



Palestinian Press Discourse towards Civil and Political Human Rights Issues

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Abstract: The study aims at identifying the nature of the Palestinian press discourse, defining its attributes, actors, reference frameworks and arguments. It also tries to find out the similarities and differences between the two selected newspapers in this study, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida (The New Life) and Palestine.

This descriptive study uses several methods including discourse analysis, comparative interrelationship as well as the use of frame analysis theory. Data collection involves using discourse analysis and content analysis tools. The researchers choose samples from Al-Hayat Al-Jadida and Palestine, and their issues are collected in systematic random sampling according to the artificial week approach over a year started from 1/1/2012 to 31/12/2012.

The study concludes that the thesis of "Prisons' Hunger Strike" in Al-Hayat Al-Jadida and "The Torture of Israeli Occupation against Prisoners", in Palestine have received the highest percentage of discussion among other theses that tackled civil and political human rights issues. There is a convergence between the study papers in the use of arguments. Discourse producers in Palestine newspaper depended on "Legal Reference" and "Historical Reference" as the most prominent references.

Keywords: Discourse, Press Discourse, Human Rights, Civil Rights and Political Rights.

1. INTRODUCTION

Human rights issues and their fundamental freedoms have great importance, as they are increasingly demanded nowadays at popular and international levels. The recognition and application of human rights in-laws is a clear evidence of the political advancement of societies and a standard to measure their development.

Civil and political rights form the core of the human rights system. They are defined by including the right to life, liberty and security, the right not to be discriminated and the right to due process¹.

Human rights issues are controversial, as they need to be discussed by different opinions until convincing public opinion of them. Press plays a key role in spreading the culture of human rights in which it is the most capable of persuasion in dealing with specific masses².

The responsibility of press in defining the principles of human rights by producing discourse is to follow up the various human rights practices in order to put them in the right place. Monitoring human rights issues in press discourses gives indications that both civil and political rights are the focus of these discourses as they are important in modern societies for their direct connection with public freedoms and different rights.

Press has a special and important place in Palestine in the field of human rights protection. Therefore, the expected role of the Palestinian press is to be responsible for protecting civil and political human rights, informing civilians with their rights, defining the importance of superiority of law, promoting the culture of respect and adherence to them, since press has significant role in public freedom system that constitute the core of human rights.

1.1. Problem of the Study

The problem of this study is to monitor and analyze the Palestinian press discourse on civil and political human rights issues. It also tries to identify the issues and theses, arguments, monitor and analyze the actors and the reference frameworks, and the similarities and differences between the two newspapers.

1.2. The Questions of the Study, The Objectives of this Study can be Introduced by the Main Following Question

What are the features of Palestinian press discourse on civil and political human rights issues?

1.2.1. Sub-Questions

- What are the main themes discussed in the selected newspapers of this study in dealing with civil and political human rights?
- What are the arguments and evidence in which the press discourse producers relied on to address their theses in the two newspapers on civil and political human rights issues?
- What are the main actors highlighted in the discourse of the two newspapers? What are their roles and attributes?
- What are the reference frameworks in which the discourse of the two newspapers relied on towards civil and political human rights issues?
- What are the similarities and differences in discussing the Palestinian press discourse in the two newspapers on civil and political human rights issues?

1.3. The Importance of this Study

- The scientific importance of this study arises due to the lack of press discourse studies on civil and political human rights issues in media, especially in written press.
- Although human rights issues have great focus in legal, political and social studies, they are limited in Palestinian media studies.
- The importance of the study is the need to shed light on the issues of civil and political human rights in order to spread them as culture among different categories of society.
- This study is important because it comes within the suffering of the Palestinian society from division for years, leading to increased violations of civil and political human rights against Palestinian civilians throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

1.4. Previous Studies

As the researchers are keen to discuss deeply the study problem, they use survey methodologies for the most important studies related to the subject of this study in a way or another:

- **Hammad Study**³: the study aimed to recognize the reality of press freedoms and its reflection on Palestinian journalists in Palestinian-controlled Territories.
- **Al-Umari Study**⁴: the study aimed to recognize the characteristics of the content and form of Israeli violations issues of Palestinian children rights.
- **Dremeli Study**⁵: the study aimed to uncover the attitudes of the communicator towards the concept of freedom and social responsibility in the Palestinian press and describe the situation of press freedom in Palestinian-controlled Territories.
- **Mahmoud Study**⁶: the study aimed to identify the dimensions and limits of the role played by the Arab press in spreading and promoting the culture of human rights.
- **Qartam Study**⁷: the study aimed to identify the relationship of the interaction and influence between globalization and Egyptian press discourse, as well as showing the effect of globalization on Egyptian press discourse.
- **Abdel-Majeed Study**⁸: the study aimed to identify the impact of the media in dealing with human rights issues on the knowledge and attitudes of the Egyptian public and their prioritization of these issues.
- **Al-Ammar Study**⁹: the study aimed to monitor and analyze the attributes of press discourses of human rights issues in Yemeni press.
- **Bassiouni Study**¹⁰: the study aimed to monitor and analyze Egyptian press discourses of civil, political, social, cultural and economic human rights issues in order to find out their stated directions.

- **Umran Study¹¹**: the study aimed to identify the nature of newspapers and their focuses in discussing citizenship's rights and determine the press frameworks through which the press discourse raised these rights.
- **Brooth Study¹²**: the study aimed to identify the impact of global discourse on democracy and human rights in the oppressed people within the Burmese opposition especially the discourse related to civil and political rights.
- **Elizabeth Study¹³**: the study aimed to analyze the human rights discourse in the early months of the second Chechen war during the period from August 1999 to March 2000.
- **Hazel Study¹⁴**: the study aimed to know the role of human rights in foreign policy in the written media and congressional speeches.
- **Abdel-Maqsoud Study¹⁵**: the study aimed to conclude the attributes of civil and political human rights issues discourse in *Ahram*, *Al-Wafd*, *Al-Ahly* and *Afaq Alarab* newspapers.
- **Ramos Study¹⁶**: the study aimed to identify the impact of the media coverage in northern countries of different incidents and violations on clarifying the concepts and terms of human rights.
- **Elizabeth Study¹⁷**: the study aimed to conclude the frameworks for addressing the civil rights legislation of ethnic groups in the United States.
- **Stephen Study¹⁸**: the study aimed to find out the degree of media coverage of human rights violations in *New York Times* newspaper.
- **Windbor Study¹⁹**: the study aimed to evaluate the experience of civil society journalism and to examine the impact of the content on civil and political human rights issues on the attitudes of individuals towards human rights issues.
- **Ovsiovitsh Study²⁰**: the study aimed to identify the nature of news coverage of human rights issues.

1.4.1. Commenting on the Previous Studies

- The researchers find out that there is limited number of media studies discussing press discourse on civil and political human rights issues except Al-Ammar (2008). This study is different from the previous studies in its sample presented by *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* newspapers and its period which was over a year started from 1/1/2012 to 31/12/2012.
- From the above, it is clear that the subject of the study is new to reveal the attributes of Palestinian press discourse on civil and political human rights issues.

2. THEORETICAL PART OF THIS STUDY

The study based on frame analysis theory to find out the theses of Palestinian press discourse on civil and political human rights issues in the two newspapers. They depend on publishing special opinion articles related to media agenda and reference frameworks of the newspapers. Many aspects affect the formulation of press discourse and present a special frame in each newspaper including the discussed or overlooked aspects, fundamentals and arguments.

2.1. Type, Approach and Tools of the Study

- **Study type and approach**: this is a descriptive study in which the researchers use discourse analysis approach. It aimed to recognize the ideologies which form the discourse through a specific-time context, or different time contexts, monitor arguments, analyze the actors and other methods that help to make a deep and comprehensive image of the discourse²¹. In addition, comparative interrelationship approach is used to reveal the similarities and differences in the discourse of the selected newspapers on civil and political human rights issues.
- **Study Tools**: the nature of this study, its objectives and questions drive the researchers to use discourse analysis and content analysis tools including theses, arguments, actors and reference frameworks.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLE

3.1. Data Collection

Palestinian daily newspapers such as *Jerusalem*, *Al-Ayyam*, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine*.

3.2. Sample

3.2.1. Newspapers

The researchers choose *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* since they are daily issued and represent different attitudes.

3.2.2. Al-Hayat Al-Jadida Newspaper

It is a daily political newspaper issued in Al-Bireh. Nabil Amro and Hafiz Al-Bargouthi established it on 15/8/2/1995 and currently Editor Mahmoud Abu al-Hija²² has headed it. It is one of the PLO's institutions, and affiliated to the Palestinian National Fund, which represents the Palestinian Authority.

3.2.3. Palestine Newspaper

A comprehensive political daily newspaper published by Al-Wasat News Company for media and the chairman is Dr Ahmed Al-Sa'aty. It is issued in Gaza since 3 May 2007²³, and adopts political and ideological views close to Hamas.

3.3. Time sample

the researchers collected issues from *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* based on systematic random sampling according to the artificial week approach over a year started from 1/1/2012 to 31/12/2012.

3.4. The Material of the Study

All opinion articles discussed civil and political human rights in the newspapers during the determined period. The civil rights include the right to life, religion, equality, and freedom of speech, prohibition of illegal detention, torture, and inhuman treatment. The political rights include the right to political participation, form political parties, found associations, the right to free and fair elections besides the right to hold public office and peaceful assembly.

Table1. Shows the distribution of opinion articles in the two newspapers

Newspaper Opinion Articles	Hayat Al-Jadida		Palestine	
	Opinion Articles	%	Opinion Articles	%
ColumnArticle	20	100	16	47
Analysis Article	0	0	11	32.4
Opinion Interview	0	0	7	20.6
Total	20	%100	34	%100

4. PROCEDURES OF ANALYSIS, MEASUREMENT AND COUNTING

It presents the subject in which the idea is chosen as analysis unit while repetition is used as measuring and counting method.

4.1. Validity and Credibility

4.1.1. Validity Procedures

The researchers use discourse analysis carefully and choose analysis units that come with the nature of the study to achieve its objectives and answer its questions. The accuracy and suitability of the measurement are verified.

4.1.2. Credibility Procedures

The researchers repeat the process by analyzing 12 articles selected randomly at a percentage of %12 of nine issues from each newspaper. The percentage of the credibility after reanalyzing the sample was %93.2.

4.2. Fundamental Concepts

4.2.1. Discourse

It is every spoken or written unit carries a particular attitude of the speaker or writer and has the intention to influence the hearer or reader to take into account the whole circumstances.

4.2.2. Civil Rights

A group of rights and freedoms related with people as citizens in a society, country or state.

4.2.3. Political Rights

The rights acquired by people as citizens who contribute to manage his/ her country's affairs and participate in its rule.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Theses on Civil and Political Human Rights Issues in the Newspapers

Table2. Shows theses of civil and political human rights issues in the newspapers

Human Rights Issues		Newspaper Theses	Al-Hatat Al-Jadeda		Palestine		Public Attitude	
			Words	%	Words	%	Words	%
Civil rights	Right to life	Assassination	7	2.9	11	4.9	18	4.9
		Random killing	16	11.4	21	9.4	37	10.2
	Freedom of movement	Isolating Jerusalem and dividing the West Bank	0	0	15	6.7	15	4.1
	Freedom of speech	Burglary of media institutions	7	5	0	0	7	1.9
		The Decline Media Freedom	17	9.3	14	6.3	31	8.5
		Union elections	14	10	11	4.9	25	6.9
		Guarantees on Freedom of speech	8	5.7	0	0	8	2.2
	Detention and torture	Detention on political Affiliation Basis	10	7.1	15	6.7	25	6.9
		Prisoners' Hunger Strike	18	12.9	39	17.4	57	15.7
		Inhuman Practices against Prisoners	12	8.6	43	19.2	55	15.1
Political rights	The right to vote	General Election	10	7.1	16	7.1	26	7.1
		Municipal Election	10	7.1	17	7.6	27	7.4
		Formation of Electoral Blocs	8	5.7	0	0	8	2.2
	The right to hold public office	Employment Requirement	3	2.2	0	0	3	0.8
	The right to found associations	Foundation of NGOs	0	0	9	4	9	2.5
	Peaceful assembly	Demonstrations in West Bank	7	5	13	5.8	20	5.5
Total			140	100	224	100	364*	100

*The number of these is more than the number of civil and political human rights issues because an issue contains of more than one thesis.

By analyzing the data from the previous table, it is clear that:

5.2. Al-Hayat Al-Jadida Newspapers

5.2.1. The Right to Life

In the thesis of **Assassinations**, the writer Adli Sadiq, discussed the death of Palestinian young man "Saif" who was watched and killed by the Israeli occupation aircraft. He said "yesterday dawn, a strategic aircraft watched him, claimed his light spirit and took away his humble presence forever."²⁴ In addition, in the thesis of **Random Killing**, the writer Adel Abdel-Rahman, said, "Over the last three days, the Israeli aircraft, tanks and boats continued their aggressive bombing on armless Palestinian people, lifting the death of six civilians and more than 30 wounded."²⁵

5.2.2. Freedom of Speech

Adel Abdel-Rahman discussed the thesis of **Burglary of Media Institutions** through the press discourse of his column article. He wrote, "A new Zionist attack targets the national press and aims to silent the national voice and freedom of speech."²⁶

5.2.3. Detention and Torture

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida shows its attitude towards the thesis of Detention on Political Affiliation Basis through an article written by Baker Abu Baker. He stated, "Detention cases are controversial either in Gaza by Hamas militias or in West Bank by authorized security services." He added, "Detention on contrary opinion basis for any political, ideological or social opinion is rejected whether conducted by PA authorized security services or by Hamas militias."²⁷

5.2.4. The Right to Vote Issue

The producers of press discourse presented the thesis of **General Election** through three sub-theses: the Support of Conducting Elections, Unification of Votes and the Nomination of Abu Mazen. For example, Abdel-Hakim Salah supported the decision of conducting local elections, he indicated, "the decision of conducting local election is undoubtedly a step in the right direction."²⁸ In addition, Yousef Abu Awwad suggested that the State has to have one candidate²⁹, while Iyad Rajoub called on the president Mahmoud Abbas to re-run for the elections³⁰.

5.2.5. The Right to Hold Public Office

The discourse of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* highlighted the thesis of **Employment Requirements**. Muwafaq Matar criticized the decision of Council of Ministers to abolish the required condition of security for the employment in governmental institutions and he considered it as wrong decision.³¹

5.2.6. Peaceful Assembly

The newspaper presented the thesis of **Demonstrations in the West Bank** by explaining their causes. Muwafaq Matar attributed the reasons for demonstrations in the West Bank to the economic and financial crisis caused by the occupation and settlements, Hamas coup in Gaza and financial and political siege³².

5.3. Palestine Newspaper

5.3.1. The Right to Life

In the thesis of **Assassinations**, Amjad Arrar wrote about the death incident of Ihab Al-Za'anin, his brother and friend, "the Za'anin brothers were killed immediately while their relative Tariq was wounded."³³

5.3.2. Freedom of Movement

Hisham Munawar highlighted in the thesis of **Isolating Jerusalem and Dividing the West Bank** the Israeli intention of isolating Jerusalem and dividing the West Bank.³⁴ In a related context, Yousef Rizqa discussed the siege on Gaza and the isolation of people of Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank without respecting human rights provided for in international law.³⁵

5.3.3. Freedom of Speech

Palestine newspaper discourse presented the thesis of Elections of Journalists Union. In his analysis article, entitled with "Elections of the Union of Journalists and the Monopoly of Palestinian Representation", Sameer Zaqaout indicated, "conducting the recent elections for journalists union on 19 March 2012, aimed to empty the union of its professional cadres and promote division."³⁶

5.3.4. Detention and Torture

Press discourse producers presented the thesis of **Detention on the political Affiliation Basis** through three sub-theses include, Security Corporation between Palestinian and Israeli Security Services, The Release of Political Detainees and The Circumvent of Judicial Rulings, "detentions by the PA services are based on joint security coordination between them and the enemy against the our people, in which PA services detain who were detained before by Israeli forces and vice versa". Said Yousef Rizqa.³⁷

5.3.5. The Right to Vote

The newspaper showed through its discourse the thesis **General Elections**, indicating its attitude that rejects "conducting local election in such circumstances makes troubles and urge incitement."³⁸ In agreement with this view, Issam Adwan stated, "the West Bank currently is not ready for any elections under occupation."³⁹

5.3.6. *The Right to Found Associations*

The newspaper highlighted the thesis of **Foundation of Associations** through three sub-theses included "The Right of NGOs to Work Under Terms", " The Dissolution of NGOs" and "The Oversight of Institutions". The newspaper conducted an opinion interview about the right to found associations; it concluded, "Ministry of Interior confirms that NGOs have the right to work under terms and standards."⁴⁰

5.3.7. *The Right to Peaceful Assembly*

Palestine presented the thesis of **Demonstrations in the West Bank** by listing their reasons. In the column article, "Old language Lacks Responsibility", Yousef Rizqa explained that the reasons of these demonstrations are "the deterioration of economic and social situations, the spread of financial corruption in senior management, the increasing poverty rate to %25 in the West Bank, Fayad's Government failure to hold its responsibilities, manage the public fund and foreign donations."⁴¹

5.4. **Similarities and Differences between the two Newspapers**

- The press producers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* discussed the issue of the right to life which included the theses of The Assassinations and Random Killing.
- *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* is the only one to introduce the issue of the right to found associations, while *Palestine* introduced the issues of freedom of movement and the right to found associations.
- The two newspapers were different in presenting the issue of the freedom of speech, both of them presented the theses of The Decline of Media Freedom and Union Elections, yet *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* was unique in dealing with the thesis of Burglary of Media Institutions.
- In addition, the two newspapers were different in the theses which discussed the issue of the right to vote. They introduced the theses of General Elections and Municipal Elections, but *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* was unique in discussing the thesis of Formation of Electoral Blocs.

6. ARGUMENTS IN THE STUDY NEWSPAPERS

Table3. Shows the arguments of civil and political human rights in the newspapers

Arguments		Newspaper		Al-Hayat Al-Jadida		Palestine		General Direction	
			%		%		%		
Justifications	Arguments	35	35.7	49	35	84	35.3		
	Demands	Suggestions	28	28.6	21	15	49	20.6	
		Solutions	7	7.1	21	15	28	11.8	
	Results	8	8.2	9	6.4	17	7.1		
Evidence	Incidents	9	9.2	5	3.6	14	5.8		
	Statements	4	4.1	6	4.3	10	4.2		
	Statistics	4	4.1	24	17.1	28	11.8		
	Press releases and reports	3	3.1	5	3.6	8	3.4		
Total		98	100	140	100	*238	100		

*The number of arguments is more than public opinion articles in the newspapers because an article contained more than one arguments to prove the theses.

By analyzing the data from the previous table, it is clear that:

6.1. Al-Hayat Al-Jadida

6.1.1. Justifications Include (The Arguments, Demands and Results)

a) *The Right to Life*

Adel Abdel-Rahman demonstrated that Israeli occupation had fake justifications to aggressively bomb people of Gaza by its aircraft, tanks and boats, causing the death of 171 Palestinians. It claimed that "the Palestinian resistance factions directly shot an Israeli military jeep near the border of Gaza with the Israeli state of apartheid."⁴²

b) Freedom of Speech

Adel Abdel-Rahman presented arguments justified the thesis of **Burglary of Media Institutions**. The first argument is "the Israeli occupation continues the policy of oppression, torture and administrative detention against journalists", while the second arguments is "shutting people up and silencing the national voice and practicing coercion against the captive movement."⁴³

c) Detention and Torture:

The paper shows its attitude towards the issue of **detention on political affiliation basis** by Baker Abu Baker's article. It demanded the necessity to stop Hamas instigators who benefit from the coup by making incited fat was (statements) against their own people. Hamas must admit its mistake of coup, apologize for its behaviors and pledge to never do it again.⁴⁴ The consequences of constant of detention policy against Palestinian people "led the whole area to inter violence and war, ended peaceful and freedom hopes, systematically destroyed political settlements and terminated the Palestinian national rights."⁴⁵

d) The Right to Vote

Abdel-Hakim Salah supported the issue of **Conducting Elections** with two arguments to justify his attitude. The first argument was "change, renew and regain the democratic life after the coup." The second argument was "refresh the parliament life and empower the frameworks to play their role in constructing the society and institution until the conditions of reconciliation succeed. The Demands where "not to circumvent the calls, which exaggerate in the negative repercussions of the situation because of the division and therefore it should be delayed and take more time "⁴⁶

e) Holding Public Office

Muwafaq Matar supported the issue of **Employment Requirements** and objected the decision of Council of Ministers to abolish the required condition of security for the employment in governmental institutions. He referred to three arguments to support his attitude. The first argument is "the occupation still exists and exploits the weaknesses of society members." The second argument is "tribal and tribal political parties in their trenches." The third argument is "The users of national principles and noble human ideas continue to hold their own interests and personal and factional projects."⁴⁷

f) Peaceful Assembly

Muwafaq Matar used two arguments to support the issue of **Demonstrations in the West Bank** and explained their reasons. The first argument "the economic and financial crisis by the occupation and settlement." While the second argument is "coup in Gaza and the financial and political siege."⁴⁸ However, Bahaa Rahhal added two arguments to support this issue; the first argument is "high prices and difficult economic situations", and the second argument is "government inability to meet its obligations to citizens."⁴⁹

6.1.2. Evidence

a) Incidents

The writers of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* used the recent incidents to deal with the issues of civil and political human rights such as the burglary of some Hamas members on journalists Unions in Gaza, the storming of Israeli occupation forces out the headquarters of Watan and Al-Quds educational channels. They also introduced the abolishment decision of the required condition of security for the employment in governmental institutions, the decision of conducting elections and last week's outcries in Palestinian Territories against high prices and difficult economic situations.

b) Statistics

Writers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* use statistics to deal with detention and torture issue, "more than four thousands prisoners are detained in Israeli prisons where more than 500 prisoners have started hunger strike."⁵⁰ In addition, they dealt with the right to life issue, "the death of 11 people from Al-Dalaw family including women and children in Nasser neighborhood"⁵¹, besides the issue of the right to vote," The population of the Gaza Strip is one million eight hundred thousand."⁵²

c) Press Releases and Reports

They based on releases to deal with the issue of detention and torture, they were" according to the statement made by the Red Cross as well as the statements of European and Middle Eastern organizations for human rights"⁵³. Likewise, the statements used to address the right to life are "the US and European statements demand Gaza, the victim, to stop fire not Israel, the victimizer."⁵⁴

d) Statements

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida's writers used the statements to address the right to life issue, such as Ben-Gurion's 1948 declaration that "Israel must not waste an inch of the land that could be seized."⁵⁵

6.2. Palestine Newspaper

6.2.1. Justifications Including (The Arguments, Demands and Results)

a) The Right to Life

In dealing with **Assassination** thesis, Issam Shower talked through the column article "the Martyr Al-Salayma and Terrorism of Israel is Renewed" about the assassination of the Palestinian boy Mohammed Al-Salayma, clarifying that he was the first victim of new policy of occupying state in the West Bank. He supported his article by three arguments; "The terrible defeat of Israeli army in the Gaza Strip", the European pressures to stop settlements activities in the West Bank" and "the Israeli propaganda for

Knesset elections, which always conducted at the expense of Palestinian blood."⁵⁶

b) Freedom of Movement

Hisham Munawar spotted the light on the Israeli intention in the thesis of **Isolating Jerusalem and Dividing the West Bank**. He derived his proposal from Haaretz Newspaper which revealed that the Israeli entity recently has started a great operation, if completed, to isolate eastern Jerusalem and dived the West Bank to northern and southern areas without any geographical connection between them".⁵⁷

c) Freedom of Speech

In the thesis of Union Elections, Sameer Zaquot stated that conducting the recent elections in Journalists Union intended to empty the union from its professional cadres and promote division in Palestinian society. His argument is "people who seek elections, do not care of national or professional good. At the national level, they root the division which Palestinian people always suffer from, while they significantly allow the violations of freedom of speech and press work at the professional level."⁵⁸

d) Detention and Torture

Yousef Rizqa supported the thesis of **Detention on Political Affiliation Basis** with an argument states, "the purpose of suppressing Hamas is to uproot Hamas power, undermined its popularity and dismantle its structure". He clarified that the recent cruel campaign of detentions against Hamas political and non-political leaders and members intensified in all areas of the West Bank. He used two argument; "because of popular protests for social and political purpose", and "the fear of Israel and PA of the outbreak of a third intifada that works in double directions, one against the occupation and the other against Abbas-Fayad Government and their security services."⁵⁹

e) The Right to Vote

Yousef Rizqa discussed the thesis of **Municipal Election** disinterest of citizens in occupied Jerusalem to conduct them. He supported it with an argument, "an honest citizen is not interested because he has never receive a real service from PA." He also said that two out of three people in the West Bank refuse the municipal elections, arguing, "Elections are only conducted between Fateh members. It has several competing lists because there is no competitor for Fatah in the West Bank, not from Hamas, the independents, not even from the left-wing, which some of its members intend to participate in."⁶⁰

f) The Right to Found Association

Palestine paper showed that "Ministry of Interior indicates the right of NGOs to work under terms and standards", also, "the ministry exercises strong censorship on NGOs". The paper argued, "The purpose of such censorship is to subdue these organizations."⁶¹

g) *The Right of Peaceful Assembly*

Yousef Rizqa supported the thesis of Demonstrations in the West Bank with many arguments. The first argument is "deterioration of social and political situations", the second one is "the spread financial corruption in senior management", while the third is "the increase of poverty rate to % 25 in the West Bank" and the last argument is "the failure of Fayad's Government to hold its responsibilities, manage the public fund and foreign donations."⁶²

6.2.2. *Evidence*

a) *Incidents*

The incidents were an important reference for *Palestine* paper and its writers in dealing with issues of civil and political human rights. It discussed, for example, the continuation of hunger strike by the prisoner Sheikh Khader Adnan for the 57th day respectively, conducting elections in journalists union except Gaza, the release of all prisoners who had court decisions in all the West Bank areas by intelligence services, renew of Israeli aggression on Gaza and the assassination of the Palestinian boy Mohammed Al-Salayma in cold blood.

b) *Statistics*

The writers in *Palestine* paper used statistics in dealing with the issue of founding associations, "since 2008, Ministry of Interior in the Gaza Strip gave 800 work licenses for NGOs and 43 licenses for foreign associations."⁶³ Moreover, they used statistics for detention and torture issue, "since the second Intifada in 2000, 23500 decisions of administrative detention were issued."⁶⁴

c) *Press Releases and Statements*

By discussing the issue of freedom of movement, *Palestine* used a report, "the UN annual report included three main points: the siege on Gaza, the continued isolation of people in Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank in 2011 and demanding Israel to respect fundamental human rights under international law."⁶⁵

d) *Statements*

Palestine writers referred to statements to deal with illegal detention. They used the statement of the Egyptian ambassador Yasser Othman, he indicates, "Egypt will not stand idly by, because it supported the agreement and attended it, and Israel shall not violate its obligations in this issue."⁶⁶

6.3. Similarities and Differences Between the two Newspapers

- The producers of press discourse in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* used justifications which include the arguments, demands and solutions, as well as evidence that include the incidents, statistics, statements, press releases and reports to demonstrate the theses of civil and political human rights issues. The researchers list some similarities and differences between the producers of discourse in the two study papers on how to use the justifications, and the evidence, as follows:
- The press producers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and *Palestine* discussed the decline of press freedom. They both agreed that the reasons due are political division, the violation of press freedom in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the spread of partisan press that looks at the Palestinian issues from partisan perspective, and the absence of the contrary opinion.
- Both papers addressed the theses of **Prisoners' Hunger Strike** and **Inhuman Practices against the Prisoners**. Discourse producers in *Palestine* suggested a solution to internationalize the issue of Palestinian and Arab prisoners in Israeli prisons and present it to UN General Assembly.
- *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* is the only one to introduce the issue of the right to found associations, while *Palestine* introduced the issues of freedom of movement and the right to found associations.
- The two newspapers were different in presenting the thesis of Detention on Political Affiliation Basis. The producers of press discourse in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* accused Hamas to incitement and announcing misleading fatwas. They demanded Hamas to admit its mistake of coup and apologize for it. However, the producers in *Palestine* saw that the campaign of

detentions in the West Bank increased against Hamas leaders and supporters because Israel and PA fear of outbreak of a third intifada.

- The study papers were different in presenting the thesis of conducting general or municipal elections. Producers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* supported the elections for change, renew and regain the democratic life after the coup. In contrast, producers in *Palestine* objected them because the West Bank in the status quo is not ready for any elections under occupation and that conducting them in the West Bank without Gaza is a kind of privatization of the one-party elections represented by the Fatah movement.
- They also were different in presenting the thesis of **Demonstrations in the West Bank**. The producers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* concluded that the reasons of such demonstrations were the economic and financial crisis due to the occupation and settlement, the coup in the Gaza Strip and political and financial siege. Otherwise, *Palestine's* producers clarified that the reasons were due to the spread of financial corruption in senior management, the failure of Fayad's Government to hold its responsibilities, manage the public fund and foreign donations.
- The producers in both papers used press releases and reports for demonstration, yet they differed in the ways of using them. *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* used them as evidence to the decline of press freedom in Palestine and the violation of the right to life, while *Palestine* used them as evidence for Jerusalem isolation by Israel, the siege in Gaza and blockading in the West Bank. However, they agreed in using them as evidence to the continuous detentions by the Israeli occupation in the West Bank beside the political detentions against the supporters of Hamas and Fateh movements in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.
- The producers in both papers used statistics for proving the issues of detention and torture and the right to life, yet *Palestine* used them more as evidence for the issues of founding associations, conducting elections in the West Bank.

7. REFERENCE FRAMEWORKS AND THEIR USE IN THE STUDY NEWSPAPERS

Table4. Shows reference frameworks and their use in the study newspapers

Newspaper	<i>Al-Hayat Al-Jadida</i>		<i>Palestine</i>		General Direction	
	Reference frameworks	%	Reference frameworks	%	Reference frameworks	%
Religious Reference	4	6.2	0	0	4	2.1
Historical Reference	7	10.8	26	21.1	33	17.5
Legal Reference	0	0	37	30.1	37	19.7
Humanitarian Reference	9	13.8	12	9.8	21	11.2
Social Reference	6	9.2	8	6.5	14	7.4
Political Reference	15	23	12	9.8	27	14.4
Security Reference	13	20	19	15.4	32	12
Economic Reference	11	16.9	9	7.3	20	10.6
Total	65	100	123	100	*188	100

*the number of reference frameworks is more than opinion articles because each issue may have more than one reference framework.

By analyzing the data from the table, it shows the following:

7.1. Al-Hayat Al-Jadida Newspaper

7.1.1. Religious Reference

A writer referred to verses from the Holy Quran to deal with the issue of freedom of speech, "and enough is Allah for the believers in their fight" and "If your Lord wants to make people one nation and they are still different."⁶⁷ In addition, commenting on the right to vote, Mazen Baghdad stated, "this gathering which include all people is already a united group, then Allah helps with his will the united group" and " May Allah guide to a straight path."⁶⁸

7.1.2. Historical Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of the right to vote, such as "as all people are under the umbrella of PLO, they believe in the national project and the establishment of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital on the borders of the 4 June 1976."⁶⁹

7.1.3. Humanitarian Reference

Producers of press discourse in *Palestine* used it to deal with the issue of the right to life, "as the aircraft used to bomb tanks, fortifications and military bases, it was used to bomb a wheelchair for disabled person."⁷⁰

7.1.4. Social Reference

it was used to deal with the issue of the right to life, "Palestinian people embodies the highest degree of unity in facing this aggression along the Palestinian homeland and the Diaspora as well as the Palestinian resistance, from all factions, backgrounds, types, wings and groups, embodies the most beautiful image of unity in the field."⁷¹

7.1.5. Political Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of the right to vote, "the delay of the supplementary elections depends on the negotiations of unity and end the division in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank."⁷² In the issue of the right to life, "the more Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo procrastinates and prolongs the negotiations of ceasefire and restoration of the truce, the more Gaza has casualties."⁷³

7.1.6. Security Reference

Discourse producers used it to deal with the issue of detention and torture. Baker Abu Baker stated, "The file of detentions is absolutely controversial in the Gaza Strip by Hamas militias and in the West Bank by authorized security services."⁷⁴

7.1.7. Economic Reference

Producers in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* based on the economic reference to deal with the issue of peaceful assembly. Bahaa Rahhal said, "The reason of last week outcry in the West Bank was the inability of the government to meet its obligations towards the citizens."⁷⁵

7.2. Palestine Newspaper

7.2.1. Historical Reference

the writers of this paper used historical reference to deal with the issue of detention and torture, "as was the case of the one-thirty-day prisoners' hunger strike in 2000, causing prisoners uprising"⁷⁶, and "the Israeli occupation implemented these regulations on the Palestinian people in the territories occupied in 1967."⁷⁷

7.2.2. Legal Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of the right to found associations, "The Palestinian Basic Law No. (1) for the year 2000 to regulate the work of NGOs gives them freedom without any limits or prohibitions of work."⁷⁸

7.2.3. Humanitarian Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of the freedom of movement. Yousef Rizqasaid, "Gaza suffers collective genocides"⁷⁹, and "The deportation of Hana Shalabi, who is on hunger strike to Gaza, and depriving her the right to live in her hometown with her family."⁸⁰

7.2.4. Social Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of detention and torture. Lama Khater wrote, "The effects of hatred on hearts will be removed when the ice is broken between the security services and people, a radical change is made in their policy, and when they are able to reconcile with their opponents and apologize to those who were victims of injustice during the past years."⁸¹

7.2.5. Political Reference

It was chosen to deal with the issue of freedom of speech, "the recent elections on 19 March, 2012 in journalists union aimed to empty the union of its professional cadres and promote division."⁸²

7.2.6. Security Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of founding associations, "Ministry of Interior allocated General Directorate for Public Affairs and non-governmental organizations to follow up procedure in order to

prevent illegal overlapping of powers and interference of the security services in the work of associations."⁸³

7.2.7. Economic Reference

It was used to deal with the issue of peaceful assembly. Adnan Abu Amer thought, "It was clear for decision makers in Tel Aviv that Palestinian public targets two enemies: the prime minister, Salaam Fayad and the Paris economic agreement with (Israel)."⁸⁴

8. RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Results

The analytic results of this study show that the thesis of Prisons' Hunger Strike gets the highest percentage among other theses of civil and political human rights. However, the percentage is different in the study papers; it is %17.4 in *Palestine* to %12.9 in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*. This clarifies the attitude of press discourse in both papers and its association with official attitudes. The researchers point out to the weak role of media is due to the weakness of official role to pay attention to prisoner issues and put their needs on the priorities of the political agenda. This comes with the theory of setting the agenda which indicates that newspapers take the priorities of general political issues, decision-making and the interests of decision makers as dependent variables, in which they set their agenda through government and politics."⁸⁵

The researchers explain that the political attitudes of the study papers contribute obviously in formulating the press discourse of the thesis of Prisoners' Hunger Strike. The structure of press discourse did not obliged to determinants, but it significantly affected by the official attitude of the newspaper owners.

The results reveal the big difference in the percentage between the focuses of the papers in presenting the thesis of Torture of Prisoners by Israeli Occupation. The percentage in *Palestine* is %19.2, while it is %8.6 in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*. This reflects the focus of *Palestine* on the issue of practicing torture against Palestinian prisoners and use it to show, through the political power, its role as defender for the prisoners, in exchange for an attempt to frame the Palestinian National Authority as accountable for not being endeavor to tackle the issues of the prisoners in Israeli prisons. Moreover, the researchers point out that the press discourse in both papers in dealing with the issue of detention and torture is similar despite their different ideologies. This meet with the theory of agenda which indicates that one of the influences informing the content of communicative methods is the ideological influence in which it is related to the policy of the state and its regime.

The results of the study show that there is convergence between the papers in using the arguments, the percentage in the *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* is %35.7 compared to %35 in *Palestine*. The most supported theses with arguments by producers of press discourse in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* are Burglary on Media Institutions, Decline of Media Freedom in Palestine, Prisoners' Hunger Strike, General Elections, Delaying Municipal Elections and Demonstrations in the West Bank. On the other hand, the most supported theses with arguments by producers of press discourse in *Palestine* are Assassinations, Isolating Jerusalem and Dividing the West Bank, Election of Palestinian Journalists Union, Decline of Media Freedom, Detention on Political Affiliation Basis, Prisoners' Hunger Strike and Demonstrations in the West Bank.

This corresponds to the theory of agenda which shows the levels of influence in forming the content of communicative method, from individual level of workers in communications (the specific level), to the ideological influence (the broad level). It is called "the pyramid of influences", ideology represents the top of the pyramid and penetrates across all other levels.⁸⁶ It also corresponds to the fact that forming media coverage depends on the thoughts of the communicator. Producer forms discourse to deal with his/her own ideas and attitudes by focusing on specific aspects within press discourse, highlighting some elements and marginalizing others to achieve ideological or intellectual goals of media.⁸⁷

Palestinian press discourse is characterized by intended selection of its focuses in civil and political human rights issues according to the editorial policy of the newspaper. Thus, it reflected on the priorities of the publication and its objectives, as well as the multiple attitudes of Palestinian press discourse towards civil and political human rights issues, which depended on evidence and arguments of addressed issues.

The results show the superiority of *Palestine* paper in using historical reference, the percentage is %21.1 compared with %10.8 in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*. The researchers indicate that using the historical reference in Palestinian press discourse asserts that the rights of Palestinian people have been violated since the Israeli occupation of Palestine. It is an important framework to show up the Israeli occupation practices before the International public opinion and unmask the real face of it in disrespecting the international laws and covenants of human rights.

Moreover, the researchers confirm that the multiple usage of reference frameworks that are depended on by discourse producers in both newspapers reflects the certainty of press discourse. This meet with the study of Citizenship in Egyptian Press Discourse, by Omayma Umran. The results show the multiple attitudes of press discourse of each newspaper vary between supporters, opponents or neutrals towards the addressed humanitarian issues which based on various reference evidence.⁸⁸

The results also show the Palestinian press lacks the presence of specialized writers in human rights field or specialized commentators to discuss international dimensions related to human rights issues. It was limited to individual judgments, without relying on documented information, which led to the confusion in the message of the media in many of opinion articles, and just repeating similar statements.

8.2. Recommendations

- The importance of the Palestinian press discourse to address civil and political human rights including central and sub theses. It should focus on all issues without ignoring any issue that does not comes with the editorial policy of the newspaper, and originally derived from the ideological attitude of its owners.
- The importance of using different arguments by producers of discourse and pay more attention to the evidence due to its crucial role in convincing the reader with the presented article.
- The need to neutralize the press discourse away from political rivalries, without accusing others with negligence of Palestinian civil and political human rights under the political division, yet providing constructive criticism to Palestinian actors in order to assess their role to serve the Palestinian civil and political rights.
- The need of Palestinian press discourse to pay more attention to arguments that based on evidence and proofs through which the civil and political human rights are clarified in accordance with international laws.
- The need to pay more attention to religious and social references in press discourse of Palestinian newspapers, because of their effective role in protecting the system of civil and political human rights.
- The need to shed more light on legal and historical references in Palestinian discourse of newspapers in order to deal with civil and political human rights issues, so as to fulfill the functions of the press of raising awareness and education, in order to protect human rights.

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