>
> of their social positioning, of the social practices in which they are
>
> allowed to participate.

With regard to sensitive issues such as CEDAW and the Family Protection Law, Nimer believes that, official media did not play the required role towards these issues; there were no enough programs to clarify these matters. Palestine TV is afraid to put itself in trouble with opponents, likewise there are no programs condemning and combating violence that leads to the killing of women, there is a media failure in these aspects (see appendix 4). Thawabatah also believes that there is no supportive role, there is a formal role in the coverage of this matter, it is not a real one, and unfortunately the role is missing (see appendix 6).

As a person who is involved in media business, I think that the TV contribution in shaping the political, personal and cultural identity of women is weak, not exceeding 30%. The

plans are insufficient with regard to the formation of awareness; the plans should start from the children's programs. Actually the programs must present diversity in all areas, there is a failure in showing diversity and difference, and there is also marginalization of the role of youth. The focus on a specific limited parts, there is a failure in providing attractive content for young groups, as well as, there is also a lack of societal awareness against violence, bullying, and extortion. Palestine TV should search more to find out what attract people of all groups, and work more for presenting content in an attractive way to address the target audience. Any media message may expose to disabilities like disruption and loss, which prevent it from reaching the viewer, and since those in charge know very well that these two factors can waste the content, they have to repeat the message many times, so that the idea is reached. Herein the secret, repetition and continuity in conveying the idea are considered the basis of the media process. For example, any commercial advertisement is repeated for many times, because repeating the scene in front of customers' eyes controls their subconscious. Unfortunately, Palestine TV is very traditional, and it lacks the attractive and the distinctive content, it does not follow this strategy in achieving this goal. But, I think we need something else. We need what Bhabha (1994) suggests: the notions of indeterminacy and contingency to problematize essentialist identities, related to such dichotomies as mind/body, culture/nature, writing/orality. The logic of indeterminacy and contingency allows us to discuss gender identities in new ways.

6.3 Recommendations

In our time, no one can deny the power, and the influence of media institutions. In fact, many nooks and crypts penetrate into the media industry, especially the visual media. Media professionals practice strategies and tactics in order to convey their ideas to the public. Likewise, we cannot ignore the relationship that exists between money, politics,

psychology, sociology and media, and how each of them supports the other. There are technologies that help media professionals to convince the masses of what they want, and how they have managed to gain absolute control over peoples' perceptions, and perhaps distort their awareness and understanding. Edward Bernays is the nephew of the most famous psychologist Sigmund Freud, and he was greatly influenced by the theories that his uncle contributed to the field of psychoanalysis, particularly his ideas about the relationship of instincts and desires to the unconscious. *Propaganda* is one of the most prominent books of Edward Bernays. It was a precise scientific analysis, and an insight into some of the most powerful institutions. The first edition of the book was published in 1929, in which it merged social sciences with psychological manipulation in the study of public communication techniques, and this book was the result or the extension of other books such as *Crystallizing Public Opinion* published in 1923, and *a public relations Counsel* in 1927. The exploration of propaganda in psychology had a role behind the manipulation of the masses, and the ability to use symbols and indirect propaganda to influence public policy, which brings about social change, and pressures the masses for gender equality. In the pre- Bernays stage, propaganda focused on the quality and advantages of the product, whether it was a commercial, political or social product. After Bernays, product characteristics were no longer the most important; as the man discovered that reformulating the audience may be easier than changing the product, his books' ideas was about how to subjugate the public's mind and reconstruct it to conform to the media discourse. Since Bernays launched his media theories, people have been subjected to organized deception campaigns by various media outlets, especially televised ones. In fact, the mind of the individual has become the sum of what he sees, hears or reads. Unfortunately, media generally look for profit and gains, regardless of their slogans which may raise impartiality, objectivity, or honesty, which are common in many media channels.

In that sense, we should concentrate on the psychological part in our media production, and use it well just like how the western media benefit from it.

Naturally, the political situation and the political decision greatly affect media content industry, vice versa, the influence of media icons has a great impact on the political situation at some crucial moments, for example, reports in *The Washington Post* has mentioned that the famous talk show broadcaster Oprah Winfrey joined the campaign of US president Barack Obama in 2008, where she guaranteed him a 15-30% rise in approval ratings. In addition, positive media reports by major American television stations and networks such as ABC, CBS and NBC, supported his side at the end of the race against his Republican rival, John McCain (The Washington Post, 2008). In that sense, politics and politicians, affect and be affected by media and this for sure not less important than sociologists, who put their eyes on every aspect in society. In fact, we need to bring to the light of our media women like Oprah Winfrey, who can influence millions of followers, who can make an effect, who has a voice louder than any politician. I think that Palestine TV has not relied on clear and deliberate foundations or strategies to achieve this goal. There is a failure in focusing on thoughtful content, that touches the woman's personality and identity, and this is certainly due to the lack of specialists, who are their tasks must only be on focusing on this matter. I think that, psychologists should be there, who are able to actually study identities, who know women's problems, who can find solutions to those problems, and then who know how to create a media role to touch that identity and influence it. Psychologists are the ones who will convey the true idea to media makers. In that sense, media professionals can play their role in creating a real media content that has the real and the desired effect. We all probably know that huge media organizations are not going down the road alone; there is an army of psychologists, politicians, sociologists, and then media professionals, who are all working together to achieve a specific goal or vision.

All of the above will not be attainable only when "the hegemonic gender order and, specifically, hegemonic masculinity, are pragmatically re-made in superficially progressive terms 'for the good of the nation' (Lazar 2001).

Based on the results of the study, the researcher came up with eight recommendations:

1- The necessity of increasing the interest of the program directors of Palestine TV in highlighting the constructing of the personal and political identity of Palestinian women.

2- It is the responsibility of the Ministry of media in Palestine to improve the activities of constructing a personal and political identity for women, through the corporation with official media.

3- The necessity of working to increase the specialized programs for women, that develop the constructing of personal and political identity, in which this development cannot be achieved without the existing of psychologists, politicians, sociologists, and media's specialists.

4- Palestine TV should devote a daily programs and promotions that highlight women who have a long history in patriotism.

5- Palestine TV should continue to show the stories of the women's struggle against the Zionist occupation, in order to transfer this struggle from one generation to the next.

6- Palestine TV should work to enhance the spirit of women through exposing the presence of women in all sectors such as engineering, infrastructure, protection, or security, besides, women should have a presence in the manufacture of media material that appears on the screen, they should have a decision in the production of these materials, in which the development can appear on the screen.

7- Palestine TV should pay more attention to raise the political awareness among women through giving them a bigger role in analyzing political issues like men.

8- Palestine TV should pay more attention to Palestinians abroad specially women, in order to focus on raising their interests, problems, and their voices through more specialized programs.

6.4 Study Proposals

The study proposes and recommends a number of ideas:

1- Conducting other studies dealing with the same variables of the current study in Arab areas inhabited by Palestinians.

2- Conducting another study on another Arab country and examining the role of the media in constructing personal and political identity, and comparing it with the current study.

3- Conducting more studies examining the role of official media in constructing the personal and political identity of all people (males and females), and making a comparison between the two categories.

4- Conducting more studies that deal with study cases other than Palestine TV, and examining their role in constructing the personal and political identity of women and comparing them with the results of the current study.

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Appendices

Appendix (1) the Initial Form of Study Tool

Arab American University

Faculty of Graduate Studies

Dear All

 After Greetings,

 The researcher is conducting a study entitled *"Their Eyes [Are] Watching God": Palestinian Women Journey in Search for Personal and Political Identity through the Lens of Palestine TV,* in order to complete the requirements for obtaining a master's degree in intercultural and literature communication from Arab American University. For this reason, this questionnaire has been prepared in your hands. Please answer its sections accurately and honestly, as they will be only used for academic research purposes.

Thank you for your kind cooperation

The researcher

Nisreen Rezek

Section1: Personal Information

Please put an X in the appropriate place that applies to you

1. Gender: Male ( ) Female ( )

2. Education level: Basic ( ) Preparatory ( ) Secondary ( ) Diploma ( ) Bachelor ( )

Postgraduate ( )

3. Age: less than 18 years ( ) from 18- less than 30 years ( ) from 30- less than 40 years ( )

40-50 years ( ) More than 50 years ( )

4. Place of residence: village ( ) city ( ) camp ( ) abroad ( )

5. Economic Income: Limited ( ) Medium ( ) High ( )

Section 2: Fields of the Questionnaire and its Sections

I ask you to read the following paragraphs, and answer them by placing (√) in the right place according to your opinion.

Number	Sections	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The First Field: Neutrality and Credibility of Palestine TV Toward Women						
1.	I see that Palestine TV promotes the language of tolerance between gender					
2.	Palestine TV develops your belief in feminist issues in all fields					
3.	Palestine TV establishes values of loyalty and belonging to the cause of gender equality					
4.	Palestine TV promotes respect for feminist issues in all its spectrum					
5.	Palestine TV establishes feminist duties for society in you					
6.	Palestine TV calls for non-discrimination in treatment between members of gender					
7.	The media culture present by Palestine TV reduces gender discrimination against women					
8.	The media culture present by Palestine TV reduces the masculinity of society					

9.	Palestine TV present specialized programs related to women's duties and rights					
10.	Palestine TV takes into account in the visual press the language of dialogue based on gender					
The Second Field: Enhancing the National Affiliation by Palestine TV						
11.	Palestine TV contributes to instilling the values of citizenship for women					
12.	Palestine TV contributes to encourage women to defend the homeland					
13.	Palestine TV highlights the captive struggles of the nationalist women's movement					
14.	Palestine TV distinguished through its programs by talking about female captives.					
15.	Palestine TV distinguished through its programs by talking about female wounded and martyrs.					
16.	Palestine TV highlights the importance of appreciating the national symbols (flag, anthem, national emblems, etc.)					
17.	Palestine TV promotes women's spirit in order to defend the country					
18.	Palestine TV enhances the					

	willingness to fight for women in order to defend the country in times of wars and crises					
19.	Palestine TV highlights the role of the leading female characters in the homeland love					
20.	Palestine TV highlights the role of women entrepreneurs in serving the country.					
The Third Field: Promoting the National Participation of Women						
21.	Palestine TV shows the importance of women's participation in reviving national events					
22.	Palestine TV present women's interaction on national occasions					
23.	Palestine TV motivates women to participate in volunteer programs					
24.	Palestine TV motivates women to participate in national activities, "festivals, celebrations, etc."					
25.	Palestine TV works to increase the awareness of women to analyze the political issues					
26.	Palestine TV works to increase the awareness of women to understand and develop the national issues					
27.	Palestine TV works to raise the national sense of women at the local level					

28.	Palestine TV works to raise the national sense of women internationally					
29.	Palestine TV works to form a luminous national awareness of Palestinian women					
30.	Palestine TV works on forming a national policy that reflects the popular sovereignty of Palestinian women.					
The Forth Field: The Role of Program Presenters and Directors in Instilling Cultural Identity and Ctizenship						
31.	The interviewer on Palestine TV talks about topics that develop the national sense					
32.	I note that the political affiliation of the TV presenters in Palestine TV plays a role in developing the national sense					
33.	There are programs offered by Palestine TV that allow citizens to participate and express their national views					
34.	Differentiate between citizens in programs that allow participation on the basis of political affiliation					
35.	I feel that Palestine TV is working on presenting national issues without using effects to					

	instill them in citizens				
36.	Palestine TV offers visual ads that develop the national sense				
37.	Palestine TV offers ads to develop the national sense				
38.	Palestine TV presents videos that develop the national sense				
39.	Palestine TV presents series that develop the national sense				
40.	Palestine TV presents national lyric to develop a patriotic sense				
The Fifth Field: Palestine TV's Role in Warning Against the Dangers of Occupation					
41.	Palestine TV contributes to introduce the danger of occupation to Palestinian heritage				
42.	Palestine TV contributes to introduce the danger of occupation to a Palestinian identity				
43.	Palestine TV works to warn of Zionist settlement and its dangers on the ground				
44.	Palestine TV warns of the negative effects of the occupation on the economic level				
45.	Palestine TV warns of the negative effects of the occupation on the social level				

46.	Palestine TV warns of the negative effects of the occupation on the political level					
47.	Palestine TV warns of the Zionist enemy and its dangers on the ground					
48.	Palestine TV warns of the Zionist enemy and its dangers on the case					
49.	Palestine TV alerts that the occupation has stolen heritage items related to our ancestors					
50.	Palestine TV illustrates the arguments that the occupation uses to obliterating our Palestinian identity					
51.	Palestine TV deals with the massacres committed by the Zionist occupation against its children					

Appendix (2) The Interviewees

1/ Dr. Amal Hamad / Minister of Ministry of Women Affairs/ on 14/10/2020

2/ Dr. Ghassan Nimer / Former Dean of the Faculty of Information, Abu Dis University, and the media spokesman for the Ministry of Interior / on 15/10/2020

3/ Umm Nasser/ mother of martyrs and prisoners / on 16/10/2020

4/ Nibal Thawabta / Director of the Media Development Center at Birzeit University/ on 10/17/2020

5/ Soheir Faraj/ Director of Women's Media and Development Tam and feminist activist/ on 1/11/2020

Appendix (3) Interview with Dr. Amal Hamad

1 / Do official media like Palestine TV have neutrality and credibility towards women?

Television tried in all circumstances to form a state of balance, but the problem is not television, the problem is the stereotype and the masculinity of the society, which is embodied in the employees of the institution, and this is a social and cultural reality within the Palestinian society, so the difference can be in the vision of the institution and the opposite of its workers and how they translate Women's issues and they constitute a vision of social justice towards women, and here we must work on the workers within the institution with regard to gender issues and concepts of equality, and therefore work is futile if the people in the institution do not have this belief in women's issues and this gap, unfortunately, exists in most State institutions, including Palestine TV.

2 / Has Palestine TV tried to reduce the masculinity of society and to change the stereotype during the previous years since its inception?

Unfortunately, society is now heading for more extremism and more radicalism, and Islamists are taking more control over society and dragging it back further and controlling societal culture towards the issue of women. It has become in fear of raising women's issues and considering them as controversial issues, although we are now in by the year 2020, it is assumed that we have come a long way in reaching freedom of opinion and elevating the status of women and obtaining their rights, and this is not only in television, but in most media institutions that did not rise to the required level.

3 / During the years of television work, was there an enhancement to build a national, political and cultural identity for Palestinian women?

Regarding the national identity, the woman may have surpassed the man and proved her role which was socially acceptable in her national role in resisting the occupation, whether as a supporter and advocate or as a martyr or a captive. There is an enhancement of its role in all fields, and it was in parallel to its national role and its social role, there was acceptance of setting legislation and policies, but after the so-called Arab Spring, there became Arab extremism and regional extremism towards more radicalism and Islamism that attributed to Islam traits that are not on it. But Islam has been exploited to serve political and party agendas to serve their interests, and this is the reason for a totalitarian retreat, not only here, and also the poverty that has spread in society, which has a role in increasing extremism in conjunction with an extremist Islamic ideology, all this is at the expense of women, and she is the one who pays the price, because the most unemployed and the poorest are women, and here the official media establishment did not realize this situation, and did not try to make the required qualitative transformation, it only tried to conform to the general context away from the social context, and focused only on the political role, and this is a result of our battle with the occupation, this was of course at the expense of the social and cultural role, and this in turn strengthened extremism more, on the other important side, even people who believe in women's issues, their work needs to organize the accumulated ideas and the mechanism in providing organized media content, then media content needs to be organized in order to work sufficiently to confront this extremism that invades society, and it must raise women's issues and not engage with them, as if they are taboo, which is forbidden to address, so official media did not realize and did not work seriously to confront this danger. I weigh there is a deficiency in the media establishment and its workers, a lack of awareness of the seriousness of the moment,

in addition to a lack of faith in the true role of women. We are in a worse phase than before. There are movements and parties such as Hizb-Tahrir and the Salafi movements that are dragging society backward, and the majority seek to be away from confrontation and away from contradictions and only strive to preserve their status, I fear more extremism towards women.

4 / Is there a solution to these problems?

First, the political will must precede the social will; it must take the decision and be a spearhead in the issues of society. Social will should be a structured and coordinated organization with a unified holistic vision. Activating the legislative institution, this was frozen due to the Palestinian division, and to enact laws and legislations that protect women and their issues and protect society. We need true faith and true fighters and advocates to meet these challenges.

Appendix (4) Interview with Dr. Ghassan Nimer

1 / Is there impartiality and credibility by Palestine TV in dealing with women's issues?

Yes, there is impartiality and credibility in raising gender issues; they are trying to shed light on them, since television is already a series of struggles in which women have mainly contributed to.

2 / Does television enhance the national, political and cultural affiliation in the identity of Palestinian women?

Of course, because this is the role of it since its inception in general. With regard to women's issues, I have not followed programs related to the political or national role, but in general there is an enhancement of this role. On some spots the most famous women are mentioned, but I think that, there are many feminist stories that need to be given the role, there are many women's struggle roles that need to be worked on.

3 / How has television dealt with sensitive societal issues such as the Family Protection Law or CEDAW? Did the media clarify the true picture for opposition community?

The media did not play the required role towards these issues, there were not enough programs to clarify these matters, the television is afraid to put itself in trouble with the opponents, likewise we did not see programs that condemn and combat violence that leads to the killing of women, there is a media failure in these aspects.

4 / Did it succeed, or did it fail to promote the political identity and cultural personality of women?

It is the most prominent political issue, but it did not raise social issues. Politically, I give it 60%. As for socially, it did not cover the required role.

Appendix (5) Interview with Umm Nasser

1 / Is television neutral about women's issues?

Honesty, women are oppressed in all sides; there is no one who gives women their rights and does justice to them.

2 / Has television had an impact on women's personal and political identity?

I hope that the media do justice to the women

3 / You are a mother of martyrs and prisoners, did the official media support you?

As for my case, all the media participated in it, because it is a legitimate issue, especially when my house was demolished twice, not once, the media did not delay in supporting me and presenting my case to the world, and the television remained in continuous coverage for 24 hours in a live broadcast.

4 / Has your case affected the women around you?

My case inspired strength and will to my surroundings. I, like other mothers of martyrs and prisoners, represent an example to those around us who are women in defiance, steadfastness and strength. For me, as Umm Nasser, the media stood with me strongly. As for women's issues in general, there is negligence, especially with women who are subjected to violence and murder, which did not shed light on them concretely.

Appendix (6) Interview with Nibal Thawabta

1 / Is there impartiality and credibility in the programs presented and mechanized by Palestine TV?

According to how we define neutrality and credibility, because definitions and standards differ, but in general there has been improvement in the last five years in the gender balance in media coverage, which is divided into 3 parts: the percentage of our coverage of women's stories, the extent of their appearance on the screen, and the number of media workers. In the latest study of Birzeit University, the Media Center, the study concluded that there are shortcomings regarding these axes and that the percentage does not exceed 20%. Weigh the data that do not satisfy our ambitions.

2 / Was there an enhancement of the identity of women politically and culturally?

The best fit to answer this question is the content maker in television, but for me I do not find there is a reflection to reinforce this role, there is a failure in specialized media, there are general media, and there are no specialists in the preparatory and informational side to enhance this role

3 / Is there a clarity of political, cultural and personal identity among Palestinian women?

Of course, over time, Palestinian women have always had their cultural identity, which is tangible in multiple forms of folklore and culture. This role is not framed, but it exists and is present and we are among the first countries to have this role which is strongly present.

4 / Did it have a role in showing issues such as the Family Protection Law?

There is no supportive role, but a formal role only for coverage. It is not a real role and unfortunately this role is missing

5 / How would you rate it Palestinian TV success and failure? And if you were the one who made the decision, what would you do?

We did not reach the required percentage or the required effort, and with the incompetence of those behind the content and lack of vision, the content appears scratched or incomplete and is not supportive and has a kind of insult, underestimation and recklessness, due to the lack of knowledge abundance of the media and the lack of specialization. Therefore, an army of female media and media professionals must be created who have the ability to deliver the message correctly and specialize in gender. I think that the human cadre must be strengthened in this aspect and there must be an official decision with specialized media so that there are more than 3 weekly programs related to gender and intensify the emergence of women daily, through the evening news, to be next to the guests. There is a woman, and we have many Palestinian women experts who specialize in all fields

Appendix (7) interview with Soheir Faraj

1 / What is the role of Tamm Corporation?

In 2003 we were feminist activists in the human rights and social fields and most of us were media figures. Therefore, we decided to form a complete change of the traditional and stereotypical image of women in the media and the unrealistic and abusive image of women.

2 / Were you able to change that stereotype?

We were able to make an impact because change is a long-term path, but we trained many male and female media figures, and indeed the attitudes of some of them changed, we made a change in the local media production, and we are still continuing. We are producing media to change that stereotype about women. From the process of developing the curriculum at Birzeit University to be sensitive, not racist, and discriminatory towards gender, and here the challenge was, because media colleges do not accept re-reading the journalistic and media curricula, but rather approve an additional curriculum. We worked with the women themselves to find out how to present themselves in the media, and how to address the media in a simple, clear, effective and accurate way.

3 / Did this change have an effect on society?

Yes, we saw this effect

4 / Is there impartiality and credibility of Palestine TV towards women?

Palestine TV does not have gender-sensitive media, women are not present in the media in an inclusive manner, they are confined to a certain angle, but Palestine TV is better than other media institutions. There are attempts to search for experts specializing in different

fields to speak in the media, but there is exclusion in Political issues, there is not enough presence of women to talk or talk about political, economic, or scientific research issues. Women are limited to talking about women's issues, child-rearing issues, or women's health issues. There is a lack of women's visibility and presence on screen, and the leaders in this role are often men.

5 / Was there a contribution from television in forming the political, personal and cultural identity of women?

It had a weak contribution not exceeding 30%.

6 / Where did it succeed and where did it fail?

Its success in focusing on local news and national issues. The Palestinian concern is continuing in this path. As for the formation of awareness, the plans are insufficient, which start from children's programs, and the problem are neither self-produced nor national, as they are not produced within Palestine TV. It present diversity in all fields because there is a failure in the purification of diversity and difference, and there is marginalization of the role of youth and a focus on a specific faction. There is a failure to provide attractive content to the young group, and a lack of societal awareness against violence, bullying, and extortion.

Television should search more to find out what attracts people of all groups, I should work more to present content in an attractive way to the target audience. I see Palestine TV as very traditional, and it lacks attractive and distinctive content.

Appendix (8) The Final Form of the Study Tool

Arab American University

Faculty of Graduate Studies

Dear gentlemen, ...

After Greetings,

The researcher is conducting a study entitled "The role of the official media in constructing the cultural and national identity of women - Palestine TV as a model." In order to complete the requirements for obtaining a master's degree in intercultural and literature communication from Arab American University. For this reason, this questionnaire has been prepared in your hands. Please answer its sections accurately and honestly, as they will be used for academic research purposes only.

Thank you for your kind cooperation

The researcher

Nisreen Rezek

_____

Section1: Personal Information

Please put an X in the appropriate place that applies to you

1. Gender: Male ( ) Female ( )

2. Education level: Basic ( ) Preparatory ( ) Secondary ( ) Diploma ( ) Bachelor ( ) Postgraduate ( )

3. Age: less than 18 years ( ) from 18- less than 30 years ( ) from 30- less than 40 years ( )

    40-50 years ( ) More than 50 years ( )

4. Place of residence: village ( ) city ( ) camp ( ) abroad ( )

5. Economic Income: Limited ( ) Medium ( ) High ( )

Section 2: fields of the questionnaire and its sections

I ask you to read the following paragraphs, and answer them by placing (√) in the right place according to your opinion.

#	Sections	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The First Field: Neutrality and Credibility of Palestine TV Toward Women						
1.	I see that Palestine TV promotes the language of tolerance between gender					
2.	Palestine TV develops your belief in feminist issues in all fields					
3.	Palestine TV establishes values of loyalty and belonging to the cause of gender equality					
4.	Palestine TV promotes respect for feminist issues in all its spectrum					
5.	Palestine TV establishes feminist duties for society in you					
6.	Palestine TV calls for non-discrimination in treatment between members of gender					
7.	The media culture present by Palestine TV reduces gender discrimination against women					
8.	The media culture present by Palestine TV reduces the masculinity of society					
9.	Palestine TV present specialized programs related to women's duties and rights					
10.	Palestine TV takes into account in the visual press the language of dialogue based on gender					
The Second Field: Enhancing the National Affiliation by Palestine TV						
11.	Palestine TV contributes to instilling the values of citizenship for women					
12.	Palestine TV contributes to encourage women to defend the homeland					

13.	Palestine TV highlights the captive struggles of the nationalist women's movement					
14.	Palestine TV distinguished through its programs by talking about female captives.					
15.	Palestine TV distinguished through its programs by talking about female wounded and martyrs.					
16.	Palestine TV highlights the importance of appreciating the national symbols (flag, anthem, national emblems, etc.)					
17.	Palestine TV promotes women's spirit in order to defend the country					
18.	Palestine TV enhances the willingness to fight for women in order to defend the country in times of wars and crises					
19.	Palestine TV highlights the role of the leading female characters in the homeland love					
20.	Palestine TV highlights the role of women entrepreneurs in serving the country.					
The Third Field: Promoting the National Participation of Women						
21.	Palestine TV shows the importance of women's participation in reviving national events					
22.	Palestine TV present women's interaction on national occasions					
23.	Palestine TV motivates women to participate in volunteer programs					
24.	Palestine TV motivates women to participate in national activities, "festivals, celebrations, etc."					
25.	Palestine TV works to increase the awareness of women to analyze the political issues					
26.	Palestine TV works to increase the awareness of women to understand					

	and develop the national issues					
27.	Palestine TV works to raise the national sense of women at the local level					
28.	Palestine TV works to raise the national sense of women internationally					
29.	Palestine TV works to form a luminous national awareness of Palestinian women					
30.	Palestine TV works on forming a national policy that reflects the popular sovereignty of Palestinian women.					
The Forth Field: Palestine TV's Role in Caring for Feminist Struggle						
31.	The Palestine TV interviewer talks about topics specific to fighter women, like "Dalal Al-Maghrabi"					
32.	There are dedicated programs on Palestine TV that talk about Palestinian women captives					
33.	Palestine TV cares for the anniversary of the martyrdom of Palestinian women like "Hidel Al-Hashmon"					
34.	Palestine TV cares about national feelings in Palestine like "Darren Tatour"					
35.	Palestine TV has an interest in presenting issues related to Palestinian female writers, like "Liana Badr"					
36.	Palestine TV is interested in pioneers of national action like "Samiha Khalil"					
37.	Palestine TV devotes a program which talks about Palestinian militants throughout the era, like "Shadia Abu Ghazaleh"					
38.	Palestine TV presents videos of Palestinian militants, developing national sense					
39.	Palestine TV presents popular Palestinian songs and works, like					

	"Rim Banna"					
40.	Palestine TV presents national lyric for Palestinian women					
41.	Palestine TV presents the poetic value of the poet Fadwa Toukan for the freedom of Palestine					

Open questions:

The first question: How do you think that Palestine TV can show and intensify the role of women in society, mention your suggestions.

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....
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Link to the electronic questionnaire

https://forms.gle/dE6q5srA8Mu8woSo6

Names list of the arbitrators of the study tool

Number	Arbitrator name	The workplace
1.	Dr. Nedal Jayosee	AAUP
2.	Dr. Amjad Shehada	AAUP
3.	Dr. Ghassan Nimer	Al-Quds University

الملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في دور الإعلام الرسمي الفلسطيني (تلفزيون فلسطين) في بناء الهوية الشخصية والسياسية للمرأة الفلسطينية. لذلك تعاملت هذه الاطروحة مع تلفزيون فلسطين كدراسة حالة، وطرحت حوارًا أساسيا في عملية بناء الهوية السياسية والشخصية للمراة الفلسطينية بين الجندر والاختلافات التعليمية ، بين صنع القرار والسياسة، وايضا بين التشعبات الاجتماعية والسياسية. من ناحية أخرى ، تقترح الدراسة مجموعة من التوصيات تهدف إلى التعامل مع أوجه القصور و تحسين الاساليب الحالية في بناء الهوية الشخصية والسياسية والوطنية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تعتمد الدراسة على كلٍ من المنهاج البحثي الكمي والنوعي والذي تُرجم إلى استبيان طرح على عينة عشوائية من 156 فلسطينيًا يركز على كيفية رؤية تلفزيون فلسطين، بالإضافة إلى مقابلات معمقة مع نساء فلسطينيات مؤثرات للحديث عن تجربة تلفزيون فلسطين في معالجة القضايا المتعلقة بهوية المرأة. النتائج المتعلقة بالتحليل الإحصائي للمجالات المطروحة في الاستبانة اظهرت بأن هناك دورًا فعالا لوسائل الإعلام الرسمية في بناء هوية المرأة الشخصية والسياسية، أما بحسب من تمت مقابلتهم أظهرت النتائج بأن هناك فشل في دور وتأثير الإعلام الرسمي. يرتبط مفهوم الإعلام الفلسطيني بالتسلسلات الهرمية السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية السائدة، و حيث أن العلاقة بين البناء الإعلامي وتطور المجتمع وثيقة ، تأثر الإعلام الفلسطيني مثل أي إعلام آخر في أي دولة بواقع مجتمعه. إضافة إلى ذلك ، فإن النظام السياسي الفلسطيني هو نظام مختلف يؤثر ويتأثر بواقع المجتمع الفلسطيني ، والذي يعتمد في أغلب الأحيان على التجمعات والانتماءات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإعلام، الإعلام الفلسطيني الرسمي، الهوية الشخصية، الهوية السياسية، الهوية الوطنية، المرأة الفلسطينية، تلفزيون فلسطين