

**T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
RADYO, TELEVZYON VE SİNEMA ANABİLİM DALI
RADYO, TELEVZYON VE SİNEMA BİLİM DALI**

**ISRAELI PROPAGANDA METHODS IN THE NEW ARABIC-
SPEAKING MEDIA CONCERNING CULTURAL
NORMALIZATION**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

ONS BOUJELBENE

KOCAELİ, 2020

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Dr. Öğr. Akın DEVECİ

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My success is not but through Allah. Upon him I have relied, and to Him I return.

PRAISE BE TO ALLAH

MOM, DAD, for always loving and supporting me. I wouldn't be me without you. Every success in my life is because of you and for you. I am forever indebted to you.

My sisters, brothers-in-law, and their wonderful children you are always, and forever been a blessing for me. My heartfelt thanks

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Finally, This modest work is for a cause that will never die.

To a land that was created for peace, and never saw peace.

FOR PALESTINE.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	I
ÖZET	IV
ABSTRACT.....	V
FIGURES AND TABLES LIST	VI
INTRODUCTION.....	1

FIRST CHAPTER

1. OVERVIEW OF THE NEW MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA.....	9
1.1.THE NEW MEDIA	9
1.1.1. New media concept	9
1.1.2. New media names	11
1.1.3. Features of the new media	12
1.1.4. New media means	15
1.1.5. The new media and its effects on the Arab world.....	21
1.2. PROPAGANDA	25
1.2.1. The concept of Propaganda and its types	25
1.2.1.1. The genesis of Propaganda	25
1.2.1.2 The concept of propaganda.....	27
1.2.1.3. Types of propaganda	28
1.2.2. Propaganda goals, means and methods	34
1.2.2.1. Propaganda Goals.....	34
1.2.2.2. Propaganda Means	35
1.2.2.3. Propaganda Methods.....	38

SECOND CHAPTER

2. ISRAEL'S NEW MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA METHODS USED.....	44
2.1. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE ARABIC-SPEAKING ISRAELI MEDIA.....	44
2.1.1. Israel addresses the Arab world through their language	44
2.1.1.1. The traditional Israeli media in the Arabic language.	44
2.1.1.2. The new Israeli media in the Arabic language.....	47

2.1.2. The purpose of the Israeli Arabic speaking pages:	51
2.2. THE SECOND TOPIC: ISRAELI PROPAGANDA AND METHODS.....	58
2.2.1. The emergence of Israeli propaganda and its stages of development: ..	59
2.2.1.1. The emergence of Israeli propaganda.....	59
2.2.1.2. The stages of the development of Israeli propaganda:.....	61
2.2.2. The Israeli propaganda strategy, foundations and trends:	66
2.2.2.1.The Israeli propaganda strategy:	66
2.2.2.2.The Israeli propaganda foundations:	67
2.2.2.3.The Israeli propaganda trends:.....	69
2.2.3. The Israeli propaganda goals	70
2.2.4. The Israeli propaganda methods on social media pages and their characteristics:	72
2.2.4.1. The Israeli propaganda methods.....	72
2.2.4.2. The characteristics of Israeli propaganda:.....	76
2.3. THE ISRAELI PROPAGANDA METHODOLOGY USED IN THE CULTURAL NORMALIZATION PROCESS ON ARABIC-SPEAKING SOCIAL MEDIA PAGES:	76
2.3.1 A network cultural normalization that suggests an acceptance of the occupation in the Arab environment:	76
2.3.1.1 The concept of cultural normalization:.....	76
2.3.1.2 The purpose of the cultural normalization on social media pages.....	78
2.3.1.3 The Normalization of Cultural Appropriation	84

THIRD CHAPTER

3. THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYTICAL STUDY AND ITS DISCUSSION:....	91
3.1. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE TYPE OF STUDY, ITS METHODOLOGY AND TOOLS.....	91
3.1.1. Type of study	92
3.1.2. Analytical study group and sample:	92
3.1.2.1. The study sample	93
3.1.2.2. The timing sample:	94
3.1.3. Content analysis categories	94
3.2. THE SECOND TOPIC: THE CONTENT ANALYSIS	94
3.2.1. The sample definition	94
3.2.1.1. The page of the Israeli army spokesperson, Avichay Adraee.....	94

3.2.1.2. The "Israel speaks Arabic" page	99
3.2.1.3. Almounassek page (The Coordinator).....	102
3.2.2 Quantitative Analysis:	106
3.2.2.1 Results of the analytical study related to content categories:	106
3.2.2.2 Results of the study related to the form categories:	125
3.3. THE THIRD TOPIC: THE RESULTS OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS ..	1344
CONCLUSION.....	138
REFERENCES.....	140

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, sosyal medyada (örnek olarak Facebook) İsrail propaganda yöntemlerini, kültürel normalleşme konusuna ilişkin Arapça konuşan sayfaların yanı sıra, kullanılan en önemli içerikleri, kaynakları, hedefleri ve propaganda formlarını izlemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışma, verileri toplamak ve sınıflandırmak için içerik analizi formu aracılığıyla içerik analizi ve veri toplama yönteminin kullanıldığı tanımlayıcı araştırmanın bir parçasıdır. Çalışma, 25 Şubat 2020 - 31 Mayıs 2020 tarihleri arasındaki dönem için, İsraili Arapça konuşan sayfalarına örnek olarak, "Avichay Adraee" , "İsrail Arapça Konuşuyor" ve "Koordinatör" Facebook sayfalarına uygulanmıştır.

Çalışma birkaç sonuca ulaşmıştır. Bunların en önemlileri:

Yalnızca kültür konularıyla ilgili üç sayfada yayınlanan gönderiler, belirtilen çalışma süresi boyunca sunulan toplam yayınların % 30,74'ünü, yani 1005 gönderi içinden 309'unu almıştır.

Bu yayınlarda en çok tartışılan konu, % 27,7 oran ile, dini günler konusu, % 16,6 oran ile, ikinci sırada barış ve bir arada yaşama sorunu ve ardından% 13,6 ile sanatsal alıntılar sorunu olmuştur. Tekrarlama yöntemi,% 35,4 ile kültürel normalleşme konusunda İsrail propagandasında en çok kullanılan yöntemlerden biri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci sırada % 25,5 ile zihinsel imge yöntemi, ardından üçüncü sırada % 13,2 ile terminoloji yöntemi,% 8,4 ile dördüncü sırada dini argüman yöntemi olmuştur. Takipçiyi tımarlama hedefi ve normalleşme çağrısı, İsrail propagandasının Arapça konuşan sayfalarında % 41,3 ile aradığı hedeflerin ön saflarında yer alırken, % 24 oranında bir arada yaşama ve ardından İsrail'in imajını güzelleştirme hedefi izlemiştir. Çalışma, yeni ve tamamlayıcı sonuçlara ulaşmak ve bu olguyu daha iyi anlamak için söylem analizi veya nitel analiz gibi diğer araştırma yöntemlerini kullanarak ileriye dönük çalışmalar yapılmasını önermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: yeni medya, Facebook, İsrail propagandası, kültürel normalleşme.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to monitor Israeli propaganda methods on social media (Facebook as an example) Arabic-speaking pages regarding the topic of cultural normalization, as well as to monitor the most important contents, sources, goals and propaganda forms that have been used.

This study is part of descriptive research, where the content analysis and data collection method were used through the content analysis form to collect and classify data. The study was applied to a sample of Israeli Arabic-speaking Facebook pages, which is the page of Avichay Adraee , Israel speaks Arabic page and the Coordinator page for the period from 25 February 2020 to 31 May 2020, i.e. by 3 months.

The study reached several results, the most important of which are:

The posts published on the three pages acquired 30.74% of the total publications presented during the specified period of study, which is concerned only with culture topics, i.e. 309 posts out of 1005 posts.

The issue of religious occasions came as the most frequently discussed issues in these publications with a rate of 27.7%, followed by the issue of peace and coexistence in the second rank with a percentage of 16.6%, then the issue of artistic quotes with a rate of 13.6%. The repetition method came out as one of the most used methods in Israeli propaganda in the matter of cultural normalization with 35.4%, followed by the mental image method in the second rank with 25.5%, then the terminology method in the third rank with 13.2%, then the religious argument method in the fourth rank with 8.4%. The goal of Grooming the follower and the call for normalization came at the forefront of the goals that Israeli propaganda seeks in its Arabic-speaking pages by 41.3%, followed by the goal of highlighting coexistence by 24%, and then the goal of beautifying Israel's image by 19.5%. The study recommends conducting future studies using other research methods such as discourse analysis or qualitative analysis to reach new and complementary results and to understand this phenomenon more.

Keywords: new media, Facebook, Israeli propaganda, cultural normalization.

FIGURES AND TABLES LIST

Figure 1: picture showing the cover photo of avichai adraei page in facebook on 18 may 2020	95
Figure 2: picture showing the number of likes and followers of the avichai adrai page on facebook on may 18, 2020.....	96
Figure 3: picture showing a post from the avichai adraei page for friday’s speech on march 6, 2020.	97
Figure 4: photo showing a post from the avichai adraei page congratulating amr diab on his new album on february 29.	98
Figure 5: picture showing a post from the avichai adraei page on making eid cakes on may 21, 2020.	99
Figure 6: photo showing the cover of the israel-arabic page on facebook, may 18, 2020.	100
Figure 7: photo showing palestinian and israeli paramedics praying alongside took from israel speaks arabic on march 24, 2020.	101
Figure 8: photo showing the hummus is the taste of israel from israel speaks arabic page on may 13, 2020.	102
Figure 9: photo showing the cover of the coordinator page on facebook on may 18, 2020.	103
Figure 10: a photo showing a video of congratulations of ramadan from the coordinator 's page on facebook on april 23, 2020.....	104
Figure 11: picture showing a post that shares the iftar table from the coordinator's page on facebook on may 14, 2020.	105
Table 3.1. Distribution of posts on the three facebook pages that were subjected to study.....	107
Table 3.2 the extent interest of the three selected facebook pages in the subject of cultural normalization	107
Table 3.3 shows the issues covered by the israeli propaganda	109
Table3.4 shows the israeli propaganda methods used by the three selected facebook pages. ...	113
Table 3.5 shows israeli propaganda goals on the three selected facebook pages.	118
Table 3.6 shows the source of the information for the israeli propaganda issues used by the three selected facebook pages.	122
Table 3.7 shows the israeli propaganda forms used by the three selected facebook pages.	126
Table 3.8 shows the israeli propaganda supporting elements that were used by the three selected facebook pages.....	128
Table 3.9 shows the linguistic style prevalent in the israeli propaganda out of the three chosen pages.	132

INTRODUCTION

Propaganda is one of the most important means of effective wars. The use of propaganda is as old as human society, and it is neither an eastern nor a western invention. Propaganda has long been associated with human, religious, political and other conflicts. Human has worked throughout the ages to develop the concept of propaganda and work to put it in the rank of arts and crafts and turn it into a science of political science. Thus, it became a science with an influential role in the thoughts and emotions of the individual and the group, as it can persuade and transform the attitudes of the masses. Propaganda is not only used in times and places of the conflict only but rather exceeds that to include its activity in times of peace, as it is considered an effective and influencing tool in both peace and war (husein & kerim, 1993).

The term did not have a negative meaning, but its association with political systems as a means of persuading deprived it of the concept of credibility, as the term was used at the beginning of the twentieth century in the First World War when a Ministry of Propaganda was established in Britain, which took upon itself the task of inciting the American people against the Germans (Shawi, 2012, p. 38). The Nazis also gave propaganda a major role in their political work and worked to win their wars by attacking minds before attacking humans.

Social media has achieved a popular and mass spread around the world and has become part of the daily life of people of all ages and social groups. These sites have become a new framework for social relations transiting languages, ethnicities and religions in front of these accumulated technological developments and the explosion of scientific and information in the digital age. Perhaps this unlimited and accelerated spread of social networks has contributed greatly to its use by many parties for positive and negative purposes, such as directing public opinion and controlling decisions and others.

The new digital environment in its various platforms contributed to changing how content is produced and distributed, which in turn contributed to changing visions about the issues raised and current events. The digital domain gave room to all parties to transfer alternative narratives that may be within legitimate or even illegal values.

Countries have become well aware that the battle of the times exceeded the military battles usually represented by heavy and light ground and air weapons, because conventional weapons are no longer a lethal force on their own, these weapons that have always cost all parties great losses. The Israeli occupation used propaganda to promote Zionist ideology using all available propaganda means, to pass on its plans and goals, to justify its attacks and to legitimize its military actions. The propaganda can attract and annex without coercion or the use of force as a means of persuasion.

This state of digital freedom contributed to the emergence of a new media struggle parallel to the military conflict, and the Israeli occupation has benefited from this technological development in the communication process to carry out its propaganda through the creation of new and direct communication channels to communicate and influence the Palestinian and Arab followers in general, besides, to promote his ideas and to get to know the parties to the field and psychological war. Control of the social and cultural system of any society helps to change the equation, as the entry of new communication tools to society also leads to impacts in the social system, which is reflected clearly and directly on the political system, thus, "the hypothetical public sphere is also governed by the very conflicts that govern the classic public sphere" (Al-Hamami, 2012).

Today, Israel is well aware of the importance of the information field in its promotional battle. This electronic field has become a new fighting field that is added to the fields that the Israeli army is fighting against the Palestinians, so that the Internet becomes a real battlefield, especially since "Israel" is working hard to penetrate the Palestinian and Arab society with print, audio and visual media. The Israeli occupation works through its media system and its social pages to push the target audience (the Palestinian people and the rest of the people of the world) to adopt its views in its conflict

with the Palestinians for decades, using all of its financial and political capabilities, using an integrated propaganda system to guide public opinion and persuade the public consistent with its plans and goals, using all possible propaganda tools and methods.

In recent years, a large number of channels, radio stations, websites, and Arabic-language electronic pages have spread, and their existence is not by chance but is part of the media plans and strategies followed by Israel. Many Arabic-speaking electronic pages on various social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and others for officers and spokespeople for the Israeli army and even some ministers and ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have a lot of Palestinian and Arab followers of various nationalities. These pages do not only provide daily or political news, but it provides a media content that differs to include within the cultural, educational, and even religious contents in a flowery and calm manner, as videos of Israeli ministers congratulate the Arabs on some religious occasions or to talk about Israeli cuisine of Palestinian origin or to recite verses from the Holy Qur'an. The thing that prompted the researcher to stand at this phenomenon and search to know the purpose of this propaganda speech in the Arabic language that directed to Arab and Palestinian audiences and try to understand the propaganda methods that these Israeli pages follow, especially concerning the cultural normalization.

This research paper contains three chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of the new media concepts and propaganda, as it explores the features of new media and its methods, the impact of social sites on the Arab world, in addition to the propaganda concept, its characteristics, types, and methods. The second chapter provides a comprehensive introduction to the new Israeli media and the methods of propaganda used, as it presents in three main points an overview of the Israeli-speaking Arabic media, the Israeli propaganda used, its origins, methods, and goals, besides covering the Israeli propaganda on social media. In the last chapter, the samples selected from the pages of social media sites (Facebook as an example) and content analysis are presented in a systematic way to be able to provide answers to the research questions.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

• The importance of the study stems from

Being a topic that has not been discussed before or has not been given the necessary importance by researchers, the importance of this research lies in the disclosure of propaganda methods followed with the Arab follower in the new Israeli-speaking Arabic media. This study differs from previous studies as it is concerned with the new media as a result of the lack of local and Arab studies that research in the propaganda methods through the new media in general and social networking sites in particular.

- The importance of the cause in itself, as the Palestinian cause is considered the issue of the times, especially after the latest developments related to the "deal of the century".
- The seriousness of the impact of Israeli propaganda on the Arab audience, and the seriousness of the propaganda methods used in the cultural normalization on the Arabic-speaking social pages.
- The need to have the ability to study and research on this issue, especially as it is beneficial for the benefit of the Arab world in general and Palestine in particular, which is what serves the Palestinian cause.
- The new media is still in continuous development and in an accelerated manner, therefore, it is necessary to focus today on what it is, its characteristics and its effects more, to predict the coming and the ability to cope with it, which adds enrichment to the media library.

• Objectives of the study

The main objective behind this study is to know the methods and purpose of Israeli propaganda in the new Israeli media in the Arabic language regarding the process of cultural normalization.

• Sub-objectives of this study

- To Know the methods of propaganda used for the success of the process of cultural normalization carried out by the Israeli side towards the Palestinian people, and how to persuade the Arab follower to do so.
- To learn about the plans, goals, and propaganda forms that these Arabic-speaking social pages use to advance the Arab follower to normalize the relations with Israel.
- To Know the relationship between the new media and its effectiveness in making this propaganda successful.
- To Reach conclusions and recommendations that may help in understanding the work of the new media, especially as it has not received sufficient attention on the theoretical side.

THE STUDY PROBLEM

The problem arises in the absence of a clear explanation of certain phenomena in scientific research, which has caused the scarcity of information about the propaganda methods used for the new Israeli media. In light of the rapid progress that the world is witnessing in dealing with the new media and its great impact on the user, the media war that Israel is fighting today is more dangerous and effective than the direct military war.

Israel has created Arabized web pages that address the Arab public in general and the Palestinian community in particular on various topics such as politics, culture and even religion. Here, this propaganda discourse directed at the Arab public must be analyzed to persuade and influence it, in addition to identifying propaganda methods and forms in the Arabic-speaking Israeli social media sites in relation to cultural normalization.

What are the propaganda methods that Israel uses in its Arabic-speaking social media pages in relation to cultural normalization?

To achieve the objectives of the study, the following research questions have been developed, and they are the compass for the course of the study:

- What are the propaganda plans, objectives, and forms used by these Arabic-speaking social pages to achieve the process of cultural normalization?

- What are the goals behind the propaganda in the Israeli social media pages in the Arabic language regarding cultural issues?
- How is Israel fighting its propaganda war with Palestinian history and culture through social media pages?
- What is the relationship between new media and propaganda policies, and how effective are social media pages in making this propaganda successful?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The determination of the research methodology depends on the objective and the nature of the study itself. Since the aim of the study is to gain knowledge of the propaganda methods adopted by Israel in its Arabic-speaking social pages, this study relied on the "content analysis " methodology.

The primary goal of this approach is to collect facts and phenomena as they exist on the ground and study them. Using this methodology, three different pages were selected from the FACEBOOK for analysis, namely, the "Avichay Adraee" page, the Israeli army spokesman, the "Israel in Arabic" page, and "mounasek", is the page of the Coordinator of the activities of the Israeli government in the Palestinian territories. The researcher reviews informational contents (electronic publications, posts, and video) published on these pages as an analytical sample for the research.

The "content analysis" method was used to provide accurate information that helps the researcher describes the phenomenon and delve into the interpretation. As the method is characterized by its effectiveness in monitoring the behaviour of the study sample, which ensures answering the study's questions to reach useful conclusions that contribute to reaching the goal and the purpose of the research.

STUDY HYPOTHESES

- Normalization in general and cultural normalization with Arab countries is among the main goals of this propaganda on Arabic-speaking electronic pages.

- Israel is working to erase the Palestinian identity and seeking to seize Palestinian history and culture, through several methods, the most important of which are lying, fabrication and repetition.
- Israeli propaganda aims to distort the facts and work to beautify and improve the image of Israel in the Arab world.
- Israel is fighting a cultural war with Palestinian history and culture through social media pages that speak Arabic, using various propaganda methods.
- Israel relies on the Arabic-speaking media to impose its presence on the Arabs and to consolidate the concept of an existing state that has enormous energy, ancient civilization, and rich history.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- **New media**

The intended by "new media" is simply interactive, internet, and digital media, to differentiate it from traditional media. "new media" as Cambridge Dictionary briefly defines the new media as being: "Products and services that provide information or entertainment using computers or the internet, and not by traditional methods such as television and newspapers". (Cambridge, 2019)

- **Facebook**

It is a social network site that has attracted great acceptance and response from people, especially young people, all over the world. It was created in February 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg.

- **Israeli propaganda**

Israeli propaganda is the use of any type of media with the intention of influencing the desired audience for a strategic or tactical purpose. In general, Israeli propaganda aims to build the global Zionist national project based on the founding of Greater Israel.

- **Cultural normalization**

Normalization is defined as returning to normal or generally accepting the situation. In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, normalization means establishing relations with Israel, its apparatus, and its citizens, "as if" the status quo was a normal situation. It thus means ignoring the existing state of war and occupation. While Cultural normalization is the reshaping of the Zionist restructuring of the Arab values and concepts system, which requires striking at the idea of resistance on the one hand, and the idea of Arabism on the other.



FIRST CHAPTER

1. OVERVIEW OF THE NEW MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

1.1. THE NEW MEDIA

The new media has ushered in the dawn of a new communication system in the world in general, and in the Arab world in particular. The new media represents a new aspect, not only within the context of the connotations of communication sciences but with the surrounding concepts that surround this type, especially since it is still in most aspects a fetal condition whose full characteristics have not yet materialized.

The technological imperative of the world today is one that imposed its existence strongly, as the new media emerged as a broad term in the last part of the twentieth century to include the integration of traditional media such as movies, pictures, music, spoken and printed word, with the great interactive ability of computers and communications technology. The technological revolution in the field of communication contributed to overcoming geographical space and political borders so that the new media brought about a structural change in the quality of quantity and quality in the media (Al-Ghamdi, 2012).

1.1.1. New media concept

The definition of "new media" remains controversial in terms of designations and definitions and terms of concepts and innovations associated with it. The most immobilize researchers in this field is the ambiguity of the term "new media" and its definition, because of the novelty of the phenomenon on one hand and the kinetic rapidly taking place

in this area on the other hand on the level of media, applications, contents, and what it says new today becomes old the next day.

The recipient's participation in the publishing process with his ability to interact with media contents and produce information that may sometimes rise to the value of the news that the journalist brings are all areas that were prohibited from traditional media (SEBAN, 2004), as it made the individual able to address millions easily and modern ways, far from the traditional media templates due to this convergence between the new communication and broadcast technology with computers and networks.

Simply it's a methodology unlike the traditional means of communication, as a rare and new synchronization has arisen between a group of operations that were until recently spaced within the new media, to become a process of the broadcast of texts, moving and static images and sounds are possible free and instantaneous. The new media is not only a new at the level of technology but also on the level of content, especially the thought that it carries and the new consequences that psychology is supposed to produce within society, especially within the traditional pattern of people's eternal need for news and press (Zren, 2017).

The intended by "new media" is simply interactive, internet and digital media, to differentiate it from traditional media (print, audio and video). Several scientists have provided many definitions of the "new media" as Cambridge Dictionary briefly defines the new media as being *Products and services that provide information or entertainment using computers or the internet, and not by traditional methods such as television and newspapers* (Cambridge, 2019).

Gitelman and Pingree relied on a time approach, using the term "media in transition" to describe a period during which the media began to emerge, as this created a kind of contrast and competition with the old media (Linda Weiser & Hershey H. , 2008).

Van Dijk defined "new media" as those that are simultaneously integrated and interactive and that also use digital code. Therefore, integration, interactivity, and digitalization must all be present to qualify a medium as a part of the new media (Valentini, 2017).

Manovich has defined new media as cultural objects "which use digital computer technology for distribution and exhibition (Manovich, 2002). While Jones builds his definition as this media is in its infancy, the new media is a concept used to describe forms of electronic communication that have become possible using the computer as a counterpart to forms of old media that include written journalism such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio and other static methods, as this media is characterized by the feature of dialogue between the two parties (the sender and the receiver of the message) (Jones, 2002).

The new media is also defined as: "a new communication system, different in its ways of operating from the institutional communication system or the collective communication system (the media of us, the media of masses), as this system is based on a specific system of relationships between the actors within it" (Al-Hamami,2006 a).

New media is the media of the individual, not media of institutions, a media that depends on the individual's ability to be a producer of media contents and to publish his ideas, information, opinions, documents, pictures, video ... etc. of all forms of media content, to millions of users of the web (Salah, 2012, p. 6). This definition shows that the new media is the alternative media that depends on individuals and the potential capabilities that help them transfer and exchange various information and data in various fields. So, in short, the new media is getting content anytime, anywhere, with any digital holder, and interactivity, sharing and synchronization are the most important characteristics that distinguish it.

It is clear from the previous definitions that two cases distinguish the new media from the old media in how the new media material is broadcast and how its services are accessed, it depends on the merging of text, image, video and audio with each other as well as using the computer as its main mechanism In the production and presentation process, as for interactivity, it represents the main difference that distinguishes it and it is the most important feature.

1.1.2. New media names

The names of the new media have multiplied and were not limited to one name among the theorists of human sciences, due to the overlapping of opinions and trends in its study, among the most common names:

- Digital Media: to describe some of its applications that are based on digital technology and to indicate any system or media that integrates with the computer.
- Interactive Media: to provide a state of giving and response among users of the Internet.
- Online media: by focusing on its applications in the intranet and other networks.
- Information media: to indicate the intermarriage between computers and communication and the emergence of a new media system that takes advantage of the development of information technology and integrated into it.
- Cyber media: from the term Cyber Space, the expression is taken from the science of Cybernetics, which is the science of automated leadership and control (Sadiq, 2006, p. 4).
- Alternative media: This is inspired by the concept of media which replaces the classic media and pulls the rug out of the major traditional media organizations that monopolize the information and use traditional methods in disseminating it as the gatekeeper, for example, The Concept of Gatekeeping.

1.1.3. Features of the new media

The features of the new media produced by communication technology are almost identical to the traditional media, but there are distinctive characteristics that are related to the concept of new or digital media. These features are the merging of the various old and new means in one place, on the computer and its networks, where this naturally produces a change in the level of the traditional communication model, whereby the individual is allowed to communicate messages and address those he wants at the time he wants, so the message passes in different directions And not from top to bottom according to the traditional communication model. This media went beyond the concept of national and international borders and is not subject to the legal and moral controls that classic media are subject to.

Among the most prominent of these features of the new media are:

- **Interactivity**

The caller and the recipient exchange roles, where the practice of communication is two-way and reciprocal and not in a one-way direction, where there is a dialogue between the two parties, the callers are called participants instead of sources. This feature is considered an aspect of integration in the communication process, as the communication turns into an integrated circular process in which the sender and the recipient exchange roles and the parties of the communication process become equal participants instead of being senders or recipients (Al-Mousa, 2016, p. 8). This feature added a new dimension to the current mass media styles, which usually consist of one-way products that are sent from a central source such as the newspaper, TV or radio channel to the consumer.

- **Digital**

In the digital system, information is transferred in the form of separate numbers, which are zero and one, and when the information reaches the receiver, it is translated into sound, image or other. Nicholas Negroponté considers the adoption of the digital system the most important feature in the new media as the physical units' atoms have been replaced by digital units' bits as the main tools in carrying information, it is delivered in an electronic form and not in a physical form (Rabeh & Burgan, 2017). Therefore, it is a new way to distribute services and contents electronically instead of the traditional holder.

- **Demassification**

The communication scholar Jan Van Dijk has presented and structuralized a new framework in understanding society today one that is based on a network approach, where social relations are formed within a mediated communication technology. He argued that the nature of society today has shifted from “mass society” to “network society (shannon, 2013).

This means that the communication message can be addressed to an individual or a specific group, and not too huge audiences as in the past. It also means a degree of control over the communication system, so that the message reaches the recipient directly from

the sender of the message to the recipient. (Looking at the audience is not a block). Consequently, this results in an increase and multiplicity of choices for media consumers, as their time has become distributed among many means, such as websites, social networks, smartphones, and electronic video games, in addition to the traditional means of newspapers, radio and television.

- **Variety**

The new media has moved from the phase of the single and identical copy that characterized the traditional media to producing customized copies that meet individualized needs, and even by personalizing them, allowing for many features such as quick and easy modification of the content and the possibility of updating. This diversity provided the recipient with greater options for employing the communication process, in line with his needs and motivation for communication.

- **A synchronization**

This means the ability to send and receive messages at the appropriate time for the individual used for communication, the ability to interact with the communication process, whether it is a receiver or a sender, according to the appropriate time for the individual. For example, email can send messages at any time, regardless of the recipient's presence at a particular time.

- **Globalization**

The new basic environment for communications has become a global environment, which transcends barriers of time, space and control, and the trajectory of international events can be traced anywhere in the world.

- **Mobility & Flexibility**

New means of communication tend to be small in size with the possibility of using them to communicate from anywhere to another while the user is moving, such as a mobile phone, a wristwatch that integrates the phone, camera and many others, all of these means

have become today in small sizes and can be transferred to accompany the recipient and the sender.

Speed, realism, dynamism, diversity and universality are all features that have included new media and its tools. These features have made freedom of the media an unavoidable fact, as the World Wide Web has made it possible for anyone with an Internet connection to become a publisher and deliver their message to all parts of the world at a negligible cost. Today tens of thousands of newsgroups whose users can discuss any topic that comes to mind with an unlimited number of other users in different parts of the world have all raised the limits of freedom of expression, access to information and the ability to communicate in an unprecedented way.

1.1.4. New media means

The means is the communication method resulting from the integration of modern communication technologies such as computers, smartphones, networks and multimedia into the new media. The new media and its tools are numerous and they are increasing in variety, growth and interference with the passage of time, including interactive TV stations, digital cable, electronic journalism, dialogue forums, blogs, personal sites, social networking sites, digital broadcasts, virtual community networks, postal groups, and others. nowadays, more than 3 billion people use social media, and the number increases every year (Chaffey, 2019) as every second, 11 new people are using social networks for the first time (Warner, 2018).

1.1.4.1. Social Networking Sites

The spread of social networks began in the beginning of 2007 as sites used for social networking. These sites allow its users the opportunity to communicate in a virtual community environment that brings them together according to their interests or affiliations, so this is done through direct communication services such as sending

messages or sharing personal files of others and getting to know their news and information that they offer.

The phenomenon of social sites started in 1997, as "SixDegrees.com" was the first of these sites by providing the opportunity to place personal files for users on the site, as well as the ability to comment on the news on the site and exchange messages with other subscribers. While "SixDegrees.com" was the pioneer of communication sites, "MySpace.com" has achieved tremendous success since its establishment, after that the sites rolled, but the difference was in the emergence of FaceBook.com, which enabled its users to exchange information between them and the opportunity to access the profiles of friends (Awad, 2011).

Today, there are many social networks, but the most famous of these sites are Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat, LinkedIn. Everyone has their reasons for going to social media, but Dr Rauch Shanon M. of Benedictine University in Arizona sees the main reasons people go to social media is to fill their free time and get rid of boredom (Qamhia, 2017).

- **Facebook**

It is a social network site that has attracted great acceptance and response from people, especially young people, all over the world. It was created in February 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg in his room at Harvard University, where the site was initially available only to students of Harvard University and then opened for other universities students, then for high school students and a limited number of companies, finally, it was opened for anyone who wants to open an account all over the world.

According to smart insight, Facebook is the most popular social network worldwide as of April 2018 with 2.2 billion users (Burzler, 2018). On average, 5 Facebook accounts are created every second and nearly 500,000 "likes" on Facebook every minute. These huge numbers are the result of 15 years of work at Facebook, which enabled it to become the most popular site, as 96% of mobile users use Facebook. Facebook has become today an extremely influential authority in societies due to its impact on society and individuals in influencing their lifestyle, behaviours, ideas, and awareness.

Over the years, Facebook has added a lot of services from pictures, audio, video, in addition to providing the opportunity to create pages for commercial stores of all kinds, to create pages for universities to communicate with all students and schools, along with news channels that have accelerated to create special pages on Facebook to be closer to Facebook users and other.

Facebook also made available a wide field for all of the world news, purchases, ideas, fashion, where Facebook has become a tool for intellectual, political, economic, revolutionary, cultural and social discourse, which led to events of radical change in the concept of media and its relationship to the audience that makes the event. Through the transfer of news and comment on it easily and freely, Facebook has turned into a key player and influential in various social strata, especially the youth and students.

This invention has had major repercussions on the rules of freedom of publication and expression, and the consolidation of democratic thought, human rights and other political, social and commercial concepts that have spread and groups have also formed around them, benefiting from the ease of use and participation in them without technical expertise or financial costs.

- **Twitter**

Twitter is a mini social networking site that allows its user to send and read comments that do not exceed 140 characters (characters). These comments are known as tweets, which are available to the general public in the virtual world. The beginnings of this mini-service, “Twitter,” were in early 2006, when its name was derived from the term (Twitter) and taken from the bird as a symbol.

Twitter users can share other types of content, such as pictures and videos, as well as links to other websites. The Twitter service is available through the Twitter website, as well as various mobile applications and SMS messages, as some describe it as the site of the SMS of the Internet.

Twitter provides its users with many capabilities, including Knowing what their friends always do at any time, as it is the fastest way to ask questions to friends and receive

instant answers, in addition to that it allows the user to send very important, fast and surrounding news such as distress or informing about a very important event.

The number of registered users on Twitter is estimated at 1.3 billion, as the number of Twitter users according to the 2018 statistics reached 326 million active users, 74% of them use it to get news (Smith, 2019). Twitter has witnessed an evolution during the past years as it is no longer just a means of personal communication between friends, it has become a window from which famous politicians, athletes, artists, and others appear, thus becoming a platform for persuasion, communication, marketing and journalistic scoop.

- **Instagram**

Instagram, a social network and a free photo-sharing app, launched in October 2010, allows users to take a picture, add digital filters to it, and then share it. Initially, Instagram was supported on the iPhone, iPad, and iPod devices, and in April 2012 Instagram was added to the Android platform and then developed in June 2013 to be placed in the video shooting application intermittently for users. Instagram is currently one of the most widely used and popular social media channels, as it is the second most popular social media used by marketers all over the world since 2017. The number of users of the application reaches more than one billion active users per month, according to the latest statistics for the year 2019, more than 95 million pictures are uploaded every day and approximately 4.2 billion likes per day (Smith, 2019).

- **LinkedIn**

LinkedIn was established in 2003 and it is a site where highly qualified people around the world meet and represent more than 170 majors or professions in more than 200 countries. The site provides the job seekers with the opportunity to present their CVs for the employees to view it and to choose exactly what is appropriate for the vacant positions. The strength of the site lies in the circles of communication, each person has relationships, and these relationships may expand the circle of user relationships, and thus become very close (electronically) to professionally important people. The site also provides a “recommendation” feature, where an employer or a colleague can submit an electronic recommendation for a job to be performed. According to the latest statistics,

there are more than 610 million users on LinkedIn so far, as 106 million users enter the site daily (Boyd, 2018).

1.1.4.2. Blogs

It is a personal diary on the network that is inserted by simple programs that allow printing text on the computer and sending it immediately after contacting the network to appear on the page of the website in a way that is dated and arranged in ascending chronological order, as it mixes information and opinions and also accompanies original links to recommended books or a new idea for discussion about them. Internet blogs are considered one of the most important new media applications where they are a website that is used as an individual electronic daily newspaper that expresses its owner and focuses on a specific topic, such as politics or local news or fashion and can be daily notes published with texts, images, video and audio.

1.1.4.3. Wikis

They are websites that allow users to add contents and modify it, as they play the role of a collective database, the most famous of which is Wikipedia, which is the encyclopedia that includes millions of articles in most of the world's languages. Accordingly, Wiki is a website created by a person that allows visitors to add and modify content in the simplest way possible. Wiki simplifies the process of editing content, as every page contains a link to change its contents, and it is not a condition that you are coding HTML technology to do so.

1.1.4.4. Podcasts

Podcasts have been in existence since 2003, as its name was derived from two words, the first word is Pod which is an abbreviation of the Apple device "iPod", and the other part is an acronym for the term "Broadcast" itself. The Broadcast is an audio content available on the internet and differs from the radio, it can be heard at any time, not when broadcasting directly, and it can also be in audio or video format.

1.1.4.5. Forums

It is a website where people with common interests converge to exchange ideas and discussion by creating a topic by a member of the forum, and then the rest of the members make posts and responses within the topic to discuss among themselves. A forum is a place for discussion on several matters between people who agree or come together on an idea, but what is hidden from many is that the technology used in the forums is nothing but an update and development of the User network technology that was born in 1980 (Jstor, 2017). Forums are divided into two types, there are forums specialized in a specific type of articles or posts, according to scientific specialization, intellectual interest or social orientation, and there are public forums that are not specific to something specific and offer topics in various fields.

1.1.4.6. Media participation

They are online communities (website) that allow the organizing and sharing of certain types of content, the most popular of them are interested in images like Fliker, keeping Bookmark Links as Del.icio.us, and videos as YouTube.

- **Fliker**

The site is a model for one of the most important applications of the public press for its dimension of distributing pictures. The site has contributed on various occasions to be a viable alternative to news agencies, as what happened during the London subway bombings and the tsunami events. It is a site for sharing, saving and organizing photos, and it is also an association for photographers on the Internet, in addition to being a famous site for sharing personal photos. The site is used by bloggers by re-using the images on it, as it gained its popularity through its innovations as adding comments by visitors and keywords tags.

- **YouTube**

It is one of the most popular websites on the Internet, with the address www.youtube.com. The idea of the site is based on the ability to attach any files consisting of video clips on the internet without any financial cost, once the user has registered on the site he can attach any number of these files for millions of people to see around the

world, and viewers can manage a group discussion about the video clip by adding accompanying comments, as well as evaluating the video file by giving it a relative value of five degrees to express the importance of the video file from the viewpoint of the site's users. YouTube has 1.5 billion visits every month, as there are more than 5 billion video views every day with more than 30 million daily active users on YouTube (kit, 2019).

1.1.5. The new media and its effects on the Arab world

Social media is a rapidly growing medium of communication in many countries, and Arab countries are no exception here, as these sites represent an opportunity for societies and cultures to present themselves to the world, the new media opened the way for everyone without exception and without restrictions to place what they want on the internet to be available to the world to see it, as this requires a real willingness to invest in this medium, and most importantly, invest it positively, successful, influential and effective. Sources like the Arab Social Media Report (ASMR) stated that the main use of social media by Arabs is to communicate with people and then obtain information, watch videos, listen to music and share photos, as this is not very different from using social media in western countries like the Kingdom United and Europe (Fadi , 2017). According to the statistics of 2019, the number of Internet users in the Arab world has reached more than 280 million (Puri-Mirza, 2019), approximately 164 million of them are active monthly Facebook users.

According to a study carried out by Al-Jazeera Network for 7000 samples from 18 Arab countries, the most popular platforms in the Arab countries are Facebook in the first place by 85%, then WhatsApp, followed by YouTube, then Instagram, then Twitter, then Google Plus, LinkedIn. This study shows that Facebook is the preferred platform for social communication at 85%, and the highest preference came in Jordan, then Libya and Palestine, and the lowest preference is in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Bahrain, noting that 83% of respondents use it daily.

While Instagram ranked fourth as the most preferred means of communication for only 35% of respondents, with the highest rate of use in the Emirates, Kuwait and Bahrain, and the lowest use rate in Syria and Libya, knowing that daily use affects 72% of the pioneers of this communication platform. On the other hand, Twitter came as the best social media only with 33% of respondents with the highest preference in both Saudi Arabia and the UAE, and the lowest preference in Egypt, while it is used daily by 41% of fans of this platform (Hamido, 2018).

The rapid and large growth of social networks and the changes in their patterns and trends in their use have had an important role in mobilizing and shaping opinions and the direct impact on expression among youth in the Arab region. This period witnessed clear shifts in usage trends from social and commercial purposes to political purposes at the level of the Arab region, where social media was the main factor in the geographical and political turmoil that shook several regions in the Middle East and North Africa during the emergence of the Arab Spring eight years ago, as social media played a main role in raising awareness during the protests.

The time of Arab Facebook was 2011 when it was not expected that it would overthrow the three most powerful Arab dictatorial regimes, as revolutions in history have always been associated with the names of people, leaders, heroes, but the irony this time was the spark of the revolution was through an unknown citizen, "Bou Azizi", who burned himself on (17 December 2010), and he would not have been able to become a hero and gain fame without Facebook. His images and many videos spread about the incident, becoming the point where the cup overflowed, where many sympathized with him and took to the streets condemning what happened in the spontaneous protests without coordination or arrangement. This move, which was the reason for its success in one of the social networking sites, changed the equation of the interaction of Arab youth with social media, so the purpose and reason for using it changed from personal entertainment purposes to political and social purposes.

Most of the social media users in the Arab region today express their views on government policies through these social platforms, as they represent an outlet and refuge

from the injustice and suppression experienced by the Arab world in the shadow of governments that do not recognize democracy and freedom of expression. The launch of the title of “Facebook and Twitter revolutions” on the so-called “Arab Spring” did not come out of the vacuum, because without social networks, the circle of protesters would not have expanded and their calls would not have reached a larger audience and they have not communicated with the international media. Indeed, tyranny, violation of human rights and the absence of social justice were the main factors in taking thousands to the streets, but social networks played the role of mediator and agitator in protest, as it was an important causal mechanism in the uprisings.

In a summary of an annual report in a study prepared by the University of Oregon on social media in the Middle East, writer Damian Radcliffe said that about two-thirds of Arab youth, or 63%, are following Facebook and Twitter for news, and this is different from what is happening in the United States, for example. The report concluded that nearly half of the Arab youth (49%) get daily news through Facebook, while the percentage was 35% a year ago, and 61% of Arab youth said they use Facebook more frequently than last year (Damian & Payton, 2019).

Social media sites have motivated individuals to shift toward caring for public affairs, expressing their thoughts and opinions on various issues and forming political awareness of youth, as it provides them with political information, it also contributes to the formation, support or change of their political culture and their willingness to act publicly. The new media allowed the possibility of electronic protest, as a group of individuals with common goals can submit complaints and protests against some of the decisions issued by a state institution, accordingly, it has become possible for young demonstrators in Egypt, Tunisia, and in various other places in the region to publish their demands and invite followers and supporters to join the demonstrations and protests, in addition to mobilizing supporters from different segments of society, as social media pages have become a strong channel for free and general discourse.

The perception of social networks in the Arab region tended to either ignore or fear and be wary of it for political or social considerations or to downplay their importance as

a bubble or a temporary phenomenon. However, the role played by these networks, especially Facebook, Twitter and YouTube in the political events that took place in the region with the beginning of 2011, made governments and commercial and educational institutions show a somewhat greater interest in these networks, but the benefit from them in the governmental, commercial, educational and social sectors is still weak compared to other developed countries.

New media is the media of the individual, not media of institutions, as it is an alternative media that depends on the individual's ability to be a product of the media contents and to publish their ideas, information and opinions away from the traditional governmental media powers and lobbies. The bottom line is that social media is no longer just a tool for social communication as its name suggests, but it has also become a powerful tool in the hands of peoples seeking freedom, reform, and political change. Thus, social networks, blogs, and all new media have facilitated political practice, whether for individuals or various bodies, including associations, unions, political parties, and even the state, as any government official can communicate with broad audiences through the new media.

The new media has reshaped the map of communicative action in contemporary societies, with its characteristics such as universality, rapid access, interaction, multimedia, and low cost. Social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram represented an outlet for Arab countries, especially for their youth, to express their views and engage in public affairs and even to overthrow institutions and governments, despite the efforts of non-democratic governments to limit this phenomenon and legalize the use of websites, monitor them and legislate restrictions on the Internet, however, they failed to do so in the face of the will of the youth who turned these social sites into a powerful tool in the hands of the people seeking freedom, reform, and political change.

1.2. PROPAGANDA

1.2.1. The concept of Propaganda and its types

1.2.1.1. The genesis of Propaganda

Propaganda is as old as human history, as when researching about the history of propaganda it becomes clear that it is a research into the history of the human himself. But the term "propaganda" has become a word circulating among people and its concept has expanded in recent times more and more, as the concept of "propaganda" evolved from advertisement and introductory activity to trying to influence the characters and control the behaviour of individuals, at a certain time, whether in the same society or to confront other peoples.

By reference to history, it is clear that propaganda is rooted in human life and accompanies them, the ancient civilizations, such as the Pharaonic, Babylonian, Assyrian, and others, were known to practice propaganda, as civilizations were writing and drawing on the walls of temples to record the most important events of their time. The Greeks also knew as sophistry, which is the art of rhetoric and persuasion, as well as the knowledge of the methods of influencing the public by Greek philosophers. Arabs were also famous for poetry and regular saying, as this was a kind of rhetoric and propaganda broadly at the time to show pride in their strength and eloquence in the wars, they fought to influence other tribes.

On the other hand, during the Middle Ages, propaganda played an important role in the religious sphere where religious discourse was based on emotions, accordingly, peoples were militarized through religious propaganda to grant legitimacy to wars to achieve gains, secure expansions, and establish empires. The word propaganda spread as a common term in the Thirty Years' War in Europe between 1618-1648, which occurred as a result of the historical schism in the Catholic Church, as the term propaganda emerged from the church for a dual mission to invade the non-Christian population and restore the

Christians who abandoned Catholicism (D'ALMEIDA, 2002), as this term was used when Pope Grégoire XV created a group in 1622 CE that supervised missionary missions.

At the end of the 17th century, the word was still restricted to its religious meaning and was not accepted in all dictionaries. While during the French Revolution, the term (propaganda) was granted a new dimension, as it became understood in the sense of (enlightenment) and spreading beliefs and opinions, as the press also had a tremendous power to influence the masses, which prompted politicians to use them as a primary means in the political struggle, creating what was called (the moral office) which is a ministry of propaganda, the term never had a negative meaning as it is today. At the end of the century, the philosopher Nicolas de Condorcet provided a legal definition to propaganda: "organized work to disseminate an opinion or belief (Special political)" (D'ALMEIDA, 2002).

In the beginnings of the twentieth century, and specifically during the First World War, propaganda headed another direction, not only to stimulate the passions of citizens but also to push them towards adopting the idea presented by the state. Propaganda becomes no longer just art and experiments only, it has become a science that has its established rules and origins, as the warring armies realized this fact and began to draw their war plans, in addition to other plans that discourage hostile armies for their downfall.

Accordingly, US President Wilson established a publicity committee called the "Public Information Committee", in which leading intellectuals and academics contributed to increasing support for the war effort. Britain also established a Ministry of Propaganda, which took upon itself the task of inciting the American people against the Germans, which was a great success as propaganda officials began to take advantage of every incident and interpret it in favour of success in the war.

On the other hand, communism used political propaganda to eliminate the opposition, as propaganda in the communist concept took an ideological aspect that emphasizes the permanent state of conflict between the classes. Here came the importance of political propaganda by which the Communist Party was able to achieve its victory over the bourgeois class and at the same time gain working class in his favor. In 1933 Adolf

Hitler founded a Nazi dictatorship in Germany for political propaganda, which one of his ministers (Joseph Goebbels) became famous for it as his ministry was called the Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment (Nami, 2015, p. 14).

But during the Second World War, the matter changed after the radio used for propaganda in a comprehensive and very wide way, as propaganda in this medium entered a wide field in the transmission of information and news about the warring armies during that period. The propaganda masters were proficient in highlighting their experiences and genius in the field of propaganda. For example, the British Radio had programs in sixteen languages directed to its empires, Arab countries and Latin America (Hatem, 2006).

After the end of the Second World War, the period of the Cold War began and the propaganda developed to include commercial and media propaganda, as the United States of America established the American Information Agency to support its foreign policy, along with the establishment of the Voice of America Agency, which broadcasts news and propaganda to American policies to become an important tool and weapon in its wars. The concept of propaganda has changed since then and has become an art practised by politicians to influence public opinion, as each country sought to have its propaganda policy to refute other propaganda and establish political propaganda.

1.2.1.2. The concept of propaganda

There are many concepts of propaganda, as there is no single, accurate and comprehensive concept of this term due to the diversity of its goals, methods and its connection to other sciences. Propaganda is a communication strategy, which tends to instil ideas at high speed into a large population. The people are reframed in all areas: political, social, cultural, family, intellectual and spiritual.

Harold Dwight Lasswell, one of the fathers in the history of establishing the science of communication and media, defines propaganda as one of the most important concepts in the science of communication, which includes basic phenomena in communication such as propaganda and public relations, at the same time he considers it as a direct and clear

inflammatory communication activity to achieve predetermined goals through quirks psychological by using slogans that have more meaning in words, pictures or tunes than using violence and weapons, in other words, it's a fraud by symbols (Lasswell, 1927).

Jacque Ellul focused on propaganda as the technique itself (notably, psychological manipulation), that in technological societies "has certain identical results", whether it is used by communist or Nazis or western democratic organizations. He regarded propaganda as sociological phenomena, not as something made or produced by people for intentions. Ellul believed that people need propaganda because we live in a mass society. Ellul said that truth does not separate propaganda from "moral forms" because propaganda uses truth, half-truth, and limited truth (Garth S. & Victoria , 1986, p. 4) .

Leonard W. Doob, who defined propaganda in 1948 as the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals towards ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time (Garth S. & Victoria , 1986, p. 4). While Alex Carey considers propaganda as a communication process, in which form and content are chosen with the sole aim of bringing in some target audience to adopt positions and beliefs previously chosen by the communication sponsors. On the other hand, Edward Bernays describes propaganda as "the mechanism by which ideas are widely disseminated", or in a broader sense, "an organized effort to propagate a particular belief or doctrine" (Rose, 2008).

It is clear from the above that the specialists did not agree on a single definition of propaganda, but all of them agreed that the ultimate goal of it is to influence the public opinion and social behaviour of the masses, using certain symbols through mass media or personal contact. Accordingly, it can be said that propaganda is the spread of political ideas, beliefs and positions on the largest scale to reach it to the largest possible number, where advocates use the best and most influential means of communication in people, as propaganda tends to either highlight the beautiful face and hide flaws and errors, or either to influence people and address sector.

1.2.1.3. Types of propaganda

By reference to research and references in the concept of propaganda and its types, it was found that researchers in it have talked about many types of propaganda, this is because the concept is related to several other sciences. Therefore, the types of propaganda were divided according to the following classification:

1. Propaganda according to its activity

A. Political Propaganda

Political propaganda is an attempt to influence public opinion and the behaviour of society, as it employs special methods, words, and symbols that are used by the party operating in the process, such as the state, party, or pressure group, to influence the public's position on an issue, such as a political position. Political propaganda is the process of manipulating emotions and feelings to reach the creation of a state of intellectual tension and emotional charging, where political propaganda uses all available tools, penetrates all aspects of life and invades all manifestations of thought.

Political propaganda is based on methodological scientific foundations and rules, based on a set of original theories in psychology, social sciences and communication, and whatever propaganda methods, curricula and schools differ, and its development varies from one society to another, or from a period to another, but it remained in all times and places a communication method mainly aims to influence others, and to make changes in individuals, societies' ideas, beliefs, and attitudes. There are many forms of political propaganda and its methods, but the literature, which has been concerned with monitoring and studying propaganda, since World War II, has been able to distinguish between three main forms of political propaganda which are White propaganda, Black propaganda and Grey propaganda.

a. White Propaganda or Revealed

It is clear Propaganda, as its content can be defended under convincing arguments. This form of Propaganda knows its source, it comes from a source that is correctly identified, and the information in the message tends to be accurate. White propaganda

tries to build credibility with the public, because that may have benefited at some point in the future, as it is used in public activities when the source cannot be hidden or evasive, and therefore is based on rational aspects rather than emotional in its address to the target audience. White propaganda is directed towards countering negative propaganda or mobilizing the internal public to participate in awareness campaigns and get around the country in times of war, as it is called overt propaganda and direct propaganda.

b. Grey propaganda

It is propaganda that is not afraid to know its true sources, but it usually hides behind unclear goals, thus serving a group of ideological methods and trends that seek to convince peoples of the ideal positions adopted by that scheme. It is also a process of spreading facts mixed with some lies, as it uses a method of spreading information, facts, half-truths, or even lies in an organized attempt to influence public opinion. Hitler's information minister, Joseph Goebbels, consider as the author of the theory of half-truth, hence the description of grey propaganda (Heiber, 2000). However, it is possible to find out the true purpose of grey propaganda through examining its goals and the nature of the groups or forces behind them and thus exposing them and revealing their true purpose.

c. Black propaganda

It is the worst form of propaganda, as it does not reveal its source at all, besides it is related to the work of intelligence and secret agents. Black propaganda is considered a "big lie" as it is an essential tool for psychological warfare and gossip warfare. It is based on a premeditated and false deception to conceal and disguise. Countries resort to clandestine propaganda as an activity that reduces the risk of reprisal and keeps the charge from it or the group carrying out propaganda work. Black propaganda relies on resonant slogans and ready-made templates and also uses exaggeration and exaggeration. It also resorted to fabrication, distortion and change of facts, and the most important method is repetition so that people can believe these lies. Where Goebbels, a Nazi promoter, says "*If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it*" (Goebbels, 1941). This form of propaganda is also called propaganda covert or indirect propaganda.

B. Commercial Propaganda

Commercial propaganda has a direct relationship to economic life, where companies and countries are interested in it because it plays an important role in marketing the product or service. The propaganda site is usually known. Commercial propaganda plays a crucial role in the economic field because it has a fundamental role in increasing sales and economic control over global markets.

C. Sociological Propaganda

Social propaganda works to integrate the largest possible number of society members as it is a process to inculcate the prevailing rules and values to unify behaviour between society and then spread and export it to the rest of the societies after that. The American lifestyle is an example of social propaganda as it tries to make it a global lifestyle where it is expressed through advertisements, commercial cinema in general, school education and services.

D. Religions Propaganda

Religious propaganda is the conversion of people from their religious beliefs to a belief other than what the public believes in or it may be informing the public of the obligations of their religion or guiding them to abide by what is stated in their religion. It is known to Muslims by the call and by Christians to proselytize.

E. Military Propaganda

It is propaganda associated with wars, it plays to weaken the opponent's morale, influence the mind and emotions, and strip his will to fight to surrender. At the same time, it shows the strength and the self-military ability to gain sympathy and raise the morale of civilians. It is mainly related to psychological warfare.

2. Propaganda according to resources

A. Vertical Propaganda

It is the traditional propaganda carried out by any leader, politician or religious authority known socially, politically and spiritually by his authority and leadership position as he seeks to influence the public directly, and therefore the propaganda here comes from top to bottom and vertically. Audience reactions are a response to the leader's voice, in reality, they turn into things so that the individual does not make decisions but respond to the leader's decisions. This type of classical propaganda is associated with authoritarian dictatorship and overt authoritarian regimes. Vertical propaganda uses the central technical methods of mass communication (Edwards, 2017).

B. Horizontal Propaganda

It is a form of newly developed propaganda called horizontal because it takes place within the group, as there is no leader. Individuals are equal among themselves and they communicate with each other without any barrier. Horizontal propaganda relies more on group dynamics, but what distinguishes it is the small group where the individual can participate in this group in a real and vital way.

Horizontal propaganda is more effective when working on the engine of the subconscious mind of individuals where the individual adheres to his group and his ideas because he is aware of it and his accession is voluntary, he can express his convictions clearly and logically, but he is not aware that information, data and reasons that led him to join the group had already been studied and worked on for his leadership. Usually, progress towards persuasion is slow, as there must be many meetings, which creates a common experience between them, and while vertical propaganda needs mass communication devices, horizontal propaganda needs a broad organization of people (Edwards, 2017).

3. Propaganda according to the function

A. Agitation propaganda

Its goal is to incite against a party, class, sect, or even an individual, usually led by a party or political party that seeks to break down the government or establish a new system where it seeks rebellion or war. It may also be government propaganda that seeks to incite the masses to accept radical changes that the government adopts to stimulate energies and move the nation in the event of wars, for example. This propaganda seeks to get the individual out of his natural frame and then immerse him in enthusiasm by proposing unusual goals that seem quite a within reach (Shawi, 2012, p. 48).

B. Integration propaganda

It is propaganda that works to unite society, its harmony and stability as it aims to create a kind of social balance, unify and strengthen society, so it is a preferred tool for governments, especially those that receive power in newly emerging countries or in a country that consists of different nationalities and different norms. This propaganda is distinguished by providing more information for those it addresses.

4. Propaganda according to the period

A. Strategic propaganda

It is widespread and comprehensive propaganda, with a strong influence, even if it is slow in effect, usually directed at hostile peoples. This type of propaganda targets entire peoples and prevailing patterns, as it aims to change the mind in a different direction and to create another alternative to the prevailing thought or the adopted pattern of society, such as changing societal transactions, dissolving identity, changing food habits and even changing the quality of clothing. This propaganda is used during periods of peace because it requires a long time to grow and grow under favourable conditions to serve the purpose for which it is prepared, and in doing so it turns into a strong, effective counteract propaganda that paralyzes the opponent's movement in the case of non-submission.

B. Tactical propaganda

It relates to a set of plans aimed at a specific audience as it seeks immediate results. This propaganda is strong, decisive, direct, and speedy to influence and paralyze the opponent's movement by targeting the weaknesses and spreading confusion. This propaganda targets groups and individuals alike or even certain matters such as honour, reputation or certain facts where it attacks violently, spreading scandals of appointed persons, fabricating accusations, embodying mistakes, stigmatizing the opponent with labour and treason, to achieve what is intended of them, and often this type of Propaganda resort to counterfeiting and falsifies to create another fact.

There are many other divisions of Propaganda, such as offensive, divisive, logical, and illogical. But despite its different types, all of them share the basic concept of propaganda, which is influencing the opinion of the target audience towards any issue, goal, or behaviour change, all of which depend on careful and prior planning.

1.2.2. Propaganda goals, means and methods

1.2.2.1. Propaganda Goals

The goals of propaganda vary according to time and place, where propaganda aims to achieve different goals that can be political, economic, religious, or military. Propaganda aims to influence public opinion to produce a specific behaviour or to change an opinion or modify a position, and it also seeks to persuade the recipient of the correctness of the views he espouses. Besides, it is a process of mental distraction that leads to distortion in logic, whereby a kind of distraction results in it, as it aims by influencing the behaviour of the recipient by establishing a set of values in his convictions or inducing him to change his general behaviour pattern. The most important propaganda objectives can be summarized in the following points:

- Direct the hopes of the public opinion, and amend the actions of the targeted people.
- Create a state of mental distraction and ambiguity to facilitate the process of convincing the idea.

- Maintaining the friendship of the allies, and working to enhance cooperation, brotherhood, and bonds of friendship.
- Maintaining the friendship of the neutral countries, obtaining their cooperation, and working to persuade them of the fairness of the issues and demands they are fighting for.
- Domestically, propaganda works to convince the people that the issue is just and legitimate, as well as work to keep the public's spirits high and seek to emphasize the prestige of leaders and their position.
- Destroy the enemy's morale through campaigns of distortion and work to defeat and distort the concepts on which it is based, along with spreading the spirit of division in their ranks and demoralizing them.
- Propaganda mobilizes hatred and antagonism toward the enemy and destroys all references upon which it is based

1.2.2.2. Propaganda Means

Propaganda means are the various means used to convey the propaganda message to the target group and without these means, it is not possible to talk about propaganda as it is one of the basic pillars for the success of the propaganda process. Propaganda uses all the existing means by which it can influence the public, as the propaganda plays an important and central role in testing the appropriate means for the success of the propaganda process.

- **Visual means:** are means that address the sense of sight only, they have several characteristics, the most important of them are: they are stuck in memory and cannot be forgotten and may be shared by successive generations. The use of visual means is usually specific, its message is clear and its subject is related to a specific event. Visual means, such as pictures, symbols, logos, statues, and caricatures, help to achieve the concept of simplicity in conveying the message or idea, and this is usually in the interest of the propaganda or those responsible for it.

- **Audible means:** are the hearing-based medium that gives vitality, persuasion, and personality. This propaganda medium is very popular with the masses, it attracts attention,

the message is usually short and not boring, and it gives the public an opportunity for the process of imagination and emotional reincarnation. Among its most important means are radio, speeches, songs, national anthems and other audio means, as it addresses all segments of society as well as taking advantage of sound colouring and the use of sound effects, besides, it is instant and the ability to change the propaganda text or idea in it, which is useful in promoting and achieving the ability to reach the largest number of audiences as quickly as possible.

- **Audiovisual mean:** It is considered the most effective propaganda medium, as it can broadcast propaganda messages in different and more persuasive ways, as it addresses the sense of hearing and sight in one such as television, movies, plays. The possibility of combining these two characteristics (sound and image) helps to attract attention and supports the propaganda idea and message to be conveyed, as the TV as an example has several properties that are linked and mixed with reality (such as colours, decor, clothes, characters), which increases the possibility of symmetry with real ease of persuasion, the TV also has the advantage of being highly believable, due to the long hours of viewing, maintenance and repetition.

As cinema was and still has a major role in promoting life-saving and international ideas and policies as it was used in wars, it was the first attempts of the Nazi party to attract young people through the movie “Hitlerjunge Quex” or what the Americans translated into: “Our flag leads us forward” which was produced in 1933 (Baird, 2016). The film, which carried brilliant cinematic techniques and influential music, had a great impact in stirring the enthusiasm of the members of the Nazi party, and the German people in general, as it carried the character of guerrilla and self-sacrifice that usually contributes greatly to the viewers’ minds, especially when it plays at the pace of national feelings.

Alongside it, America did not lose sight of using an important and influential tool to promote its ideas and policies, as it used its large media machine to produce political propaganda films to demonize its enemies in World War II. Therefore, the major countries are racing to develop their cinematography industry and invest them to spread their ideas, as today it has become easy for American films to insinuate the visibility of American supremacy, whether through comedy, movement, or even coding by saving the world with American superheroes or countering the invasion from space.

- **Printed means:** It is considered mobile propaganda means such as newspapers, magazines, books, posters, etc., where it can be preserved, stored or transferred from person to person. The strength of the propaganda message in this means lies in the design and choice of colours and fonts to influence the audience and attract attention.

Perhaps the most important printed propaganda means is newspapers and magazines, where the press is one of the most important means of mass communication and has a major role in broadcasting and promoting propaganda. The press took the lead in creating a modern media audience in the early 19th century as it became a resource for information and ideas on several occasions, the most important of which was the fight against slavery and the American Civil War as also played a role in publicizing these social issues. The role of print journalism continued to grow in the 20th century. During the two world wars, newspapers were the main source of information for the general public and therefore it was used for propaganda purposes on a large scale.

Despite the great progress that the press has made, newspapers are still being read to obtain in-depth information and views on news and events. Thus, newspapers differ in drafting the news and propaganda material according to their orientation and goals. Newspapers and magazines use many methods in disseminating propaganda, such as excitement, repetition, camouflage and generalization, but the most important characteristic is the quantitative aspect of information, which gives the written press more flexibility than other means of communication, as it can communicate a large amount of information and thus able to cover the interests of the people and delve into all directions and matters that revolve in the local and global community, whether politically, socially, culturally or economically.

- **The Internet:** Considered an easy to use mean and accessible to everyone, it has become a modern and indispensable means of communication since its appearance in the late twentieth century. One of its most important features of it is the ease in preparing, searching for, and disseminating information, such as decentralization and interactivity, one of the most important characteristics that help the propagandist in spreading ideas, as propaganda has managed to cross geographical boundaries and reach new audiences that were not previously available.

The Internet has also been characterized by a multimedia feature, so all the media have been merged, as propaganda has benefited from voice, image and interactive at the same time. And with the great development witnessed by social networking sites, the propaganda became closer to and around the user, and the user also became more vulnerable to propaganda messages as this increases the capacity and strength of influence, and this is naturally away from monitoring and state interference.

In addition to these propaganda means, it should be noted that there are other propaganda means considered in the field or called directly, as they depend on direct contact with the individual such as press meetings, conferences and dialogues, where some countries establish cultural institutions or universities, schools, libraries or sports institutes to broadcast propaganda. These means are characterized by interacting with the target group directly, and their messages depend on a large degree of credibility. In any case, the use of the means for propaganda varies according to the goals, content and plan of the propaganda, as well as the target audience. The choice of means is following the place of propaganda and the extent of its compatibility with customs and according to its ability to spread and achieve the appropriate echo.

1.2.2.3. Propaganda Methods

The person in charge of the propaganda process relies mainly on the remarkable development in the media and marketing techniques, and the techniques of influence and communication that are mostly within the concepts of the subconscious and influence in the subconscious of the recipient. Many methods were developed and used to influence and varied between lying, truth, enticement and alienation, the most important of which are:

- **Repetition method:** This method is considered one of the most important methods used in propaganda since the mere repetition of certain paragraphs or phrases leads to their belief, even the lies can be believed in frequent repetition. The propagandist depends on repeating slogans, sayings, and campaigns to solidify their ideas with the public, because repeating the idea or saying turns it into a belief, whether this repetition is directly or

indirectly. The most common example that uses a repetition method is commercial propaganda, as the propagandist builds the name of his merchandise in people's minds. The propagandist resorted to this method out of the conviction that the masses are quickly forgotten, and at the opposite end, the public feels that the propagandist is strong and confident of himself.

Frequent repetition is an important psychological factor in propaganda, as the idea becomes a *fait accompli* from frequent repetition. Also, the arguments and slogans become accepted facts that cannot be discussed. Hitler used this method a lot, as he considered that the masses take a long time to understand and even remember (Younis, 2012, p. 115). But for the method of repetition to succeed in the propaganda process, it is necessary to use diversity, because monotonous repetition is a tedious process and may turn against it.

- **Exaggeration method:** It is a method that depends on exaggeration and magnification matters. Exaggeration in commercial propaganda appears more than others, and the more competition for a specific product, the more the propagandist gives his goods fake and baseless features. Propaganda uses an exaggeration method to reduce its limitations by using additions as some words or phrases that change the intended meaning and give it other dimensions.

- **Lie method:** A method used by political propaganda in various degrees to achieve a goal, as it is often associated with this method with providing false information, or fabricating false facts. This method consists in publishing an untruthful story or news as true. The use of this method is related to certain circumstances, although the propagandist is well aware that honesty is less harmful than lying, it alone is not sufficient to provoke some personal responses or emotional grooming required. Still, if this method discovered, it becomes an effective tool in the hand of counter-propaganda (Younis, 2012, p. 136).

- **The stereotyping method:** It is a method that uses certain images to give certain impressions, where the repetition of this image automatically connects to all what the images call for, which may not be authorized, where the popular idea becomes with all the negative attributes that the image uses without looking for whether there are values and principles intentionally excluded from presentation and discussion. These designations become expressions that are not affected by practice such as capitalist socialism, peace, terrorism, since converting the stereotype into a postulate allows the

propagandist to go into the idea without clarification or justification. The effect of using stereotypes in political propaganda increases during crises and wars, especially if these images raise a certain sensitivity in society.

- **Simplification method:** It is a method used by propaganda to simplify the issues presented to the public through shorthand and brief. The human mind tends to simplify and generalize in dealing with data. Here, the propagandist works to make propaganda simpler in formulating the propaganda message and in the desired goal, because the complexity in formulating the propaganda material is among the factors of boredom and reluctance.

- **The method of diverting audience attention:** it is one of the approved means of diverting people's attention to another topic that may be more or less important. The propagandist is forced to create other topics or nominate fake or trivial topics to distract the audience, such as diverting the attention of the public from the disadvantages and errors to other secondary issues while emphasizing the bad deeds of the opponent at the same time.

- **The imaginary enemy method:** it is an attempt to create a fictitious enemy of the nation, trying to prey on the nation at any moment (an illusion), and here it becomes easy to issue various types of propaganda in a massive manner and at any time. It is a method used by leaders, mostly dictators, who make a great and dangerous enemy for their people to justify wrong policies and divert people from their fateful issues.

- **The method of naming things with other names:** This method allows the propagandist to change terms and concepts in a way that suits the target group, such as the use of emotional terms and resonance on what he promotes, and unleashing bad names on others, where names and terms that do not fit the essence of the things that indicate them are released. This method finds its correct environment in which it succeeds in simple societies where education and culture levels are low, where the terminology used in this method carries emotional charges, sometimes ensuring influence on the recipient.

- **The method of relying on well-known personalities:** It is a method that has a major impact on the target group and is very dangerous, as countries use it especially to target the younger generation. This method is referred to as an opportunistic method that overthrows the propagandist in its application, bypassing many ideas and directions under

certain names that are intended to take the centre of leadership and direction, and are presented under new names. The danger of this method is that it spreads ideas imported with local, acceptable and well-known names, instead of using foreign names and surnames that may raise some sensitivity and caution.

- **Method of relying on reliable sources and statistics:** It is a method that gives a lot of credibility to the idea to be promoted, as governments or parties rely on companies and agencies known and specialized in the processes of sounding opinions and statistics to provide a more realistic speech and persuade or rely on the names of scholars and researchers on purpose. This falls within the scope of rational grooming, as opinions receive more support from people when they are attributed to a party with experience or political or moral standing, as a person usually searches for external sources of trust to believe the news. Here the propaganda takes great advantage of this respect for those references, and the more confidence in the source, the more effective the message is for its recipients.

- **The method of sympathy and grooming:** This method relies on propaganda based on arousing emotions, not on discussion and persuasion, as it is used to influencing the opposite side. This method is one of the methods that are used most during political crises and social tremors, where propaganda goes directly to emotions without discussion or mental persuasion, for example, Nazi propaganda used victims of women and children to reach the goal of preventing the sale of aircraft. The use of this method is exacerbated by the absence of objectivity and the difficulty of having material facts that enable public opinion. (Younis, 2012, p. 181)

SECOND CHAPTER

When the media gaps are studied, the relative superiority of Israel in transferring the war to the technological field is highlighted, as it is much easier for Israel to enter into a confrontation with the Arab world through sophisticated battles, than to enter into a confrontation with stone-throwers, or in confrontations of the type "soldier against soldier". As far as the battlefield is saturated with cutting-edge technology, the more qualitative superiority in weapons systems and manpower. The Israeli army realized the large potential of computers and, since the 1990s, began to use warfare computers of all kinds (Baram, 2013).

The Israeli occupation pays increasing attention to the propaganda sector in the Arabic language through allocating human, material and technical resources to develop this sector. An increasing number of Israeli official institutions are betting on the role of propaganda in the Arabic language in achieving political and security goals, at the expense of the Arab parties, particularly the Palestinian people. Accordingly, Israel has become heavily dependent on propaganda in the Arabic language in its campaigns to contain the Arab street through social media and to whiten the face of Israel and change patterns of the perception of the Arab citizen towards Israel (Al-Nayrab, 2010).

Languages are considered as a traditional gateway to popular cultural and diplomatic propaganda, the thing that Israeli occupation has wagered on. Israel has made many endeavours to make these media plans succeed, perhaps the most important of which is the allocation of the Ministry of Strategic Affairs and Information (which is an unconventional ministry run by a group of intelligence officers led by "Gilad Ardan" in addition to his position as Minister of Security), where its mission is focused on media propaganda, the recruitment of media activists, unification the efforts of supporters of Israel across one platform, as well as providing them with the necessary plans and tools

(Al-Nayrab, 2010). This ministry is supported by the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Economy and their arms abroad.

Israel is working hard to penetrate Palestinian and Arab society with its print, audio and video media and social media. The Israeli occupation state does not depend on fighting its wars on arms alone, but it considers the media an important tool in its wars, where modern media studies have proven that one of the most powerful types of media influence on another audience is to speak with his tongue and language, so that the recipient can understand the media message addressed to him, took the intended impression of the content of the media message, to spread the sender's point of view, opinions, ideas and culture, and to influence the future, who is the target audience.

Because the media and its means are among the most important methods of propaganda, Israel recently adopted a large number of "The Arabic-speaking Israeli Media" in an attempt to communicate its ideas, using all the means and means available to broadcast its speech to the Arab public, whether those means are radio, television channels or websites.

Zionist propaganda relied on the use of social media in the process of cultural normalization to achieve its interests, because of the distinctive and preferential characteristics that characterize this media from others, from the ease of use and the ability to publish at any time. The appropriation carried out by the occupier of the culture of indigenous owners of the land status of the qualities that characterize each colonist in the modern era. Israel uses these Arabic-speaking pages to confirm that it is an existing country with ancient culture and civilization and at the same time close to Arab societies, through an integrated propaganda strategy.

2. ISRAEL'S NEW MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA METHODS USED

2.1. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE ARABIC-SPEAKING ISRAELI MEDIA

2.1.1. Israel addresses the Arab world through their language

At searching about Israeli-speaking Arabic media, it is clear that there are many media directed to address the Palestinian people or the Arab peoples. This Israeli media effort was not a coincidence, but rather a futuristic and strategic vision that was launched since the establishment of the Israeli entity, which has been largely interested in the media to promote Zionism and emigrate to Palestine.

Before the existence of "Israel" mainly in 1948 AD, the leaders of the Zionist movement worked on all levels that would enable them to carry out the function of the state as the media was one of the most important of these levels. It is difficult to understand the dimensions of the Israeli media work without understanding the general Israeli national goals, and the special goals it derives from, in light of the complete correlation that exists between the Israeli media work and those goals.

The Zionist media is distinguished from others as a strong media that managed to invade the Arab world, and contributed to directing many influential Arab media channels, given that it is going in specific directions within the strategic vision and security programs set by the Israeli occupation state.

2.1.1.1. The traditional Israeli media in the Arabic language.

Israeli media rely on radio and television in directing their messages to the Palestinians, the West Bank, Gaza, and the 1948 territories. It can be said that it is one of the most important axes addressed to the Palestinians in its attempt to show the entity as a peaceful state, doing everything possible to coexist peacefully with them (Kabha, 2001). The founders of Israel dealt with the media as one of the most important tools for nation-

building, since the Jewish journalist Theodor Herzl began with the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine and then began promoting it through the media, and brought international approvals for the promised immigration of Jews.

Before 1948, the Zionist movement created a radio intended for the Jewish people and began printing 14 newspapers, including 4 Arabic-speaking (Zaboun, 2017). Such as Herzl, David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, believing strongly that the media had role and function, as he announced the establishment of “Newspaper Editors’ Committee” immediately after assuming his position as Prime Minister, the committee was responsible for publishing studies, but it was also followed to the Israeli Mossad.

Over the years, all the Israeli media, in all its forms, whether read, audio or visual, have worked to implement the methods that attract the Arab recipient and attract him intellectually. This gave the Israeli media attendance and space in Palestinian and Arab newspapers because of its deliberate propaganda plans and the retreat of local and Arab media.

○ **Newspapers:**

To market the positions of the Israeli government among the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, several newspapers have been issued, such as: (Today, News, News) along with some periodic and non-periodic publications. Many Jewish intellectuals who came from the Arab countries, along with some Palestinians who Israel was able to seduce, are preparing and editing these publications (Al-Nayrab, 2010, p. 63).

○ **Television**

Israeli television broadcasts were launched in 1968, with part of its programs dedicated to broadcasting in Arabic. From 1968 to 2002, the time allocated for broadcasting in the Arabic language through the first channel funded by the state was approximately twenty hours per week only. But after privatization and the number of satellite channels doubled, the establishment of Arabic-language channels began.

Israel is fighting, through Arabic-language television, its media war, through psychological propaganda campaigns to influence the moral and political spirit of the

Palestinian people in particular and the Arab peoples in general, and thus uses various propaganda methods. Today, Israel has many Arabic-language television channels, the most important of which are:

- **The Israeli satellite channel:**

It was established by a decision of the official broadcasting authority in the Israeli occupation state beginning in 2001, and it started broadcasting on June 18, 2002, at the expense of the Israeli government by a cost of 25 million shekels. One of the goals of its establishment is defending the policy of the Israeli occupation state under the justification of "necessitated by the supreme interest of Israel", besides, to send daily messages to the Arabs, to hide the aggressive Israeli policy with camouflage and deception and to draw a media message contrary to the reality of the situation. It broadcasted throughout the Middle East, North Africa and the Persian Gulf, over 12 hours a day (wafa, 2020).

- **Makan 33:**

It is a public television channel in Israel intended for the Arab audience, created in place of the Israel Radio. The channel was launched in May 2017 after it was merged with the Israeli channel 33.

- **i24 channel:**

It is a French and English-speaking channel, in addition to Arabic, as it broadcasts in countries that speak these languages. The channel launched its broadcast in 2013 and based in Jaffa Port, Tel Aviv. According to those in charge of the channel, its goal is to "convey the true and wonderful image of Israel to the haters of Israel, not to its citizens." The channel is funded by a French-Jewish businessman named Patrick Dahri, while it is managed by Frank Mallall, who has close ties to several politicians in power in the occupying country. The channel always strives to host Arab analysts from the Palestinian and Arab world to appear as an objective and fair channel (i24news, 2020).

- **The radio:**

- **The voice of Israel Radio:**

The radio belongs to the Israeli Radio and Television Authority, which is a public institution that is supervised by an administrative committee represents various sectors of

Israeli society and political currents. The radio broadcasts its programs from studios in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Beersheba. It is considered one of the first Israeli-speaking Arabic media, as it operates according to the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965, which stipulates that broadcasting works in the Arabic language to serve Arab citizens in “Israel” and to promote understanding and peace between Israel and the neighbouring Arab peoples.

The radio operates 24 hours a day and offers its listeners 17 news, cultural, musical and social news and programs. One of the most important features of the Israeli radio in Arabic was that, until 1965, it was run by the Prime Minister's Office and linked to the Israeli intelligence service, this facilitated its use as a source for gathering information and recruiting clients, through programs that seemed innocent and human, such as: "Salamat" program, "Studio Number One" program and " between the questioner and the respondent ", whereas these programs were directly connected to the Israeli intelligence services, where the "Shin Bet" and "Mossad" used it to topple many Palestinians and Arabs and push them to work in favour of the occupation (wafa, 2020).

- **Radio Makan:**

It was called " D Network" but now it has a new name "Radio Makan". This station is run by the Israel Radio and broadcasts its content with the Arabic language. The radio is intent on making news content from the Israeli side, focusing on the economic, cultural and entertainment aspects.

2.1.1.2. The new Israeli media in the Arabic language.

Israeli official institutions are betting on the role of propaganda in the Arabic language in achieving political and security goals at the expense of the Arab parties, and with the growing role and influence of social networking sites in the Arab world, allowing those in the Israeli propaganda sector in the Arabic language to improve their ability to counter incitement against Israel in these sites and bleach the image of Israel.

The official Israeli institutions concerned have established official accounts in Arabic for them on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, such as the page of the coordinator

and spokesperson for the occupation army for the Arab media, Avichai Adraie, Israel speaks Arabic page, Israel without censorship page, Stand with us in Arabic page, the Israeli Prime Minister's page in Arabic, Israel in Egypt page that managed by the Israeli embassy in Cairo, and Israel in Jordan page. In addition to electronic sites such as electronic newspapers, news sites and others such as Times of Israel, Al-Masdar site, and Israel in Arabic site. Among the most prominent of these pages:

○ **Websites:**

• **Al-Masdar site**

An Israeli news site in Arabic, which identifies its writers as "a team of Israeli Jews and Arabs." The site was established in 2011 exceeding the number of followers of two million, has a high-quality design and follow-up, divided its angles in an artistic manner that meets the desires of the browsers. The site is intended to contribute to creating a dialogue about Israel and regional issues in the Middle East, on news topics. The site relies on its sources on the American educational organization "The Israel Project" known media as "TIP", which provides it with information, pictures, maps, detailed facts and issues concerning Israel, the Jewish people and the Middle East (al-masdar, 2011).

• **Arab Times of Israel:**

An Israeli news website in several languages, established in 2012 and headquartered in Jerusalem. The site documents the developments in Israel, the Middle East, and the news of Jews around the world. It also offers a wide range of analytical articles and opinion articles (Timesofisrael, 2012).

• **Israel in Arabic website:**

The site transmits separate news about life in Israel, dominated by the nature of peace, love and cooperation between Palestinians and Israelis, and the smooth coexistence between Jews and Muslims, which are not shown by Arab media channels as defined by the site.

○ **Social media pages:**

• **Israel speaks Arabic page:**

It is the official page in Arabic for Israel on Facebook. According to its information section, the page was created by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a source of information about Israel to keep the Arab public informed of its activities. The page is followed by more than 2 million followers. The content of it varies to include all political, social and religious areas, but it focuses largely on the nature and quality of life in Israel (IsraelspeaksArabic, 2020).

- **Avichai Adraei page:**

It is the IDF Spokesman page for Arab media on social networks. He began to appear repeatedly on Arab television channels to represent the Israeli army and to justify its military operations, then he became famous in the Arab world for his activities in the Arabic language through social networks. His page was founded in 2011, which on Facebook is followed by more than one and a half million followers (AvichayAdraee, 2020).

- **" Almounassek" Coordinator page:**

The Coordinator page was launched in 2015 via Facebook as the official page of the Israeli Government's Coordinating Unit, which is a unit charged with implementing government policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as, the page includes a phone number and an email for communication (almounassek, 2020). The number of followers of the page on Facebook exceeded 620 thousand followers and more than 10 thousand followers on Twitter.

The page focuses on visual aids such as pictures and videos that accompany the activities of the coordinator, General "kamil Abu Rokn ", who is one of the recruitment officers in the Zionist undercover unit 504, on the Palestinian territories and transmits his media statements. The materials presented on the page are distinguished by their high quality, which indicates that the page is managed by a group specialized in design, photography and montage, in addition to the response to messages that are immediate and in good Arabic language.

According to the definition on the page, the main goal of it is to coordinate, cooperate and follow up the service procedures provided to the Palestinian citizen, in addition to supporting humanitarian activities and extending a helping hand to Palestinians who want to obtain permits allowing them to enter the occupied cities for work, treatment and to visit their families.

- **The page of the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu:**

It is a page that monitors the movements and interviews of the Prime Minister and publishes letters addressed to the Arab public in a simplified manner without exception as the page includes the political, social and even religious content. The number of followers of the page on Facebook exceeds 316 thousand followers and 191 thousand followers on Twitter (israrliprimeminister, 2020).

- **Kan.arb page:**

It is a page belonging to the Israeli broadcasting institution "Kan", which works to produce audio-visual contents for Arabic speakers. It was established in April 2011 and has more than one million and 470 thousand followers on Facebook. The page publishes various news and daily life matters. According to the description of the page, it is "a page that talks about the different groups that live in Israel" as it characterized by its youthful content. Its publications vary on international and Arab situations, in particular, and on Arab artists and festivals. The page also produces its high-quality videos with hosting guests from the Palestinian and Israeli sides (kanarabic, 2020).

- **Eddy Cohen's page:**

He is a journalist, researcher and founder of a human rights organization. His page includes more than 204 thousand followers, as he publishes various news about the situations in the world and Palestine. The page's publications are characterized by sarcasm and constant incitement against the Palestinian people and some Arab countries. The page also depends more on re-publishing the leaflets of Arab and international figures and commenting on them sarcastically and ironically.

- **Stand with us Arabic page:**

It is the official page of the Israeli organization "Stop with Us", which is an international and non-partisan educational organization that fights anti-Semitism. It was founded in 2001 and based in Los Angeles with branches around the world. The organization provides training and educational programs for university and secondary and middle school students, besides offering scholarships in Israel. The Facebook page has more than 252,000 followers, and 7000 followers on Twitter. The page is distinguished by its youth publications in general, which are based on pictures and videos, some of which are specific to the page and some of them are from other Israeli pages.

There are many other Israeli Arabic speaking pages on social networking sites followed by a large number of the Arab public, whether supporters or opponents of what these pages publish, such as the Israel Heart page, the page of the spokesperson of the Israeli Prime Minister Ofir Gendelman, Israel in Jordan page, Israel in Egypt page, Israel, Roni Shalom page on Twitter, Moriya Yonatan Junin page, the head of the Arabic-language social media department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All these pages are directed to the Palestinian in particular and Arab followers in general, as Israel works hard through these pages to communicate with the largest possible number of followers and interact with them with a varied propaganda letter.

2.1.2. The purpose of the Israeli Arabic speaking pages:

According to the 2016 Digital Diplomacy Review report, Israel is among the developed countries in the field of digital diplomacy, ranking eighth globally, surpassing developed countries such as Switzerland, Germany, Japan, Canada, Austria, Spain and Sweden. Israel also considers the digital space a new arena for confrontation with the Palestinians and the Arabs, to which millions have been mocked for it so far (SODD16, 2016).

With the world entering the digital life and changing the style without changing the content, Israel has rushed with all its entity and its leaders to race to exploit modern technology through "social media" that would facilitate penetration of any Arab society, regardless of conservative, through these means that millions of Arabs use.

Due to the presence of about 360 million Arabs among the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, 236 million of whom use the Internet in general, 210 million of them are Facebook users (stats, 2019), as well as other communication networks, such as Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, etc, as statistics have found that about 90% of it uses these sites. The Israeli entity realized that its strategy in the region must be directed to Arab youth, whose polls found that about 90% of it uses these sites. Thus, exploiting this virtual reality is the only way to reduce their minds and influence them.

Consequently, Israel sought to implement its strategy with the start of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, by establishing a branch of digital diplomacy in the Israeli government and by activating the accounts of the spokespeople of the ministries on social media in a noticeable way to achieve a clear goal within the framework of its digital diplomacy.

Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in particular, has employed dozens of experiences in this field, the greatest focus rests with the Israeli occupation army, which relies on the science of social engineering, and is concerned with gradually changing people's convictions by studying their psychological characteristics and providing acceptable media content to them.

The third clause of the Israeli Radio and Television Law, approved by the Israeli Knesset, outlines the goals of the media, which are summarized as follows: "The aim of the Israeli media in all fields (economics, social sciences, etc.) is to show the Zionist character of Israel and the struggle of the Jews and their most important achievements and creativity at all levels, deepening the Jewish and Zionist affiliation together, expression and publicity of Jewish cultural life around the world, broadcasting programs in Arabic to tame the Arab public in the lands of 1948, and to promote propaganda for Palestinians and Arabs in general following the aims of Zionist politics, in addition to broadcasting programs outside the borders of Israel to achieve the goals of Zionism and defend the Israeli policy, especially the aggressive and related to settlement, Judaization and military acts of violence waged by Israel" (wafa, 2020).

The purpose of the Israeli Arabic speaking pages can be summarized into two main goals:

- **Digital occupation and intelligence objective**

The Israeli digital diplomacy does not depend on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone, but the most effective contribution to it rests with the Israeli occupation army, which recruits hundreds of activists on the virtual network, who in turn assumes the task of communicating with Arab youth through several accounts in a very professional manner. This communication depends on the science of social engineering, which means gradually changing people's convictions by studying their psychological characteristics and presenting acceptable media content to them.

Israel has been active in this field in conjunction with the interest of the majority of young people in Arab countries in social media, especially after the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011, where it noticed that some interactions in these sites sometimes lead to very important information that in the past obtaining it required great efforts, as Social media succeeded in mobilizing Arab audiences during the revolution that started in Tunisia in late 2010, before moving to other Arab countries.

Since then, interactions on social media have become present in the majority of Israeli intelligence reports as an ongoing process for Israel in extending its control over everything that is published on all social media sites in the Arab region, where Israel has used this electronic force in its long-term struggle with its Arab environment as an easy and effective way to invade Arab minds, especially young people, in an attempt to attract them and even to recruit them.

The intelligence media plan is determined by the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs and under the supervision and control of the "Shin Bet" and intelligence services, as the Israeli intelligence services rely on two main sources to collect intelligence information, the first of which is the "human resources" based on the recruitment of clients, whether they are agents linked to specific organizations or agents that are transplanted within these organizations, the second is "electronic sources" based on the use of the latest findings of modern technologies.

There are sections within the Israeli intelligence institutions concerned with electronic espionage, which are the Shabak internal intelligence agency, the Military Intelligence Division "Aman", and the "Mossad" apparatus. "Aman" is considered one of the most important electronic espionage devices in Israel, since this device inaugurated three decades ago a specialized section in the field of electronic espionage called "Unit 8200" - in charge of cyber activities and the equivalent of the US National Security Agency (NSA) - aims to contribute to providing an integrated intelligence vision besides the information provided by human resources based on customers (library, 2019).

Unit (8200) inaugurated a special division to collect information via social networks, where Israeli sources revealed that one of the tasks of that division is "interacting with Arab youth on Facebook and Twitter, and trying to influence the conduct of discussions on specific controversial issues."

Lt. Col. Mordechai Kedar, an expert at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, who has served 25 years in the Israeli Military Intelligence, says "Creating a state of confusion and spreading rumours on Arab networking sites is among the tasks of that division, but there are some flaws related to the creation of groups or pages on Facebook for this purpose that require the implementation of one task and withdrawal before the truth is discovered". Therefore, the new reality requires that Israeli intelligence closely monitor not only phone calls but also activists and protest groups on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube videos.

In an article in "The marker" newspaper, that affiliated with the Israeli Haaretz Group, the author says that the intelligence unit monitoring the Internet indicates a change in the perception of the IDF and that there is a desire to invest more in new media intelligence. The head of the Hatzav unit, which belongs to the 8200 unit of the intelligence service, also confirmed that "You can no longer engage in the written and broadcast media, or just look at what leaders are doing. The world of the internet and social media is a never-ending opportunity to gather information from the public domain. This is an integral part of the intelligence image" (Epstein, 2013).

There is no doubt that many Israeli authorities are very interested in monitoring and following up what is happening in the Arab world, through various means, the most dangerous of which are social networking sites, especially "Facebook", because millions of Arab youth are very interested in its use, and therefore Israel has monitored. And I realized the importance of this in developing espionage methods and recruiting agents from the youth of the Arab world.

Israel also plays on the humanitarian side in dealing with the Palestinians, where it sought to find pages that are concerned with providing services to the Palestinian citizen and provide assistance as a " coordinator " page that displays ways and solutions for those who want to reach their needs through propaganda and instructions, in addition to leaving the page an email address and phone to communicate next to its official website at the web.

The authors of the page are trying to pretend humanity to remove psychological barriers and to solicit the needy person through publications that include topics related to work permits, trade or entry to the entity. This method aims to break the psychological and geographical barriers with the Palestinian population and convince them of the idea of coexistence, hunting and soliciting citizens by exploiting their needs and solving their problems for intelligence and information purposes.

In another example, one of the pages titled (We Want to Live) in Arabic provides a phone number for the Palestinians to report information about wanted individuals and "perpetrators of attacks" against Israelis, where the page says in the presentation that "everyone who provides us with information can be assisted in any way they want, whether material or service or the like". As the cover image of the page also shows a caricature image of informants and a sum of money in the category of dollars written on it: "Tell us, and you will benefit".

There are many intelligence units responsible for monitoring and controlling the Arab media, such as Unit 8200, MI Unit, Oranim, and many others. However, the primary goal of these intelligence units in dealing with Arabic-language electronic pages remains to serve security objectives for Israel. The published article may appear silly and

ridiculous at first glance, but Israel uses these pages as a source of sophisticated political, security and intelligence information, thus becoming a pliable tool to bring down the Palestinians and Arabs and push them to work with them.

- **The goal is to normalize and beautification the image of Israel**

The Zionist media is trying hard to perpetuate cases of Arab normalization by communicating with the Arab peoples through their language or meetings and dialogues with Arab politicians, thinkers and media. Indeed, the Zionist media has succeeded in attracting a good number of Arab followers on its Arabic-speaking social pages.

Among the most important reasons that lead Israel to direct the speech in the Arabic language on social media is the attempt to normalize relations with the Arab world, especially the countries surrounding it geographically, such as Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. According to an article on the Israeli website "Mako" in an interview with "Jonathan Gonen," the head of the Arab Social Media Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he says that "through these tools, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was able to break the borders with quite a few people from Arab countries that are not Israel has official diplomatic relations with it".

This industry is part of the Digital Diplomacy division, which works to make the Israeli story accessible to audiences around the world in several major languages, and serves as a digital arm for the Communications and Advertising Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Schneur, 2016).

Through these pages in Arabic, Israel is trying to reach out to the Arab public and have a dialogue with them to bypass the Arab media that presents a very specific and negative image of Israel. Therefore, Israel seeks to beautify its image and spread it to the Arab world and engage in dialogue with large audiences from Arab countries, including hostile countries in particular, and that Israel has no diplomatic relations with it.

Jonathan Junin also added, "We are trying to convince the Arab world that Israel is a more diverse and attractive society, we are trying to deconstruct stereotypes, through a

new brand to Israel and by exporting the creative and thriving face, of course dispelling the idea that we are enemies slowly".

The Israeli propaganda deliberately replaces the image of the Jew who was dominated by attributes such as betrayal, aggression and murder, conversely, the Israeli media promotes the image of a peaceful, civilized, and intelligent Jew.

The communicative isolation experienced by the Israelis because of being ostracized by the countries surrounding them motivates them to improve their image, as Israel lives in fear of widening isolation and seeks in every way to dispel the image of the pariah and reduce the phenomenon of Arab and even international boycott.

This is confirmed by the director-general of the Ministry of Strategic Affairs Sima Vaknin in a report on the magazine The Time of Israel, which confirmed that among the countries of the world the Jewish state is considered a pariah and racist state and their goal as the Ministry of Strategic Affairs is in 2025 no one will ask the question "Is Israel entitled to Live".

Israeli diplomatic relations also live with several problems that prevent Israel from reaching the peoples of most Arab countries, therefore, Israel tries to overcome these obstacles through a propaganda speech directed throughout its Arabic-speaking social pages, in an attempt to compensate for the damage resulting from isolation and rejection and opening bridges of communication with the Arabs, which, up to now, has been rejected and offended by its followers, as it considers it a success because it has succeeded in opening a line of communication and dialogue with the Arab peoples.

Junateen says about the goal of Arabic-speaking social pages "The approach of these pages is to be present and show their position, even if they are attacked or mocked by the followers, it is not easy to talk to a country that is considered an enemy".

Israel does not want more than normalization with its institutions and pages spread on social media, and even if this interaction is in the direction of insulting and mocking, this is part of its propaganda plan and success of one of the most important goals for which these web pages were created, It is communication and normalization with the Arabs.

2.2. THE SECOND TOPIC: ISRAELI PROPAGANDA AND METHODS

The psychological war waged by the Zionist media is considered a type of programmed hostile attack, which aims to influence the minds, psyche and beliefs of individuals, by provoking false rumours and temptation, to instil fear and tear societies, undermining peoples' trust in their armies and questioning its capabilities.

Israeli propaganda does not stop there, as it uses several methods to highlight certain concepts and export them to the world. Previously, the focus was on the idea that "Palestine is the homeland of the Jews", then they moved on to talk about the colonial Zionist entity being a "peaceful state", thus, the Israeli occupation army becomes the "Israel Defence Forces", and Jerusalem becomes an eternal capital of the Israeli state, and within the framework, the names of Palestinian cities and areas are promoted with their new Israeli names, for example, the Al-Buraq Wall becomes the Wailing Wall, and Mount Jerusalem is the Temple Mount and so on.

Media misinformation is one of the most powerful tools of the Zionist entity, as it is done in various forms. The Zionist media has consistently established the character of the Israeli personality as "smart, effective, productive", and in return, it exports a false image of the Arab personality as "lazy, backward, aggressive".

The propaganda side occupies an important place in the Zionist media activity directed through the Israeli media and organs, where Rabbi Yitzersen said in a secret meeting organized by the Jews in 1869 AD in Switzerland: "If gold is the first force in the world, then the press is the second force. But it does not work It is not the first, and by gold, we have to seize the press, and when we seize it we strive to destroy the family and moral life, religion and the virtues that exist in mankind in general" (Rabei, 1970, p. 52).

That is why the Zionist machine strives to fulfil the spirit of propaganda and revive it in Israeli society, or to go abroad by owning the largest possible number of media institutions and national and international news agencies.

Israeli propaganda has played an important role in mobilizing world public opinion and trying to hide the truth over the years, working to win allies from around the world

and win the support of Arab countries that have long considered them an enemy and heterogeneous body in the Middle East region.

2.2.1. The emergence of Israeli propaganda and its stages of development

2.2.1.1. The emergence of Israeli propaganda

Israeli propaganda is not a product of the current moment, but its origin dates back to the beginning of settlement thinking in Palestine during the Bal Basel conference^{1*} in December 1897, where the Zionist movement realized the importance of propaganda and its role in achieving the goals of Zionism and relied on propaganda by various means and methods.

Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, believed that the ideal solution to the Jewish problem, which offered its owners to be hated in Europe, is to establish a state for them anywhere in the world, and the most important thing is that this state has the approval of the major countries, so he worked to achieve this idea By writing, holding conferences and contacting politicians and decision-makers.

Herzl called for a conference that includes representatives of European Judaism in Basel, Switzerland, at which time the first endeavours to obtain support for the immigration of Jews to Palestine were launched in preparation for the establishment of a Jewish state there. Herzl realized the importance of propaganda to achieve the goals of Zionism, so he created an Asian newspaper under the name "die welt", where the opening sentence in this newspaper was "This newspaper must be a shield and a weapon for the Jewish people, a weapon used against the enemies of the Jewish people without a difference in religion" (Al-Nayrab, 2010, p. 12).

* First Zionist Congress was the inaugural congress of the Zionist Organization (ZO) (to become the World Zionist Organization (WZO) in 1960) held in Basel (Basle), Switzerland, from August 29 to August 31, 1897.

Since the birth of the Zionist movement and its idea, Zionist propaganda has managed to address Jews around the world according to their socio-economic levels, and according to their ideological and intellectual tendencies to attract their attention and encourage them to emigrate to Palestine.

Zionism is the name of an organizational movement that calls upon all who believe in the ideas of the Zionist movement, which calls for the establishment of a Jewish state and encouraging the emigration of Jews to Palestine. As for Judaism, it is a religious belief, a religious practice, and it is a historical continuity.

The Zionist movement benefited from the French revolution in developing propaganda work by transferring propaganda from the scope of personal discourse to the mass discourse. The French media supported the Zionist movement propaganda discourse, as it was always showing the economic gains that would accrue to Europe if the Jews settled in Palestine, then Britain continued supplementing and adopting the Zionist project until the entity was established in 1948.

The Central Orientation Office grew out of the "Bal Basel" conference in Switzerland, to link the head of the World Zionist Organization and local units. After the Second World War, this section developed into a section called "the Propaganda Department".

The Israeli propaganda worked from the beginning on the basic goal of immigration and persuading the Jewish public and others to establish a national home for the Jews, as the propaganda assumed the task of implementing and realizing the attracting of Jews in the world in all forms to the limits of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the aims of the propaganda tended to gain legal and political legitimacy for this new state, which was established over the land of Palestine.

With the move of the headquarters of the Zionist movement from Geneva to New York in 1939, the centre of gravity moved from Europe to the United States, and the primary goal of propaganda has become to create a popular and mass force that supports this decision and to gain international legitimacy for the new Jewish state.

Zionist propaganda is characterized by two important stages, after its work to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine and strengthen the national sense and Jewish awareness of the importance of establishing the Jewish state, Zionist propaganda worked on two basic points:

- The propaganda tended with its speech to the centres of power in the world to obtain the legitimacy of the Zionist presence and to gain international support, as the propaganda succeeded in making it a common topic and a global issue discussed in international circles and conferences and meetings are organized for it, which doubled the organization of the Jews ranks and brought support from various world powers.
- The Zionist propaganda worked to pressure the United States to gain its support, as it created an American public opinion and accordingly adopted American policy to defend the legitimacy of establishing the Jewish state. The Jews worked to tighten control over the American media, such as newspapers, television and radio channels, and to form a media lobby that supported the idea of establishing a Jewish state.

This continuous and organized propaganda work achieved what Israel aspired to, as it obtained the decision to partition the Palestinian territories and establish a Jewish state over them. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations passed Resolution 181 under the name "United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine" (Britannica, 2014) after which the Jewish state was declared in 1948. Under the leadership of David Ben Gurin, Israel began focusing on directing its propaganda speech to the Arab public, as it started establishing Arabic-language TV and radio stations and channels. From the beginning, Israel has worked on a propaganda letter directed to world public opinion and the acquisition of global allies to help it establish the idea of establishing a Zionist state in the rest of the world.

2.2.1.2. The stages of the development of Israeli propaganda:

The first stage (represented in the convening of the first Zionist conference in 1897 until the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917): The conference was able to establish a

propaganda rule that Herzl referred to in his saying, "All I care about is speaking even if I speak against Zionism", he also said "Shouting is everything. Truly, a loud voice is a big affair and there is no history for human beings other than the clatter of weapons and the creeping opinion of the repentant, you should shout or scream". These two statements were the propaganda principle pursued by Zionist propaganda to raise the Jewish problem in the world and act accordingly politically.

This stage witnessed propaganda directed towards the centres of political forces to obtain the legitimacy of the presence in Palestine, as well as focused on (the language of interests) to create (persuasion) among the power centres to accept that legitimacy, as Herzl offered to Germany a promise to make Palestine under German protection. Especially since Germany was looking forward to its policy towards the east, as the Zionist propaganda waved to Germany to make Jewish Palestine a base for spreading German culture in the east and it preferred Germany over both Britain and France and fights socialist ideas. Zionist propaganda aimed from these arguments to win the support of the German Empire to solve the Jewish question (Saadi, 2018, p. 7).

In 1901, Zionist propaganda went to the Ottoman Sultan under the method of financial aid to pay foreign debts in exchange for allowing the Jews to settle in Palestine. Accordingly, the Zionist propaganda sought to achieve several goals, the most important of which were to awaken the national consciousness among the world's Jews, to organize Jewish elements and to strengthen ties between them by establishing local and international institutions. On this basis, the propaganda strategy at this stage was to try to raise the problem and present it to politicians as part of achieving one of the strategic goals of a later stage.

The second stage (From the issuance of the Balfour Declaration until the declaration of the Zionist entity in 1948): The efforts of the Zionist movement and its clever propaganda managed to achieve a great advantage by obtaining the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which included the establishment of (a national home for the Jews), that serves the Zionist strategy on the one hand and secures British political and economic interests on the other hand.

After World War II, the headquarters of the Zionist movement switched from Britain to the United States of America, which witnessed Jewish pressure, especially in the economic aspect, at that time, the USA worked to displace two thousand people per week during the Second World War. Zionist propaganda played a prominent role in exploiting Nazi persecution of Jews to push Jews to emigrate under the pretext of achieving safety and underdevelopment of that persecution.

After the end of the World War II, Zionist propaganda entered a new stage, as the twenty-second Zionist Congress in December 1946 called for a call to the United Nations and all countries of the world to support the Jews in their efforts to establish a state for them in Palestine and accept it as a member of the international community (Saadi, 2018, p. 8).

The third stage (It starts from declaring the Zionist entity in 1948 until the June 1967 war): After Zionist dreams turned into reality as a result of the official declaration of the Zionist entity "Israel" on May 15, 1948, and the legal recognition that the entity obtained from many countries, Zionist propaganda began to take an official character through its institutions inside "Israel" supported by Zionist propaganda institutions outside the entity Zionism, as coordination between them depends on the decisions of the Zionist conferences to achieve the goals pursued by the Zionist political strategy.

The Zionist propaganda during this stage attracted the admiration of "Israel" by many countries of the world, especially the West, where "Israel" began speaking on behalf of the Jewish minorities all over the world and was careful not to attack the Arabs and emphasize the purity of the Jewish element and that "Israel" is a historical fact since the foundation of the Jewish religion.

Zionist propaganda focused on penetration in various societies, institutions, unions, media, intelligence, and training secret cadres and mobilizing them to serve the foreign policy and propaganda of "Israel" as the newborn of the global Zionist movement. It also focused on highlighting the inhumane position of the Arabs against the Israeli presence, insulting revolutionary regimes and showing the Arab people the appearance of backwardness.

Zionist propaganda officials began talking about "Greater Israel", where Ben Gurion made a strongly worded speech in 1955 calling on Egypt and Jordan to leave the Gaza Strip and the West Bank after the tripartite aggression against Egypt or the so-called Suez Canal crisis that was by Britain, France and Israel. Zionist propaganda began focusing on the issue of the Egyptian army's defeat in Sinai, Egypt's persecution of Jews, and Egypt's attempt to control the Arab world, as it worked to overthrow the monarchy into a republican system and that Egypt spread Nazism in the Middle East region just like the Hitler movement. The propaganda sought to discredit Egypt in international public opinion (Adwan, 1981).

The issue of Jewish persecution has not been absent from the trends of Zionist propaganda before the establishment of the Zionist entity since the propaganda portrayed "Israel" as the only refuge to rid the Jews of all their suffering, therefore it tended towards combating Jewish integration in their indigenous societies to push more of them to emigrate to Palestine, as Ben-Gurion stressed that "the Jew does not complete his identity except by immigration to Israel and that the Jew is the loyal ally of Israel".

Zionist propaganda began to portray itself in front of Europe and America as an extension of the peoples of Europe, likewise, only Israel can turn arid lands into paradise. Zionist propaganda began to win international opinion by affirming that it is a poor country, and focused on the issue of saving "small Israel and its poor people".

During the June 1967 war, Israel demonstrated through its propaganda tools that they were eliminated by the Arabs during the war and that Israel fights for peace, intending to create the conviction among the Jews that it is defending itself, they have no choice but to take up arms in self-defence.

In this stage, which spanned from the declaration of "Israel" in 1948 until its victory in 1967, Zionist propaganda sought through following targeted and targeted policies commensurate with the nature of events to achieve a goal commensurate with the nature of the stage, which is cleaning the Jewish national character and distorting the Arab national character of the Jews and public opinion Global. Zionist propaganda sought to

secure recognition by the international community of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity and to ensure the flow of migrants to occupied Palestine (Saadi, 2018, p. 9).

The fourth stage (from 1967 after the war until 1973 before the October war):

The June setback provided Israel with tangible pivots and foundations for its propaganda attack against the Arabs, especially in light of the strategic depth achieved after the occupation of the Sinai, the West Bank, the Golan and Gaza.

After "Israel" occupied new lands, I worked to cause a great psychological wound in the Arab self, especially after the propaganda went to perpetuate the concepts of "Israeli indomitable strength." The Zionist propaganda continued to pursue the policy of spreading despair and the threat against Arab countries by making continuous statements that "Israel" would not give up an inch of the territories it occupied until after the conclusion of a peace agreement and recognition of safe borders.

During this period, the propaganda content was directed towards foreign policy, especially to the Jews in the form of a case to deepen their belief in linking to the Jewish Zionist ideology to realize their dream of creating a Greater Israel. In addition to propaganda directed to the Arabs inside Israel directly to create political support for "Israel" in the Arab region.

The Camp David agreement represented a major turn in the march of the Palestinian issue, as it caused a turn in the march of the Arab-Zionist conflict, as international and Arab recognition of Israel as a state took place for the first time. As a result of that, the Zionist propaganda provided new areas in which to move, especially since Egypt's exit from the conflict is like a dream of the Zionist strategy, as the treaty stipulated an end to the state of war between Egypt and "Israel", and the establishment of normal relations between them, whether diplomacies such as exchange of ambassadors or economic relations. The treaty provisions also gave a lot of space to move in a way that serves the Zionist strategy.

The fifth stage (starts from the year 1973 until the present time): At this stage, the Zionist propaganda focused on showing Israel as the main factor in determining the

conditions of peace and war in the Middle East, and linking Islam and terrorism and also linking Jews and Christianity, and that the common danger between them is Islam, especially after the September 11 attacks, where it began to demarcate the image Negative terrorist stereotype attached to every Muslim Arab.

Zionist propaganda took advantage of this stereotype in its favour, as it succeeded after many decades in employing right-wing Christian fundamentalism in serving its goals, to wage a major battle that provides the Jewish state with a protective shield so that the United States of America became the first line of attack on the region after Zionism succeeded in photographing Islam as a dangerous enemy threatens America and the west (Bassam, 2019, p. 99).

2.2.2. The Israeli propaganda strategy, foundations and trends:

2.2.2.1. The Israeli propaganda strategy:

Many researchers believe that Zionist propaganda is one of the most powerful propaganda in history and is the basis for building the global Zionist national project based on the founding of Greater Israel. Since the beginning of its propaganda, Israel has followed four important points:

- Resorting to mass media of all kinds, as the Israeli propaganda included all communication tools, and it was not satisfied with one tool. Zionist propaganda used the press, radio, theatre and new media such as websites and social media platforms to justify its practices and bleach its image.

- Working on personal contact and making it an essential political tool and one of the tools that affect public opinion leaders and decision-makers. Israel has made concern and direct contact with opinion leaders, as it worked on personal contact by sending delegates representing international organizations in various fields, which helped the Jewish elements dominate most of the Middle East studies departments and research and study centres in European and American universities.

- Create an informative speech to all parties without exception. Israeli propaganda is directed at four main parties, namely the Israeli / Jewish public, the Palestinian audience, the Arab public, and the global audience. Propaganda priority may change according to the existing situation, but Israel is well aware of the importance of distributing propaganda speech to these four parties. Israel works on all fronts without exception and sends a special speech to each party, according to the propaganda need and the needs required for that period.

- Working to keep abreast of new and permanent acquaintance with the variables of the media arena and interest in employing special and integrated teams working to make propaganda successful in all fields such as sociology, psychology, and others. As Bossi Gal, spokesman for the head of the Israeli government in Ariel Sharon's government said: "a large part of Israel's image in the international community and at home is based on the reports of hundreds of journalists and workers in Israel". Israel pays hundreds of thousands of dollars a month to companies specializing in public relations in New York to monitor weaknesses in Israel's strategy and to conduct opinion polls (Al-Nayrab, 2010, p. 15).

2.2.2.2. The Israeli propaganda foundations:

Israeli propaganda is based on many principles in its propaganda speeches, the most important are:

- **The foundations of religious ideology:**

Israel builds its propaganda rhetoric on several ideological concepts, where propaganda plays an important role in achieving Zionist purposes, especially in the field of the use of religion as a way to arouse and appeal to the passions of Jews, as the propaganda focuses on the Jews being God's chosen people, according to the version in the Torah. Among the most important religious foundations on which Israel builds its speeches are:

- God's Chosen People: It is a term that the Israelites gave to themselves, whereby they consider themselves as the holy people and children of God, which God chose them to be a special people for them above all the people on earth.
- Promised Land: It is a Jewish term used to describe the land that God promised the Jews according to the current Torah, "the Promised Land that God has written for the children of Jacob," which is Palestinian land.
- Anti-Semitism: is a term given to anti-Judaism as an ethnic and religious group. "Sami" means the dynasty of Sam bin Noah; peace be upon him. Since its establishment in Palestine, Israel has been keen on attaching this accusation to the Arab peoples, calling on the Arab Jews to emigrate to Palestine on the pretext that the Arabs committed crimes and massacres against the Arab Jewish minority, then used the term in Europe to achieve its interests after the Zionist leaders took an anti-Semitic phenomenon as an excuse to separate groups Judaism in Europe from the Christian societies that lived among them, based on which it developed the national idea aimed at establishing the so-called national home of the Jews. Israel also used the Holocaust to always remind the West of the grievance that it has become against them and to affirm their right to a state that protects them from the world's oppression of them because of their lofty race.

The propaganda strategy that was directed towards the Jews of the world before the establishment of "Israel" was aimed at educating them about the Zionist goals and preparing them psychologically to emigrate to Palestine to fulfil the religious prophecy of establishing a Jewish state and to save them from the curse of anti-Semitism. But after the establishment of the Zionist entity, the propaganda work continued according to that strategy, with the addition of the achievements of "Israel" to it and its portrayal as the only refuge for the Jews of the world from the inevitable persecution if they continued to live outside it. When Zionism realized that this was not enough to ensure the continuation of immigration, as evidenced by the presence of some Jews in the world who did not feel persecuted, as it feared their integration into their indigenous societies, Zionist propaganda began to move towards practising Jewish integration.

- **General political foundations:**

- Israel is not an aggressor country, but rather is trying to maintain its security and survival.
- Israel is a strong and civilized country in a backward and weak environment.
- Israel is a country that can protect the interests of the West in the Middle East. It is a country resisting terrorism in the region.
- Israel is striving hard to ensure its survival and trying to ensure security for its people.
- Only Israel calls for peace and works to achieve it with the Palestinians.

2.2.2.3. The Israeli propaganda trends:

Israeli propaganda has worked on four directions in its propaganda, which are:

- **Propaganda directed to the Israeli side / internal propaganda:**

The Israeli propaganda is directed to the Israelis to deepen their belief in the principles of Zionism and encourage them to emigrate to Israel, in addition to giving the Israeli public a sense of safety and reassurance so that they can continue in the ongoing state of war imposed on them by the Zionist project. On the other hand, the Zionist media turn to the targeted human material (i.e. the Jews) to recruit them to serve the Zionist career project, as well as to the settlers.

- **Propaganda directed to the Palestinian side:**

These are usually speeches to undermine the resilience of the Palestinian people and question the ability of Palestinian leaders and the integrity of the state. The propaganda works to show that what the Palestinian people are doing is not resistance but rather terrorism against the state of Israel, which seeks to provide them with security and real solutions to coexistence.

- **Propaganda directed to the Arabs:**

The Israeli propaganda speeches are directed mainly to the Arab public, with their various nationalities, as Israel seeks to send a special speech to Arab youth. Through this speech, Israel seeks to cultivate the spirit of surrender and submission, to sow despair and demoralize them. With its propaganda speech, Israel also goes to the leading centres to

remind them of the economic, social and military backwardness compared to it, and that it is a country that seeks peace and provides assistance to those who need it in the Middle East region.

- **Propaganda directed to world public opinion:**

The Zionist media primarily directs to the imperialist state sponsoring the Zionist project, in Western Europe and North America, which supports the Zionist project and provides a foothold for it, in return the Zionist state is to serve the sponsoring state and defend its interests in the region. Israel relies on its propaganda speeches directed to the world to present itself, as the only force in the region that can impose peace and prevent terrorism as well as it is the only democratic country in the Middle East.

2.2.3. The Israeli propaganda goals

Israeli propaganda works on several issues, including historical, religious, political and economic, to gain sympathy and rally public opinion around the idea of the right to establish the State of Israel. The aims of the Israeli propaganda can be presented as follows:

- **The goals of propaganda in Israeli society:** Israel aims to establish several concepts among its people, such as:
 - Palestine is the overarching point for Jews around the world, and emigration is one of the foundations of belonging and among the basics of pure loyalty to Jewish thought, as well as emigration to Israel is the fulfilment of the prophecy that the Lord promised.
 - Israel is the country responsible for every Jew around the world.
 - The survival of the state is the responsibility of every Jew in and outside Palestine.
 - Israel is working to stabilize the country and its prosperity, which is the first step to restore control to ancient Israel.
 - Israel is working hard to achieve security for all Israelis on its soil.

• **The goals of propaganda in Palestinian society:** Israel seeks to persuade the Palestinians of several ideas and concepts, such as:

- The delusion the Palestinians that the Arabs have abandoned them.
- Israel is a country that seeks to achieve peaceful coexistence and is the only sponsor of it.
- The Palestinians are unable to rule.
- Trying to normalize with the Palestinian society in any way.
- Distortion of some beliefs and concepts that the Palestinian believes in (such as the concept of the state, the concept of resistance ...)

• **The goals of Israeli propaganda in the Arab community:** Israel aims to establish several concepts and change several beliefs through its propaganda directed to the Arab public, such as:

- Cultivate the spirit of surrender and submission to the unbeatable power of Israel.
- Questioning the Arab citizens in their leaders and in an attempt to isolate him from the state institutions and communicate with them.
- Work to undermine the unity of the Arab rank by highlighting sectarian, ethnic, and regional problems.
- Questioning about the Arab and religious concepts and beliefs related to the Palestinian cause.
- Remind Arabs of the economic and social gap and deficit.
- Normalizing and dealing with Israel is inevitable.

• **Publicity objectives in the international community:** Israel works on several international goals, including:

- Obtaining material and moral support.
- Trying to control global media, such as the press, television channels, and international publishing houses.
- Confirm the theory of the state that protects against terrorism and sponsors the interests of Western countries in the Middle East.

- Working to improve and beautify the image of Israel through association and diplomatic work.
- Reinforcing friendship, strengthening relations with allied countries and shifting public opinion from a position of understanding the presence of Israeli to a position defending and justifying it.

2.2.4. The Israeli propaganda methods on social media pages and their characteristics:

2.2.4.1. The Israeli propaganda methods

The Israeli media has general guidelines in its propaganda plan and its endeavour to adapt and subdue consciousness. Israeli propaganda sows the seeds of suspicion in prevailing convictions across the Arab world, by including elements and signs that may not be noticeable, aimed at undermining stable perceptions in the Arab collective awareness of the legitimacy of its existence. The propaganda methods used are many and they are sometimes intertwined with each other.

- **The method of misleading:** Israeli propaganda works to divert attention and reformulate the issues that it wants to adopt, as it works to follow a method of diverting the masses minds from the primary battle to secondary battles or present them inaccurately and in a language appropriate to its policy. Israel adopts a method of misleading a lot when talking about the battles and wars that occur with the Palestinian resistance, in particular. as "Maxim Gillan," the founder of the International Jewish Peace Federation (IJPU) said in an interview "There is a section for intelligence and media misinformation, as there is a special section in the office of the Prime Minister of the Israeli government that controls all media sections in addition to media annexes in Israeli embassies abroad that translate all texts to help the state in marketing the Israeli arguments" (GHILAN, 2004).

- **The method of lying:** Israel relies on the method of lying in its propaganda and strives to not discover the lie, even when lies are discovered, the propagandist is prepared to respond to them, assuming the role of the victim. Palestinian children who take part in

demonstrations and throw stones are usually portrayed as battalions in the hands of the Palestinian Authority and organizations, and they are paid for their deaths to reap political gains. Where the former Israeli government spokesman, Raanan Gissin, said, in July 2001, "It is not excluded that Hamas's exploits children as live defensive gears because it always recruits them to the battlefield".

- **The method of justification:** The Israeli media has always used justification in its propaganda, as it is a method that relies on many tricks and forgery. Israeli propaganda justifies all violations against the Palestinian people, such as killing children by saying that whoever is killed today is a future terrorist or that it may be a technical mistake, it justifies the bombing of ambulances and hospitals by saying that they are means for transporting weapons and hiding terrorists, and justify wars under the pretext of defence About existence. The Israeli media has always justified the assassination policy as an Israeli "reaction" that falls within the policy of frustrating and prosecuting "terrorist" planners.

- **The method of Focusing on One Goal:** Israeli propaganda usually works in a specific period on one goal, to occupy the public opinion on the same topic and focus attention on it, as it is the method it relied on in several issues that were successfully promoted as the "deal of the century" issue, where it recently worked to market to it systematically and intense.

- **The method of repetition:** Israel works on the method of repetition, a method that pushes the individual who did not notice the idea to perceive it and know it, where repetition plays a role in preserving the stimulus and recalling it, and thus the idea is never forgotten. Also, the method of repetition gives the strong characteristic of the propagandist, as Israel returns many contents and ideas in its propaganda in a variety way and with separate information to ensure the arrival of the information and to confirm it.

- **The method of Sympathy:** Israel relies on the sympathetic method to gain sympathy and support from the people of the world, especially European countries. The Israeli media has established in the minds that Israel is always threatened and its security is linked to global peace and security, and it is a peaceful country in an Arab environment that is anti-democratic and a sponsor of terrorism in the Middle East region, therefore its demands must be accepted.

• **The method of Half-truth:** Israel uses this method to cut out part of the dialogue or information to serve their interests and market them. Zionist propaganda used this method, for example, with the Indian political leader Gandhi, who wrote in one of his books, "I believe that the Jews made a grave mistake when they imposed themselves on the land of Palestine with the help of America and Britain, and finally resort to violence and terrorism". The Israeli propaganda machine removed some of the vocabularies from his writings and formulated them again to appear as if it was pro-Israel, which came as follows, "I believe that the Jews have suffered great harm from the world" distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies (Zennad, 1984).

• **The method of promoting the myth:** Zionist propaganda relies on repeating myths that evoke public opinion to justify its expansion into the Palestinian territories, where Israeli propaganda promoted many myths as "a land without a people for a landless people," according to a famous saying by writer Israel Zangwill. Besides promoting other myths such as "for the chosen people of God" and "the Promised Land", where Israel worked in its propaganda on the issue of difference in lineages and promoting the idea that the Jews of the world are all from one lineage and one race issued by order of God. It also used in its battles against the Arabs many myths to sow despair in the hearts of the Arabs as the myth of "the Israeli army, the invincible army" (Garaudy, 1990, p. 78).

• **The method of Convincing:** Israeli propaganda uses this method to gain as much public opinion as possible and influence them by presenting reliable sources and objective facts, as the Israeli media publishes news and media materials for internal or external audiences. Israeli propaganda is working to find a ground that gives its news some credibility to win the confidence of the public, which in turn helps in the persuasion and trust process.

• **The method of exploiting famous people:** It is one of the accepted methods in Israeli propaganda and considered one of the influential and dangerous methods, as it exploits famous figures as a football player, artist or a well-known writer to promote Israeli ideas without the effort of the propagandist since fame is what takes place. In recent years, Israel has been famous for using this method, as it has hosted famous figures and photographed them performing Jewish religious rituals.

- **The method of humour:** humour has a great impact on public opinion, especially in people that tend to be inherently so, where sometimes some jokes have a greater and deeper impact on public opinion than newspapers and news. The method of humour can transmit and spread and attract audiences and minds. Israeli propaganda uses this method especially with the Arab public, as it tends to joke and deny political forces, even in critical times.

- **The method of terminology:** It is a method by which Israel seeks to tamper with the collective mind of the recipient, distort the memory, falsify consciousness, distort concepts and distort the axioms and postulates by adopting and using terminological and lexical fields that have symbolic interpretations and deceptive and misleading connotations. This method is profound and affects cultures, values and customs in particular. The terminology technique was used for the first time when former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited the Arab region after the 1973 war, where he used the term "peace process in the Middle East" to denote political movements in the region (Al-Nayrab, 2010, p. 43).

Israel always seeks to change the terms used as the Palestinians instead of the Palestinian people, settlements instead of colonies, security steps instead of incursions and invasions, and other vocabulary and names that have replaced Palestinian cities and streets, such as the promised land, the Wailing Wall instead of the Buraq Wall and Tel Aviv instead of the Palestinian Spring Hill. The terminology method created a major discussion between the Israeli government and several Arab and Western media as a result of its reliance on the selection of terms with a lighter impact on the recipient such as the term assassination, whereby targeted killing, positive defence, local liquidation, and selective strikes become. According to this method, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommended that broadcasters, satellite channels, and health worldwide not use the word "assassinate" to describe the killings carried out by the Israelis against the Palestinians on the pretext that the verb is used to describe the assassinations of important political figures and to replace the phrase "targeted killing" with it.

2.2.4.2. The characteristics of Israeli propaganda:

- **Organization:** Israeli propaganda is characterized as organized and planned propaganda with clear strategic goals, as it anticipates and keeps pace with events. The Israeli propaganda works successfully, as it is launched promptly while creating the atmosphere and factors of acceptance and ratification previously.

- **Centralization:** Israeli propaganda works by referring to a device that includes specialists in the scientific, psychological, social, and military fields to develop a comprehensive plan for psychological propaganda work and draw up interim and strategic plans.

- **Focus:** Israeli propaganda deals with the news extensively in terms of propaganda, analysis and repetition, which helps in the success of the campaigns and the accomplishment of psychological missions.

- **Specialization:** The multiplicity of the fields of the Israeli propaganda war requires it to use specialized experts in all fields to achieve the principle of inclusiveness in its strategy.

- **The attack:** Israeli propaganda relies on the attack and provides offensive, provocative content.
- **Integration:** Israeli propaganda works on all media fronts and in an integrated manner.

2.3. THE ISRAELI PROPAGANDA METHODOLOGY USED IN THE CULTURAL NORMALIZATION PROCESS ON ARABIC-SPEAKING SOCIAL MEDIA PAGES:

2.3.1 A network cultural normalization that suggests an acceptance of the occupation in the Arab environment:

2.3.1.1 The concept of cultural normalization:

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, normalization is defined as returning to normal or generally accepting the situation (dictionary, 2020). Any process that makes

something more natural or regular, which usually means sticking to some regularity, or returning from an abnormal condition. Normalizing the thing means making it natural, by adapting it to the natural conditions. In other words, normalization is the process of switching a state that is abnormal, unfamiliar, or atypical, until it becomes normal and familiar.

In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, normalization means establishing relations with Israel, its apparatus, and its citizens, "as if" the status quo was a normal situation. It thus means ignoring the existing state of war and occupation.

Normalization means the transition in relations between the two parties (contenders) from the stage of hostility to a normal stage, in which the state of contradiction or war is negated and the establishment of relations based on mutual interests, good neighbourhood and cooperation in all fields and fields. The essence of normalization is to bring about change on the Arab side, provided this change begins with the recognition of the existence of "Israel" as a Jewish state in the region, to extend to restricting the Arab world's military capabilities, changing its political beliefs and reshaping its network of relationships, in addition to achieving security and regional demands, leading to Radically changing attitudes toward this entity (Al-Ashqar, 2018).

With regard to the relations between the Arab countries and Israel, normalization means that Israel or its institutions implement cooperative projects and trade and economic exchanges with the Arab countries.

For the success of the Israeli project, and for its survival in the land of Palestine as long as possible, there are elements, the most important of which is that the Palestinians and the Arabs recognize "Israel", accept their presence on their land, and establish relations with it as a natural country from the region, which has become known as the "Middle East". In other words, they are required to forget about historic Palestine. To this end, "cultural normalization becomes an imperative, and an unquestionable goal.

From the foregoing, it is concluded that normalization is an effort to connect, communicate, build, and develop relations between one state and another, which were in

a state of estrangement, consciously and intentionally, in order to reach a normal relationship without tensions.

This process of normalization is most likely produced by the arrival of all parties to a state of acceptance of the other regime in its form and ideology. Normalization with Israel in this sense means entering into contacts and planned relations aimed at making the relationship with its normal relations completely contrary to the boycott. The normalization carries the indication of acceptance of the existence of Israel in its colonial settlement form, order, and acceptance of its role, ideology, and settlement project, as well as acceptance of the reality of the Palestinians under occupation.

While "Cultural Normalization" is not only dangerous to culture in the narrow sense, but also includes the danger facing the way of life, behaviour, values, the direction of affiliation, and nature of loyalty. Cultural normalization is the reshaping of the Zionist restructuring of the Arab values and concepts system, which requires striking at the idea of resistance on the one hand, and the idea of Arabism on the other. In the sense that Israel turns from an expansionist settlement occupation state into a natural state, and that relations between it and the Arabs are established, it means that replacing Palestine with Israel is a realistic and natural matter.

Cultural normalization in particular is a kind of change of ideas rather than a kind of political change. And changing ideas is more dangerous than a political change in the field of cooperation between peoples because people are forced by political normalization, but they interact and acclimatize with cultural normalization, so cultural normalization is more dangerous than political normalization in the long and deep run term.

Artistic and cultural normalization may come after political normalization and may pave the way for it. When he comes as a precursor to him, he sends some ideas as a test in order to see the popular reaction, but when he comes later to him, he comes to devote in the public sentiment what the politician wants to do later (Ali, 2019) .

2.3.1.2 The purpose of the cultural normalization on social media pages

Israel gives importance to the new media and more specifically for social networks in the process of addressing the Arab public. Israeli propaganda is keen to win an audience of Arab followers for its pages and accounts on social media, which gives the impression of accepting the occupation in its Arab environment. With the repetition of the syllables and the looks, the keenness to use the method of repetition and fixation adopted by the traditional propaganda efforts is evident.

One of the peculiarities of networking is that it gives a sense of clustering around a common interest, as it is by simply tracking a particular interest or searching for a special case, the browser will encounter what appears to be "mass intensity" in the interest about topic or situation in a way that may surprise him, which in turn encourages him to join the population and engage in a situation that he may feel brilliant and gain legitimacy due to this proliferation (Shaker, 2017, p. 1).

Israeli efforts to normalize the space and hardware applications have evolved with the development of communication and electronic networking technologies, in the production of media and cultural content through speakers and multiple materials. With this transformation, an unprecedented situation has emerged through social networking sites from direct interaction between Arab audiences and occupation officials, which has reached the level of virtual coexistence, including punctuated by talks, mutual comments, and sometimes weaving bonds.

Consequently, Israeli propaganda is keen to gain a crowd of Arab followers to its pages and accounts on social media, which gives a misleading impression of accepting the occupation in its Arab environment, although the follow-up does not mean acknowledging the trends and accepting the contents, It may be dictated by curiosity and the desire to see and quarrelsome, for example.

However, the occupation officials and its speakers in Arabic are registering a growing presence in the communication platforms, which means their positioning within the "Arab" networked scene, which represents an unprecedented development allowed by the time of networking, regardless of their persuasive capabilities. Attached to this is the circulation of clips, materials and links produced by Israeli propaganda agencies, and if

this often takes place in the context of denouncing them or denouncing them by the following public, the Israeli media considers it a benefit as it is read as recycling the content produced by their occupation regime.

Social networking sites provide opportunities for Israeli media endeavours directed either directly or indirectly or subject to suggestive influences and normalized content. The opportunity is manifested in an attempt to shock the consciousness and break the social consensus that rejects dealing with the Israeli government. The fact that social media sites are not subject to some moral obligations on traditional media, has made it an appropriate platform for multiple contents, among them shocking content being pushed in a way that gives the impression that it is sometimes the product of fake accounts and electronic armies. What may increase the attractiveness of promoting such contents is the broad interest and broad circulation achieved by the contents, which entice their introduction and circulation, as the sections of “congratulations on Islamic occasions” have a clear witness to this trend, as they are recycled because some Arab audiences see it as an exceptional objectionable or funny (Shaker, 2017, p. 2).

The nature of social media sites that are not subject to the obligations imposed on traditional media, has made it a suitable platform for multiple contents, including natural contents are often the product of targeted and fake accounts and electronic armies, where the process of promoting these provocative content increases due to the wide interest and circulation that attract the recipient to see and interact with them.

The propaganda diplomacy of the Israeli occupation succeeds in soliciting elements from some societal components, but it provokes the broad societal awareness that senses the entry of the Israeli worker on the line of internal contradictions and sensitive issues, by talking about the splits and different sects in Arab societies and exhuming some separatist files that bear disintegration tendencies and hate.

As part of its endeavour to adapt and subdue consciousness, Israeli propaganda sows the seeds of doubt in prevailing convictions throughout the Arab world, by including elements and signs that may not be noticeably aimed at undermining stable perceptions in Arab collective consciousness. The insistence on presenting an Arab who feels a sense of

belonging to the "State of Israel" and serves its army and policy is only an example of this, although it is a selective summoning that ignores the principled commitment of Palestinians in the occupied interior to their belonging and cause.

It is clear that the Israeli occupation is betting on the impact of pressures and shocks on the awareness of the Arab peoples at this historic juncture, at a time of state fragmentation, fragmentation of societies, and the emergence of new conflict priorities across the region, the occupation speech presents direct or suggestive statements that "we are not the enemy then," indicating in this context a common enemy.

These pressures and shocks will lure the Arab conscience into responses towards choices, preferences, or convictions that were not expected in normal circumstances, for example through naive comparisons between the tyranny of regimes that are fighting open wars with their peoples, and the methods of occupation that underestimate their aggression in this narrative.

The social media pages and the communication accounts aiming for cultural normalization are increasing in a way that they are used to fuel and revitalize active accounts while presenting the occupation from a friendly cultural window. The media and cultural propaganda of the occupation work from multiple entrances, as it manages to address the Arab masses directly through its various media (Shaker, 2017) ,but it is also keen on preparing the minds of elites and wooing faces and names from the elites and activists.

While the occupation's diplomacy targets Arab intellectual, artistic and creative elites, some of its faces suddenly appear in occupied Palestine to attend conferences, give lectures and give artistic performances, in addition to the rise of tourism normalization with its cultural contents. The desire to win over certain elites is betting on their effects on their societies, with an attempt to work on the elite of the present and the pioneers of the future, that is, the young emerging leaders, regardless of the extent of the actual success of the occupation's normalization diplomacy in this regard. Followers of Israeli websites with Arabic content receive information materials and renewable information

resources, among them, are intellectuals and media professionals, as well as among various audiences.

During the past four decades, there have been successive transformations that have created pockets of Arab normalization advocates who reckon with Israeli propaganda contents, where informal normalization is considered a component of the soft power of the occupation regime, and it falls within its popular diplomacy to disturb awareness in general, reaching what simulates brainwashing in some cases.

The Arabic-language propaganda speech does not lack fragility, naivety and contradiction, but it is not subject to serious discussion mainly, as it is a discourse imposed by the strength of often unequal equations and by the intensity of intense propaganda pumping and intimidation of criticism at times, as it comes accompanied by psychological and emotional influences that cover it to enable it to access the circle's that it addresses.

Rarely does the Israeli-speaking Arabic discourse reveal that the culture supporting it has not disappeared, as it is a pretext. The letter may not come in a straightforward case, as it may carry its messages in hidden or symbolic forms that may not provoke the observation to facilitate its passage and achieve familiarity with it by repeating it. The letter of normalization is not only Arab, but rather it is a participatory speech, based on mutual interaction between the parties, some of which are located on the Arab side, and some of which are located in the square of the occupation itself.

Israel is seeking to remove what some academic diplomats call a case of confusion in the Palestinian and Arab mentality around "Israel" so that hatred becomes irrational. They also see that the achievement of normalization eliminates the depth of culture and civilization and instils distorted and truncated facts and creates a state of satisfaction and acceptance of reality, as it undermines facts that for decades have been the basis of Islamic culture and Arab nationalism. Cultural normalization represents the main pillar of the "Israeli" penetration in the Arab region because it is deeper and more stable than any security arrangements such as the demilitarized zones, and the development of international forces and other security arrangements (Al-Ashqar, 2018).

Cultural and media normalization is a cornerstone of the Israeli strategy, as it uses cultural normalization by trying to break down the high psychological barriers between them and the Arab public. Israeli propaganda is based on the premise (an ostracized organic people - transferred from West to East - to turn from a parasitic component to a beneficial component based on serving Western interests within the framework of the functional state and recruiting the world's Jews behind the sponsoring western state), this means the necessity of heading to several forces and necessity the development of different levels of propaganda discourse, as this policy comes within a systematic system developed by the Zionist entity.

Israel aims to create awareness and an alternative memory for the Palestinian people that emphasizes the history and right of the Jews in Palestine. Through this systematic process, Israel expels the Palestinian from the place and himself, thereby striking out his identity. The issue here is not just a deletion of the Palestinian identity but is matched by confirmation of the Israeli narrative.

Cultural normalization remains the decisive factor in the long run because conflict takes root in peoples' awareness, their culture, their collective memory, and their national conscience, therefore, it is difficult to shake convictions, destroy the foundations of national memory, and penetrate historical, religious and cultural constants without establishing bridges for communication and cultural normalization. From this standpoint, the "Zionist" strategy and its contemporary manifestations were based on an attempt to remove hostility from conscience, mind and Arab memory, to complete the disarmament of the resistance, which is a task that is guaranteed by political and security agreements, and a strategic necessity.

Arabic-speaking normalization speech on social media aims to achieve several goals, according to the context, the situation and the parties, in an attempt to gain legitimacy and justification, seek excuses for the naturalistic approach, try to give the impression of the growing acceptance of the normalization situation and the supportive circumvention around it, and in the same context, it works to lead and discourage supporters of the issue Generally by questioning them and their loyalty.

One of the most important changes that have taken place at the global level in the field of media is the dominance of digital media among the media. Israel has worked to assert the fact that it is an existing country and has a history and ancient culture in everything it publishes on its Arabic-speaking pages, as it has resorted to Arabic-speaking social networking sites to open the door for dialogue and discussion with the Arab follower, using several propaganda methods such as repetition and spreading the seeds of doubt in some postulates, therefore, Israel has ensured in this way open communication with the Arab public, which will be provoked by the false propaganda and cultural theft that these pages offer.

These pages also seek to create a kind of cultural openness with the rest of the Arab countries, as this openness would create obstacles and problems in shaping features of the Arab culture that will be affected by the pressure Israel will exert on these countries, under the slogan of opening up to the civilized world and keeping pace with the requirements of the times and following The footsteps of the most powerful country in the Middle East, as it classifies itself.

2.3.1.3 The Normalization of Cultural Appropriation

The Zionist project aimed at the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from their homes and lands, as well as the ethnic cleansing of history and the erasure of any memory of them in it, which is the most important part of the Zionist project, as people without history are people who are undoubtedly defeated. But the Israelis tried to be smarter, not only destroying Palestinian history and culture but rather stealing it.

Israeli society, at its origin, is a group of immigrants of different races, which includes many cultural and social influences within a different mix. The Zionist movement sought to compensate for the state of historical and geographical disruption experienced by stealing land and the dispossession of history. Israel has applied the literal meaning of Zionist ideology since the Basel Conference in 1897, which declared that "Palestine is a land without a people for a people without a land" (Alsahli, 2004).

Culture is defined as that homogeneous complex of memories, perceptions, values, symbols, expressions, creations and aspirations that maintains a human community that constitutes a nation with its civilized identity, within the framework of its developments due to its internal dynamics and its ability to communicate, give and take. Culture is also the sum of social conditions, intellectual, scientific and technical achievements, patterns of thinking and prevailing values (Barakat, 1984, p. 321).

So, without a social and cultural identity, individuals alienate themselves from their social and cultural environments, and indeed from themselves completely, and without a clear definition of the other, they cannot determine their social and cultural identities. A group or an individual cannot accomplish a project, whatever its type or size, without identifying itself and determining its location, role and legitimacy of its existence as a distinct group, before it rises it must be self.

UNESCO says about the concept of cultural identity that it means first and foremost individuals belonging to a local, regional or national linguistic group, with its moral and aesthetic values that distinguish it, and this also includes the method by which the group's history, traditions, customs, lifestyle, and sense of submission are absorbed and involved in it or forming a joint measure of it, and for each individual is considered a kind of basic equation that determines - positively or negatively - how the individual is affiliated with a group in general (Unesco, 2002). If culture is all that a person produced in intellectual and practical development, then the cultural identity requires in this production that it be a unique origin that expresses distinct features and does not identify with any other culture or at the very least, it has privacy that is distinct from other cultures.

Culture is what makes history, and there is no history without culture, meaning that the people who lose their culture necessarily lose their history, since the history of humanity is an interconnected series of cultural traditions. This explains what Israel has done regarding cultural theft and then attributed the culture to it, along with continuous attempts to abolish the Palestinian people and its culture in all its forms, as two countries cannot exist with the same cultural identity. Zionist propaganda tries to change history in their favour and prove their right to the land of Palestine, confirm the idea that Jews have

historical roots in the region, and persuade the world that as a result of the diaspora they became involved in the civilizations of the resident peoples.

The theft and allocation of indigenous culture and history is a typical feature of all colonial states, but it is usually accomplished simply by eliminating, expropriating or defeating the indigenous peoples concerned. Israel was founded on the ruins of Palestine and by expelling the majority of its indigenous population in 1948 and beyond. These thefts are a conscious policy of the State of Israel that seeks to erase Palestine from its historical memory. Indeed, the continuous ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from their historical homeland goes hand in hand with the theft of Palestinian lands, homes, history and culture.

Between 1947 and 1949, at least 800,000 Palestinians were killed and about 531 Palestinian villages and villages were cleared simultaneously. Also, during the same period, Israel plundered tens of thousands of books, paintings, musical recordings, furniture and other artefacts from Palestinian homes, libraries and government offices, and at least 70,000 Palestinian books were stolen from their owners (Kadman, 2015).

Israel used multiple means to empty Jerusalem of the Arab population and cancel its Arab human heritage and replace it with the Jewish character. Such as demolishing entire residential neighbourhoods within the Old City of Jerusalem: the Mughrabi neighbourhood, the Sharaf neighbourhood, part of the Syriac neighbourhood, and the Bab al-Silsila neighbourhood, where this operation led to the displacement of six thousand Arabs out of the Jerusalem Wall.

It also enacted laws were enacted that limited the Arab population presence in Jerusalem and focused on the removal of political, union and media figures since they occupied the eastern part of Jerusalem in 1967. Besides, the ancient stones of the destroyed houses were stolen to build Jewish underground synagogues to claim that they discovered these ancient synagogues that would indicate that they have a history in the city.

As part of the policy of Judaizing the land and removing the Arab cultural identity from it, Israel has changed the Palestinian geographical names, as it submitted them to the international geographical conferences to obtain their approval and then sends them to

international bodies, cultural organizations and geographical publishing houses. For example, the Wadi al-Jundis site has been replaced with the name "Bir Ura", and the name of Ain Wiba has been replaced with a name stemming from the Torah while it is Yehav, as well as the city of Arihah with the name "Jericho" (Shaath, 1986, pp. 62-71).

In the same context, the Israeli researcher Noga Kadman mentioned in her book (On both sides of the road and the margins of awareness), the policy pursued by the Israeli occupation forces to influence the awareness of Jews and persuade them of the ownership of the land. As it revealed how the occupation stole the identity of Palestine by erasing the Arabic names or translating them into the Hebrew language, as well as destroying historical signs in Palestinian archaeological sites and replacing them with false Jewish history. As evidenced by what happened in Caesarea, which is rich in Arab antiquities such as the Abdul Malik bin Marwan Mosque, where the occupation forces erased the Islamic historical era of this region, and merely mentioned the Crusader and Byzantine periods, which was experiencing Jewish activity (Kadman, 2015).

Israel has not been content with only stole antiquities and history, but developed into the theft of Palestinian folklore and melodies, but also the theft of foods and their return to the history of Israel, and a claim that the Arabs were the ones who transmitted these cultures from Israel. In an attempt to give historical legitimacy to its existence, the occupation is striving to find what strengthens its idea that Palestine is the land of the Jews that the Lord promised them. Israel worked for a long time in stealing the Palestinian and Arab heritage of all kinds, such as literature, art, fortunes, folk food, folk proverbs, fashion and heritage embroideries, to empty the Palestinian memory of its cultural and historical stockpile.

Israel made great efforts to link the culture of its European immigrants to the local heritage, which is an integral part of the heritage of the Arab region, in the context of claiming that "an indigenous people returned to their homeland after two thousand years", and therefore the Zionist movement adopted or acquired for its various elements, its origin in the heritage Palestinian. For decades, Zionist and Israeli propaganda has described the Palestinians as a "people without culture". Thus, the victorious Israeli state took it upon

itself to bring the Palestinians who remained within its borders at the end of the 1948 war, where the Palestinians were prevented from studying their own culture or remembering their immediate past, as Zionist propaganda viewed their memory as a dangerous weapon that must be suppressed and controlled.

The matter did not stop at the seizure of art and culture. Rather, it came to the theft of Arab folk food. Before the Nakba in 48, there was no such thing as “Israeli cuisine,” and the cuisine of the Jewish religions was restricted to those accompanying feasts and religious occasions. These pages bet on presenting popular Arab food dishes at a table to be led by an Israeli soldier on a religious occasion, as it is a common area of concern with the Arab public, but later it becomes clear from the content that it is a direct process to confiscate some of the existing dishes and attribute them to the Israeli kitchen.

Israel assures, through electronic prisms, its right to everything it publishes and attributes to its cultures, such as popular foods “shakshooka, falafel, kunafa, makluba, chickpeas, tabouleh and kibbeh“, and all kinds of food, drink, and authentic Arabic ingredients in Palestine and some neighbouring countries to become "Israeli" in various media outlets without any recognition of its true origins.

Falafel, for example, claims to be the "patriotic" dish of Israel, a confirmation repeated in countless cookbooks, blogs, even academic papers and TV shows. It spread in restaurants under Israeli brands, and the matter did not stop there, rather it penetrated the fact that the United States of America gets its chickpeas from Israeli exports, even though it is already one of the most important Palestinian agricultural products.

For example for that, the tweet of the American chef Rachel Ray on her official account on Twitter, which received many responses and criticism for the falsification of the facts contained in it, where Ray claimed that the meals in the photo that she attached to the tweet include chickpeas, falafel, Arabic bread and paper Grapes "Yabrak" are Israeli meals and wrote how to prepare them on the Israeli way. This method of propaganda is repeated on national and religious holidays and events.

In 2016, the Israeli airline, El Al Airlines, published a tweet on the social networking site Twitter, which raised a lot of controversies, drawing attention to Israel's theft of Arab

folk food and its lineage to itself, where the tweet was: "What is the Israeli dish you prefer: hummus, falafel, Shakshouka, or shawarma?". The Jews claim that falafel is one of the Israeli popular dishes, as it was mentioned in an article in the Hebrew newspaper "Yedioth Ahronoth" that "falafel is an ancient Jewish food that was mentioned in the Bible".

In 2013, during the visit of US President Barack Obama to Tel Aviv, Netanyahu announced the preparation of a food banquet for him that includes Israeli folk Falafel, this position demonstrated the extent of the theft of Arab heritage by Israel. Although these dishes are common to several communities throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, Israel claims to be Israeli food.

The theft also included traditional clothing and costumes, such as dresses, scarves, and hand-embroidered girdle. The craftsmanship of hand-embroidered garments passed down from generation to generation in Palestine, where Palestinian women are famous for making embroidered clothing with Palestinian embroidery, which is known and distinguished for its details and colours that differs from city to city, as the embroidered design of Ramallah differs from Hebron and Gaza, for example. Although the Palestinian design for traditional clothing descended from the Canaanites before 1500 BC, it was not spared from the theft, as the Israelis showed themselves as owners of this inheritance as well.

Prominent Israeli figures have deliberately appeared in Palestinian dress in international forums, to give their public image a historical depth and a national character. For example, what the Israeli Minister of Culture, Miri Regev, did at the Cannes Film Festival, and before her the wife of the former minister, Moshe Dayan, who was visiting the world and wearing the Palestinian dress.

The Palestinian dress was also used by the Israeli "El Al" flight attendant, although the embroidery on these costumes indicates the Canaanite Arab origins of these clothes, which the excavations in Palestine indicated as dating back to 4,500 years BC. However, Israel attributes these garments and embroidered pieces to it and its heritage(Moussa, 2017).

In addition to this, "Israeli folkloric" bands appeared in international parties in Palestinian folk costume, performing the Arabic Dabke dance and playing some Palestinian and even Arab melodies and songs, seeking to compensate for the historical deficiency and proving that it is an existing country since ancient times with its heritage and culture not very different from the rest of the neighbouring Arab countries.

The occupation state resorted to stealing the ancient tunes of ancient Egyptian artists such as Umm Kulthum, Farid al-Atrash, and Fayrouz and coordinating them with Hebrew words. For example, the song "they asked me" for the singer Fayrouz, the song "says for him" by singer Abdel Halim Hafez and the song "Zahamah ya Dunya Zahamah" by Ahmed Adawiya, while among the modern tunes, we find the Israeli singer, of Arab origin, Sarit Haddad, who sings on the tune of the singer Elisa's song "A Bali Habibi". Israel is considered one of the stagnant countries in terms of artistic creativity, as Arabs are ahead of it in the field of art, singing and drama, and in an attempt to address this matter, theft is the easiest.

These pages serve to market Israel as a country that is open and has a great knowledge of Arab culture which is not far from Israeli culture, as there are many posts on social media pages that sometimes write Quranic verses, and in others, they congratulate Muslims by Friday, some pages publish well-known Arabic songs and Arabic folk food. In all of this, Israel is trying to introduce its culture to Arab followers in hidden messages in a gradual manner.

THIRD CHAPTER

3. THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYTICAL STUDY AND ITS DISCUSSION:

The last chapter is concerned with the analytical framework of the study, where it clarifies the problem, research objectives and the methodology used to answer research questions and review hypotheses. This chapter gives a brief background of the sample chosen for the analysis and the reasons for choosing it. Finally, the Israeli web pages are analyzed according to a division prepared by the researcher, to reach conclusions and answers to the research problem.

3.1. THE FIRST TOPIC: THE TYPE OF STUDY, ITS METHODOLOGY AND TOOLS

This study aims to know the methods of Israeli propaganda in Arabic-speaking social media pages to achieve the process of cultural normalization. Research questions for this study as identified in the introduction to the research :

- What are the propaganda methods that Israel uses in its Arabic-speaking social pages?
- What are the propaganda plans, objectives, and forms used by these Arabic-speaking social pages to achieve the process of cultural normalization?
- How is Israel fighting its propaganda war with Palestinian history and culture through social media pages?
- Is there a relationship between cultural appropriation and the process of cultural normalization?
- What are the goals behind the propaganda in the Israeli social media pages in the Arabic language regarding cultural issues?
- What is the relationship between new media and propaganda policies, and how effective are social media pages in making this propaganda successful?

3.1.1. Type of study

The study is part of the content analysis research, as the content analysis is a scientific study of the communication content concerning the meanings, contexts, and intentions contained in the messages (Prasad, 2008). In other words, it is a method of research that converts qualitative data into quantitative data. Content analysis is more than just a calculation, as its goal is to link results to their context or environment. The content analysis helps provide a deep understanding and a clear view of the data collected accurately and scientifically. In this study, the content analysis methodology was used to study the media material provided by the Israeli media to its audience, and to analyze the propaganda methods adopted in its Arabic-speaking social pages to support the process of cultural normalization

3.1.2. Analytical study group and sample:

Facebook was approved as an analytical sample from other websites, due to the reasons:

- According to what was mentioned in the first chapter of the research on the percentage of using social media platforms in the Arab world, the most popular platforms in the Arab countries is Facebook in the first place with 85% (Hamido, 2018). The highest preference came in Jordan, then Libya and Palestine, and the lowest preference was in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Bahrain, with 83% of respondents using it daily.
- In a statistic for 2019, Facebook records 164 million monthly active users out of 280 million internet users (Puri-Mirza, 2019).
- According to what was observed, the percentage of posting and interaction is more on Facebook by those responsible for it.
- These pages are more concerned with the topic of research, as the leaflets of a cultural nature are much more than other social networking sites.

- Focusing on one social networking site (Facebook) due to the similarity and sharing of the communication features would contribute to facilitating the analysis process and ensuring the accuracy of the results.

3.1.2.1. The study sample

Three Facebook pages were selected as well-known to the Arab public and documented by the Facebook administration

- "Avichai Adraee's page", Israeli army spokesman.
- "Israel in Arabic" page
- Almounassek "Coordinator" page.

According to the content analysis methodology, the number of publications related to the subject of the study reached (309) publications. Of these, (131) are from the page of Avichai Adraei, (80) are published on the "Almounassek" page, and (98) are published from the "Israel in Arabic" page.

• Reasons behind this choice:

- They are pages documented by the Facebook administration, as the documentation is the blue badge that appears after the names of the accounts of social networking sites. This feature allows users to know that the public or personal page they follow is a documented and original page, which increases their confidence in it and its content. It is a feature that social media management applies to major brands, media organizations, and public figures such as artists and politicians.
- A large number of followers of these pages and interact with them, as the number of likes reaches thousands.
- These pages use of classical Arabic and even slang.
- These pages have a wide variety of content, not limited to the political side, and give great attention and space to cultural topics.
- These pages are active and the posts are published periodically and in succession.

3.1.2.2. The timing sample:

All publications on these three pages have been studied on the subject of cultural normalization, from the date of 25 February 2020 to the date of 31 May 2020, i.e. by 3 months. This is due to its association with the period in which the research was conducted.

3.1.3. Content analysis categories

Content analysis categories are defined to enable gathering data related to the research problem. Thus, the categories should be precisely defined, as they serve as clues in the search for information. These categories are divided into two main parts :

- **The first:** represents a group of categories that describe the meanings and ideas that appear in the content, as they are interested in answering the question "What was said?". It includes the subject category, the types of propaganda, the propaganda methods used, the propaganda objectives, the sources of propaganda topics and the geographical scope of propaganda topics.

- **The second:** represents the categories through which the method of presentation or publication has been described, ie, the issues related to the form, as it is interested in answering the question "How was it said?". It includes the forms of propaganda published, formal support for the content and the dominant linguistic style in the presentation of the content.

3.2. THE SECOND TOPIC: THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

3.2.1. The sample definition

3.2.1.1. The page of the Israeli army spokesperson, Avichay Adraee

Page of the IDF Spokesperson Avichai Adraei, born in 1982 in Haifa for Iraqi grandparents, graduated from a high school teaching Arabic and computers, joined the

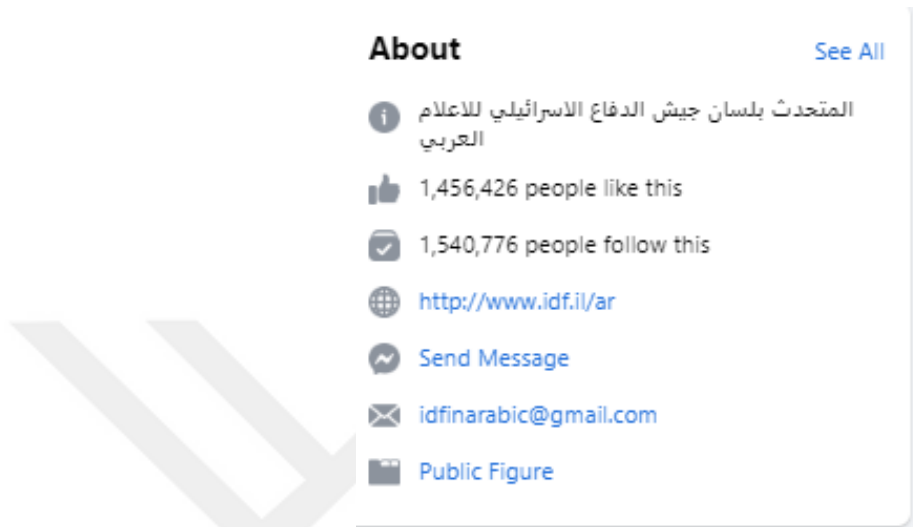
ranks of the compulsory military service in the IDF in 2001, and served in the 8200 unit for electronic intelligence and investigation in the Intelligence Division.

Figure 1: Picture showing the cover Photo of Avichai Adraei page in Facebook on 18 May 2020



He began to appear repeatedly on Arab satellite channels, such as Al-Jazeera while covering the events of the 2006 Lebanon War. He is famous for his participation in many confrontations and verbal crossfire in the Arabic language with followers and personalities from the Arab world through social networks. His page is documented by the Facebook administration, where the number of followers reached one million and five hundred and forty thousand (1540776) on May 18, 2020 (facebookAvichayAdraee, 2020).

Figure 2: Picture showing the number of likes and followers of the Avichai Adrai page on Facebook on May 18, 2020



Avechai's fame in the Arab world is due to his activity via social networks in the well-spoken Arabic language, as his official accounts on Twitter and Facebook attracted hundreds of thousands of Arab followers. He also continues to comment on many Arab events, whether political, social, artistic or sporting, intentionally using popular Arab phrases, symbols and Islamic religious terms, as well as videos that he depicts with Arab or Muslim soldiers in the Israeli army. In an attempt to create a kind of normalization and communication between him and a large group of Arab youth.

By following Adrai's page, it notes that he has extensive knowledge of the Arab world, where his writings are a mixture of propaganda for the Israeli army, the promotion of Jewish morals and an attempt to provoke Arabs. For example, all followers of the page are accustomed to a series that is published periodically every Friday by Avichai that includes a picture in which "Friday's Hadith", where he deliberately and continuously throughout the year reminds Muslims of Friday, due to the sanctity of Friday for Muslims, as he writes in a new formula and style every week.

In this excerpt image from his page, for example, the text of the hadith in which says: "Ibn Jarij told us, on the authority of Omar bin Muhammad, on the authority of Saeed

bin Abi Hilal, on the authority of Muhammad bin Saeed Al-Asadi, on the authority of Aws bin Aws, on the authority of the Prophet - may God bless him and grant him peace - he said, "If anyone makes wash and he washes on Friday, goes out early (for Friday prayer), attends the sermon from the beginning, walking, not riding, takes his seat near the imam, listens attentively, and does not indulge in idle talk, he will get the reward of a year's fasting and praying at night for every step he takes". On this picture, Adraei wrote his comment, saying, "Keep the Friday movement and initiate with peace in it" with the hashtag of a blessed Friday.

Figure 3: Picture showing a post from the Avichai Adraei page for Friday's speech on March 6, 2020



Avechai does not hesitate to congratulate Muslims on their religious occasions, such as Israa and Mi'raj, Ramadan, Laylat al-Qadr, and others. All these publications are listed with photos or videos designed by the managers of the page. Besides that, Avichai uses all opportunities to congratulate the Arab artists on their birthdays, as he enters with them in discussions and debates if they reject that congratulation or express their dissatisfaction with these publications. He also shares his favourite Arabic songs with his follower's and expresses his opinion on them. For example, in this post extracted from his page, he

blesses the well-known Arab singer Amr Diab for his new album and says: "Congratulations for the new album # Saharan, # Amr Diab ... Hopefully, you will continue your wonderful artwork, and for the viewers, I share with you the most beautiful song from the album in my opinion, # rigid but..."

Figure 4: Photo showing a post from the Avichai Adraei page congratulating AMR DIAB on his new album on February 29



The Avichai page also posts publications concerned with Palestinian and Arab cuisine. Where it works to find common points between the Arab and Israeli cuisine, it works on every occasion to present and publish disputed dishes such as the chickpea that you attributed to them and the Shakshoka and other Arab foods, in an attempt to spread a bright image of coexistence and tolerance among the peoples of the region. For example, this post was published on Eid al-Fitr, entitled "Eid cakes with Ajwa on the Israeli style".

It is known that most Arabs in general, and Palestinians in particular, cook "Cakes with Ajwa" on holidays. This is what motivated Avichai to publish this post before a period of Eid and writes on the image the components of making cakes on the Israeli style. As he wrote: "Eid is a joy, and the joy of the Eid is not complete without #Ajwa Cakes,

before #Eid Al-Fitr, here is the best way to prepare Eid cakes with Ajwa according to the #Israeli style.... tried it... very tasty".

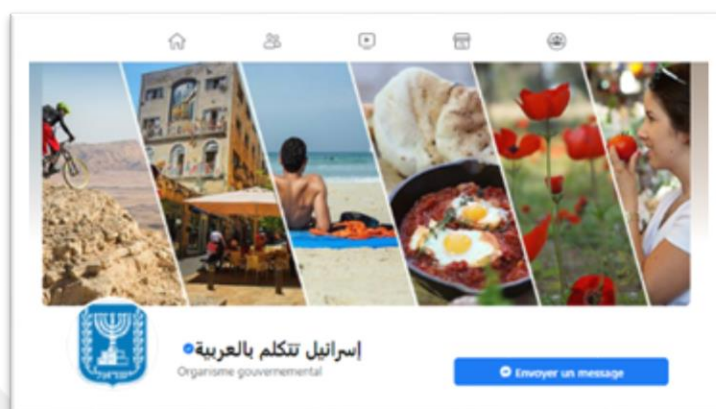
Figure 5: Picture showing a post from the Avichai Adraei page on making Eid cakes on May 21, 2020



3.2.1.2. The "Israel speaks Arabic" page

It is the official page in Arabic for the State of Israel and is managed from the headquarters of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In defining the page, those responsible for it wrote, “The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs created this page on Facebook as a source of information about the State of Israel in the Arabic language, and to keep the broad Arab public informed of its activities”. The number of followers on the page reached about 2.243.341 followers on May 18, 2020 (facebookisraelsspeaksarabic, 2020).

Figure 6: Photo showing the cover of the Israel-Arabic page on Facebook, May 18, 2020



The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs created this page on Facebook in August 2011 as a source of information about the State of Israel in Arabic. The page is the most widespread and active compared to its counterparts in Israel, where it is the main source for providing information and propaganda ideas about the internal and external government activity.

The people in charge of the page follow the method of courting the Arab masses through posts and videos that monitor the evolution of life in Israel, as well as congratulating the Arabs on their religious and national holidays and occasions, and publishing posts and videos about Arab food, art, poetry and other issues of Arab and Palestinian culture Especially. They also have some historical and geographical arguments in marketing their ideas, which is evident in the debates taking place between them and Arab youth.

These pages are not free from publishing Arabic-language publications that suggest that the Arab and Hebrew culture are not contradictory and that what collects them more than what separates them. On March 24, the page published a picture of a Palestinian and Israeli paramedic praying side by side and with a comment "One faith in God Almighty and simultaneous prayer for cousins in this circumstance ... Israeli Jewish and Muslim paramedics praying side by side in peace and coexistence today".

Figure 7: Photo showing Palestinian and Israeli paramedics praying alongside took from Israel speaks Arabic on March 24, 2020



The page uses videos produced by those in charge of it interested in kitchen and popular dishes and shares with its followers on how to prepare these Arabic dishes but in an Israeli way, beside discusses the differences between them. The page often seeks to introduce famously and the best restaurants, as it says, in the manufacture of "Kunafa", "Kataif" and others to emphasize at every opportunity that some of these dishes are of Israeli origins. Such as this video for a minute and 34 seconds entitled "Hummus is the taste of Israel", this video speaks about the famous Israeli chickpea dish in Israel, and its flavour has no equivalent in the world. The video comes with an accompanying text "Hummus is the taste of Israel. World Hummus Day falls on May 13 every year. You will not find an Israeli who does not like hummus, and you can enjoy it in every Israeli city".

Figure 8: Photo showing the Hummus is the taste of Israel from Israel speaks Arabic page on May 13, 2020



The page "Israel Speaks Arabic" puts the Arab public on Facebook at the heart of daily life in Israel, moving between a definition of the nature and smoothness of life between Palestinians and Israelis sometimes, the extent of rapprochement and things in common between them, besides constant reminder of their civilization and originality in the place and that the history of cities and its details attest to this.

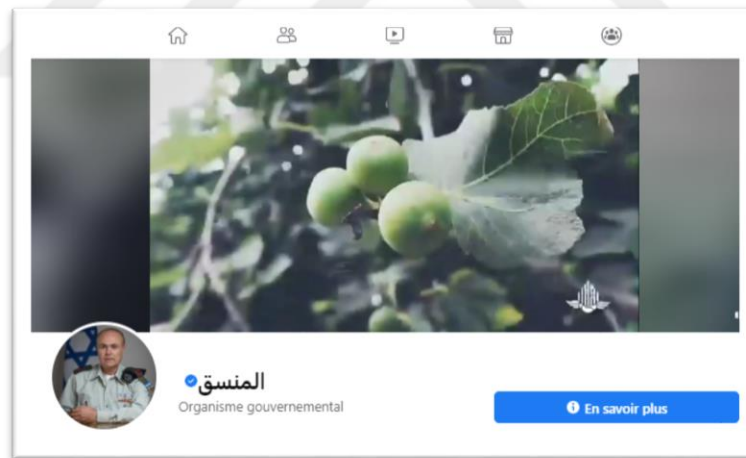
3.2.1.3. Almounassek page (The Coordinator)

It is the page of the Government Activities Coordinator in the Palestinian Territories, "Camille Abu Rukan", Dean of the Israeli Army. It is one of the most famous pages, as it is known to be more of a service nature than a politician. The page was established in 2015 with about 570,000 followers. Its main goal is to follow up the service and civil procedures that are provided to the Palestinian citizen, and the cooperation between the IDF and the security forces directly related to the Palestinians in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza Strip. The page leaves an email address and a phone to communicate in addition to an official website (Almounassekpage, 2020).

The name of the "coordinator " is called to the unit coordinating the actions of the Israeli government in the Palestinian territories or what was called "the civil administration" or "the military ruler". It is the arm of the Israeli government to control the lives of Palestinians, as the unit coordinates the transportation of Palestinians patients and the entry of others to Israel and the export of Palestinian goods to Tel Aviv and abroad.

The "Coordinator" page aims to notify the Palestinians that Israel has the "upper hand in every detail of their lives and that the Palestinian Authority is only the head of a local council". The page works to pass its messages sometimes threatening or reassuring at other times.

Figure 9: Photo showing the cover of the Coordinator page on Facebook on May 18, 2020



Besides publishing security news and trying to link the essential needs of Palestinian life by communicating with the office of the Coordinator to bypass the official authorities and to facilitate life for the Palestinians, as those on the page say. They are concerned with all religious occasions for Muslims, where messages are formulated that mimic spiritual values and religious passion to be published at times and with the appropriate formulation.

For example, in this post, the "Coordinator" published a video of no more than two minutes and twenty seconds to congratulate Muslims by the month of Ramadan. In which

he says "On the occasion of the blessed month of Ramadan, I extend my warmest congratulations and blessings to all Muslims in the Arab world in general and the Palestinians in particular. Ramadan is generous and blessed. The month of Ramadan is a month of fraternity, mutual respect, patience, tolerance, giving, benevolence, and love for others. I pray to God Almighty to grant you and your dear family members happiness, contentment, and health ..."

He continues his speech by emphasizing the exceptional circumstance in the world because of the presence of the Coronavirus and the nature of celebration for this year will change, the instructions of the Ministry of Health and the relevant authorities must be followed to preserve the safety of the family and recall the great efforts made by his unit to combat the virus. He concludes his speech by saying, "God willing, we will celebrate in the coming year altogether, as we are accustomed to joy and happiness, and we return to markets, mosques, family homes, grandparents, and traditional celebrations... We wish you an acceptable fast, good iftar, blessed days, and Every year and you are fine, Ramadan Kareem".

Figure 10: A photo showing a video of congratulations of Ramadan from the Coordinator's page on Facebook on April 23, 2020



Many other posts interest with religious and cultural issues on the page, such as publishing some Arabic songs or the most famous series that were broadcast during Ramadan on Arab channels or posts of an interactive nature from followers. For example, this post, in which they invite followers to share their Ramadan tables and send them to the page to be published, where it says "How does your Iftar table appear? Send us pictures of your Iftar and we will publish the most beautiful meals on the coordinator page".

Figure 11: Picture showing a post that shares the Iftar table from the coordinator's page on Facebook on May 14, 2020



The page is also concerned with all agricultural seasons, such as the olive season, the grape season, the guava season, and others. It provides tips on the seasons and how to deal with it by following up the farmers and exporting the product while emphasizing its quality to show the occupation in the garment of economic, agricultural and environmental success of the multi-level.

The page publishes videos that follow the workers who return smoothly to their homes after a tiring period of work. As it shows Arab workers working in harmony with Jewish workers in the facilities of occupation and settlement, where these videos deliberately show Palestinian workers to shake perceptions of occupation, settlement, and apartheid, where some talk about the distinctive and comfortable work conditions.

What makes the page unique is that the coordinator's comments are not the only posts being published, as photos and videos do most of the talk, demonstrating that the page's management team is specialized in design, photography, and montage. The Coordinator page is part of Israel's attempt to address the Palestinians directly, providing news and reports to give the Israeli narrative more credibility.

3.2.2. Quantitative Analysis:

3.2.2.1 Results of the analytical study related to content categories:

The first part of the analytical study clarifies the categories of the topic in Israeli propaganda on the Arabic-speaking Israeli pages on Facebook regarding the topic of cultural normalization, by knowing the most prominent topics, identifying the most important propaganda methods used and their types and identifying the goals behind this cultural appropriation process.

1. Distribution of posts concerned with cultural normalization on the three selected Facebook pages:

Table No. (3.1) shows the distribution of posts on the three Facebook pages that were subject to study on the topic of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.1. *Distribution of posts on the three Facebook pages that were subjected to study*

Avichay Adrae		Israel speaks Arabic		Coordinator		The general trend	
F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
131	42.40	98	31.171	80	25.89	309	100

The data of the previous table indicate that the page of Avichay Adraee was ranked first in the number of posts published concerning cultural normalization by (42.40%), i.e. (131) repetitions. It was followed by Israel speaks Arabic page in the second place with a percentage of (31,71), i.e. by 98 iterations, and at the end of the Coordinator page with a rate of (25.89), i.e. by 80 iterations. This indicates that the Avichai page has more interest in cultural subjects than other pages.

2. The attention of the selected Facebook pages to the topic of cultural normalization from the total published topics:

Table No. (3.2) shows the extent interest of the three selected Facebook pages in the topic of cultural normalization from the total number of subjects during the period specified for the study and the results as follows:

Table 3.2 *The extent interest of the three selected Facebook pages in the subject of cultural normalization*

Pages %	Number of posts related to the research topic	The number of total posts during the study period	Percentage of posts interested in the culture out of the total number of posts (%)
Avichay Adraee	131	327	40.10
Israel speaks Arabic	98	312	31.41
Coordinator	80	366	21.86
Total	309	1005	30.74

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general direction of the three pages:

The percentage of posts published on the three pages that concerned only with topics of culture is 30.74% of the total number of posts displayed during the period specified for the study, i.e. 309 posts out of 1005 publications. The page of Avichay Adraee obtained 40.10% followed by Israel speaks Arabic page with 31.41% and the coordinator page with 21.86%.

B. At the level of each page separately:

- **Avichay Adraee Page:**

The percentage of posts interested in the culture out of the total number of posts on the page was 40.10%, i.e. 131 posts out of 327 during the period specified for the study.

- **Israel Speaks Arabic Page:**

The percentage of posts interested in the culture out of the total posts on the page was 31.41%, i.e. 98 posts out of 312 during the period specified for the study.

- **Coordinator page:**

The percentage of posts interested in the culture out of the total posts on the page has reached 21.86%, i.e. 80 posts out of 366 during the period specified for the study.

C. Interpretation of the results:

The researcher believes that addressing issues related to culture on Arabic-speaking social media pages take a good portion of the rest of the topics, whether political, security, economic, etc., as these pages, devote a large part of their daily publications to this aspect. Referring to the type of the pages and their media mission, it becomes clear why the Avichay Adraee page has the largest percentage in publishing topics related to Palestinian and Arab culture, as it is considered one of the first pages that were established to communicate with the Arab peoples. Being a person who speaks the Arabic language fluently and enjoys a broad knowledge of the culture of the Arab world and its peculiarities, made Adraee became able to engage in discussions on all topics of interest

to the Arab peoples and interacts with the famous Arab world artists, actors and politicians.

The reason for the Coordinator’s page being ranked third is because it is a more news page, as its main goal is to follow up the service and civil procedures that are provided to the Palestinian citizen and the cooperation between the IDF and the security forces directly related to the Palestinians in the West Bank “Judea-Samara” and the Gaza Strip, as the news of the crossings, movement between the two parties and security issues receive the largest percentage of publications. While Israel Speaks Arabic page publishes various posts covering all topics.

3. Subject category

Table No. (3.3) shows the proportions of the subjects that were covered by the Israeli propaganda on the three selected Facebook pages on the topic of cultural normalization and the extent of repetition during the period specified for the study where the results were as follows:

Table 3.3 shows the issues covered by the Israeli propaganda

Israeli propaganda Issues Pages	Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		The General Trend	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Religious occasions	60	25.6	29	18.8	56	41.5	145	27.7
Customs and traditions	21	9.1	8	5.2	15	11.1	44	8.4
Artistic excerpts	40	17.1	15	9.7	16	11.8	71	13.6
religious quotations and preaching	38	16.2	14	9.1	9	6.7	61	11.7
Language exchange	8	3.4	9	5.8	1	0.7	18	3.4
linguistic quotations	6	2.6	11	7.1	2	1.5	19	3.6
Food	16	6.8	3	1.9	2	1.5	21	4

Public events	17	7.3	4	2.6	2	1.5	23	4.4
Peace and coexistence	22	9.4	45	29.2	20	14.8	87	16.6
Others	5	2.1	6	4.1	4	3	15	3
Historic and tourist places	1	0.4	10	6.5	8	5.9	19	3.6
Total	234	100	154	100	135	100	² 523	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The issues of Religious occasions ranked first with 27.7%, followed by the issues of peace and coexistence in the second rank with 16.6%, then the issues of Artistic excerpts by 13.6% in the third rank. The issues of religious quotations and preaching came in the fourth rank at 11.7%, followed by Customs and Traditions issues with 8.4% in the fifth rank, then the issues of public events by 4.4% in the sixth rank and the seventh rank the issues of Food with 4%. The issues of linguistic quotations and Historic and tourist places equalled in the eighth rank by 3.6%, while the issues of language exchange came in 3.4% in the ninth rank, and in the last rank, the other issues, represented in (public life, advice, stories for children ...) with 3%.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• **Avichay Adraee**

On Avichay Adraee page, religious occasions issues ranked first with 25.6%, followed by artistic quotes issues in the second rank with 17.1%. In the third rank were the issues of religious quotations and preaching by 16.2%, while in the fourth rank were the issues of peace and coexistence with 9.4%. In the third rank were the issues of religious quotations and preaching by 16.2%, while in the fourth rank were the issues of peace and coexistence with 9.4%. In the fifth rank, issues of customs and traditions with 9.1%, followed by public events issues in the sixth rank with 7.3%. The issues of food came in

² Israeli propaganda topics came with a greater number of articles published on Facebook pages because the unit article contains more than one topic.

the seventh rank with 6.8%, then the issues of language exchange with 3.4% in the eighth rank. The issues of linguistic quotations obtained 2.6% in the ninth rank, followed by other issues at 2.1%, represented by (everyday advice and excerpts from public life). In the last rank, the issues of Historic and tourist places with 0.4%.

- **Israel Speaks Arabic**

On the page Israel Speaks Arabic, the issues of peace and coexistence ranked first with 29.2%, followed by religious occasions issues in the second rank with 18.8%, and in the third rank were artistic excerpts issues with 9.7%. The fourth rank was Religious quotations and preaching issues by 9.1%, while in the fifth rank were issues of linguistic quotations by 7.1%, followed by issues of historic and tourist places by 6.5%. The issues of language exchange got in the seventh-rank by 5.8%, and in the eighth rank the issues of customs and traditions at the rate of 5.2%, then other issues came in the ninth rank with 4.1%, which is represented in (general advice, history and biography of some Arab personalities of Jewish descent...). While public events issues got 2.6% in the tenth rank and the last rank, the issues of food with 1.9%.

- **Coordinator**

On the page coordinator, issues of religious occasions were ranked first by 41.5%, followed by peace and coexistence issues by 14.8%, the artistic extracts issues came in the third rank by 11.8%, followed by customs and traditions issues by 11.1% in the fourth rank. Religious quotations and preaching issues ranked fifth with 6.7%, followed by historic and tourist places issues with 5.9%, and other issues came in the seventh rank with 3%, which includes various daily topics. Food, linguistic quotations and public events issues equalled by 1.5%, and finally language exchange issues ranked last at 0.7%.

C. The Results:

The issues of religious events took an important place in the priorities of Israeli propaganda, in addition to showing how smoothy is the life in Israel between the Palestinians and the Israelis, show the most Palestinian citizens are grateful of the situation and feel security and peace together and that what unites them more than what separates

them. The artistic side also had good repetition rates, according to the researcher's conclusion, the issues of the arts in their various aspects are close and unified subjects for the people, which is the thing these pages work-on in an attempt to get closer to the Arab peoples through the artistic subscriber and express their knowledge of Arabic arts.

The rest of the issues varied slightly differently in the three pages, but they were more limited in presenting Palestinian customs and traditions and common customs with the Arabs, in addition to the religious discourse that characterized most of the publications. These issues contribute to indirect normalization, as it creates a link between Israel and the Arab peoples through favourable and indisputable issues, people tend to hear the propaganda that they like its content and goals.

The priorities of each page differed in the issues covered by Israeli propaganda when looking at the page of Avichay Adraee, it is noticed that interest was more in issues related to religious occasions, such as congratulating Muslims on holidays such as Eid Al Fitr, Friday and Ramadan. The page is also concerned with artistic issues such as publishing Adraee's favourite Arabic songs and opening a conversation with several Arab artists by congratulating them on their birthdays or their new albums or share some famous Arab songs with the voices of Israeli singers to express the openness and how much Israelis love these songs.

Likewise, Adraee does not hesitate to offer condolences upon the death of some Arab artists or to commemorate some of them by publishing their artwork and their best works. Cultural and religious symbols also overshadow the posts of the Adraee page in addressing the Arab and Palestinian public, as it links most of the daily issues to Quranic texts, prayers and supplications.

Israel Speaks Arabic page focuses on its cultural posts on issues of peace and coexistence, working to show the beautiful side of life in Israel, how Muslims and Israelis live in peace and ensuring that what unites them more than what separates them. Most posts seek to highlight the friendship and relationships that bind them to each other, lifestyle, pension, customs and common traditions, as well as similar acts of worship between Muslims and Jews.

The page gives importance to holidays and religious occasions by offering congratulations to the general Muslims and reminding them of important religious days such as al-Qadr, Isra and al-Mi'raj, Friday, and others. The page also publishes many artistic excerpts from singing and clips for some plays and the most important Arab series that were shown during the month of Ramadan.

The Coordinator page also deals with all religious occasions and congratulates Muslims. These issues were the largest percentage of the total posts related to the subject of culture, as the proportions differ markedly between the propaganda issues used on this page, as was noted by reading the proportions. The page also works to show the issue of peace and coexistence, especially as the primary mission of the page is to provide services to the Palestinians in the West Bank "Judea and Samra" and the Gaza Strip and to coordinate with the Palestinian government in that.

4. Propaganda methods Category:

Table No. (3.4) shows the percentages and repetitions of all the Israeli propaganda methods used by the three selected Facebook pages on the topic of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table3.4 shows the Israeli propaganda methods used by the three selected Facebook pages

Propaganda methods Pages	Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Repetition	68	35.4	51	27.6	63	46	182	35.4
Terminology	26	13.5	27	14.6	15	11	68	13.2
Mental image	40	21	59	32	32	23.3	131	25.5
diverting attention	12	6.2	7	3.8	1	0.7	20	4
Religious argument	19	10	15	8	9	6.6	43	8.4
Famous figures	12	6.2	5	2.7	9	6.6	26	5
Persuasion	7	3.6	5	2.7	3	2.2	15	3

Lying and Fabrication	2	1	6	3.2	1	0.7	9	1.7
Half-truth	1	0.5	2	1.1	1	0.7	4	0.8
Suspicion	2	1	6	3.2	0	0	8	1.5
Others	3	1.6	2	1.1	3	2.2	8	1.5
Total	192	100	185	100	137	100	³ 514	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The repetition method came as one of the most used methods in the Israeli propaganda by the three selected Facebook pages with 35.4%, followed by the mental image method in the second rank with 25.5% and then in the third rank the terminology method with 13.2%. Religious argument method gets 8.4% in the fourth rank, followed by the Famous figures' method in the fifth rank with 5%, and then comes the method of diverting attention by 4%.

The method of persuasion gets 3%, and in the eighth rank, the method of lying and fabrication gets 1.7%, followed by the method of suspicion with 1.5%. The others got the same percentage of 1.5% which contained some of the methods not mentioned, such as the satirical method and the cartoon method. In the last rank, the half-truth method gets 0.8%.

B. At the level of each page separately:

- **Avichay Adraee**

The repetition method ranked first on the page of Avichay Adraee with 35.4%, i.e., 68 iterations. Second, came the mental image method with 21%, i.e. 40 iterations. In the third rank, the terminology method gets 13.5%, or 26 iterations, followed by the religious argument method, with 10%. The method of famous figures and the method of diverting attention were ranked fifth by 6.2%, followed by the method of persuasion with 3.6%. Other methods ranked seventh with 1.6%, which was represented in methods such as

³ Israeli propaganda methods came with a greater number of articles published on three selected Facebook pages because the unit article contains more than one propaganda method.

satire, sympathy and grooming. In the eighth rank, the suspicion and lying and fabrication methods were equal to 1%, while in the last half-truth method got 0.5%.

- **Israel Speaks Arabic**

On Israel Speaks Arabic page, the mental image method ranked first with 32%, i.e. with 59 iterations, followed by the method of repetition in the second rank with 27.6%, i.e. 51 iterations, and in third rank the terminology method gets 14.6%, i.e. with 27 iterations. The fourth rank was the method of religious argument at 8%, while at the fifth rank the method of diverting attention received a ratio of 3.8%, followed by issues of historical monuments and tourist places at 6.5%. Issues of language exchange ranked seventh by 5.8%, and both the suspicion method and the lying and fabrication method ranked eighth by 3.2%, in addition to equal use of famous figures and persuasion by 2.7%. Half-truth method got 1.1% in the tenth rank, while other methods got 1.1%, which contained some methods not mentioned as the caricature method.

- **Coordinator**

On the coordinator page, the repetition method gets the first rank by 46%, i.e. by 63 iterations, and the mental image method came second by 23.3%, i.e. by 32 iterations. In the third rank, the terminology method gets 11%, i.e. 15 iterations, while the religious argument method and the famous figures method are equal to 6.6%, followed by the persuasion method by 2.2% and the other methods with the same percentage 2.2%, which represented in the flowery and selection methods. In the end, the half-truth, lying and fabrication and diverting attention methods were equal to 0.7%.

C. The Results:

The methods of propaganda used by the Israeli Arabic speaking pages on Facebook on the issue of cultural normalization abounded, and most of the posts contained more than one propaganda method. In general, 4 methods received great attention, namely repetition, mental image, terminology and religious pilgrimage methods. The relative disparity between them and between and the rest of the methods was clear, which proves

that these pages depend on identical propaganda methods and a similar propaganda strategy in the matter of cultural normalization.

The method of repetition was the most popular style used by these pages, as it was evident in religious topics and great interest in Muslim holidays. For example, these pages were not satisfied with offering one congratulation for the Eid, but rather, they offered congratulations frequently and indifferent form and content. Israeli propaganda prefers the method of repetition because it is a successful method and an effective technique in confirming information and the idea and consolidating it in people's minds. By repeating an issue over and over again, it ends up being implanted in the unconscious. Throughout the study period, the pages used to remind Muslims every Friday with various prayers and supplications.

As for the mental image method, it is a method that contributes to forming a positive or negative mental image of a specific issue in the minds of people, as Israeli propaganda adopted it on these pages to establish several positive images about Israel and its people, related to the concepts of peace and coexistence with the Palestinians and affirming that the Israeli people are peaceful and longing to live in peace and security, in addition to establishing that the Israeli personality as a good character, affectionate and open.

This mental image is supported by presenting scenes about public life in the markets and between people and even between the soldiers of different nationalities and religions, that is, the showing a Muslim soldier in the ranks of the IDF performing his full acts of worship, fasting, prayer and others. There were also numerous posts describing the beautiful and smooth life between Muslims and Jews, for example, in one of the videos, an Arab restaurant owner who was asked about life in Israel said: "we live in Jaffa with Jews, Arabs and Christians, everything is perfect, we live in peace with the Jews". Numerous videos also contain letters from soldiers in military uniforms congratulating Muslims on the occasion of Ramadan or Eid with a smile on their faces in an attempt to show a new image of soldiers away from war and military missions.

The method of stabilizing the mental image in the minds of the Arab public was used in a targeted and studied way to break the psychological barrier, reduce the moral

distance between Israel and the Arab peoples, and stabilize the image of the state that preserves the security and rights of Palestinians and guarantees them a safe life contrary to what is being promoted. Consequently, it is an invitation to the rest of the Palestinians to join and an invitation to the Arab public to deal with and normalize with Israel, because the common space between them is large and what unites them more than what separates them.

The terminology method came in third place to confirm the importance of this method in Israeli propaganda, especially concerning cultural issues. To name things without their real names, or to distort them by deletion, besides exaggerate, is a method used by Israeli cultural propaganda to tamper with the collective mind of the audience, and attempt to distort the memory and falsify the consciousness. As changing some concepts, which is monitored from the discourse in the Israeli propaganda on the three pages, so the Palestinians become the ones who live with the Israelis, and not the opposite, or by changing some of the names and entrenching the Hebrew concepts and terminology, for example, when Al-Quds is mentioned, it is mentioned only "Jerusalem", when the news is published about the West Bank it's called "Judea and Samaria" and the Wailing Wall instead of the Al-Buraq Wall.

Change is not limited to places, but even to defending Israeli trends by calling their army, for example, the "Israel Defense Forces." In addition to diluting some of the vocabulary and its lack of clarity, such as using the description of chickpeas with the favourite taste of Israel and falafel with the favourite Israeli dish, and the kunafa from Israeli stores is very delicious. this distortion and lack of clarity in the terminology disturbs concepts and displaces granted. The use of lexical terms and concepts with symbolic meanings and deceptive connotations would penetrate the awareness of the recipient and pass messages smoothly and quietly.

The method of religious argument received a high percentage and was repeated in many publications, as Israeli propaganda deliberately directed an integrated religious speech on every occasion or crisis by hosting some sheikhs to provide advice and guidance. For example, in most of his publications, Avichay Adraee does not hesitate to

introduce the religious character to it, so he cites the Qur'an and Prophet Mohammad speech and draws inspiration from the events and stories of the Companions and the Righteous. In addition to that these pages work to highlight the religious diversity in many of the videos, gathering sheikhs, rabbis and priests in messages urging coexistence, peace and fraternity easily and understandably and with a clear and smooth message.

These pages also use the style of famous and prominent personalities such as soccer players or some Palestinian Arab actors, but the most reliable way is to hypothetically communicate with famous Arab artists and actors by congratulating them on their birthdays or posting some clips of their new songs. This method brings follow-up and interaction to the content, especially that most artists reject these greetings and respond to posts expressing their rejection of normalization or interaction with these pages, so the Israeli pages republish those posts with commentary on them, thus quarrels and inconsistencies between the two sides, which ensures follow-up Great interaction from the Arab public, by appraisal or mockery. As this is what Avichai adopted with many Arab artists, such as Elisa, Julia Boutros, Amr Abdel Jalil and others.

5. Propaganda goals category

Table No. (3.5) shows the percentages and frequency of the Israeli propaganda goals that were used by the three selected Facebook pages on the topic of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.5 shows Israeli propaganda goals on the three selected Facebook pages.

Propaganda goals Pages	Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Grooming the follower and a call for normalization	97	48.2	38	27.3	52	46.4	187	41.3
Highlighting coexistence	33	16.4	43	31	32	28.6	108	24

Beautify the image of Israel	39	19.4	32	23	17	15.1	88	19.5
Distortion and doubting facts	18	9	11	7.9	0	0	29	6.4
Showing Israel Power	12	6	14	10.1	10	9	36	7.9
Other	2	1	1	0.7	1	0.9	4	0.9
Total	201	100	139	100	112	100	⁴ 452	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The goal of Grooming the follower and the call for normalization came in the first rank by 41.3%, i.e. by 187 iterations, and then the goal of highlighting coexistence came in the second rank by 24%, i.e. 108 repetitions, followed by the third rank, the goal of beautifying the image of Israel by 19.5%, or 88 repetitions. Whereas the goal of showing the power of Israel came in the fourth rank, at 7.9%, or 36 repeats, followed by the goal of distorting and doubting the facts, with a rate of 6.4%, with 29 recurrences. In the last rank, the other goals got 0.9%, i.e., 4 repetitions.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• **Avichay Adraee**

The goal of Grooming the follower and the call for normalization came first with 48.2%, i.e. with 97 repetitions, and then the goal of beautifying Israel's image came second with 19.4%, i.e. 39 times. In the third rank, the goal of highlighting coexistence got 16.4%, i.e. 33 repetitions, followed by the goal of distorting and doubting the facts by 9%, then the goal of showing Israel's power by 6%, and finally the other goals by 1%.

• **Israel Speaks Arabic**

The goal of highlighting coexistence got the first rank by 31%, i.e. with 43 repetitions, followed by the goal of grooming the follower and calling for normalization

⁴ The goals of the Israeli propaganda came in a greater number than the number of articles published on Facebook pages because the unit article contains more than one propaganda goal.

in the second rank with 27.3%, i.e. by 38 repetitions. In the third rank, the goal of beautifying Israel's image gets 23%, i.e., by 32 iterations, followed by the goal of showing Israel's power in the fourth rank with 10.1%, and then the goal of distorting and doubting the facts by 7.9%. And in the end, other goals got 0.7%.

- **Coordinator**

The goal of grooming the follower and the call for normalization came first with 46.4%, i.e. with 52 repetitions, and then the goal of highlighting coexistence came second with 28.6%, i.e. 32 iterations. In the third rank, the goal of beautifying Israel's image got 15.1%, i.e. 17 recurrences, followed by the goal of showing Israel's power by 9% and then other goals at 0.9%. While the goal of distorting and doubting the facts gets 0%.

C. The Results:

The page of Avichay Adraee and the coordinator's page were similar in obtaining the goal of grooming the Arab follower and call them to normalization in the first rank. While this goal was ranked second on Israel speaks Arabic page. The highlighting coexistence goal advanced in Israel speaks Arabic page as it ranked the first, while it was second on the coordinator's page.

These pages work to groom the Arab follower to normalize by drawing on issues that affect their relationship with Israel, where these calls are sometimes direct and clear. An example of this is a video of Yawer Ben Dour, a spokesman from the Israeli Foreign Ministry, who says in one of his videos posted on Israel speaks Arabic page "The word normalization does not necessarily have a negative meaning. Normalization reflects the desire of the people of the region to establish normal relations". He continues in his speech to convince the follower that normalization is a good thing for both parties, and it is necessary to get rid of old ideas. While in others, the nature of these calls is hidden and padded by other messages.

The call for normalization with Israel is an obsession and a goal that Israeli propaganda has always worked on and I sought to achieve it. These pages created a kind of communication with the Arab world to convey the reality of Israel as they see it to the

neighbouring peoples in a sometimes provocative, rational and sometimes fabricated manner. Most of the publications aiming at normalization led the follower to respond and interact with the post by surprise and disapproval.

The congratulations and interest that these pages publish on Muslims' religious occasions illustrate this method of provocation, where the appearance of Avichai wearing a military uniform in the image of a sheikh who advises, reads the Qur'an and invites Muslims to display the values of Islam is a style surprised by the followers and pushes them with or without intent to recycle the content either by publishing or commenting, as most of them see it as an exceptional and funny material.

Interaction with videos interested in teaching the Hebrew language is also increasing, as it is a door to open dialogue and interaction with publications, especially for those interested in learning the language. These materials have become a window for the Israeli propaganda to enter into the consciousness of the follower, as cultural and media normalization is a cornerstone of the Zionist strategy because it is a decisive factor in the long run, as this conflict is rooted in the consciousness of peoples, their culture, and their collective and national memory.

Concerning the goal of highlighting coexistence between Muslims and Jews, part of it is directed at the Palestinian side and the other part of the Arab follower, as it is a strategy that works to change some convictions in an attempt to dispel the idea of hostility from the Palestinian and Arab memory, and insist on showing the peaceful side of this relationship, as the cultural side shortens a great distance in convincing the Arab societies that Israel is a country that calls for peace and coexistence.

As for the goal of beautifying the image of Israel, these publications serve to show Israel a beautiful, developed country and a single democratic state in the Middle East region, besides there is no violence, killing or displacement, as the Arab media and propaganda claim, they say. These publications focus on presenting the human side to IDF soldiers, as the browser for both the coordinator and Adraee pages will notice the number of soldiers appearing in the media with their full military uniforms, but in scenes far from military and security operations, but rather in the image of the humanitarian soldier who

presents helping hand in crises, singing for his mother on the occasion of Mother’s Day, playing a piece of music for an artist, or expressing his best Israeli and Palestinian food. This image, which is marketed, is capable of re-dyeing the concepts and reconsidering the image of Israel by the follower.

6. Propaganda issues sources category:

Table No. (3.6) shows the percentages and frequency of the sources of the Israeli propaganda issues that were used by the three selected Facebook pages on the subject of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.6 Shows the source of the information for the Israeli propaganda issues used by the three selected Facebook pages.

Propaganda sources Pages		Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Internal	Formal	86	65.6	25	25.5	61	76.2	172	55.7
	Informal	12	9.2	52	53.1	6	7.5	70	22.7
	Total	98	74.8	77	78.6	66	83.7	242	78.4
External	Formal	2	1.5	0	0	0	0	2	0.6
	Informal	31	23.7	21	21.4	13	16.2	65	21
	Total	33	25.2	21	21.4	13	16.2	67	21.6
Total		131	100	98	100	80	100	309	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The internal Israeli sources, which means the sources that were produced by the Israeli side, came as one of the primary sources on which propaganda relied on Facebook pages at 78.4%, in which official sources topped by 55.7%, and then unofficial sources

came to 22.7%. While the external sources, which are the sources that were transferred from external media sources, came in the second rank with a percentage of 21.6%, where the informal sources advanced by 21% over the official sources by 0.6%.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• **Avichay Adraee**

Internal sources came first with 74.8%, i.e., by 98 publications, as they were divided among official sources, which had the largest share of 65.6%, i.e. by 86 publications, then unofficial sources in the rate of 9.2%, i.e., by 12 publications. In the second rank came the external sources by 25.2%, i.e. 33 publications, the largest part of which was for the informal sources by 23.7%, then the official sources increased by 1.5%.

• **Israel Speaks Arabic**

Internal sources came in first place with 78.6%, i.e. by 77 publications, as they were divided among unofficial sources which received the largest percentage by 53.1%, i.e. by 52 publications, then official sources at the rate of 25.5%, i.e. by 25 publications. In the second rank came the external sources with a percentage of 21.4%, i.e. 21 publications, where the percentage was all for unofficial sources, while the official sources were 0%.

• **Coordinator**

Internal sources came first with 83.7%, i.e. by 66 publications, as they were divided among official sources, and they received the largest percentage by 76.2%, i.e. 61 posts, then unofficial sources at the rate of 7.5%, i.e. by 6 publications. In the second rank came the external sources with 16.2%, which were all for the unofficial sources, i.e. 13 publications, while the official sources were 0%.

C. The Results:

Both the Adraee and the coordinator pages agreed to use official internal sources more than the unofficial sources concerning the nature of the two pages, as the Adraee page relies primarily on information materials produced by the Israeli army, and the coordinator page depends on its sources for photographing its videos and designing its

images. These pages sometimes use other official sources, such as the Ministry of Health or the municipality of some regions. There is also a group of media professionals who appear in most media materials for each page, which indicates that the pages are based on a professional group of media professionals, designers, technicians, and others.

The thing that distinguishes these young media professionals is their mastery of the Arabic language, where they appear repeatedly in periodic programs that are published continuously on these pages as the "Israeli scene" program on the coordinator's page, a program that transmits daily life in the West Bank, Haifa, Acre and other cities that Under Israeli occupation. These programs highlight the quality of life in these areas, where they display famous foods and well-known restaurants as well as to conduct interviews with Palestinian and Israeli citizens alike to ask them how satisfied they are with the services provided and the nature of living with different religions.

The Adraee page produces several special programs, such as "A Special Tour with Captain Ella", a program that transmits the routine and life of the Israeli army, focusing on the nature of the relationship between Israeli and Palestinian soldiers, the extent of their integration and coexistence with one another in the service and protection of the State of Israel. The page also produces a program on language learning presented by two Israeli soldiers to exchange vocabulary in both Arabic and Hebrew.

On the technical side, the page produces a program called "Melody of Life", which is a series of videos whose duration does not exceed one and a half minutes, in which a soldier presents some well-known Arabic tunes and songs. The dependence of these pages on private and official sources reflects the extent of interest in the promotional message that is communicated to the recipient regarding cultural issues.

Regarding unofficial private sources, Israel speaks Arabic page was adopting this method of publishing its posts, as the nature of the page and its goal explains the reason for its dependence on unofficial sources as it is a page that works to promote Israel and beautify its image in the first place, and therefore the content on this page is mostly a little out of the security narration and the usual picture on the coordinator and Adraee pages. Therefore, this page publishes many tourist pictures and videos of cities, along with some

sayings and biographies of some Jewish and even Muslim thinkers. This page is characterized by a unified style and designs in publishing, that is, it is a special product, but it remains informal.

As for the external sources, they were limited to the three pages, especially the official ones, where only two publications were recorded that were republished from official foreign sources, one of which was a picture titled "We will pray in Al-Quds", where the page of Adraee republished it from the website of the leader of the Iranian revolution Ayatollah Khamenei aimed to comment on it and mocking what was stated in it.

As for the unofficial external sources, they were represented in some Arabic songs, clips of plays, or some articles from other pages, to comment on them. The reliance of these pages on their sources confirms the workload for the production of these propaganda messages which they present to the Arab follower concerning cultural issues.

3.2.2.2. Results of the study related to the form categories:

The second part of the analytical study explains the categories through which the method of publishing on Israeli Arabic-speaking Facebook pages on the subject of cultural normalization is described through addressing the most prominent forms of propaganda used, identify the formal supports used and their types and to identify the prevailing linguistic style.

7. Propaganda forms category:

Table No. (3.7) shows the percentages and repetitions of the propaganda forms used by the three selected Facebook pages on the topic of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.7 shows the Israeli propaganda forms used by the three selected Facebook pages.

Propaganda forms pages	Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Text with picture	51	39	51	52	34	42.5	136	44
Text with video	78	59.5	47	48	46	57.5	171	55.3
Picture	2	1.5	0	0	0	0	2	0.7
Text	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	131	100	98	100	80	100	309	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The text with video form ranked first in the category of propaganda forms that Israel used in the three pages, with a percentage of 55.3%, i.e. 171 times, then followed by the text with a picture form with of 44%, i.e., 136 repetitions. The image form obtained 0.7% with 2 repetitions, while no single text was recorded during the period specified for the study.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• **Avichay Adraee**

The form of the text with the video came first on the page of Adraee with 59.5%, i.e. with 78 repetitions, followed by the text with the image with a ratio of 39%, i.e. with 51 repetitions. As for the image form, it was 1.5%, i.e. by 2 repetitions, whereas no text was recorded within the propaganda forms used on the page.

• **Israel Speaks Arabic**

The form of the propaganda represented in the text with the image was presented at a rate of 52%, with 51 repetitions, followed by second rank the form of the text with the video at a rate of 48%, i.e. by 47 repetitions. Whereas, any form containing only text or an image was not recorded within the approved propaganda forms during the period specified for the study.

- **Coordinator**

The form of the text and the video came first on the coordinator's page at 57.5%, i.e. with 46 repetitions, followed by the text with the picture at 42.5%, i.e. with 34 iterations. As for the image and text-only form, no percentage was recorded among the propaganda forms used on the page during the period specified for the study.

C. The Results:

The coordinator and Adraee pages agreed that the "text with video" form ranked first and "text with a picture" ranked second. While the rank was reversed on Israel Speaks Arabic page, as the first place was for "text with a picture" form, while text form was absent from the propaganda scene. In the current era, it is important to use video and image in the propaganda process, as it is the era of image and the domination of visuals, which has become one of the most important tools of knowledge, culture and information.

The picture and the video have a power that starts from the concept of believing and lying, so the visual vision is the basis of ratification, and with the imaging of the picture with new techniques such as sounds, colours and effects, it provokes the visual and auditory sensations of the viewer and acquires it, especially if the text is found aside alongside the picture or video with a brief comment that clarifies the idea more and summarizes it, it helps to understand the issue better and faster. American photographer Edward Steichen says "a single image can replace ten thousand words provided they are accompanied by ten words" (Hoshyar, 2015). Contrary to the textual or verbal description that enters the human consciousness in a logical sequence and with relative slowness, the visible information, thanks to its clarity and specificity, immediately imposes on the mind, as it can influence a great emotional force in the reader.

The texts in the propaganda forms were absent on the social media pages, as an inevitable result of changing the characteristics of the new media outlets over the traditional ones. As visual materials, especially videos, became required, the human mind interacts more with moving visual materials because it makes the follower at the heart of the event and is familiar with all the details of the subject, the thing that many scientific studies confirm. According to the word stream, a third of activity is allocated online to

watch the video, as the viewer keeps 95% of the message when he watches it in a video, compared to 10% when reading it in a text (Lister, 2018).

8. Propaganda supporting elements category:

Table No. (3.8) shows the percentages and frequency of the propaganda supporting elements that were used by the three selected Facebook pages on the topic of cultural normalization during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.8 shows the Israeli propaganda supporting elements that were used by the three selected Facebook pages.

Propaganda supporting elements		Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Pages									
Picture	Design	34	9.6	19	10.2	26	12.8	79	10.6
	Objective picture	12	3.4	9	4.8	7	3.4	28	3.8
	Aesthetic picture	1	0.3	13	7	1	0.5	15	2
	personal picture	4	1.1	5	2.7	0	0	9	1.2
	Caricature	2	0.6	5	2.7	0	0	7	0.9
Total		53	15	51	27.4	34	16.7	138	18.5
Video	Photographed Video	61	17.3	33	17.6	29	14.3	123	16.5
	Motion graphies	1	0.3	2	1.1	5	2.4	8	1.1
Total		62	17.6	35	18.7	34	16.7	131	17.6
Voice	Soundtrack	25	25	7.1	11	5.9	8	3.9	44
	Arabic music	23	23	6.5	8	4.3	11	5.4	42
	Voice off	14	14	4	16	8.5	15	7.4	45
Total		62	17.6	35	18.7	34	16.7	131	17.6
Hashtag		121	34.3	1	0.5	70	34.5	192	26

Republish	31	8.7	33	17.6	13	6.4	77	10.4
Tag	12	3.4	23	12.3	1	0.5	36	4.8
Emojis	7	2	4	2.1	16	8	27	3.6
Links	3	0.8	0	0	0	0	3	0.4
Photo album	2	0.6	5	2.7	1	0.5	8	1.1
Total	353	100	187	100	203	100	⁵ 743	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The hashtag was one of the most widely used supporting elements of Israeli propaganda on the three pages, at 26%, i.e., 192 repetitions, followed by the picture with a total of 18.5%, i.e. 131 recurrences, where the designed picture was topped by 10.6%, then the objective picture by 3.8%, followed by the personal picture by 1.2%, then the caricatures by 0.9%.

The video and audio elements were equal to 17.6%, i.e. 131 recurrences. The video usage was divided between the Photographed Video which scored 16.5%, or 123 iterations, and the Motion graphics that scored 1.1%, which means 5 repetitions. While the soundtrack and the voice off equalled in the voice element, while the Arabic music came in at 5.6%.

Republishing came in the fourth rank with 10.4%, i.e., 77 repetitions, followed by Tag property with 4.8% in the fifth rank. In the sixth rank was the emoji by 3.6%, followed by photo album by 1.1%, and in the last links by 0.4%.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• **Avichay Adraee**

The hashtag as one of the most widely used supporting elements on the Adraee page with 34.3%, or 121 iterations. Video equalled with sound in second place with 17.6%, where the photographed Video gained 17.3% and the Motion Graphics video 0.3%. While

⁵ The propaganda supporting elements came with a greater number of articles published on the pages because the unit material contains more than one supporting element.

the soundtrack came in at 7.1%, then the Arab music at 6.5%, and then the voice off at 4%. In third place came pictures with 15%, i.e., 53 repetitions, which were divided between designed photos by 9.6%, objective pictures by 3.4%, personal photos by 1.1%, then caricatures by 0.6%, then aesthetic images by 0.3%. In fourth place, the Republish element gets 8.7%, followed by the tag element by 3.4%, then the emoji by 2%, and the links at 0.8%. Finally, the photo album at 0.6%.

• **Israel Speaks Arabic**

The picture as one of the most widely used elements on Israel speaks Arabic page with the score of 27.4%, i.e. 51 recurrences, where the designed picture topped by 10.2%, then the aesthetic picture by 7%, followed by the objective picture by 4.8%, then the caricatures and the personal picture by 2.7%. The video and audio elements ranked second by 18.7%, as the video was divided between a photographed video by 17.6% and the motion graphics video by 1.1%, i.e., the ratio of 5 repetitions. Republishing came third with 17.6%, i.e. 33 repetitions, followed by the Tag, with 12.3% in the fourth rank. In the fifth rank came photo album by 2.7%, followed by emoji by 2.1%, then hashtag by 0.5%, and in the last links by 0%.

• **Coordinator**

The hashtag was one of the most widely used support elements on the coordinator page, with 34.5%, i.e., 70 recurrences. Video, audio and picture are all equal in the second place by 16.7%, where the photographed video lead by 14.3% and the Motion Graphics video by 2.4%. However, the pictures were divided into a designed picture by 12.8%, then objective pictures by 3.4%, then aesthetic pictures by 0.5%, while no caricatures, pictures or personal pictures were recorded. The emoji ranked the third by 8%, followed by the republishing element by 6.4%, and both the tag and photo album elements are equal to 0.5%.

C. The Results:

The hashtag ranked first among the elements supporting Israeli propaganda on its three pages, with a percentage of 26%, i.e., 193 posts out of 309 posts. The Adraee and coordinator pages used the hashtag frequently and significantly, as the post contains more

than one hashtag. Whereas, Israel speaks Arabic page only once during the period specified for the study.

The hashtags used by the two pages were represented in life issues such as #corona or religious occasions such as #EidMubarak, #RamadanKareem and #Fridayblessed. The hashtag was an incentive to highlight some of their periodic programs such as #Arabic-and-Hebrew and #tour-special-with-Captain-Ella or some repeated words like #Army-Defense #Israel and others, to allow users to search and communicate more easily and allow the contact person to organize more content.

The picture came in second place as an important supporting element in propaganda, where the designed picture on the forefront, followed by the objective picture and then the aesthetic pictures. The designed picture was mostly congratulations on Friday and holidays, while the objective picture was varied between some important issues on the Arab side and the Israeli side, as for the aesthetic pictures, they were transporting some beautiful scenes from cities such as Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

The video came in at the third rank with 17.6%, as most of the videos were from the Israeli side. The Adraee page excelled in using this interactive element more compared to the rest of the pages, according to what has been observed, four photographed programs for the page are published periodically, in addition to separate videos that are published between the period and other, it is short videos that do not exceed three minutes, part of which depends on voice off and sound music, and the other part depends on Arabic music as audio background for the video.

The republication element also had a clear presence on Israel speaks Arabic page, which excelled in its use, as the page relied on the methods of republishing and the Tag in issues related to the marketing of tourist sites and cities. The page reprints beautiful pictures from the pages of Israeli and foreign photographers. Whereas the Adraee page used the tag method with Arab artists to congratulate them on their birthdays and in release their new songs, to open the door for communication with the opposite person by sending him a notification that the post concerned him and was talking about.

The use of the emojis element came in at 3.6%, which is a low percentage especially as social media sites rely a lot on these elements in organizing the text and adding vitality to the post. The coordinator page has advanced over the rest of the pages in use emojis, as they were represented in the use of musical symbols and religious symbols, such as the crescent, the cross, and the Star of David. It was followed by the photo album, where it was used approximately 8 times, most of it on Israel speaks Arabic page. Links are ranked last, as Adraee page used the links element only 3 times.

9. The linguistic style category in displaying propaganda information:

Table No. (3.9) shows the proportions and repetitions of the prevailing linguistic pattern in the Israeli propaganda used by the three selected Facebook pages on the cultural normalization issue during the period specified for the study, where the results were as follows:

Table 3.9 shows the linguistic style prevalent in the Israeli propaganda out of the three chosen pages.

Propaganda linguistic style		Avichay Adraee		Israel Speaks Arabic		Coordinator		General Trend	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Arabic	Classical	63	48.1	57	58.2	46	57.5	166	53.7
	Arabic accents	31	23.7	13	13.3	25	31.25	69	22.3
	mixed	24	18.3	4	4.1	5	6.25	33	10.7
Total		118	90.1	74	75.6	76	95	268	86.7
Hebrew		4	3	7	7.1	0	0	11	3.6
Mixed		8	6.1	16	16.3	4	5	28	9.1
Foreign languages		1	0.8	1	1	0	0	2	0.6
Total		131	100	98	100	80	100	309	100

The data of the previous table indicate that:

A. The general orientation of the three pages:

The Arabic language received a percentage of 86.7% in the dominant linguistic style of Israeli propaganda in the three pages, i.e. by 268 posts out of 309, as it was divided into three sections in which the classical Arabic prevailed at 53.7%, i.e., by 166 iterations, followed by Arabic accents at a rate of 22.3%, i.e. by 69 iterations then Mixed (classical and Arabic accents) with 10.7%, i.e. 33 repetitions. The mixed language between Arabic and Hebrew came second, with a percentage of 9.1%, i.e. 28 publications. In the third rank, the Hebrew language gained 3.6%, i.e. 11 publications. In the last rank, foreign languages with 0.6%, i.e. only 2 repetitions.

B. At the level of each page separately:

• Avichay Adraee

The use of the Arabic language came first in the page of Adraee with 90.1%, i.e. 118 recurrences, as it was divided between classical Arabic by 48.1%, followed by different Arabic accents by 23.7%, then mixed Arabic with 18.3%. In the second rank, the language was mixed between Hebrew and Arabic at 6.1%, then Hebrew at 3%. In the last, foreign languages increased by 0.8%.

• Israel Speaks Arabic

The Arabic language ranked first on Israel speaks Arabic page by 75.6%, i.e. 74 recurrences, as it was divided between Classical Arabic by 58.2%, followed by Arabic accents by 13.3%, and mixed Arabic with 4.1%. In second place came the mixed language between Hebrew and Arabic with 16.3%, then in the third place the Hebrew language with 7.1% and finally foreign languages with 1%.

• Coordinator

The Arabic language ranked first on the coordinator page with 95%, i.e. 76 repetitions, as it was divided between Classical Arabic by 57.5%, followed by Arabic accents with 31.25%, and mixed Arabic with 6.25%. In the second rank came the mixed language between Hebrew and Arabic with 5%. However, no publications were registered in the Hebrew language or foreign languages only.

C. The Results:

The three pages were mainly concerned with the Arabic language, spoken and written, especially the classical Arabic language, where the three pages agreed on the first rank for classical Arabic on the most used, followed by Arabic accents, followed by mixed between classical and general Arabic accents, as Arabic accents varied among the Palestinians in a greater percentage and other Arabic accents such as the Egyptian and the Lebanese.

The dominant language and the way information is presented makes a difference in the recipient's acceptance of it, as Israel invests in social networks through the resulting formation of awareness for Palestinian and Arab youth at the cultural, political, and other levels.

Israel has been working on this propaganda policy since it decided to create media outlets to address the Arab world, as addressing the recipient in his language would enhance the process of communication and this was achieved by the Israeli Arabic-speaking pages that reached the point of virtual coexistence and exchanging talks and comments with the Arab followers.

The mixed posts between Arabic and Hebrew came in the second rank in an attempt to highlight the common factors and rapprochement between the two languages in many of the videos and posts, as it focused on exporting the image of the two similar peoples in religion and language. These methods would attract some language learners and those interested or curious in a smart way and a friendly cultural window.

3.3. THE THIRD TOPIC: THE RESULTS OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This study aims to answer a major research question, which is the knowledge of Israeli propaganda methods in Arabic-speaking social media pages for the success of the cultural normalization process. After analyzing 309 research samples taken from three Israeli Arabic-speaking Facebook pages, which are "the page of Avichay Adraee e" and "Israel speaks Arabic" and "the coordinator's page", and after dividing the research

categories into two sections concerned with the content and form, the most important findings of the content analysis study can be summarized in the following points:

- The posts that were published on the three pages came in 30.74% of the total publications presented during the period specified for the study (3 months and five days), which are concerned only with culture topics, i.e. 309 posts out of 1005 publications. In it, the Avichai Adraei page was ranked first in the proportions of posts related to cultural topics, followed by Israel speaks Arabic page, then the Coordinator page.

- Regarding issues related to Israeli propaganda in its posts, and according to the order, the issue of religious occasions came as the most frequently discussed issue, followed by the issue of peace and coexistence in the second rank, then the issue of artistic quotes and the issues of religious quotes, religious preaching came to the fourth rank, while customs and traditions ranked fifth.

- In the spreadsheet that examines the quality of the methods used by the three Facebook pages, the repetition method came as one of the most used methods in Israeli propaganda, followed by the mental image method in the second rank and then the terminology method in the third rank, followed by the religious argument method in the fourth rank and then the famous figures method as indicated by study data. It must be noted that there was a consensus between the three pages and a clear relative disparity between the first three methods and the rest of the methods used, as this proves that these pages depend on similar propaganda methods and strategy in the matter of cultural normalization. The strength of propaganda does not lie in the quantity of these methods, but in the way it is practised, and its effectiveness in continuing it on the widest range that affects the various classes, and its impact on followers at all levels.

- The data of the analytical study indicates that the goal of persuading the follower and his call for normalization came at the forefront of the goals that Israeli propaganda seeks in its Arabic-speaking pages, followed by the goal of highlighting coexistence and then the goal of beautifying Israel's image. These goals achieved the highest percentage, and then the goal of distorting and questioning the facts and the manner of displaying the power of Israel came after them.

- The propaganda discourse on the three Israeli pages relies mainly on the official Israeli private sources (meaning the sources that were produced on the Israeli side) and then on the unofficial private sources, which distract the informal external sources. Reliance on these sources confirms the volume of work to produce these propaganda messages they provide to the Arab follower, which necessarily requires an integrated team of cadres and technicians in the media field.

- The study data indicate that the "text with video" form came first in the category of propaganda forms most used in Israeli propaganda on its three pages, then the form of "text with image" came as the second rank, while no single text was recorded during the period specified for the study. This shows the importance of direct communication concept, face to face, with the recipient in the Israeli propaganda. As these repeated looks in videos of the likes of Avichai Adraei and the coordinator or some of the soldiers bet on breaking the psychological barrier and reducing the moral distance between the Arab peoples and the occupation army.

- It is clear from the study data that the hashtag was the most widely used element of the Israeli propaganda used by the three pages on the topic of cultural normalization, followed by the image that was divided between the designed image, the objective image, and the personal image accordingly. The video and audio elements are equal to the second rank, where the video came in the photographed Video, followed by motion graphics video. Concerning sound, soundtracks were equal with Voice off as the most widely used audio elements, while Arabic music came second.

- Regarding the prevailing linguistic style of Israeli propaganda in the three pages, the Arabic language came in the first rank, in which the language was divided into three sections in which the classical language prevailed, followed by the Arabic accents, then the mixed language (between classical and Arabic accents), then the mixed language between Arabic and Hebrew. Israel has wagered on the Arabic language for the success of its propaganda, as it did not limit itself to the classical Arabic language, but also included Palestinian, Egyptian, Lebanese and other accents in many posts, as noted during the analysis.

Finally, this study has faced some difficulties, such as the lack of studies concerned with cultural normalization on social media pages. Therefore, this research recommends conducting similar future studies to obtain more data and using other research methods such as discourse analysis or qualitative analysis to reach new and complementary results and to understand this phenomenon more.



CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of cultural publications in Israeli-speaking Arabic pages and their spread among social media users, in addition to the lack of studies dealing with cultural normalization and its methods, was the motive behind this research. After an analytical study of the content, it became clear that these pages are a continuation of Israeli propaganda and an attempt to weave relations with Arab societies to persuade them to normalize with Israel by relying on various propaganda methods that serve this goal.

In the past, the occupation resorted to employing media outlets to address the Arab world, such as radio and television channels, and local and international newspapers. All worked to win over the Arab follower by broadcasting multiple programs and news stuffed with social and cultural contents, in addition to the political contents. With the rise of social media, Israeli cultural propaganda developed and established a group of Arabic-speaking pages as an alternative to traditional channels that impose unilateralism in the direction of broadcasting and receiving.

Israeli propaganda is keen to win an audience of Arab followers of its pages and accounts on various social media sites. It also worked on producing media and cultural content in line with the Arab characteristics, as it formed an unprecedented relationship and direct interaction between the Arab public and occupation officials, which developed to the extent of virtual coexistence from mutual talks and comments. These pages devoted part of their activities to calling for cultural normalization with Arab societies.

Without building bridges of communication and normalization, it is difficult to shake convictions, destroy the foundations of national memory, and penetrate the historical, religious and cultural principles of any society. Cultural normalization is the decisive factor for removing the idea of conflict that has been embedded in the consciousness of Arab peoples, their culture, and their collective memory. Therefore, in

its endeavour to adapt and subdue awareness; Israeli propaganda has worked to produce programs and information materials that affect the Arab follower and achieve communication with him through the language, quality and form of the topics presented, relying on several propaganda methods such as repetition, mental image style, style of playing on terms, and relying on religious style as indicated by data studying.

Israeli propaganda is keen on attracting and wooing Arab youth and some well-known artistic faces by marketing several concepts in its publications, including elements and signs that may not be noticeable aiming to draw a positive mental image of the ideal life the residents of Israel enjoy, on the one hand, and breaking the psychological barrier with the Arab audience to live with the situation of Israel in the Middle East, on the other hand, and to emphasize the idea of peace and coexistence.

Israel cannot talk about a participant without seizing the culture of the Palestinian people from history, language, and food, along with the religious and historical landmarks stolen. This cultural appropriation is a gateway to rapprochement and to show that Israel is similar to the culture and history of Arab societies. So what is the reason for preventing normalization and dealing with it.

Study data indicate that the goal of grooming the follower and calling for normalization came at the forefront of the goals that Israeli propaganda seeks in its Arabic-speaking pages, in addition to beautifying the image of Israel through media influencers from journalists and academics, replacing traditional military spokesmen with young faces and working to train them to be more flexible in their speeches, to improve the image of occupation among public opinion in general, and Arab in particular.

The occupation has sought to employ electronic networking and renewable technologies to cross into minds and hearts, as the Israeli insistence on normalization, especially in the cultural field, stems from its realization that this field is qualified and able to change the national popular culture, and inject concepts and perceptions that help it in its colonial plan, which is what it requires striking the idea of the relationship of hostility that exists in the mind of the Arab citizen and pushing them to accept the "Israeli" within his conditions that he imposes.

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BIOGRAPHY

Ons BOUJELBENE was born on 28 Mars 1993 in Sfax, Tunisia. In 2015, she received BA in Audiovisual advertising design from the Faculty of Higher Institute of Arts & Crafts, University of Sfax. Now, she is obtaining her master's degree in Radio, Television, and Cinema department at Kocaeli University in Kocaeli, Turkey.

