

The Use of New Media by the UK's Palestinian Diaspora

Amira Halperin

Faculty of Media, Arts and Design

This is an electronic version of a PhD thesis awarded by the University of Westminster. © The Author, 2014.

This is an exact reproduction of the paper copy held by the University of Westminster library.

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Users are permitted to download and/or print one copy for non-commercial private study or research. Further distribution and any use of material from within this archive for profit-making enterprises or for commercial gain is strictly forbidden.

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch:
(<http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/>).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail
repository@westminster.ac.uk

The Use of New Media by the U.K.'s Palestinian Diaspora

Amira Halperin

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the University of Westminster
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2014

The Use of New Media by the U.K.'s Palestinian Diaspora

A. Halperin

PhD
2014

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who have helped me in my journey towards the successful completion of this research.

First, my thanks and appreciation to the interviewees; without whose generosity and the thoughts and experiences which they shared, this research would not have been possible.

I am grateful to CAMRI at the University of Westminster for supporting this research and for providing meaningful platforms for the exchange of ideas and the sharing of experiences with fellow students and staff. I am especially grateful to my supervisors, Dr. Anthony McNicholas and Dr. Roza Tsagarousianou, whose wise comments, encouragement and assistance over the years were indispensable.

Finally, my loving thanks to my family, whose love and support over the years has enabled me to sustain the ups and downs of a PhD project. To my children, Dan and Thelma, who were born during the research period, and who encouraged me with their pure love and innocent smiles, and to my husband Eyal whose love, support, interest and help brought me to the finishing line.

Abstract

The Palestinian people form a nation with a rich culture and unity, but they are scattered throughout the world with no state of their own. This 'stateless' condition has a direct impact on Palestinians' media consumption and media production. The reality in the region is harsh; conflicts within and without prevent journalists from operating freely. It is in this point that the problem lies: the Palestinians need for information is pressing, but as it is a conflict area there are major obstacles that impede media outlets from distributing news that would answer demands for consistency, accuracy and, most importantly, for real time updates. As the findings show, the revolution in new technology has answered the

Palestinians' demands for reception of news from home. The availability of hundreds of news websites has eased the diasporic Palestinians' ability to access information; a fact which is highly important at times of major news events. The Palestinians in the diaspora are an active audience. They create websites and blogs to disseminate their personal stories and to receive updates from Gaza and the West Bank from the people who live there. The new technologies are bypassing geographical distance and editorial guidelines and they help to overcome the news problem, which was significant before the WWW revolution, overcoming delays to enable the immediate dissemination of news.

Interestingly enough, the Israeli media is a major information source for diasporic Palestinians. The main reasons for using Israeli media are: their professionalism and the will to understand the Israelis' point of view. The researcher is an 'outsider' researcher. The benefits, in this respect, are there is a lack of the constraints that a Palestinian researcher might have. This study has contributed to knowledge in the fields of diaspora studies, adding to knowledge on those diasporic groups that strive for independence and live in conflicted spheres, and in the fields of new media and Arab media through Palestinians' utilisation of new

media for political ends, and the expansion of their social networks, which serve as transnational meeting places.

Glossary

Al-Quds Al-Arabi: A London based Arabic language daily newspaper. This title literally means: Al-Quds – Jerusalem; Al Arabi – The Arab.

Al-Quds: A Jerusalem based Arabic language daily newspaper.

Fatah: The National Palestinian Liberation Movement; victory, occupation

Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement; enthusiasm

Haaretz: The Israeli daily broadsheet newspaper; “The Land”

Intifada: Palestinian popular rebellion.

Jihad: Holy War.

Nakba: Misfortune, calamity; disaster, catastrophe

Al-Nakba: A term that is being used by the Palestinians to mark the “War of Independence” (1948). During this war, Arab armies were defeated and the state of Israel was established. This term mainly; describes the Palestinian diaspora that was created following these events, and the creation of the refugee problem.

Ghurba: “Absence from the homeland; separation from one’s native country, banishment, exile; life, or, place, away from home (The HansWehr *Arabic–English Dictionary*).”

Semites: people who speak Semitic languages. The most prominent semites today are Arabs and Jews. In a Biblical sense, semites are people whose ancestry can be traced back to Shem, Noah’s eldest son.

Tahadiya: A short-term calming period between conflicting during which differences are not put aside. It was a Tahadiya that stopped most of the violence between Hamas and Israel between June and December, 2008.

Umma: The Islamic community.

Watan: Homeland, fatherland.

Table of Contents

Introduction	10
 Chapter 1	
Literature Review – Diaspora Studies	
1.1 Introduction	18
1.2 Diaspora –New Term; Old Discourse	33
1.3 The Palestinian Nation – Narrative of Refugees	39
1.4 The Effect of the ‘Refugee Nation’ on Palestinian Identity	44
1.5 Political Islam, Technology and Palestinian Daily Life	55
1.6 Stateless Diaspora and Integration Challenges	61
1.7 The Return Question	66
1.8 Diasporic Media	68
1.9 The Palestinian Diaspora and Diasporic Media	69
1.10 Conclusion	76
 Chapter 2	
Literature Review –Audiences; New Media	
2.1 Introduction	78
2.2 New Technologies; New Audiences	82
2.3 The Impact of Technology on the Audience	86
2.4 The Shift from Traditional Media to the New Media	90
2.5 The Palestinian Audience and the New Media	98
2.6 Conclusion	104
 Chapter 3	
Methodology	
3.1 Introduction	105
3.2 The Researcher as an Explorer	106
3.3 Deportation and Migration - the Cases of the Palestinians and the Israelis	111

3.4 The Holocaust as a Symbol in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	112
3.5 Research Methods	114
3.6 The Interview Setup	119
3.7 Research Questions	120
3.9 Individual Interviews	122
3.10 Observation – Palestinian Gatherings	135
3.11 Methodological Problems	138
3.12 Overcoming the Research Problems	146
3.13 Conclusion.	148

Chapter 4

Findings - Palestinian and Transnational Arab Media Usage

4.1 The Palestinian Media	150
4.2 Use in Transnational Arab Media and Non-Use in Palestinian Sources – Reasons and Implications	152
4.3 The Palestinian Websites as an Irrelevant News Source	154
4.4 Political and Transnational Website Usage	159
4.5 Palestinian Usage in Palestinian and Transnational Websites	168
4.6 The Use in Palestinian and Arab Media as a Routine	169
4.7 The Palestinian Governmental and Private Websites	169
4.8 The Response to Palestinian Political Websites	170
4.9 Multiple Languages – Increased Reach	181
4.10 The Palestinian Media – The Social Dimension	183
4.11 Conclusion	189

Chapter 5

Findings – News from Home and Israeli Media

5.1 Introduction	190
5.2 Television and Internet Usage	191
5.3 The Reasons for Using the Internet	194
5.4 News Websites, Social Networks Online and Political Mobilisation	204

5.5 Level of Interest in Palestine and U.K. News	208
5.6 The Use of Media at Times of Breaking News	221
5.7 The Consumers of Israeli Media and Major News Events	223
5.8 The Consumers of Israeli Media as a Routine	225
5.9 International Media Consumption and Breaking News	231
5.10 The Consumers of Arab Media and High Interest News Events	232
5.11 Conclusion	233
Israeli Media	235

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction	237
6.2 The Palestinian Diaspora and Conflict-Generated Diasporas	238
6.3 New Media – The New Arab Public Sphere	241
6.4 Israeli Media – Major News Source for the Palestinian Diaspora	242
6.5 Multiplicity of Languages – A Bridge to Diasporic Links	244
6.6 Palestinian Diaspora vs. Other Ethnic Minorities’ Diasporas in Europe	245
6.7 ‘Outsider’ Researcher	248

Appendix 1 - Consumption of International Media and Breaking News	253
---	-----

Appendix 2 - The Palestinian Governmental and Private Websites.	255
---	-----

Bibliography	256
---------------------	-----

Introduction

This study is a combination of research of few fields. Each is an interesting area and has a dynamic that has served as fruitful land for researchers from different disciplines. Having said this, the search for new angles that have not yet been investigated and their exposé is unique to this research.

The research's main themes are: migration and Diaspora, Diasporic media, the Palestinian Diaspora, new media, news media, audiences, the Arab media, the Arab World and the new media and political communication. According to Shiblak:

"There is a shortage of studies on the Palestinian Diaspora, despite the large number of important works written mainly on the political context and on specific Palestinian refugee situations. In fact, Palestinian refugees were often looked upon through the prism of a political perspective. Their existence as a transnational community, their civic status in host societies and their personal narratives were rarely examined (Shiblak in Shiblak, 2005:7)".

Since Shiblak wrote his account of Palestinian Diaspora studies, two major works have been published. The first is Matar's research on the Palestinian people – What it Means to be Palestinian – Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood. This research on Palestinians' personal narratives tells the personal stories of the Palestinian people, both in and outside Palestine, since Matar refers chronologically to the main historical events of the 'Palestinian national struggle' (Matar, 2011: 1). The second work is Aouragh's research. The author discusses the ways Palestinians and pro-Palestinian solidarity activists try to achieve political demands via the internet: Palestinian politics of resistance (Aouragh, 2011). In this context, Aouragh investigates Palestinians in the diaspora, in Jordan and Lebanon and in Palestine.

Research on Palestinian Refugees was conducted by Robert Bowker (Bowker, 2003). Encompassing history, politics and political culture, Bowker explores the impact of Palestinian refugee mythologies on the potential settlement of conflict with Israel.

"Little research has been done on the Arab Diaspora and its media consumption. There are only three publications, all of which concentrate on the Arab Diaspora in the United Kingdom (Rinnawi, 2010: 267). The first is Nouredin Miladi's study (2006), which investigated how the Arab Diaspora in Britain uses and interprets Arab satellite television broadcasts in comparison with their response to the BBC and CNN. The second is the study of Zahera Harb and Ehab Bessaïso (2006) on the Arab Muslim Diaspora audiences in the U.K., in regard to television after September 11th. The third is Dina Matar's (2006) study on the Palestinian Diaspora in the United Kingdom and their reactions to the September 11th attacks and media reports on the event. The main conclusion of the three studies is that the Diaspora's members have heavily consumed Arabic satellite television since its inception, particularly since they mistrust the local British and Western television programmes, because they perceive them to be biased and one-sided against Arab and Islam (Rinnawi, 2010: 267)".

This thesis seeks to contribute to this ongoing research into Palestinian Diaspora by providing a focused analysis of an area that has been comparatively neglected to date: the use of a specific medium - the Internet, for news consumption, by a defined audience: Palestinians in Britain. "There is no research that investigates the impact of the Internet on the Palestinians in the diaspora and that explores trends in media usage. No study has yet been conducted on Palestinian representation on the Internet (Hammer, 2005: 7)". This is the first attempt to fill the gap in the existing research. This is audience research, with a new focus on investigation that fills an existing gap in knowledge. There is no research that compares the use of traditional and new media. In putting it to the test, I interviewed Palestinians who reside in the UK. Unlike the other studies that I mentioned, my research refers to Arab audiences outside their country of origin (for further reading on its original contribution to knowledge, see page 23).

Moreover, this is the first research on the Palestinian community in the Diaspora that has been conducted by an Israeli researcher. This adds a new dimension, as other researchers of the field are Palestinians (i.e., Matar and Aouragh). Alongside the challenges of being an Israeli researcher there are also advantages (extended discussion - page 145).

Before the parameters of this thesis can be more rigorously defined, some background on the complex definition of the Palestinian Diaspora and the complex situation of the Palestinian media is needed. Diaspora is a new term in migration studies. It refers to individuals who emigrate from one country to another. "The term 'diaspora' relates to a group of people that has been dispersed, or has expanded to at least two countries of the world (Schulz & Hammer, 2003: 9)". However, there is controversy among researchers on the definition of the Palestinians in the diaspora as migrants. The Palestinians themselves indicate a problem, saying that their place of origin is not the place they emigrated from but, rather, they are refugees who were uprooted from their actual home.

The Palestinians were displaced from their home in 1948 and, later, in 1967 – and on this occasion, many Palestinians became second-time refugees. According to Aouragh, "The refugee camps are the reminders that the current Palestinian 'transnational community' has in effect been created by forced migration (Aouragh, 2011: 77)." What is more, the Palestinians lack freedom of movement. Palestinians, who live in the U.K. and wish to visit Gaza, cannot do it because of closure restrictions. The fact that the Palestinians' place of origin is an entity in transition, with legal problems of access to the host country and having movement restrictions, that emphasise the complexity of the definition of the Palestinian Diasporic community.

Palestinians' use of media for news is not the passive use: watching news. It is also not only active use, where they interpret and choose news, but, rather, news from Palestine is part of their political and existential daily struggle and identity formation. News media also shape the participants' social contacts. The centrality of news in the life of Palestinians crosses age, occupation and economic status. Most participants look for updated news every day, and more than once a day. Sam, a 28 year old student, says:

‘The news for me, for the Palestinians, is very important. In Gaza the culture is different than the U.K. - people watch news all the time. People are not working and they watch news and talk about the news all day. Things happen. In the U.K. people watch news only in the morning, before they go to work, and in the evening when they come home (Sam).’

No less important for the participants, is their use of news media they have created. The enormous participation in hundreds of blogs, chats and social news websites indicates the importance of news in the lives of Palestinians. The importance the participants attribute to the news they have been disseminating is for contact with the Arab circle, as well as, the ability of Palestinians to use the internet, to publish their news stories in order to reach audiences beyond the Arab world. Since the mainstream media would not dedicate much space to background information, the Palestinians publish their own personal accounts. According to Hanieh, the Internet lets Palestinians speak for themselves, in their own voice, without mediation or distortion from outside bodies or interests (‘news by newsmakers’). "Those involved in newsworthy events can choose what to present, rather than passively allowing others to represent and reinterpret developments in Palestine (Hanieh, 1999: 42)". This trend helps Arab, as well as, Western, audiences to learn in-depth from news stories from Palestine and the region.

My research seeks to examine how the Palestinians in the U.K. use the media in their daily life and to what extent does the internet impact on their news consumption? I was looking into questions: around which websites the Palestinians use to read news and why? In which language? Do they use Palestinian websites more than international websites, or vice versa? Are they creating Palestinian social networks online? Additional questions were also examined.

I conducted 52 open-ended, in-depth interviews with Palestinians who reside in the UK. They came from different socio-economic backgrounds and different political positions. In addition to interviews with 52 participants, I discussed my questions with Palestinians who were not included in the research for a variety of reasons: either because they were

not using the Internet at all and did not want to participate, or because I talked with Palestinians that who could not complete the interview because of lack of time. I also spoke with Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who came to visit the UK, and were not included in my research, as they did not belong to the Palestinian Diasporic community. In addition to interviews, I used observation as a research method - my field work included participation in main Palestinian events.

The purpose of using those research methods was to know the participants personally, to learn about the Palestinian media and new media usage and beyond. In other words, it was important for me to learn about the participants' personal background as I linked the participants' personal narratives to their media usage practices. The Palestinians personal narratives are also very important for them and they utilise their access to the new media in order to discuss and talk about their stories, which can be put together into one story - the story of the Palestinian people.

The story of the thesis – 'The Use of New Media by the U.K.'s Palestinian Diaspora' is being told in 6 chapters (not including the introduction chapter) which are linked together. Chapter 1 – Literature Review – Diaspora Studies, contributes to the understanding of Diaspora discourse and the Palestinian Diasporic community's motivations in the light of technological changes and globalisation. The shift from the traditional to the modern media was the publication of the first Arab newspaper during Napoleon Bonaparte campaign in Egypt (1798-1801). It was the first appeal to the masses from the ruling power. It was only in the 1990's, with the launch of satellite television and the development of the internet, that media which does not act as a mouthpiece for governmental actors, has been developed.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review –Audiences; New Media, Provides a thorough understanding of the Palestinian community in the Diaspora and its media usage practices – as the internet is the main medium that the Palestinians use for news consumption and news production. As well as an understanding of the gap between the Palestinians in their place of origin – Gaza and the West Bank, and the Palestinians in

the UK, in terms of their accessibility and their usage of new technologies. Linked to this is the gap between the two groups and this relates to their financial and social mobility opportunities. Not all Palestinian immigrants to the U.K. have the same financial abilities (for information about socio-economic backgrounds, see chapter 3).

The third chapter – Methodology, reveals the non-replicable advantages of the individual interviews method I chose and the challenges I had to face as an Israeli researcher and as a woman. In an era of emails and electronic communication, as far as this research concerns, there is still no substitute for real meetings with people. My meetings with the participants for the purpose of interviewing revealed a whole world to me, a revelation that enriched my research accessibility to the readers, if you may. It starts from my ability to see, smell and sense the Palestinians' customs, eating manners, working places, gathering places and more. It goes through my ability to view the Palestinian media consumption practices by looking together with them at news websites and chat rooms, and the opportunity I had to ask for clarifications where they were needed. The meetings were especially important in this research, since it was a learning process for both the participants and myself. It goes without saying that individual interviews might lead to problems of information reliability and so on (discussion on this issue - in this chapter).

Chapter 4 – Findings - Palestinian and Transnational Arab Media Usage, explains the problems affecting the professionalism of the Palestinian media and the reasons for usage or non-usage of Palestinian political websites for news. This chapter discusses the use of transnational Arab media, and actually helps us to understand the implications of the satellite revolution that occurred in the 1990s for the media usage practices of Palestinian audiences in the Diaspora.

Chapter 5 – Findings - News from Home and Israeli Media, highlights the importance that participants attribute to news. Most of the participants have more interest in Palestine's news than in U.K. news, regardless of the length of their stay in the UK, age, gender, occupation and socio-economic status. It also shows that the main medium for their news consumption is the internet. According to the data analysis, it is the Israeli

media, more specifically, the Israeli news websites, that serve as the main source of information for Palestinians in the U.K. Diaspora. One of the important findings of the research indicates that more than half of the participants routinely use Israeli media. At times of breaking news events, almost half of the participants use Israeli media. This finding obviously leads to the question: what is the role of the Arab and Palestinian media in the daily life of the participants?

The Conclusion Chapter (Chapter 6) contributes to an understanding of the importance of the research, referring to other studies of Diaspora communities. The chapter's starting point is that the Palestinians are a conflict-generated Diaspora. They are therefore highly interested in news and politics and use the new media for news consumption and political purposes on a large scale. Additional topics that the chapter discusses are the methodological advantages and disadvantages of the research in the light of the researcher's identity. The aim is to provide the readers with confidence in the research for-political purposes and to raise awareness of the significant contribution of this research to the field.

It is important to comment on the time frame of my research. The field work period was between May, 2008, and January, 2009. Until December 2008, there was no significant violence, as a result of the 'Tahadiya' period. In December, 2008, the Gaza War broke out or, as it is being called in the Arab world, the Gaza Massacre. The war ended in January, 2009. During the process of interviewing, in July 2008, there were 2 terror attacks in Jerusalem.

My research was actually conducted in a period that included two major conflicts between the Israelis and the Palestinians. During the period of my field work, on 27th December 2008 Israel opened Operation Cast Lead, hitting targets across the Gaza Strip. According to IDF officials, this was to fight the increasing launch of rockets from Gaza into Israel. This operation ended on 17th January, 2009, as IDF troops withdrew from the Gaza Strip. Almost 4 years after the end of the Gaza War, in November, 2012, while I was engaged in writing up, Israel launched 'Operation Pillar of Cloud' in Gaza. The

reason, according to Israeli officials, was a resumption of rocket fire from Gaza into Israel. After 8 days of intensive fighting, the two sides in the conflict, agreed on the implementation of a ceasefire. The conflicts discussed above are very important in demonstrating the research arguments. A detailed discussion on this issue is included in Chapter 3.

The analysis of the interviews refers to the period during which the field work was carried out (If I had had to conduct further interviews they would have had to be analysed in other research). Having said that, I did not detach myself from the participants or from the research itself once I completed the field work. I continue to follow the Palestinian and Arab news websites. I also receive updates from Palestinian individuals and bodies about social news networks online. I learn from the emails I receive about the expansion of the social networks, as well as about major news stories on the Palestinians' agenda.

The primary language of the majority of the interviews was English, although occasionally also Arabic and/or Hebrew were used. In these cases, interviews are translated by the author.

Chapter 1

Literature Review – Diaspora Studies

Introduction

My research is audience research that investigates the Palestinian Diasporic community in the UK. I interviewed Palestinians, both Muslims and Christians. The theoretical framework of my research relates to Muslim Palestinians for two main reasons. Firstly, since Islam and Muslims are relevant in current world-wide political discourse. "In the New World Order, since the collapse of communism, Islam has been constructed as the new enemy of the West in a bi-polar relationship around a conceptualisation which draws on Huntington's thesis of the 'clash of civilisations' (Poole, 2002: 54)." Secondly, since they are a larger group – the Muslim form 99.3% of the population in the Gaza Strip, the Christians form 0.7% in the West Bank, the Muslims are 75% and Christian and others are 8% of the population (The World Factbook, 2011).

There is an ongoing debate in regard to the definition of the Palestinian Diaspora. The core issue of this debate is the question as to whether Palestinians in the diaspora should be defined as immigrants or refugees. I will refer to this debate extensively in this chapter. Firstly, I would like to explain the historical background, to demonstrate the roots of this question.

The Palestinian Diaspora resulted from the dispersal of the Arab population that was living in mandated Palestine. Their dispersal turned them into a community living in hope of returning home (Harik in Sheffer, 1986:315). At present, the right to return is one of the main issues influencing Palestinian society. Ben-David argues that Diaspora actors are unique in putting emphasis on community as an activity type, and on Diaspora and the right of return as a primary cause. Non-Diaspora actors, however, are mainly dedicated to solidarity as activity and Palestinian rights and the boycotting movements (of Israel), as the primary cause (Ben-David, 2012: 459).

On a formal level, a UN resolution (194) relates to this problem. The Palestinian community in the U.K. operates their own channels through which to deal with this question. For example, the Palestinian Return Centre. The Palestinian Right of Return Coalition is a Diaspora actor which highlights the tension relating to the homogeneity of the Palestinian Diaspora, in terms of both refugee and non-refugee communities (Ben-David, 2012: 468).

According to Mahmoud, "The proliferation of associations like the Palestine Return Centre and the Palestinian Right to Return Coalition (Al-Awda), are testimony to the Palestinian attachment to the right of return, which is highlighted through petitions and marches. This has succeeded in rallying Palestinians from all social classes (Mahmoud in Shibliak, 2005:99)".

In his research, published as: 'Migration, Information Technology, and International Policy', Brinkerhoff claims that there is no clash between migrant talk of return and appreciation of the host country. 'The motivation to express an identity is natural and common to all human beings. Whether addressed in cyberspace or in the physical world, diasporans face a psycho-social need to develop and express their hybrid identities and to experiment with the integration of alternative and additional values and conceptions, including those representing liberal values. Given hybridity, affirming the homeland identity, and even talk of return, do not mean that diasporans do not value or embrace their adopted country and society (Brinkerhoff, 2010: 41)'.

At the time of the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, in what is known by the Palestinians as the *nakba* (the catastrophe), the Palestinians experienced the loss of the land on which they lived and have since been scattered. The second dispersal of Palestinians occurred following the 1967 war, which led to a new exodus from the West Bank and Gaza (Smith, 1986: 98). The largest Palestinian community outside Gaza and the West Bank is in Jordan (Smith, 1986: 91). After the establishment of the new Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950, Palestinians became approximately half of the country's population (Takkenberg, 1998: 155).

"The Palestinian Diaspora is an incipient Diaspora (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 148)". The presence of large numbers of Palestinians in Europe is a relatively new phenomenon (the Palestinian Diaspora has been in formation over the past century), compared to their presence in the Arab world or America, though the size of their population in Europe is on the increase. The largest communities are in Britain, Germany, Spain and the Scandinavian countries. In the 1960s and 1970s, Palestinians who worked for the Palestine government during the British Mandate period (1920 -1948) and several thousand students emigrated to Britain (Smith, 1986: 91). Young people who left in search of an education were more eager to take up the challenges involved in making a new life. They planned to get educational degrees that could help them in Palestine, and upon return they wanted to make a home and have a family in Palestine. Despite the fact that many of them did not plan on emigrating for good, a considerable number stayed abroad. The same is true of work migrants, who usually left because of economic depression and lack of employment and who sought jobs and higher wages in other countries.

For Palestinians who left Palestine to study, as well as for those who were born and grew up abroad, the host country's educational system played an important role in their socialisation into the host society. While most Palestinians who left Palestine were peasants, there was also a minority of Palestinians who were from the middle classes. This distinction is important in studying their ability to participate in the host country's economy, thereby facilitating integration into the host country's society. Upon their flight, peasants lost their main source of livelihood- the land-and became refugees. The poorer of those refugees were a source of manual labor for host economies, or they were unemployed. At the same time, Palestinians with a higher education moved to oil-rich Arab countries, in whose economies their skills were valued. At the other end of the social and economic scale, there is the economically successful exiled bourgeoisie (Hammer, 2005: 18-19).

"During actual time of war, Palestinian migration occurred because of political persecution, economic pressure and the eviction of political activists (Hammer, 2005:

15)". There is flow of migrants who seek a better life, including students and professionals, as well as unskilled migrants. Hanafi describes the demographics of the Palestinian Diaspora and its history, under four main categories: economic migrants to South America in the 19th century; the dispersal of 700,000 Palestinians from Israel to neighbouring countries during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war; the second wave of displacement following the Six Day War in 1967; and more recent waves of political and economic migration to Europe and the United States, which started in 1977 and which was influenced by political events such as the 1982 Israel- Lebanon War, the 1991 Gulf War and the Intifadas of 1987 and 2001 (Hanafi, 2003).

"It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Palestinians living in Europe, as they are statistically invisible. In most cases, they are classified together with other immigrants from the countries from which they last arrived or added to the category of stateless persons. In Britain, for example, all immigrants from the 'Middle East' - including Turkey, Iran, Israel and the Arab East - are put in the same basket (Shiblak in Shiblak, 2005,12)." "...The majority of Muslims (in Britain) are from South Asian extraction, in particular Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Poole, 2002: 54)."

Nevertheless, Shiblak's rough estimate, which is based on various sources, suggests that there are 20,000 Palestinian residents in the U.K. (Shiblak in Shiblak, 2005: 13). My Palestinian sources, including the Palestinian ambassador to the United Kingdom, indicate the same estimated number.

The Palestinian community is not concentrated in specific cities in Britain, but, rather, is scattered in different areas: London, The Midlands (Leicester, Birmingham), West of England (Devon), Northern England (Manchester, Leeds), Oxfordshire (Oxford), Cambridgeshire (Cambridge), as well as in other areas.

There are few scholars who have written about the Palestinian Diaspora, notably Shiblak (2005), who has published an overview of the Palestinian Diaspora with a focus on Europe; and Schulz (2003), who has written about the historical context and the

formation of the Palestinian identity. There is also Smith's publication (1986): *The Palestinian Diaspora 1948 -1985*. A recently published book is Dina Matar's research on the Palestinian people: *What it Means to be Palestinian – Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood*. Matar tells personal stories of the Palestinian people, from both in and outside Palestine, as she refers, chronologically, to the main historical events of the 'Palestinian national struggle' (Matar, 2011: 1). Additional work is research by Miriyam Aouragh. The author discusses the ways in which Palestinians and pro-Palestinian solidarity activists try to achieve political demands via the internet: *Palestinian politics of resistance* (Aouragh, 2011). In this context, Aouragh investigates the Palestinians in the diaspora in Jordan, Lebanon, and in Palestine.

According to the perception of a few research projects, there is a problem with the definition of Aouragh's research, as a study of the Palestinian Diasporic community. As I will explain later, there are scholars who accept the use of the term Diaspora for Palestinian communities living outside the Arab region. However, they argue against using it in the case of Palestinians who live in Arab host states. As I claimed earlier in this chapter, approximately half of Jordan's citizens are Palestinians. Even more, the historic Palestine was created as an artificial state from the British administrated greater-Palestine region, which included trans-Jordan (equivalent to Jordan today). I would like to refer to the demographics of the Palestinians, in order to demonstrate this point. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (2009):

"3.24 million Palestinians live in Jordan (29.8%). 1.78 Million (16.3%) in the other Arab countries, 1.25 million (11.5%) live in Israel, and Palestinians living in foreign countries is estimated to be 618 thousand (5.7%)."

Research conducted by Ben-David (Ben-David, 2012) on the link between Diaspora and non-Diaspora actors, analyses web-based networks of Palestinian communities in Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Australia, the United States, Canada, Spain, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The findings reveal that Diaspora and non-Diaspora actors operate as two distinct but intertwined networks. The ties between Diaspora and non-Diaspora

actors are stronger than among Diaspora actors. I will refer to Ben-David insights in the chapters that follow.

My research is a pioneering effort in the field. The new dimension I add in my study is the investigation of the Arab Diasporic audience and their use of the new media. It is the first research that explores the use of a specific medium - the Internet, for news consumption, by a defined audience - Palestinians in Britain. There is no research that investigates the impact of the Internet on the Palestinians in the diaspora and explores trends in media usage. Furthermore, Western research has tended to focus on the Palestinian population that is more accessible - those who live in Gaza and the West Bank, and not on those outside the Palestinian territories (Smith, 1986: 90). Following the first Intifada (1987-1991), however, conditions have changed and today access to Palestine is limited.

"The limited research that exists into the use of technologies amongst minority groups falls into two categories, the more theoretical work which explores the networks of transnational communities and the role of media forms supporting particular diasporic formations; and administrative research which examines the demographic patterns of uptake of New Information and Communication Technologies (NICT'S) by minority communities within national contexts. Studies in Britain on multimedia and society rarely allude to minority usage (Poole, 2002: 52;53)..."

The research is audience research, with a new focus of investigation that fills an existing gap in knowledge. The focus is not the influence of the media in general on either Palestinians' identity as individuals or the influence of news on the notions of 'belonging, community and social action' (Matar, 2005: 66). This subject was investigated by the scholar Dina Matar in her PhD thesis - 'News, Memory and Identity – The Palestinians in Britain'. In addition, Aksoy and Robins published research about the influence of satellite TV on the Turkish community in London (Aksoy and Robins, 2000). There is research about the rising power of the new media in the Arab world (Alterman, 1998). However,

Alterman did not put his assumptions to a test – he did not interview Arab media users. Alterman talks about the influence of the new media on the audience in Arab countries, in general. A reference to Alterman's work is included in this chapter.

A recent study of the Arab Diaspora in Europe and transnational media (Rinnawi, 2012), explores the media consumption of members of the Arab minority in Germany. The majority of Arabs in Germany are of Palestinian or Lebanese origin and came from Lebanon during the civil war between 1973 and the mid-1980s (Rinnawi, 2012: 1452). The main claim of the study is that the access of minority members to Arab satellite media in the 1990s has strengthened their sense of belonging to their Arab homelands and their identity (Rinnawi, 2012: 1451).

Existing publications investigate satellite Television as the medium that has the potential to free viewers from government controls on national media (Sakr, 2001). My research focus on the internet shows that its substantial growth started at the same time – the 1990's, and its massive use has begun in the last decade. As Sakr claims, satellite television did not remove governmental restrictions. For the owners of the private Middle Eastern satellite channels, "Television ventures could be seen to oil the wheels of business as television programmes provided an additional medium of exchange with investment partners and allies worldwide" (Sakr, 2001: 206). The broadcasting of satellite television entailed limitations to governmental influence, if we look for example at the Qatari television network, Al Jazeera (discussed later in this chapter). Decisions on agenda setting are carried out by professional editors, who hold the power to determine content. In contrast, the internet allows unprofessional individuals to create websites for the dissemination of news without governmental control. To put it in Hanieh's words, multi-media formats help break the domination of mainstream media by choosing which images of Palestine are presented, and how (Hanieh, 1999: 41).

According to Georgiou, "the development of Diasporic global media spaces that are beyond state control and the gate-keeping of mainstream media are some of the major developments in globalisation (Georgiou in Sarikakis and Thussu, 2006: 133)". The

owners of websites can invite policy makers to participate according to their own editorial decisions. What is more, a major problem relating to mainstream media is audience trust. In recent years, audience trust in the institutions of the mainstream media has been fading in many developed countries, according to a study explores the impact of news media skepticism on audience news patterns (Bennet, Rhine and Flickinger, 2001; Cappella and Jamieson, 1997; Kioussis, 2001; Kohut and Toth, 1998). The concept of mistrust in media applies to the particular context of audience relations with the news media. It is the feeling that the mainstream media are neither credible, nor reliable, that the news media get in the way of society rather than helping society (Tsfati, 2010:23). *Hegemony* is a central concept in understanding the potential influence of media in society. In the version of Marxist theory inaugurated by Antonio Gramsci, *hegemony* is the name given to a ruling class's domination through ideology, through the shaping of popular consent (Gitlin, 1980:9).

The theory of hegemony argues that since elites control mainstream media, it is their perspectives that are given prominence. Hegemony is a central component to the conceived historical divides between the alternative and mainstream press as many would argue that it is the fundamental reason that the alternative press exists (Kenix, 2011: 10).

The advantage of the internet over television broadcast is significant: as a result of the political and military situation in Palestine, television stations are being closed and this affects also Palestinians in the U.K. who would like to watch Palestinian channels on satellite television. According to Tsfati, when people mistrust the media, they seek alternatives. One important alternative to the mainstream media is found in online news sources (Tsfati, 2010: 22).

Many of the features of the internet – connectivity, boundlessness, lack of control – do not settle easily with traditional news values. Online current-affairs sites audiences are offered more diversified news items and increased control over news flow. As there is a significant development in the online environment, internet credibility has changed as well. According to Johnson and Kaye, credibility scores increased considerably from

1996 to 2000, but then declined in 2004. In 1996, online media was still a new phenomenon, and the internet was perceived as an unregulated outpost where anyone could express his views. The internet was considered at least as credible as mainstream media. As online credibility dropped, researchers suggest that as people are becoming more savvy internet users, they are better able to distinguish reliable sources for unreliable ones (Johnson and Kaye, 2010: 71).

In her research on Media Representations of British Muslims, Poole says that it is evident that the media do reproduce the dominant ideologies of the society which they are a part. She argues that the media also construct their own 'meanings' through signifying practices:

"Representation is not then a transparent process of re-presenting an objective reality. There is always a mediating effect whereby an event is filtered through interpretive frameworks ... News, then, provides its audiences with interpretive frameworks , ways of seeing the world and defining reality (Poole in Poole, 2002: 23)." Poole hypothesis is, that images of Islam will form a 'particular symbolic universe, a relatively stable and recognisable world of (TV) news' (Dahlgren and Chakrapani, 1982:45).

The next issues of investigation are: internet use opportunities and constraints, the public sphere and internet use, and the Arab public sphere. On the basis of his research into the development of media institutions from the seventeenth century to the present day, Habermas accounts for the emergence and disintegration of what he calls the public sphere. The definition Habermas gave to the public sphere, in 1964 was:

"By 'the public sphere' we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state

bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest. In a large public body, this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it. Today (1964) newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere. We speak of the political public sphere in contrast, for instance, to the literary one, when public discussion deals with objects connected to the activity of the state (Habermas, 1974: 49)."

In his developed account, Habermas dealt not only with his normative concept, but also with its historical manifestations. He identified a number of social forms – that constituted the physical site of the bourgeois public sphere. As modern capitalism developed, this public sphere was destroyed. On the one hand, the transformation of the printed press into a large-scale commercial undertaking meant that it was profit, rather than public enlightenment, that dominated the thinking of media producers. On the other hand, the growth of large-scale firms and parties meant that debate was no longer concerned with the rational discussion of issues of public concern, but with wrangling over the interests of different powerful political actors. This decline, Habermas called 'Re-feudalisation' since it represented a retreat to an earlier form of public life in which its only function was to act as an arena for the display of power.

The electronic marketplace that provides citizens with an environment in which they can meet through surfing the web has been considered by many experts to be a modern translation of the concept of the public sphere conceived by Habermas. New media are seen to permit "the sphere of private people to come together as a public to engage themselves in a debate over general rules." Habermas considered that the progressive interweaving of state and society would bring about the end of the bourgeois public sphere. He also believed that this would bring about the transformation of the media. Rather than representing a forum for rational debate, the public sphere has become a venue in which contrasting interests compete, completely excluding the citizens. The

public sphere has thus progressively ceased to be a space that is 'open' to the members of a society and that has acquired, instead, the features of a place in which different organisations represent interests and attempt to achieve a consensus between themselves and the representatives of government. In this context, it is no longer possible for citizens to participate in a rational debate on questions of public concern (Bentivegna, 2002: 52).

Habermas' formulation and transformation of the public sphere, has been subject to criticism, particularly with regard to its historical validity, and to the degree of congruence between this historical reality and the claims of the normative concept. Sparks identified three of these criticisms as being the most important:

1. Historians have demonstrated that the evidence does not support the existence of any such bourgeois public sphere.
2. It has been shown that the bourgeois public sphere was very far from universal in scope.
3. It has been argued that the modern mass media, in extending the audience for political debate and widening the scope of the nature of the political, actually constituted a massive extension of the public sphere, rather than marking a 're-feudalisation' (Sparks in Thussu, 1998: 111-112).

Critiques of Habermas, such as that of Thompson, for example, remain skeptical about such a stance and have put forward a mixture of historical, conceptual and practical difficulties relating to Habermas's work in this respect. Slevin refers to Thompson's criticism, and examines what impact it has on opportunities and constraints associated with internet use.

The public sphere was not open to all: there is considerable historical evidence; Thompson claims that the public sphere that Habermas describes was never open to all, but was very much restricted to the educated and propertied élites. It was also a male preserve. Moreover, Habermas neglects the role of popular social movements, which were often at odds with the public sphere, and ignores the commercial character of the early press (Thompson, 1995: 69). Slevin suggests that new communication technologies,

such as the internet, together with some of the developments that have transformed modern societies, make it almost impossible to establish a specific historical interpretation of a public sphere as a collective goal (Slevin, 2000: 72).

The recipients of media products are not passive consumers: Thompson criticises Habermas's idea of the 'refeudalisation' of the public sphere in that it treats the recipients of media products as passive consumers (Thompson, 1995: 69). According to Slevin, such criticism must not detract from Habermas's more general point that we must be aware of certain important issues. The internet opens up unprecedented opportunities for participatory opinion formation, making it even more urgent for us to explore how individuals and collectivities, might actively participate in critical discussion and debate (Slevin, 2000: 78).

The traditional model of publicness is no longer adequate: Thompson asserts that it no longer provides an adequate way of thinking about public life today because new forms of mediated publicness, facilitated by the mass media, are mostly non-dialogical in character. This means that information is predominantly channeled one way, from the producer of information to the receiver. However, Slevin in his research of Internet and society says, that the interactive qualities of the internet create new possibilities for participatory opinion formation (Slevin, 2000: 78).

In his article: 'Is there a global public sphere?' Sparks examines the question as to whether a global public sphere exists. Globalisation is identified by three points:

1. We are now living in a qualitatively new epoch in which a concept of 'globalisation proper' is central to an understanding of social life.
2. Theories of globalisation seek to stress their distance from determinist, and particularly Marxist, accounts of social life.
3. Following directly from this, theorists of globalisation tend to stress the autonomous power of the cultural and are symbolic in their explanation of social reality (Sparks in Thussu, 1998: 109).

Sparks derives four hypotheses from the above general principles:

1. Because we are living in a globalised world, we expect to find global media. They will not be bounded by the shape of the state system of the past, but will be responsive to supra-state needs and values.
2. Global media employ a technology, and bear a content, that is quite different from the state-bounded media of the preceding epoch. The technology is one that exceeds the limitations of state boundaries, and the content is such as to be distinct from the parochial concerns of the older media.
3. The expectation is that these media are relatively well-developed.
4. Because globalisation is characterised by a high level of cultural autonomy, the expectation is that the location of the media and their content will be distinct from world trading relations or world political structures (Sparks in Thussu, 1998: 109-110).

This conclusion to this research ('is there a global public sphere?') is that the evidence of globalisation in the mass media is weak. 'Some media have made some steps in that direction, but their total audiences are very small and are completely dwarfed by the scale of the audiences for purely state-based media. What is more, the audience for these new 'global' media is disproportionately amongst the élite, and need to understand a world language, either as native speakers or as an additional tongue, in order to benefit from this material. Nor is there strong evidence that these emerging global media are seriously eroding the national media. If we need to abandon the term 'global public sphere' as being inadequate to designate what we have been analysing, then a better one is needed. The one that fits the evidence best is 'imperialist, private sphere' (Sparks, 1998: 119).'

Green refers to Habermas's concept, the public sphere, with a focus on techno-culture. She says that the public sphere is an issue of relevance to techno-culture since techno-culture is a major site through which the public sphere operates. The public sphere is the space between 'the private' and 'the state', and is a locale within which the state can be criticised. Green claims that Habermas's concept harks back to an earlier society when state and business interests were unable to control a public-sphere of free-flowing ideas and information. In the West, free speech has been identified as an important component

of the public sphere. The mass media are techno-cultural sites for the creation of the public sphere – providing a framework within which the public issues of the day are discussed (Green, 2002:116).

In his writing, Habermas is highly critical of the mass media. These concerns are echoed by Holmes' argument (Holmes, 1997:34) that broadcasting 'cellularises' social interaction into domestic groups – the groups within which broadcasting is consumed. In his research of virtual identity, Holmes suggests that: 'the greater the dependence of the individual on television, the less dependent s/he becomes on the public sphere which is being displaced in practice; and the more such a public sphere, particularly in its architectural/compositional aspects, withers away'. Holmes sees the growth of techno-culture as resulting from the withering face-to-face social culture.

Several researchers, both Western and Arab, agree on the nature of globalization, particularly in its independence from time and space. Globalization has been attributed to four different concepts: internationalization, liberalization, universalization and Westernization. The latter concept has probably been the most widely used among Arab researchers when debating the impact of globalization.

"For instance, the Arab scholar Al-Yasin, sees cultural globalization as a major challenge for Arabs. Negative effects lie probably in the exchange of cultural and media products, as it is generally assumed that the center (the West) will be the main exporter, that the periphery (the East) will be the main receiver, and that messages coming from the center may contain values deemed to be threatening for local cultures.

Al-Jabri explains the Arab attitude to the West as being dual in nature: on the one hand, Arabs associate the West with colonization and hegemony, but on the other hand it is also associated with freedom, modernity and science. Western cultural products are flowing into the Arab region and with the emergence of satellite channels, Arab governments can no longer control the content offered by these channels (Mellor, 2007: 12)".

The internet has created a new Arab public sphere by allowing Arab audiences to disseminate their news stories, as well as to receive an international perspective. In other words, the internet has transformed the media practices of the Arab public. As Lynch argues, "The new public sphere is not limited to television. Prior to internet distribution, sensitive regimes could easily stop newspapers at the border. Dissemination on the internet gives these newspapers far greater reach than ever before (Lynch, 2006: 29)".

The Internet did not, though, abolish the scrutiny and suspicion of the audience who use certain websites, as they say that political influence exists. The internet is also not available to every one, insofar as it requires some technical equipment, computer skills and a command of English (Hammer, 2005: 7). Having said that, the benefits of the internet are in the lack of censorship and in helping to defy the repression of everyday life, in Palestine by overcoming the limitations of checkpoints and occupation, thus generating feelings of 'mobility' and 'political autonomy' (Aouragh, 2008: 110). The issue I investigate is which medium Palestinians in the U.K. use most and which websites, the television channels and publications they prefer to consume for news, and why? I explore the phenomena of internet usage by the Palestinians. The Palestinians do not have an established media market 'back home' and they have to have immediate access to news and information, as well as a comprehensive picture, because of the rapid developments in their region. There is a developed discourse about the Arab new media – such as the satellite television channel, Al Jazeera, that brought the information revolution into the reach of a global audience. According to a 2002 report on Middle East communication:

"Al Jazeera is center-stage in the modernisation of Arab-language broadcasting (Zayani in Zayani, 2005: 1)."

However, there is no research that compares the use of the traditional and the new media, putting it to the test: I interviewed Palestinians who reside in the UK. Firstly, I would like to relate this to the discourse around Diaspora.

Diaspora – New Term; Old Discourse

Diaspora is a relatively new term in migration studies. It refers to individuals who emigrate from one country to another. The term 'Diaspora' relates to a group of people that has been dispersed, or has expanded, to at least two countries of the world (Schulz & Hammer, 2003: 9). According to Tololyan:

"The term Diaspora that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion, now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community and ethnic community, as Diasporic (Tololyan, 1991: 4-5)."

The Arabic term *ghurba* is often translated as diaspora but does not embody the English connotations, which closely associate it with a Jewish diaspora, now universalized, along with the Armenian and the Greek. Parmenter notes that it is often translated as diaspora but that it refers more specifically to "the experience of being a stranger separated from one's familiar home (Peteet, 2007: 639)."

The Digital Diaspora concept is important for a thorough understanding of the theoretical framework. This concept reflects the engagement of its members in activities related to information technology. Three characteristics are required in the social infrastructure in order for a digital diaspora to emerge as part of the fabric of society. They are 'immigration', 'information technology connectivity', and 'networking'. Digital Diaspora is characterised by mobility, a multimedia environment and by its global engagement, which reflects its ongoing relations with multiple diasporic sites and the overseas homeland (Laguerre, 2010: 49-50, 62).

In defining the concept 'Diaspora', Fazal and Tsagarousianou refer to the violent meaning of the concept: "The original meaning of the word diaspora originated from the Greek language concerning migration and colonisation. However, within the context of the Jews, Africans, Palestinians and Armenians, the concept of diaspora attained an evil and violent meaning. Within this frame, diaspora achieved the connotation of

displacement from a homeland, and therefore of a collective traumatic experience (Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002: 7)".

Saffran limits the term Diaspora to communities that meet specific criteria, which include dispersal to two or more geographic areas, attachment to the homeland, a measure of alienation from the host society, a collective memory of the homeland, an aspiration to return to the homeland, a commitment to restore the homeland and a derived collective consciousness and solidarity gained from a relationship with the homeland (Saffran, 1991: 83).

As Tsagarousianou points out:

"It was partly the product of a desire among scholars to explore new dimensions of human mobility... Moreover, it was intended to link phenomena associated to human dispersion with broader theoretical advances associated with globalization, postmodernity and post-colonialism (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 4)".

Diaspora has become a key term in contemporary theorising about immigration, ethnicity and identity since it emphasises the ways in which identities have been, and continue to be, transformed through relocation, cross-cultural exchange and interaction (Gillespie, 1995: 7). According to Tsagarousianou, Diasporas primarily inhabit transnational social fields, and their transnational character distinguishes them from related concepts and phenomena. In her book on Diasporic Cultures, she says:

"To be sure, migrants are not just individuals that happen to be out of place...they constitute part of, and institute transnational (out of place) relationships, networks, communities, economic, movements. They set in motion processes of imagination of themselves as transnational communities, as Diasporas (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 3)".

As Clifford says: "Diasporic cultural forms are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of accommodation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms. Diaspora... involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home (Clifford, 1994: 307-8)".

Over the past 20 years, transnationalism has become a major paradigm in migration studies (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 2009). This approach reflects a "growing disjunction between territory, subjectivity and collective social movement" (Appadurai, 1996:189). It:

"Captures various economic, cultural and political practices and dynamics that cut across national borders, thus generating new social morphologies such as transnational communities, networks and social spaces (Nedelcu, 2012: 1341)."

"Transnationalism is a term that is poorly defined, similarly to the concept 'globalisation'. However, some of its characteristics can be identified, these are the processes immigrants use to sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and their places of settlement (Matar, 2005:19)."

In talking about transnationalism in relation to my research, there is complexity in the definition – should Palestinians be observed as part of the Arab nation, or do they form a separate nation? In other words, should transnationalism be defined as forming relations within the Arab world, or only beyond the Arab world? Is it an Arab nation at all? In this respect, I agree with Anderson, who argues that "a nation is an imagined political community, because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communication (Anderson, 1991: 6)".

Moreover, what links the Arab people is not necessarily being part of the same nation. According to Lewis, whereas Arabism, a strong sense of identification with the Arab nation as a collective unity, seems to be waning, Islamism has gained currency in recent

years. In the Middle East, the primary identities are those acquired at birth. These are of three kinds. The first is the family, the clan, the tribe, developing into the ethnic nation. The second is by place. The third is the religious community (Lewis, 1998: 6).

In contrast to this position, Conner argues that with the partial exception of Morocco, the symbols, institutions, and popular allusions of leaders, are, in the case of the Arab states, designed to foster an image of the state's inhabitants as part of a larger Arab nation and an image of the state's territory as part of a 'Great Arab Homeland' that extends from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. Conner points to factors that indicate, in his view, the focus of the Arab nation rather than state particularities. In five of the eighteen Arab countries, the formal title of the state serves to remind the populace of their trans-state ethnic identity. State flags and symbols also often reflect an Arab-wide, rather than a state-wide, focus. Fifty percent of the eighteen flags fall into this category. Emphasis on Arabness, rather than on state identity, is also pronounced in the case of state constitutions. The ethno-political myth of a common Arabness has been tested in recent years as a result of the huge numbers of Arabs who have migrated from their own state to other Arab states (Conner, 1986: 33- 35).

"Anderson's theorisation remains central to debates on media and identity because it serves to highlight the relevance of symbolic products, including media, in a world in which communities and communications are no longer bounded by singular places or spaces and distinct cultures (Matar, 2005: 17)."

The digital revolution created a new phase in transnationalism. Information and Communication Technologies enabled new forms of migrant transnationalism that were characterised not only by the growing intensity of transnational exchanges and activities, but also by a system of communication that allows migrants to connect with multiple, geographically distant and culturally distinct worlds with which they identify and in which they participate on a daily basis (Vertovec, 2009).

Cohen (2008) identifies nine common features of Diaspora:

1. "Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions; "
2. "alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; "
3. "a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements; "
4. "an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;"
5. "the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains Collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland; "
6. "a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate; "
7. "a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group; "
8. "a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and"
9. "the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism (Cohen, 2008: 17)."

However, the concept 'Diaspora' remains problematic:

"This problem has been exacerbated by the increasing use of the concept as a metaphor to signify a global condition of mobility, to describe any community that has emigrated and/or whose numbers make it visible in host communities and to describe the space where migrant communities reside' (Matar, 2005: 135)".

In his work *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen attempts to bypass these conceptual dilemmas by shifting the emphasis from the historical use of the term to a wider framework that sees it as a particular kind of migration, defined not just by physical movement, the forced or voluntary shifts of populations from one society under stress to another, but also by its psychological implications for the sense of longing, loss and the possibility of return, which are the common dimensions of the diasporic condition.

"Moreover, transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyberspace, a Diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the mind, through cultural artifacts and through a shared imagination (Cohen, 1997: 26)".

Cohen's nine points model (Cohen, 1997: 180), however, has come under criticism. As Sreberny notes, Cohen suggests a model that assumes rootedness as the driving force in the diasporic experience, which are the very elements that need to be investigated and explored (Sreberny in Cottle, 2000: 180).

As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Palestinian Diaspora is an incipient Diaspora. Modern Diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origin residing and acting in host countries yet maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their homelands. It is evident that as a result of recent waves of labour migration to Europe, the Persian Gulf, and North America, new Diasporas are constantly being formed. The Hispanics in the United States, the Pakistanis and Palestinians in the Gulf Area, the Turks in Western Europe and the Israelis in the United States and Canada are thus establishing

themselves as new Diasporas in these countries. Due to a growing political awareness of these Diasporas, resulting from changed attitudes toward them in certain host countries in the West and due to improved systems of communication, the cultural, political and economic activities of these Diasporas will not diminish but will, rather, expand. Substantial elements in the Irish community in the United States have become increasingly involved in support of the IRA; the Greeks in the United States are engaged in a similar revival in their increased activities on behalf of their homeland and, finally, American blacks continue to show interest in African matters and especially in developments in South Africa. Modern Diasporas can flourish in pluralistic societies in the West, especially as far as their transnational-activities are concerned. After the initial settling-down period, some of these new Diasporas have started to mobilise and organise for political action both at the domestic and international levels (Sheffer in Sheffer, 1986: 3-5).

In the discourse on and of the Palestinians in Britain, there is an ongoing debate around the use of the term Diaspora. I would like to explain the challenge to the use of the term 'Diaspora' in the Palestinian context.

The Palestinian Nation – Narrative of Refugees

Before talking about the Palestinian case, I would like to draw on the main terms relating to this discussion:

"A nation is a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. Nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent, and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it (Kellas, 1998:3)."

"Nationalism is both an ideology and a form of behaviour. The ideology of nationalism builds on people's awareness of a nation to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action. These may be cultural, economic or political. In all cases, nationalism seeks to

defend and promote the interests of the nation. The political aspect of nationalism is seen most clearly in the demand for national self-determination, or 'home rule' (Kellas, 1998:4)."

The Palestinians were displaced from their home in 1948 and again, later, in 1967. On the latter occasion, many Palestinians became second-time refugees. This experience leads to the fact that the Palestinians define themselves as refugees and not as immigrants. They stress the non-voluntary component of leaving their home. To put it differently, the Palestinians feel like 'reactive migrants' – those who do not have a choice about whether and where to emigrate (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 30). The term 'reactive migrants', coined by Richmond, is, though, a simplistic one. There is a reasonably high number of Palestinians who have immigrated into the U.K. from choice, for a variety of different reasons, such as study or work opportunities. However, the non voluntary dispersal of the Palestinians is such a strong component in their collective identity, that even those who have managed to integrate in the U.K. define themselves as refugees and not as immigrants. They refer to the fact that their place of origin is not a state, and to the fact that their family was displaced and their original home is not the actual location that they left to emigrate to the U.K. Aouragh claims that the refugee camps are reminders that the current Palestinian 'transnational community' has, in effect, been created by forced migration (Aouragh, 2011: 77).

National Diasporas are defined and formed by constantly changing dynamics between the national and the transnational. One has to remember in the Palestinian case, the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority in 1993, which has radically changed the balance between the national and transnational components of the Palestinian Diaspora, necessitating the rethinking of the Palestinian Diaspora in terms of transnational networks in times of rising Palestinian nationalism and a process of state-building. In many ways, the Palestinian struggle for statehood was initiated by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), which was, historically, a Diasporic organisation (Peteet, 2007:637). Both Palestinians and Jews claim that Palestine is their homeland, and, in general, neither is prepared to concede the other's claim. Conflicting

nationalisms of this kind are not unusual. Irish nationalists (and the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland) and Unionists both claim Northern Ireland for their nation, and the territory of South Africa was claimed for the Afrikaaner nation and for the black African nation. However, Zionism adds an extra dimension to Israeli nationalism, which makes it more of an ethnic nationalism than a social nationalism. Israel is an ethnic nation rather than a social nation, in that it is explicitly the nation of the Jews, and cannot, in theory, become a nation in which Jews are a minority (Kellas, 1998: 170–172). Though, there is more than one Semite group in Israel.

"Palestinians who wish to immigrate to the U.K. have to obtain a visa. Many Palestinians' requests for visas are denied by the British authorities. The most important factor in determining to which country a Palestinian migrant would go is legal access to that country. European countries have accepted limited numbers of Palestinians as refugees or immigrants. Many Palestinian migrants have experience of illegal entry and the complicated ways to legalise one's status in different countries (Hammer, 2005: 16)."

Moreover, the Palestinians lack freedom of movement. Palestinians who live in the U.K. and wish to visit Gaza cannot do it because of closure restrictions. The Rafah crossing was sealed by the Egyptian Authorities after Hamas took control of Gaza in June, 2007. Israel also shut its crossings with Gaza, in 2007. Some Palestinians who were able to emigrate to the U.K. live with painful memories, as Reem told me:

'I am still a daughter of the occupation. When I see a soldier or a policeman, I have to stop. I am still afraid from them like I am in a curfew. I have a problem with people in uniform because they control checkpoints (Reem, London, July, 2008).'

"The stories about treatment at borders and airports, the anxiety of travelling and the denial of visas and travel permits are uncountable and are major feature of Palestinian existence (Hammer, 2005: 14)." These three factors – being stateless, having problems of

legal access to the host country and having movement restrictions, also emphasise the complexity of the definition of the Palestinian Diasporic community as such.

For the reasons mentioned above, many participants realise that their Diasporic status will not change and they will not return to their home. Unlike most of the Diasporic communities in the U.K., the Palestinians migrated from an entity to a state and not from a state to a state. It could thus be the case that Palestine will remain an imaginary 'state' for them. Cohen explains that, traditionally, Diaspora is understood in terms of migration and colonisation. Tsagarousianou talks about the implications of the process of decolonisation and migrant flows from the former colonial peripheries to the European nation-states in the 1950s (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 22). Although talking about colonisation in the context of migration, Cohen differentiates between migrants who are agents of colonisation, and the Palestinians, who are passive victims (Cohen, 1997). Tsagarousianou argues that "Whereas Cohen's distinction (1997) between the categories of 'victim', labour, trade, imperial and cultural diasporas take into account the diversity of diasporic experience, they do not really take on board the phenomena of late modern transnational mobility that takes significantly novel forms that cannot be readily discarded as having no relevance to the study of diasporic phenomena (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 28)."

"Until recently, some Palestinian and Arab scholars (Kodmani, 1997) found the term Diaspora problematic for use in the Palestinian case. They looked upon the use of the term as an implicit acceptance of the dispersal of the Palestinian community, assuming that they were no longer refugees uprooted from their country by force and unable to receive permission to return to their homes (Shiblak, 2005: 8)". Harik (1986), accept the use of the term Diaspora for the Palestinian communities living outside the Arab region. They argue, though, against using it in the case of the Palestinians who live in Arab host states. Harik asserts that their similarity in language, religion and cultural background and their being a majority, as in the case of Jordan, made it difficult to look upon the Palestinian communities in Arab countries as Diasporic communities (Harik in Sheffer, 1986: 315).

Saffran also refers to the Diasporic condition of the Palestinians in Arab states. He argues that the Palestinian fate resembles that of the Jews and Armenians in its displacement, in its preservation of a collective memory of the homeland, its desire for return, and in its connected communities in the Middle East, Western Europe, and North America, and they can thus be called a Diaspora. However, he points out that those Palestinians who live in Arab countries are not altogether strangers there, as they share a language and many cultural and religious with their host societies. They may not have full political rights in these countries, but many of them enjoy economic prosperity. Moreover, in his view, the Palestinians lacked community consciousness before uprooting and cannot now agree how to define the physical boundaries of their homeland. Safran concludes that Palestinian refugees and expellees show a strong 'collective Diaspora consciousness', although it is more diluted in the case of the Palestinians who are well integrated into Western countries (Saffran, 1991:88).

The basic structure and orientation of Palestinian society is acknowledged by Palestinians to be fundamentally no different from those of the other Arab societies surrounding it. Given that they share language, religion, social customs and, occasionally, family ties, Palestinians have tended to stress their commonalities with neighboring Arab societies. Religion, dialect, food, and patterns of urban and village life are important to the Palestinian sense of identity. However, Bowker suggests that those broad similarities in cultural background and practices between refugee communities and host societies are not by themselves sufficient to ensure successful adaption and assimilation of refugees into the non-refugee communities surrounding them. "Even in situations where the refugee population lives in areas of close historical contact, such as the cultivated zones of Jordan, ongoing feelings of separateness on the refugees' side, and stigmatization on the part of some resident communities, have shaped the situation that refugees face. In addition to such social and cultural factors that promote distinctive identity, refugees have their own political interests and demands (Bowker, 2003: 71-72)."

A different approach which also indicates the challenge defining the Palestinian Diaspora and the ongoing debate can be found in the book: *The Palestinian Diaspora*. Its non-Arab

author, Schulz, sees the Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel as leading Diasporic lives. They do not live in the Diaspora. Rather, their lives are defined by a Diasporic condition. Schulz claims that displacement, dispersal, forced movement and constraints on movement have a much wider significance in relation to the Palestinians' case: 'The predicament of alienation from land, territory, and place defines the lives of most Palestinians (Schulz, 2003: 21).' According to Aouragh, "In Palestine itself, the refugees are not exiled – they are not territorial outsiders. They are connected through more or less fluid boundaries. This, though, becomes more difficult when checkpoints were implemented, dividing the territory into closed units; whereas in the Diaspora, most Palestinians are exiled refugees and have never seen their homeland (Aouragh 2011: 6; 7)."

Yet, there is a reasonably high number of Palestinians who have immigrated into the U.K. from choice, for different reasons, such as study or work opportunities. However, the non voluntary dispersal of the Palestinians is such a strong component in their collective identity, that even those who have managed to integrate in the UK, define themselves as refugees and not as immigrants. They refer to the fact that their place of origin is not a state, and to the fact that their family has been displaced and their original home is not the actual location that they left to immigrate into the UK.

The Effect of the 'Refugee Nation' on the Palestinian Identity

The condition of Diaspora is one in which the multiplicity of identity and community is a key dynamic. The separation of the Diaspora from the 'natural' setting of the homeland, often leads to an intense search for the negotiation of identity (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 33). Having said that:

"What it means to be Palestinian cannot be reduced to a question of identity alone, often talked about as a political, national, collective or resistant identity... rather, what it means to be Palestinian is about lived experiences and conditions of being which change and shift as a result of evolving circumstances and conditions. In

...complex ways, these circumstances are linked to the *nakba*, the catastrophe of 1948, when the state of Israel was created...(Matar, 2011: preface page)".

Both Syed (2002) and Chapman (2005) agree that a significant factor in the current sense of unrest is the repeated and humiliating failures of Arab armies (Syed, 2002: 143). "The Six Day War in June, 1967, was a significant factor in the development of Islamism. The humiliating defeat of the Arab armies which attacked Israel is seen by Muslims and Arabs as the lowest point ever reached by the Muslim world (Chapman, 2005: 36)." This failure is a significant element in the appeal of Arab nationalism. This mass sense of failure to achieve what are perceived to be essentially Arab objectives in the face of a strong West is a potent force which cannot be underestimated (Syed, 2002: 143). According to resurgence theorists, the masses turned away from the secular nation-state and the ideology of the West, and Islam began to fill the vacuum, empowering people, through their faith, with a sense of identity (Milton-Edwards, 1999: 6). A discussion on the role of religion in the Palestinians' life is in a separate section of this chapter. Matar describes the Six- Day War as a turning point:

"The war, dubbed al-Naksa (the setback'), marked a watershed in Palestinian history because it tipped the balance of power in favour of the guerrilla organisations of the Palestinian Resistance Movement...as a result of the war...the Palestinians once again were divided into new geopolitical categories. Israel declared the new areas as territories under custody in which military rule would apply (Matar, 2011: 91)".

Other researchers hold the same opinion. Joseph, for example, says that as far as the Arab Diaspora in the U.S. is concerned:

"The 1967 Arab-Israeli war was a turning point. The often indiscriminate attacks on and public displays of hatred for Arabs and Arabs - during and after the war galvanized Arabs - to organize in America to fend off discriminatory representations of themselves and their homelands (Joseph, 1999: 265)".

Tamimi adds a positive dimension to the defeat. Paradoxically, Tamimi stresses that after they fell under Israeli occupation in 1967, the Palestinians of Gaza had enjoyed a relative economic boom. Palestinian workers could, with relative ease, cross into Israel and earn good money for a day's work. Meanwhile, Israelis would come to the Gaza Strip to shop (Tamimi, 2007: 11). In the early period of the Palestinian – Zionist confrontation (1948), Arab nationalism among the Palestinians was stronger than local Palestinian identity. The fact that the Palestinians shared a national identity with the rest of the Arabs made the local Palestinian –Zionist quarrel a regional issue and increased the dependency of the Palestinians on outside forces for the resolution of their problem. The implications of this may be summed up as follows. Firstly, the exodus of the Palestinians was a retreat into areas where kin lived and shared the sense of their tragedy and defeat, and the objective to continue the struggle. Secondly, Arab states active in the Palestinian – Israeli war manifested strong Arab nationalist sentiments that drove them to become involved in the Palestinian issue. In one sense, they were in a position almost identical to that of the Palestinians in the diaspora. The tide of Arab nationalism was at its peak from the start of the Palestinian exodus until the 1970s. To the Arab people, the Palestinian issue became the conscience of their nationalism. The identification between the Arab people and the Palestinian Diaspora was therefore almost complete (Harik, 1986: 321- 323).

That they are actually refugees or a 'refugee nation' (Siddiq, 1995: 87) who do not have a state is a strong component in their collective identity. Arab countries do not provide the Palestinians with passports, except for Jordan. Jordan is the sole Arab country where Palestinians have been able to receive citizenship on a large scale. All registered refugees are holders of the Jordanian passport, except for those originating from Gaza (Schulz, 2003: 46).

"Various factors influence the level of integration into a host society; amongst them are their living conditions and place of residence, their legal status and their reasons for emigrating. One especially important factor for Palestinians' integration into host societies has been the legal status to which they were entitled. The worst situation can be found in Lebanon, where Palestinians are not entitled to passports, but only to a refugee

document that grants only the right to residency. Lebanon has refused to consider Palestinian refugees for naturalisation and resettlement, mainly on political grounds (Hammer, 2005: 17)".

Sheffer claims that the majority of ethnic groups in Western societies prefer to maintain their distinct identities (Sheffer in Weiner, 1993: 265). Fazal and Tsagarousianou argue that within the context of the diasporic space of 'England', there are various identities. The 'Englishness' entity is constructed within imperial history, both internally as well as with rivalries and conquests abroad. However, the encounters of Diasporas with Englishness results in appropriation by both sides: the diaspora communities appropriate English-ness and the dominant cultural formations appropriate from diasporic cultures (Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002: 15).

The Palestinians are an ethnic Diaspora, created as a result of expulsion from the homeland and settlement in one or more host countries (in contrast to ethnic Diasporas that are created by voluntary migration, i.e., the Turks in West Germany). In their host countries, Diasporas preserve their ethnic or ethno-religious identity and communal solidarity. This solidarity serves as a basis for maintaining and promoting constant contacts among the Diasporas' activist elements. The emergence of Diaspora organisations provides the potential for conflicting pressures and for the development of dual authority and dual loyalty patterns and problems. In order to avoid undesirable conflicts with the norms or laws established by the dominant group in their host countries, the Diasporas accept certain rules of the game in these countries. At certain periods, however, real or alleged dual loyalties may create tension between elements in the host country and the Diaspora (Sheffer in Sheffer, 1986: 9-10). The Palestinians live with both identities side by side. They preserve their Palestinian identity and integrate into the British society. This is a result of the Palestinian and other ethnic minority groups' growing self-confidence - they proudly maintain their ethno-national identity, retain their homeland citizenship, openly identify as members of Diaspora organisations, and are not reluctant to act publicly on behalf of their home lands and dispersed co-ethnics (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 150). This activity is being enabled as a result of the

greatest advantage of the internet - it's potential to facilitate social and political change through the establishment of activist networks and dissemination of information, formerly monopolised by state owned news agencies (Marmura, 2008).

Moreover, the shared events of 1948 brought the Palestinians closer together in terms of their collective consciousness, even as they were physically dispersed all over the Middle East and beyond (Khalidi, 2009: 22). The Palestinian identity is a strong component of Palestinian society in Palestine, as well as in the Diaspora. In talking about the Diaspora, I refer to communities in Arab countries and in Western countries.

As I mentioned earlier, Arab countries, except Jordan, do not provide Palestinians with citizenship. The fact that they are not wanted in the Arab countries is a reason for keeping a distinctive identity. "Historically, Arab states did not support the formation of nationalist organisations. The Palestinians thus developed a 'culture of resistance'. The development of a Palestinian culture of resistance outside Palestine planted the seed for the emergence of a Palestinian identity as a Diasporic identity or for a deep rift in political identity between those Palestinians living 'inside' and those living 'outside' (Hammer, 2005: 36)".

"Palestinian-ness (what it means to be Palestinian) can not be understood without acknowledging the impact of dispersal and uprootedness on the ways in which people who are living or who had lived in the area formerly known as Palestine began to think of themselves as Palestinian or without acknowledging that, since that event, Palestinian consciousness has struggled for acceptance and legitimacy in the world (Matar, 2005: 130)."

Though some elements of Palestinian identity did exist before the dispersal, there is little doubt that the experiences in exile have been building blocks in shaping Palestinian-ness (Schulz, 2003). In fact, it was in exile that the national mythology of resistance (*al-mukawama*) was asserted as a strategy to overcome processes of victimization and to transcend the state of dispossession, denial and statelessness (Peteet, 1991; Sayigh, 1997)

and it was in Diaspora that the two central poles of 'to suffer' and 'to struggle' and/or 'to resist' composing the main components of Palestinian identity.

"The use of active verbs, such as to suffer, to resist and to struggle, is important as these verbs reflect passion and action, as well as a temporal dimension (implying something done now to achieve a goal in the future). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, notions of resisting and struggling galvanised guerrilla attacks against Israel, but as Sayigh (1997) argues, it was another human and political disaster (the 1967 war) that led to the embodiment of 'struggle' as the prime political principle and a main ingredient in Palestinian nation-building (Matar, 2005: 131). "

As Schultz put it, although Palestinians refugees live in countries with similar ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic structures, their 'outsideness' in the Arab world was striking from early on (Schultz & Hammer, 2003:45). There were accusations, in Arab countries, that Palestinians had deserted their cause and their homeland and begged others for help (Morris in Bramwell, 1988:255). Referring specifically to the implication for their identity, Shibliak says the inability of Palestinian refugees to integrate in host Arab societies, and the continuing policies of discrimination against them, contributed towards deepening their sense of national identity and of a shared destiny, inside Palestine or in exile (Shibliak, 2005:11).

Shibliak's approach is contradictory to the approach of other scholars, such as Harik, who claims, as I mentioned earlier, that it is difficult to define the Palestinians living in the Arab countries as living in a Diaspora (Harik in Sheffer, 1986: 315). Shibliak's argument is more convincing. Although the Palestinians share the same cultural background as people in host Arab countries, they have their own historical background. Their identity is shaped by the historical events and current political situation in Palestine. The Palestinians thus have a strong sense of their national identity.

According to Mahmoud, The Palestinians differentiate themselves from the rest of the Arab peoples through their territorial losses. Their common bond is the language and the

memory of the 1948 catastrophe (Mahmoud in Shibliak, 2005:99). "For refugees, emigration was an uprooting. It entailed the loss of family members, land and homes, and it implied fear and insecurity about the future. Their only consolation was in the hope that they might return soon and in their ability to share their traumatic experience with the Palestinian refugee community. Older people, in particular, struggled from day to day, trying to survive and to keep the family and the community together. For them, the memory of life in Palestine was all that was left. The younger generation had to focus on daily life also, but their eyes were additionally on Palestine. For Palestinians who were children when they became refugees and, even more, for the generations born outside Palestine, the loss of the homeland was total, as they could remember little or nothing about it. Their actual socialisation took place, and still takes place, in other countries and contexts (Hammer, 2005: 18)".

Most participants talk about their displacement from home. For the first generation it is a vivid memory, for the second generation, it is a recollection of stories which they continue to tell to their community members, as well as to the international community. One of the participants, for example, has a blog and she writes for international newspapers online about her parents' story. The majority of participants are also involved politically, acting for the right of Palestinians to return to their home.

Though, 'home'/ the nation state idea can have different meanings in the Western and Arab context. According to Rabi', one of the very few Arab political scientists who wrote on the Islamic state, the Islamic polity is not a state in the European sense (i.e. territorially defined), but an organised politico-religious community (*umma*). The purpose of the *umma* is spreading the message (*da'wa*) and the function of power and authority is to act as the instrument for achieving such a cultural/civilizational mission.

"The state concept is different from the state concept as it developed with the nation-state in Europe. In the latter the idea of the civilization function of the state, has declined in favour of a purely political function. The Islamic state, by contrast followed in the tradition of the Greek and Roman civilisations where the state and the civilizational will

were at one. The modern Arab national state should be an instrument for sustaining a permanent link between the past, the present and the future. For the nation is not based on racial unity but on unity of perception, language and civilisation (Rabi's quote, in Ayubi, 2008:18)".

I would like to move on, to discuss the identity issues of Palestinians who emigrated to Western countries. An existing debate among researches relates to the question: to what extent can Palestinians integrate into Western host countries, while keeping their own identity. Looking at this question from the perspective of the host countries, some say that European host countries accept multiculturalism, while others claim otherwise. This issue is especially important in relation to Palestinians in the diaspora, since, as I explained earlier, the Palestinians have a strong interest in keeping their culture and tradition, as a result of their collective trauma – the *nakba*.

The issue of preserving an identity is complex, as an identity can change over time. The identities of Diasporas are, however, relatively rigid, for they are based on primordial components. The identities of Diasporas are based on shared symbolic and cultural elements that are firmly anchored in the history of those groups and are still vivid in the minds and memories of their core members, especially relating to members of stateless Diasporas. Those elements are almost unaffected by the Diaspora's integration into their host societies (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 151). Having said this, neither the members of state-linked Diasporas, nor the members of stateless Diasporas will have uniform attitudes towards their national histories (Skinner, 1993: 20). Such cultural controversies are splitting certain Palestinian communities in the West.

For nationalities without states, political institutions are not fully able to develop their own identities, so they must adopt the position of activist commons. Possibilities opened up by an alternative cyber culture and a cyborg Diaspora go much further than simple communications among natives and immigrants in building a diasporic culture. A digital Diaspora can be transformed into a political community and can incite the rise of more

engaged political communities by means of activism. Direct contributions to newsgroups and blogs on politics could be one of the ways to reach such a community.

However, for this to happen, it would be required to generate activist awareness inside the virtual communities of the majority of Diasporas without states. Information nodes and digital services would make people more aware of their political possibilities. Prior to a direct political discourse, there is a realm for activist work that consists of social and cultural realities. That realm has already been used as a first step toward politics in the off-line world. For instance, debates, political campaigns, and polls constitute the fabric of the political off-line world. This could also be the space in which to generate political awareness in the online world (Alonso & Arzoz, 2010, 71).

Migrant integration can be eased when Diasporans have opportunities to express their hybrid identities collectively. The term hybridity is described by Bhabha, a scholar who has a genuine interest in hybridity. Bhabha stresses:

‘In my own work I have developed the concept of hybridity to describe the construction of cultural authority within conditions of political antagonism or inequity. Strategies of hybridization reveal an estranging movement in the ‘authoritative’, even authoritarian inscription of the cultural sign...the hybrid strategy or discourse opens up a space of negotiation where power is unequal but its articulation may be equivocal. Such negotiation is neither assimilation nor collaboration (Bhabha, 1996: 58)’.

Since the late 1970s, social sciences, and especially British cultural studies, have developed an interest in the study of identity as a social construct and as positioned within historical, economic and cultural systems. Identity construction in relation to media and mediated representations developed as an important sub-discipline. This interest was initially directed to class identities, but expanded to include gender, race and ethnicity. Race and ethnicity studies focused primarily on exclusion, racism, minority misrepresentations and, more recently, on audiencehood. Ethnicity became a key concept

in addressing cultural difference in multicultural societies. Hall's (1988) analytical concept of new ethnicities emphasises that ethnic identities are not defined at birth, that they are less dependent on blood relations and more on cultural belonging, and that they are hybrid and the outcome of the meeting of diverse cultures. The theorisation of new ethnicities became a starting point for the contextualisation of identity in relation to Diaspora and transnationalism.

Following Hall, Chambers (1994) refers to new ethnicities and expands the analysis to all identities. Everybody is a stranger in unknown lands and that is part of the human condition, not necessarily the outcome of displacement in the era of post-colonialism. Old assumptions of race and ethnicity studies about the stability of the binary relation minority/majority, and of the nation state as the singular defining cultural and political context, become contested. Study of identity, community and social interaction makes one become more aware of issues of power in national and transnational scale, of social structures within and across societies, and of cultural formations that are neither stable nor stranded within the nation. It is in this context that Diaspora gains its significance as an operational concept. Diaspora, much more than ethnicity, recognises that identities and communities are constructed in transnational spaces, in networks and through mediated links between various positions across the globe.

Diaspora recognises continuity in time and in terms of people's emotional and cultural attachment to a community that spreads beyond national boundaries. Diaspora looks at the cultural autonomy of groups that settle in certain countries but whose cultural and social capital is not defined in a singular way by majorities and mainstream cultures (Georgiou, 2006: 45-47).

"Identity was a major concern of both the development and dependency approaches to communications (development theory was equated with modernisation, and modernisation was seen as a process of diffusion of Western social values. Hence, if obstacles to the development process in Third World countries could be solved, then they too could march on towards development). Communications and development assumed

that mass media would help to legitimise new states and to create a sense of national identity. One of the central dimensions of the transition to modernity was felt to be the development of affiliations and attachments to communities larger than family, locality, tribe and religion. An acute problem facing 'new' nations emerging from colonial domination was thus the establishment of an 'integrative revolution' and a new cohesive identity that would combat the fragmenting forces of previous identifications. The implication was that the stable continuity of a formal state requires popular identification with the notion of a 'nation' that the state embodied, and media were thought to play a crucial role in developing this sense of 'national identity'. Critical models, however, argued that the manner in which mass media have been introduced in Third World countries has frequently posed a threat to pre-existing cultural identities, without providing coherent alternative systems of values, beliefs, and practices to supersede the past. Modern media may thus be a disintegrating force, undermining the powerful solidifying meanings of old cultures, and may play little role in fostering the new, modern sense of 'national identity' (Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994: 8)".

The internet provides important opportunities for creating a sense of identity and solidarity around a shared cultural heritage and Diaspora experience. The communities created serve to combat feelings of marginalisation among Diasporans, providing them with identity and other forms of support as they cope with the Diaspora experience. This identity support, in turn, enables diasporans to integrate new ideas, values and experiences into their identity's frame of reference (Brinkerhoff, 2010: 40).

The Palestinians are among the more politically active groups in the stateless Diaspora category. Sheffer argues that internal debates continue over the main orientation that the Palestinian Diaspora should adopt regarding the future of its homeland. The integrationists would settle for cultural and economic autonomy of their homeland; more radical elements would argue that a separatist strategy should be followed by that segment of the nation who reside in the homeland, with the Diaspora providing support for such an effort (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 163). A unified Palestinian identity is threatened by the process of individualisation of interests in the context of the Palestinian

Authority. Instead of a single goal – Palestinian independence – there are the daily difficulties of building a quasi-state that may never be a real state. Institution building entails the awarding of resources, the distribution of power and that corruption be dealt with. The second important rift is between Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, and those in the Diaspora. While the Palestinian Authority is responsible for Palestinians already in the West Bank and Gaza, it is also responsible for negotiating the borders of a Palestinian state and the conditions for a right of return, thus speaking on behalf of all Palestinians.

"Even if a Palestinian state were, at some point, allowed a law of return, it is likely that many Palestinians would not return to settle in Palestine. The right of return would have to be an internationally recognised principle that could individually be translated into different life decisions. If this point were ever reached, Palestinian identity might have to be renegotiated by Palestinian individuals and communities. However, as long as the Palestinians are in exile and are not just economic migrants, the national and political aspects of Palestinian identity will translate into national demands and can act to unify Palestinians (Hammer, 2005: 217)".

Political Islam, Technology and Palestinian Daily Life

As for integration in the British public sphere, this issue is also negotiable.

According to Rogers, the major integration issue across most of Europe is Islam (Rogers in Weiner, 1993:138). There is, though, diversity between Palestinians in Europe in their level of integration into their new host societies (Shiblak, 2005: 15).

Rogers argues that for the two forces – the secular Western European cultures and certain aspects of Islam - it will take more time that it has so far taken to integrate other foreign populations. He adds that the European host countries hold a different approach as far as the kind of support they are willing to give to multiculturalism (Rogers in Weiner, 1993: 138). On the other hand, Sheffer argues that there is growing respect for ethnic culture. Her view is that a recent development has been the openness of Western governments towards ethnic minorities (Sheffer in Weiner, 1993:267).

Sheffer claims that the ability of ethnic minorities to maintain cultural autonomy, to pursue their own traditions, is a result of an attitude change in major Western governments, including the British authorities, who are no longer pursuing assimilation policies. This is true also in non-Western and non-democratic states, such as Iraq. In most of these states, internal separation is still the rule and often the law (Sheffer in Weiner, 1993:265).

Attempts to institutionalize Islam in Europe, on the one hand, create new legal frameworks, political opportunity structures, and cultural repertoires for claims of religious recognition. On the other hand, they also strengthen established actors in the field of religious governance, and give new legitimacy to historical institutional arrangements by reframing them as the representatives of communities of migrant origin (Maussen, 2007).

"In addition to the degree of the institutionalization, there is a second factor, which is the degree of stateness: in nation-states oriented towards corporatist polity models, such as France, Germany and the Netherlands, the incorporation of Muslim minorities is coordinated by the organizational centre of the state, while in liberal polities, such as great Britain it rather takes the form of civil negotiations, mostly at the local level (Kaya, 2009: 195)".

Generally, there exists a perception among part of the European public that foreigners are more prone to criminal behavior than are domestic populations (Rogers in Weiner, 1993: 130). According to Tsagarousianou, quite often, migrants find themselves in a state of aporia, of inability to become visible and audible in largely hostile host societies (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 42). After September 11th, 2001, "the loyalty of minority ethnic groups living in Western countries is becoming suspect, and their transnational connections and relationships are coming under scrutiny (Karim in Karim, 2003: 15)". To put it differently, the hostile feelings that exist towards out-groups, as studies of ethnocentrism show (Triandis in Brislin, 1990: 35), have increased following September 11th.

It is important, though, to emphasise that late modern migrants are not isolated in the sense that their predecessors were (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 42).

Tsagarousianou claims that:

"...events such as those of September 2001 in the United States, and the 2004 Madrid and 2005 London bombings, or the controversy that surrounded the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh have given Islam and European Muslims unprecedented and rather unwelcome visibility...they have posed questions about the place of Islam in Europe, or the possibility of accommodation of Islam in secular societies. What is more, they have given rise to intense and broader debates on multiculturalism and its consequences, the feasibility of integrating European Muslims into contemporary Europe as well as the social and material cost of such an endeavour' (Tsagarousianou, 2012: 286)."

An important aspect of my research is the discussion about religion, referring to the Palestinian political parties and the Palestinians in the UK, in particular, and not just generally to Muslim audiences. Firstly, I will refer to Hamas, the political party that won the 2006 Palestinian elections and which is a major actor in the political Islam movement, as I said earlier. According to Melucci, it is customary to refer to movements as the effects of a particular historical situation (Melucci, 1996: 3). Indeed, Hamas was founded at the beginning of the Palestinian Uprising (Intifada) in December 1987, as a social movement. Hamas marked the beginning of the political revival of Islamic forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; in the face of Israeli occupation, on the one hand, and the national secular forces led by the PLO, on the other. Until that time, the most important Islamic movement in the occupied territories, the Muslim Brotherhood, had moved away from active resistance to the Israeli occupation.

Hamas was founded as a wing of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in the Gaza Strip. Through Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood hoped to play a major role in Palestinian politics. Seeking to appeal to wider constituencies, Hamas had to present itself not just as a religious alternative to the secular PLO leadership, but also as a national one. As a

national movement, the immediate goal of Hamas is the liberation of Palestine from Jewish occupation. As an Islamic movement, Hamas wanted this state to be Islamic, governed and organised according to Islamic law, Sharia (Litvak, 2000: 2).

"At the time of the establishment of Hamas, a slow process of 'Palestinisation' had been at work in the movement, shifting its accent from the broader scope of the Islamic nation and the community of believers onto the more narrow concerns of Palestinian nationalism (Schiff & Ya'ari, 1989)." Hamas's charter states that 'the land of Palestine is an Islamic trust (waqf) upon all Muslim generations until the day of resurrection'. The solution to the Palestine problem rests in the uprooting of the state of Israel and the establishment of an Islamic state in its place (Abu-Amr, 1993: 12). According to Hamad, in the view of Hamas, the liberation of Palestinian land from Israeli occupation is the most urgent and important objective, taking priority over the question of the Islamic state. In other words, Hamas continues to see itself primarily as a liberation movement (Hamad, 2006).

My research promotes knowledge of the Internet and Political Islam. The Palestinians use the Internet to consume news, already having preliminary knowledge of the political orientation of the websites. Before I discuss the link between the internet and political Islam, I would like to elaborate on the phrase 'Political Islam' in the context of the Middle East in general and of Palestine, in particular.

The revival of political Islam in the 1990s is often perceived as a region-wide product of the 1979 Iranian revolution. Images of Islam are normally associated with terrorism and violence. However, political Islam in the Arab world is much more complex. It is a socio-religious phenomenon that represents both popular discontent and stable political order (Milton-Edwards, 1999: 2). In the political arena of Palestine there is the representation of two opposing poles - the religious and the secular. This is a very important issue that one should remember, especially since September 11th, an event that marked a shift in the relationship between the Arab world and the West. The emergence of political Islam in Palestine occurred during a period of considerable upheaval. Although institutional Islam offered hope to the Palestinians, it was unable to meet the challenge posed by

colonialism in the form of the British mandate, the Zionist intrusion into the country and other factors.

Political Islam in Palestine offers an alternative to the political ideal of the secular nation-state adopted by the nationalist movement. Hamas and other Islamist movements espouse an ideal which reflects that of current Islamist movements throughout the Middle East: the establishment of an Islamic state. However, each organisation has a different programme around how to achieve that goal, reflecting the diversity that characterises political Islam in Palestine. According to Milton-Edwards, Hamas is the main player in the political Islam movement. Hamas claims to speak as a national movement, but with an Islamic-nationalist, rather than secular, nationalist agenda. It aims to reform the current political reality represented by the dominance of the modern, secular nation-state and secular-nationalist strategies of change. Hamas's ideology is not premised solely on political violence, although political violence has been incorporated as a strategy of the organisation (Milton-Edwards, 1999: 184).

According to Mandaville, for the overwhelming majority of Muslims in the West the Internet is mainly a forum through which politics within Islam are conducted. In that sense, Mandaville emphasises that the Internet is an extremely useful medium for the distribution of religious discourse (Mandaville in Karim, 2003: 144). The Political Islam movement, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter, would not be as influential as it is today without the existence of the WWW. The internet enables marginalised and 'extremist' groups to participate in mainstream media discourse which has traditionally enjoyed little in the way of political influence (Marmura, 2008: 255). For example, one might think of the increasing impact of political movements, at times of breaking news, where the only way that Western audiences and governments receive information is by using these movements' websites, which include text, as well as relevant images.

The link between religion and politics is significantly important when discussing Hamas's communication. Hamas emerged in a context of disillusionment with the Palestinian secular political movements. In addition to that, the popular turn to Hamas

was motivated by the search for psychological comfort, and endurance which a religious ideology normally provides (Syed, 2002: 217). This fact explains the importance that Hamas attributes to their websites as an international medium publishing in a variety of languages. Most of the languages were chosen to reach an Islamic audience in different countries. For instance, using Turkish and Farsi to target audiences in Turkey and Iran. Moreover, Hamas has an interest in establishing relations with Islamic states, which could benefit the movement. For example, Iran offered Hamas financial aid, following the decisions of the U.S. and Israel to isolate the Hamas government through the use of financial penalties, in 2006 (BBC News, 22 February, 2006).

The common language of the Cyber Islamic environments was English. There has been an expansion of materials in other 'Muslim' languages, in minority and majority contexts, and these reflect improved accessibility and software developments. However, many Muslim constituencies remain poorly served by the Internet. For example, in Pakistan, the Internet is relevant to only the country's élite 5 percent (Bunt in Poole & Richardson, 2006: 155).

Since Hamas is in power, it is vital for the movement to communicate with an audience outside the Palestinian Territories, to raise prominent political issues, to establish moral support, and so on. According to an Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center report, Hamas considers the Internet to be an extremely important tool in its battle for hearts and minds:

'The technology enables Hamas to maintain contact with members, and reach audience outside Gaza and the West Bank. It uses the Internet to send its messages to target audiences in the Palestinian Authority Territories (the movement's first priority), the Arab-Muslim world (second in importance) and the West (third in importance). Of the Palestinian organisations, Hamas has the most widely developed Internet network, and in that respect is far in advance of the PA controlled by Abu Mazen and of the other Palestinian organisations

(Fatah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular Resistance Committees and others) (Intelligence Information Center, 2007). ‘

Stateless Diaspora and Integration Challenges

When looking at the question of the Palestinian Diaspora and their integration into British society, additional factors should be observed. A very important factor that one should look at is that the Palestinians are a stateless Diaspora – their homeland has been occupied and dominated by another state (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 148). According to Sheffer, the need to keep a Diaspora's roots and recent history constant and vivid is particularly important in the case of stateless Diasporas. As long as a struggle for independence is continuing in the homeland of a stateless Diaspora, its members will be particularly torn between memories of their homeland, on one hand, and the need to comply with the norms of their host country, on the other.

Having said that, the majority of those residing in host countries behave like members of state-linked Diaspora - they usually opt for the locally oriented strategy of communalism. Among the Palestinians in the diaspora there has been consensus that the nation should establish a sovereign state. In practice, however, Palestinians in Europe and elsewhere have developed communal Diaspora organisations and have pursued communalist policies. Sheffer explains that the communalist strategy aims to achieve a reasonable degree of absorption of Diasporans into the host society, but not to achieve full integration, which might lead to assimilation, maintaining continuous relations with the homeland (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 155).

In his book, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalisation, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, Papastergiadis outlines a development which moves from the assimilation and integration of migrants into the host society of the nation state towards something more complex in today's metropolitan societies. Speaking primarily of Europe, the Americas and Australia, Papastergiadis argues that as some members of migrant communities came to prominence "within the cultural and political circles of the dominant society" they "began to argue in favour of new models of representing the process of cultural

interaction, and to demonstrate the negative consequences of insisting upon the denial of the emergent forms of cultural identity" (Papastergiadis, 2000: 3).

According to Hall's theory of 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', there are at least two different ways of thinking about 'cultural identity'. The first position defines cultural identity in terms of one shared culture, hiding inside the 'many other selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Such a conception of cultural identity played a critical role in post-colonial struggles. There is, however, a second, related but different view of cultural identity. This second position recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of significant difference. Cultural identity, in this second sense, comes from somewhere and has histories. However, they undergo constant transformation. Hall claims that it is only from this second position that one can understand the traumatic character of the colonial experience (Hall, 1990: 222).

In the 2002 White Paper on migration, the British government exercised naturalisation rules and citizenship oaths and ceremonies. According to Joppke and Morawska, the citizenship strategy contradicts a commitment to multiculturalism. In contrast, Kymlicka argues that multiculturalism policies may work best when they are combined with a visible public commitment to the revaluing of citizenship. According to Kymlicka:

"Multination states cannot survive unless the various national groups have an allegiance to the larger political community they cohabit (Kymlicka, 1995:13)."

Continuing Kymlicka's claim, the ability of Palestinians to obtain British citizenship increases their confidence in the host country and, in a way, leads to their familiarity with British culture, history and politics. Even if Britain will serve as their physical home, it will not, however, replace their imaginary home - Palestine. There is thus no contradiction between their commitment to the host country and the preservation of Palestinian culture in Britain. Moreover, having British citizenship helps to keep their Palestinian heritage in an organised way.

Examining the effect of September 11th, 2001, on Palestinians in the UK, one can see that it was not totally negative. The Palestinians do not merely preserve their Palestinian identity by interacting with their community in the U.K., but also defend their Palestinian identity in the host country. They try, on different levels, to promote the Palestinian cause in a variety of ways, such as establishment of Palestinian media organisations, in order to mobilise the national media.

The fact that they try to promote their cause in the media is a result of a feeling, common among Arabs, that many Western media outlets tend to be partisan and that their coverage of Arabs and Muslims, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular, tends to be slanted (Zayani in Zayani, 2005: 177). As my participants say also, to some extent, Arab media too lacks fair coverage - an argument that is being discussed later in this chapter.

Tsagarousianou claims that a significant aspect emerging from the globalisation debate is that of the increasing speed of social activity. The expansion of social activities across borders is predicated on the possibility of relatively fast flows and movements of people, information, capital and goods (Tsagarousianou, 2007:46). Sheffer argues that the recent trend toward cultural pluralism makes it easier for members of Diasporas to maintain their identity, and to participate in political enterprises launched by their leaders and organisations. The new openness also makes it easier for leaders of homelands to visit their people in the Diasporas, encouraging them to maintain contacts with the homeland and to recruit their support (Sheffer in Weiner, 1993: 267).

For Schulz, host societies often find themselves to be the containers of nationalist sentiments. In terms of politics, host societies may be affected by lobbying, politicisation, etc. (Schulz in Shiblak, 2005: 22). Alterman suggests that the internet has served to reintegrate the Arab Diaspora with the Arab world. By utilizing new technology, Arabs living abroad can more easily monitor, and can play an increasing role in, regional debates and dialogues (Alterman, 1998).

This was particularly evident in relation to violence between Israelis and Palestinians in 2000-2002. All over the Diaspora, there was mobilisation among both Jews and Palestinians, involving large scale demonstrations and a quite tense debate that forced governments to take into consideration the opinions of Jews and Palestinians who were their citizens (Schulz in Shiblak, 2005: 22). During 1987, there was a significant, if gradual, increase in calls for action and a process of convergence between various newspapers, representing a variety of political factions within the Palestinian movement (Alimi, 2007: 71). This is true also in relation to violence between Hamas militants and Israel during the 2008/9 war in Gaza. The Palestinian Diaspora mobilised Muslims and Arabs of different ethnicities, MPs and other activists, to demonstrate throughout the U.K. against Israel's military action in Gaza.

According to Esman, a review of Diasporas discloses seven classes of activity that involve them in international relations, in which initiatives may be taken by the home government, the host government, or the Diaspora community.

1. The Diaspora may attempt directly to influence events in the home country. The methods they employ may be economic, political or military.
2. Diasporas may use their influence with their host governments to act on behalf of the interests of the home government.
3. Home governments may attempt to use their Diaspora in pursuit of their own goals. The intended benefits may be economic or political. Home governments may also attempt to induce their Diasporas to act politically in their support.
4. The Diaspora may seek protection from the home government when it is threatened with mistreatment.
5. The host country's government may attempt to use a resident Diaspora community in pursuit of its external political or economic goals.
6. Diaspora communities may attempt to influence international organisations on behalf of their homeland. The most conspicuous case has been the success of the Palestinians in isolating Israel in the UN and its agencies. The Palestinians have successfully mobilised Arab and Muslim governments, as well as, the Soviet bloc.

Efforts by the Kurdish, Armenian, Croatian and other Diasporas to invoke UN support have failed because they lack the patronage and support of member governments.

7. The home governments may ask the host government to influence, usually to restrain, what it perceives to be hostile or embarrassing activities of sections of its Diaspora (Esman in Sheffer, 1986: 340-343).

The Palestinians feel an increased sense of their Palestinian identity. Whereas in Gaza and the West Bank, being a Palestinian means being stateless with little chance of social mobility, in the U.K., Palestinians live in a democratic state where they have access to job opportunities and education. Having said this, the trauma of the Palestinians – the *nakba* - is rooted in the nation's collective memory. Demmers describes the long distance interaction of the diaspora groups in the homeland conflicts as they are engaged in a sort of "virtual conflict: they live their conflicts through the internet, email, television and telephone without direct (physical) suffering, risks or accountability" (Demmers, 2002: 94).

The Palestinian Diasporic community in the U.K. is not a monolithic community, and this is reflected when looking at my participants' social and economic backgrounds, but is rather a mixture of individuals who came to the U.K. for different reasons and hold different political views. The factors that unite all of them are their feelings of collective trauma, and the fact that they share the same dream: to have a state, a place of belonging. As one participant told me:

'Everywhere we go we are strangers, the others. We do not have a state.'

Hammer suggests that "there is not one Palestinian family that has been unaffected by the experience of living in places other than Palestine. The longing for the absentees and communication through old and new means are an integral part of their life experiences (Hammer, 2005: 2)." Shiblak distinguishes between two main groups: the smaller, long established and mostly integrated communities and the larger, less privileged expatriates,

who include the latecomers who have arrived over the past two decades, seeking asylum in Europe:

"The interaction between the two groups is not always a strong one. However, they share the traumatic experience of dispersal, the collective memory and myths built up about the homeland and the development of a return movement (Shiblak, 2005: 15)".

The Return Question

The issue of return to the homeland, to Palestine, is a very important one in the lives of Palestinians both in and outside the Diaspora. According to Hammer, "For Palestinians in the diaspora, the cycle of migration would not be complete without the wish or plan to return to Palestine one day. The intensity of the desire to return has much to do with the length of time one spends abroad, the degree of integration one has achieved there, and whether one has actually settled somewhere. Palestinians who have moved many times have had less chance to integrate and have instead developed a strong sense of Palestinian identity (Hammer, 2005: 20)".

For Diasporic populations, as for any other people, spheres of belonging begin with the intimate and immediate experience in what is called home. The home, being the starting point for identity construction and socialisation, is only a node in a spatial scheme that expands to a number of spaces according to scale, levels of immediacy and intimacy, as well as in relation to imagination and social meanings. Home, however, in the case of the diaspora, has a more complex meaning than in the case of other populations. There is a home, which equals the domestic and the familial, and there is a symbolic, imagined home that might be mythical, occupied, unreachable and/or connected to memories of exile and nostalgia (Georgiou, 2006: 6).

The right of return is commonly understood among Palestinians to be enshrined in U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194, adopted on 11th December, 1948. The resolution established a U.N. Conciliation Commission, which was directed to establish contacts between Israel and neighbouring Arab states and to deal with the general task of bringing

about the final settlement of all of the questions that were outstanding between them; it reaffirmed that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international regime, and resolved that refugees should be permitted to return to their homes. It was never possible to implement the resolution in full. The Israeli approach to the refugee issue proceeds from the premise that the solution to the problem rests with the resettlement of the refugees among the Arab states.

"While there is almost universal belief among Palestinians in the Palestinians' right to return, there is an ideological barrier around the discussion of what that would mean in practical terms (Bowker, 2003: 97; 98; 100)". Both Takkenberg and Khalidi point out that there is, moreover, no authoritative Palestinian definition of what constitutes the right of return. That right has been ascribed a range of meanings, from the right of all Palestinians to return to their former homes and places of origin in Palestine, to the return of some of the Palestinians currently in exile to some limited part of Palestine (Takkenberg, 1998: 244; Khalidi, 1992: 29).

I gather that this pivotal aspect of the discussion of the right to return is different in the young and the older generations. The Palestinians of the older generation have good memories from Palestine, whereas the younger generation can imagine Palestine as it is portrayed by the old generation. In reality, Palestine today is not as attractive as it is being described by the elderly. The longing and vivid memories exist within the older generation and not in the younger generation. The young Palestinians identified with their parents and actually adopted their parents' personal stories as their own – they talk about themselves as refugees who were deported from Palestine. This issue preoccupied them and they try to deliver their personal stories while living in the Diaspora.

The obvious question is: what does it mean in reality? Does it mean that all Palestinians in the diaspora will eventually live in Palestine? Hammer claims that, "even if a Palestinian state were, at some point, allowed a law of return comparable to that of Israel, many Palestinians would most likely not return and settle in Palestine. Younger Palestinians often emphasise that the discussion of the right of return no longer means

that all Palestinians around the world would actually return to Palestine to settle there. For them, the real issue revolves around having the right to choose where they want to live (Hammer, 2005: 21)".

For many Palestinians, the wish to return is a wish to return to their parents' and family's cities and villages. Of course, they are aware of the fact that it is impossible, but in the context of this discussion, it is important to emphasise that an imagined Palestine, for many Palestinians, exists alongside the imagined place from which their family has been uprooted.

Diasporic Media

According to Wood and King, media may intervene in the migration process and in the individual and collective experience of migration in three main ways. Firstly, images transmitted from the destination countries, or by the global media generally, may be an important source of information for potential migrants. Secondly, the host-country media constructions of migrants will be critical in influencing the type of reception they are accorded, and hence will condition migrants' eventual experience of inclusion or exclusion. Thirdly, media originating from the country of migration, such as films, video and satellite television, as well as new global distribution technologies, such as the World Wide Web, are playing a dynamic role in the cultural identity and politics of diasporic communities. These three types of linkage between media and migration by no means exhaust the kinds of interrelationships which exist (Wood & King, 2001: 1-2).

There are three levels of interactional situations produced by the use of communication media, according to Thompson: face to-face interaction, mediated interaction, and quasi-mediated interaction (Thompson, 1995:84). Following this perspective, it is possible to identify these levels in the diasporic media and communication processes.

First, contexts of face to-face interaction might include the ethnic or local mass media among immigrant communities (newspapers, magazines, and local radio and television programs). Secondly, the mediated interaction dimension across the transnational space

can take into account transnational media (diasporic radio and television programs, diasporic internet web sites, and the use of ICTs, such as cell phones, home-produced videos, or teleconferencing). Thirdly, the level of quasi-mediated interactions can comprise the global media (satellite communications and interactive television, among others) that provide to global audiences, including specific diasporic communities, symbolic representations, cultural messages, and discourses.

Drawing from diasporic media studies, it is crucial to address the impact of the global digital divide on immigrant communities at the levels of face-to-face, mediated, and quasi-mediated interactions. Moreover, the phenomenon of the digital divide entails complex issues of symbolic systems, power relations, and normative orders that preclude or allow the participation of trans migrants and immigrant communities in the networked society (Benitez, 2010: 193-194).

The Palestinian Diaspora and Diasporic media

The Palestinian Diaspora is part of the Arab and 'Muslim Diaspora'. The Arab Diaspora is not solely made of Palestinians; it encapsulates all Arabs living permanently in countries other than their country of origin (Salhi in Salhi & Netton, 2006: 2). My research focuses on the new medium - the Internet. The internet has a significant role in the life of the Palestinian audience in the U.K. Unlike other media, the Internet combines local and global news events with the advantage of immediate updates in real time. The Palestinian audience does not merely seek news from 'home', but also looks for a global perspective. Diasporic cultural consumers often feel alienated from mainstream media provision (Tsagarousianou, 2007:132). Some of the Palestinians will, though, consume mainstream media in addition to the Palestinian media in order to receive a comprehensive picture. Moreover, there are Palestinians who would prefer to use the mainstream media rather than the Palestinian and Arab media, for reasons of professionalism and fast flow of news. As Schudson explains, even in an era of identity network proliferation, societies will not be able to operate without professional journalism, because people want ways to make sense of the endless information made available to them. The important role of news is not only in 'information delivery', but

also in 'interpreting and explaining'. The news media serve to uphold collectively shared myths and dominant ideologies (Schudson, 1995:3).

It could also be explained historically: following the Second Gulf War in 1991, CNN established itself as the source of information. Contributing to the success of CNN was the mushrooming of satellite channels transmitting to a large Arab audience. It was only few years later that Arab channels gradually took over the space traditionally occupied by Western media (Zayani in Zayani, 2005:29). CNN constructed a new genre of foreign news which the masses found exciting. In the process, CNN, and other stations like it, stimulated popular interest in international events. This has added a new dimension to the jobs of politicians, because foreign issues can sometime spill over into the domestic political arena – e.g., Israeli-Palestinian issues significantly influence U.S. domestic politics in areas with large Jewish or Arab populations. Having said this, there is a view that the media are powerless; or, to put it differently, it has been argued that the media have no effect on foreign policy formulation because foreign affairs officials take decisions based on information and considerations other than the 'moral outcries' generated by the media (Louw, 2006: 264-265).

It is important to understand the position of the Palestinian Diaspora in regard to the political processes in the host countries, and the influence of Western politics on the Palestinians' needs in their own media. "The United States was the principal agent of Western hegemony. At the end of the Cold War, the United States was the world's only global superpower. Israel remained the principal ally of U.S. policymakers, whereas those that defied the United States were to be locked in a zero-sum struggle (Murden, 2002: 44)." From a Middle Eastern perspective, Americans and Israelis are close allies, fighting together to safeguard Israel as the only regional power. They do not want to see any other powerful country threaten the existence of Israel. It is believed that American media have contributed to this by failing to create any balance in their coverage of Middle Eastern events (Hashem, 2004: 162)".

The Internet allows the audience to participate, and to receive 'authoritative' religious fatwa (Mandeville in Karim, 2003: 145). "The Internet enables the use of language and phrases of the Arab-Islamic discourse – the media become involved in the everyday construction of images of 'Us' and 'Others', while fixing and rebroadcasting those images to members and non-members of a group. This applies especially to the electronic Diasporic media (Georgiou in Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006: 136)".

The websites my participants use were not created solely for the Palestinian Diaspora in the U.K., but rather for users in Palestine and for a global audience in countries such as the U.K., U.S.A., Iran and India. It is important to emphasise that the location where the sites are registered and the content decision process and creation are not necessarily taking place in the same state. The Palestine-info network is registered in Lebanon (Alexa); the contributors can be located at Hamas's Political Bureau in Damascus, for example. The content thus refers to news events in Palestine and news that influences Palestine. The distribution and the location where the websites are registered are international. All Palestinian Internet Service Provision (ISPs) must also go through an Israeli service provider (Hanieh, 1999: 43).

Although people, including Diasporic and migrant communities, have always relied on some form of cross-border networking to maintain systems of ties among their various members and with the homeland, the speeding up of time-space compressions has had profound effects on how these connections are maintained. Indeed, there is a sense that migrants are developing 'transcultural' characteristics that confound the old models of belonging and loyalty. The examination of the role of media and new technologies in enhancing the symbolic unity within national and global contexts has been a popular field of study, often building on Anderson's (1991) notion of the nation as an 'imagined community'.

The Palestinians represent a different case from the Arab-Islamic Diaspora for the following reasons:

1. The Palestinians do not have a state - a territory, a place of belonging.
2. In the case of Islamic Diaspora in general, and of Palestinians specifically, the idea of the *umma* cannot be underestimated - Muslims living in Diaspora, particularly in the West, are of varied and diverse ethnic origins. What links them together, however, is a shared sense of identity within their religion, an idea most clearly located within the concept of the *umma*. As Vertovec and Peach stress, many Muslim thinkers today highlight the need for Muslims to increase their '*umma* consciousness', and are developing 'a more open understanding of the notion of the global community of Muslims' (Vertovec & Peach, 1997: 41).

Immigrants to the U.K. do not wish to be isolated - they do want to be updated on daily life and news events in their home countries. As Matar puts it, "migrants remain loyal to their origins (Matar in Sakr, 2007: 121)". Palestinians of the U.K. Diaspora consume mainstream media, as being part of the British public sphere, or being exposed to the mainstream media. As the events in the Palestinian Authority attract international interest, there is extensive coverage of Palestinian issues of concern in the British media, mainly in time of crisis. Nevertheless, the role of the local media - and Diasporic media - cannot be underestimated. As Maiola and Ward claim, the function of local broadcasters cannot be replaced. These are related to the role of such media in providing viewers with local news, as well as in representing the social and political diversity of Palestinian culture. More importantly, their role in building national identity in the absence of sovereign independent statehood is crucial in understanding Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation TV's role in the politics of state building (Maiola and Ward in Sakr, 2007: 116).

Tsagarousianou writes that members of South Asian and Greek Cypriot communities in the U.K. stressed the importance of diasporic media and the links they provide with their country of origin, or with their respective cultures and politics. According to older respondents, this contact is vital because it reduces the sense of distance from their country of origin (Tsagarousianou in King and Wood, 2001: 161).

Support for this point can be found in Matar's research and also in Karim's argument: Matar claims that, "in talking about and around news, many respondents voiced concerns about themselves and their families and the collective, meaning the Palestinian nation (Matar in Sakr, 2007: 125)". Karim argues that "homeland politics form a major topic for the media of some Diasporas, especially those consisting largely of first generation migrants. Ties to the former country remain strong in these cases and individuals seek out the most current information, especially in times of crisis (Karim in Karim, 2003: 3)". "In times of crisis, the Internet has the capacity for community building. During a disaster, it is a natural human impulse to reach out to others (Schneider & Foot in Howard & Jones, 2004: 138)".

"The Internet provides spaces where Muslims, who are often marginalised, or are a minority group in many Western communities, can go in order to find others 'like them'. It is in this sense that we can speak of the Internet as allowing Muslims to create a new form of imagined community, or a re-imagined Islam – its members will never know most of their fellow-members. The internet's communities are imagined in two ways. First, they thrive on the 'meanwhile', they are forged from the sense that they exist, but we rarely directly apprehend them, and we see them only out of the corner of our eye. Secondly, they are imagined as parallel, rather than serial, groupings of people, which is to say that they are not composed of people who are necessarily connected, even by interest, but are rather groupings of people headed in the same direction, for a time (Jones, 2002: 17)". According to Mitra:

"The conditions of existence of the diasporic individuals and their need to form community cannot be understood in traditional terms where spatial proximity was a necessity. It is only when one can move the discussion of community to the more abstract level of shared practices and experiences, such as those of language and media, that it is possible to begin to understand how a shared system of communications such as computer-mediated communication (CMC), with its shared language and systems of meaning, can be used to produce communities that do not need geographic closeness. This is precisely why the construct of the

‘imagined’ community becomes powerful in thinking of the communities being formed in the electronic forum. The electronic communities produced by the diasporic people are indeed imagined connections that are articulated over the medium of the internet, where the only tangible connection with the community is through the computer, a tool to image and imagine the group affiliation (Mitra, 2002: 58)".

The Internet creates a global *umma* (Mandaville in Karim, 2003: 146), answering to the different needs of individuals. I have to restrict my claim, and to emphasise that not all Muslims find themselves to be a marginalised group. "Many members of diasporic minority groups still struggle for recognition and inclusion, but others have already succeeded and established themselves in the mainstream (Georgiou in Georgiou, 2006: 3)."

"The global circuitry of modern telecommunications contributes to the formation of a '*digitalized umma*' within the Muslim diaspora, which is based on the idea of a more homogeneous '*community of sentiment*' shaped by a constant flow of identical signs and messages travelling across cyberspace (Appadurai, 1996: 8)."

"The signs and messages form a more heterogeneous and individualized form of *umma*. This kind of interpretation built up by the media, has the potential of turning recipients into a virtual intellectual who can challenge the authority of traditional religious scholars (Mandaville, 2001:160)".

According to Ahmed, accessing Muslim media facilitates the desire to keep informed about fellow Muslims, to feel part of a larger group, and to keep in touch with what is happening in the rest of the Muslim world. All of these, together, lead to a greater sense of belonging to the global *umma* (Ahmed in Poole & Richardson, 2006: 171). The formation of identity and virtual communities is more significant and challenging than the formation of identity and communities in the offline world. Donath says that identity plays a key role in virtual communities. To assess the reliability of information and the

trustworthiness of a confidant, identity is essential; and care of one's own identity, one's reputation is fundamental to the formation of community (Donath in Smith & Kollock, 1999: 28).

Identity in the cyberspace environment is more obscure if compared to identity in the real world. The websites' contributors can choose either to disclose their identity or to operate websites under a different identity. In order to create a community, a trust should thus be built. Once this has been achieved, I believe strong ties would be created. In the cyberspace environment, users find a place of belonging. This is meaningful for Diasporic audiences who cannot physically be a part of their community in their country of origin, but they can indeed be part of an active online community which includes members who share similar values.

In this respect, I would like to refer to the case of the Islamic diasporic communities in Britain, which is relevant to my research. World events, such as the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington and the war in Iraq, have highlighted the fragile cross-cultural relations between white and minority ethnic groups in Britain. Historically, people have migrated either to escape trouble or in search of work. Race relations in Britain took a turn for the worse as various ethnic populations began to form separate communities in order to avoid harassment. The white working-class population saw large communities of minority ethnic communities as a threat to their British way of life (Holohan in Pool & Richardson, 2006: 14).

This tension influences the media consumption and the media landscape of Muslims in Britain, including diasporic communities. The existence of the Muslim press in Britain is a relatively recent phenomenon. The demand for media in English grew as this became the preferred language for an increasing number of Muslims; especially second-generation Muslims. As Muslim communities developed a more distinctly religious identity, alternatives to mainstream media express this identity. In recent years, British

Muslim publications have evolved considerably and have increased in number. Especially after the events of September, 2001, the importance of these media, not only as a source of information, but also as a channel through which minority communities express their views, has increased (Ahmed in Poole and Richardson, 2006: 170).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the main themes of my research: migration and diaspora, the Palestinian diaspora, new media, news media, the Arab media, the Arab World and the new media, political communication and audiences. Diaspora is a relatively new term in migration studies. It refers to individuals who emigrated from their country of origin to a new country. However, the members of the diasporic community are not just migrants. They form transnational communities (Tsagarousianou, 2007: 3).

The internet serves as an efficient tool for this purpose. The internet has changed significantly the news consumption practices of Palestinians. The growth and accessibility of online information and communication have provided Palestinians with the opportunity to post their opinions, information about their cause, and all types of discussion, on the Web and has enabled members of the Diaspora to communicate across large distances. The Palestinians in the U.K. have also started to create social groups on the web, which is a growing phenomenon. This topic is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The definition of the Palestinians who live in the Diaspora as migrants is not an obvious one. There are researchers who claim that the Palestinians are refugees and not migrants, for various reasons, but mainly because the Palestinians were dispersed from their 'homes' in 1948 and, later, in 1967, and since then they are actually refugees who cannot return to their place of origin.

This chapter talks about the contribution of the research to existing knowledge. The thesis seeks to contribute to the ongoing research into the Palestinian Diaspora by providing a focused analysis of an area that has not been investigated to date, the transnational existence of the Palestinians in the diaspora (in a Western country, as opposed to an Arab

country). Moreover, this is the first research on the Palestinian community in the Diaspora that has been conducted by an Israeli researcher. This adds a new dimension, as other researchers in the field are Palestinians (i.e., Matar and Aouragh), as discussed in Chapter 3. A very important issue relating to the Palestinian community in the Diaspora is the question of Palestinian identity. The Palestinian identity is a strong component of Palestinian society in Palestine, as well as in the Diaspora. The Palestinians have a strong interest in keeping their culture and traditions, as a result of their collective trauma – the *nakba*.

Chapter 2

Literature Review –Audiences; New Media

Introduction

It seems very clear that the Palestinians would look for news websites that would provide them with news from Palestine. The question is: is there a Palestinian Diasporic media that fits their needs? As opposed to other diasporic communities, in Palestine there is no developed media market. News from Palestine is also in the headlines world-wide, especially at times of breaking news. Since the first Intifada began in 1987, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has gained international prominence (Downey in Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006: 151). According to Matar, "news stories about events affecting Palestinians are an almost permanent feature of the international media landscape (Matar in Sakr, 2007: 118)". The Palestinians are also part of the Arab diasporic community and therefore the Arab media are another source for news from Palestine. The fact that Israeli- Palestinian conflict coverage attracts wide audiences is evident in theory ('news disjunction'); "when events in the developing world are deemed newsworthy, they usually come under the 'disaster, corruption and coups' category (Schirato & Webb, 2006:171)."

The complexity of the Palestinian diasporic media is that the message on the Palestinian political news websites does not portray in mainstream language, but rather in emotional language. The Palestinians that look at these websites have to analyse the news – they cannot receive a comprehensive picture, unless they can ignore the emotional language, interpret the news, and look for a variety of news sources. Hashem points out that Arab news coverage (of the Iraq war) consisted of a mixture of narratives and images; the Arabic language is mostly metaphorical, rich in meanings, and different from the English language (which usually separates photography and narration) (Hashem, 2004: 160-161).

Instead of looking at the Palestinian audience in the light of the behaviourism approach ('uses and gratifications'), it is better to break away from this approach, but to keep a psychological aspect, as Hall suggested. It is thus not only the need of the audience that is important, but also how the audience interprets the message. As Hall said, this turned researchers' attention to the mental processes whereby viewers perceive and interpret messages. Since the culture-bound concepts by which one makes sense of reality provide a horizon for interpreting new messages, the same message does not have exactly the same meaning to different individuals (Alasuutari in Alasuutari, 1999: 14).

Referring to media effects, I would say that the Palestinians' news consumption fits the school of thought by stressing the variety of ways in which different audiences make use of media output (Williams, 2003: 165). Moreover, the participants are not merely receiving news from the media. They are also being updated by family and friends in Palestine, as well as creating social networks websites that provide news from Palestine that relies on information being provided by the Palestinian community itself.

As Katz and Lazarsfeld argue in their 'two step model': the media by themselves are not very powerful in influencing people, people are more influenced by members of their family, friends, neighbours and fellow workers (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). People do not rely exclusively on media for obtaining information and making sense of events. This is particularly important in cultures with strong oral traditions, such as the Palestinian one (Alimi, 2007: 76).

This does not negate the important role of the media as an agent that provides news, and the significant role the Palestinians attribute to news websites, but the 'two step model' allows us to understand that the media effect on the Palestinian audience is not as simple and direct as the 'hypodermic model' suggests. The 'uses and gratifications' approach is a reversal of the 'hypodermic model'. The focus shifted from what the media do to people to what people do with the media. The 'uses and gratifications' approach argued that the audience brought its own needs and desires to the process of message reception.

For my interviewees, the Palestinians, who emigrated to the U.K. from Palestine, are free from political and ideological influence. The Palestinian news websites that are actually political websites have no direct influence on the audience whatsoever.

The reason for this is that the audience who uses the political news websites reads the news selectively. They choose to read the issues that interest them, and they interpret the message according to the perception of news that is known to them, using additional sources and personal knowledge.

Increasingly, effects theories invested more power in the audience. The active' audience' tradition located the audience as 'active participants in the creation of meaning' (Eldridge in Eldridge, 1993:31). The capacity of the audience to produce diverse interpretations of what they see, hear and read is evidence of the freedom of the audience to resist the media. The political news websites being published by political factions in Palestine are trying to influence the audience by using emotional language and by praising their own efforts for the Palestinians. However, according to my participants, they are not being influenced. To put it differently, even if the media produce a dominant ideology or discourse, the audience can resist it (Williams, 2003: 201).

I have, though, to limit my claim, above, that there is no political influence by the political websites. It may be that the Palestinians claim that they are not being influenced by the content of the political websites is not necessarily true. This is a methodological problem which is discussed in the methodology chapter.

The assumptions of the active audience, who use the media for their own purposes and can articulate them, are the basic assumptions on which the uses and gratifications approach rests. Another assumption of this model, which is relevant to my research, is that despite the variations between individuals in their use of the media, it is possible to identify some basic patterns in uses and gratifications (Williams, 2003: 177). In this context, I would say, media consumption is an individual act. There are individual preferences and individuals differ from each other, since they hold different world

perceptions and have their own predispositions. Having said this, individuals contribute to groups; in the case of my research, the Palestinians, who share the same historical and political background that directs their interest in news from Palestine. There are therefore patterns in their media usage, despite individual particularities. For discussion of my findings, please see the data analysis chapter.

This point is also the weak point of the uses and gratifications approach, which is being used by critics such as Elliott (Elliott, 1974). By concentrating on the individual, they argue, the approach tends to lose sight of the social dimension. Making sense of media content is often done in conversation with friends, family and workmates. Palestinian society is a society in which the role of the social group is significantly important. The news is an integral part both of their life as individuals and as a group that belongs to the same nation. News events are being discussed in the private domain, as well as in public domains: cafes, mosques and social gatherings.

The personal contacts of diaspora members have been enabled with relative ease, as a result of the widespread use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). New personal digital devices of broadband telephony, like Skype (released in 2003) have allowed relatively unfettered person-to person communication, free of charge and supervision. These two-way communication systems became well suited to respond to the need for personal contacts of a more restrained and circumscribed nature, and are thus not ideal tools for social networking on a massive scale (Conversi, 2012).

"In the digital age of communication, family ties have not really weakened. The internet, mobile telephony and the new generation of smart phones combine written, oral and visual forms of expression that closely replicate face-to-face communication. Those who are physically absent are, in fact, increasingly present in everyday situations, and a continuity of social ties develops in spite of geographical distance (Nedelcu, 2012:1351)."

As a result of dissatisfaction with limited effects theories, the focus has changed and it is now on the individual psychology of the audience in a broader social context. Cultural effects theories started with the social context and worked into understanding the media. In his study, Cohen claimed that the news ‘may not be successful in telling people what to think but it is successful in telling them what to think about.’ The power to push people into thinking about certain kinds of issues became known as ‘agenda setting’ (Cohen, 1963:13). Iyengar and Kinder found evidence to support the claim that ‘television news was a powerful determinant of what springs to mind and what is forgotten and ignored.’ For Iyengar and Kinder, the power of the media does not rest in persuasion but in ‘commanding the public’s attention (agenda setting) and defining criteria underlying the public’s judgments’ (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987: 117).

New Technologies; New Audiences

A major factor that legitimises the use of history to question the arguments of the information society proponents is the mobilisation of the past by the proponents themselves in order to support their position. Black (2003) suggests that each of the main socio-economic features of the industrial revolution (i.e., widespread application of science and knowledge to production, movement of population) applies as much today, in the current ‘information revolution’, specifically:

1. The rise of the ‘knowledge society’, in which both digital innovation and ‘theoretical knowledge’ (Bell, 1980) prioritise brain over brawn.
2. The dispersal of population: contrary to the process of industrialisation, the emergence of the postmodern, polycentric, informational city.
3. The rise of post-industrial occupation and sectors, with the majority of the workforce migrating to the service sector and, moreover, becoming engaged in work that is rich in ‘information skills’.
4. The emergence of flexible modes of working: the virtual organisation, as an example.
5. The professionalisation of society: the decline of a traditional working class, and the parallel rise of white-collar classes.

6. The expansion of markets through customization and the niche targeting of demand.
7. Extensive capital investment in modern Information Communication Technologies; by governments, multi/trans national corporations and large-scale research organisations.

The identification of similarities between the core characteristics of the industrial revolution and those of the information revolution, albeit that the ways these manifest themselves inevitably differ from one age to the other, can be used to support the idea that we have entered a radically new age. At the same time, pointing to continuities with the past can also serve to undermine the notion of recent revolutionary change (Black, 2003:28). Nevertheless, the emergence of new technologies has changed the audience use of the media. Ros writes:

"One of the new elements differentiating the present migration domain from that of other periods in history comes from the possibilities that communication and information technologies offer everybody, including immigrants and their families, to keep in constant contact through communication and information. Migrating in the age of mobile technologies, multimodal communication from anywhere to anywhere, SMS interchange, fast email, virtual communities, chats and forums, video conferences by telephone and internet, introduces new dimensions. Today, immigrants have many more opportunities to live interconnected with situations and people in their country of origin' (Ros, 2010: 20)."

Whereas, in the past, television channels and newspapers appealed to wide audiences, today there are niche groups who choose the news stories that are of interest for them. The audience has the possibility to respond to news stories online, and to produce news by creating websites for this purpose.

As a result of the lower costs of organisation that are made possible by the internet, there is greater mobilisation among those outside the boundaries of traditional private and public institutions (Marmura, 2008). Hanafi claims that "developments in online diasporic forums reflect the increasing detachment of the diaspora from the centre. The centre - ...Palestinian territories has lost its original, fundamental role as the heart of a global community (Georgiou in Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006:13)". In the modern era, the nation-state is supposed to be the principal body of affiliation for all those who live within its borders. Diasporas complicate this formulation. That those residing in one place influence another becomes problematic (Kalra, Kaur & Hutnyk, 2005: 20).

The new technology has also exposed audiences to international news and international media outlets. In talking about undeveloped regions, like Palestine, I would say that this change has created a new audience that has been exposed to news events outside Palestine, and has revealed how Palestine's news events are being covered by Arab and international media outlets. According to Matar, "it becomes apparent that the availability of diverse news media can enable more active and public participation in private and public debates (Matar in Sakr, 2007: 129)". Indeed, diasporic community members, take part in a series of overlapping and competing public spheres (Marmura, 2008), in the case of this research, the British national space and the Palestinian private space. According to Mohammadi, "Palestine is among the countries that adopt the modernising approach" (he divides Islamic countries into three trends: modernist, mixed and traditionalist) - "they are modernist in terms of the development process yet, at the same time, are keen to keep their Arab traditions (Mohammadi in Thussu, 1998: 259)."

For the participants, there is no obvious diasporic media. Other diasporic communities, such as the Greeks and Israelis, would read the mainstream news websites of their country of origin, in their first language (Tsagarousianou, 2001; Malka & Kama, 2011). The Palestinians read multiple websites, not only Palestinian websites, in Arabic, which is their first language, but they also use websites in English. In many cases they use international and Israeli news websites in English as a first priority.

Language can be said to be an important aspect of cultural identity, especially in the context of migration. Language can reflect the level of integration into a host country as well as the differentiations between native and host cultures. In the process of migration, migrants usually develop language skills, with many becoming bilingual. In the second and third generations, it may be increasingly difficult for the parents to pass on the native language, as life in the host country requires that one masters that country's language. Changes in these language choices can tell something about the negotiation between identities (Hammer, 2005: 172). I talk about this issue in depth in the data analysis chapter.

I define the Palestinian audience as an active audience. What is an active audience, and why do I use this term? The best way to explore this term is to relate it first to the 'encoding/decoding' model proposed by Stuart Hall. Hall's model offered a way beyond the current uses and gratifications approach by insisting that audiences share certain frameworks of understanding and interpretation. Reading is not simply the lonely uses and gratifications individual; it is shared (Gray in Alasuutari, 1999: 27).

This is indeed the case of the Palestinians in the diaspora. All of the participants have similar media usage practices, although they do not use the Palestinian diasporic media as a main source. The political events that shaped the Palestinian community influence their media consumption. I discuss this issue in the data analysis chapter. The revolution that the World Wide Web has created is well known and discussed. Internet use is on the increase in recent years and it is being used for various reasons: consumption of news, entertainment, information, and so on. The creation of the internet as a new medium does not merely define a technological change - the transformation from the traditional medium – the newspaper to the new medium – the internet. The internet revolution also symbolises a shift relating to the consumers, the audience.

The Impact of Technology on the Audience

The audience that uses the Internet is a diverse audience. Communication through the Internet is to a global audience and is not always limited to territorial boundaries but rather to interest groups. Although the audience is diverse, there is a common character. In opposition to the use of traditional media, the use of the internet requires the user to learn the technology. The audience is thus mainly the younger generation and not the older generation, who are used to the traditional media.

McQuail writes that there are four main changes that have affected the audience as a result of the communication revolution. First, are the new possibilities for delivering television and radio broadcasting via cable and satellite. 'In the past supply had been limited by terrestrial transmitters carrying a very few channels (McQuail, 1997:9).'

Moreover, the dominant television networks have an internet division which supports TV broadcasting needs. The websites' users can watch live and recorded broadcasts online, communicate with the reporters and with the audience and express their own views. For instance, Al Jazeera Television provides its audience with three websites: Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera Magazine, as well as the broadcasting of Al Jazeera programmes on YouTube. Al Jazeera's owners, like other dominant television networks, understood that in order to be more visible and accessible, they had to invest in the new media – the Internet:

'Aljazeera.net is the electronic version of Al Jazeera Satellite Channel. It is part of the same organisation...but we are in a different type of media with new technologies... when we planned for the website, we specified that our audience would be the Arabic-language speakers everywhere in the world (Awad in Zayani, 2005: 84).'

A second change has been the rapid development in new ways of recording, storage and retrieval of sound and pictures. A third change relates to the increased transnationalisation of television flow. The fourth innovation derives from the

increasingly interactive capacity use of various media, as a result of computer-based systems (McQuail, 1997:9).

As I said earlier, following the development of the new technologies, the 'audience' concept should be re-observed. Whereas, in the past, the mass audience could not influence the content of the mainstream media, the internet provides a partial solution to the problem, as it empowers groups and individuals who wish to deliver their messages. "The decrease in cost and professionalism required for developing alternative media in local, national and transnational spaces means that minorities can be on the production side of media and media representations (Georgiou in Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006: 136)".

Laguerre claims that there are positive aspects to digitalisation that benefit diasporic communities (the 'empowerment model'). Digitisation empowers marginal peoples in many different ways, as the initiative may come either from within or from without. "Through computer access and use, one may participate in the political process, the internet economy, and civic activities. So empowerment is social, communicational, religious, economic, and political (Laguerre, 2010: 55 - 56)."

The internet has significantly changed the news consumption practices of the Palestinians, since they are being exposed to unlimited sources of news online, including Palestinian news and social websites; the flow of information is rapid and they can find news websites that have a space for news about Palestine and Palestinians' issues of concern. The growth and accessibility of online information and communication has provided Palestinians with the opportunity to post their opinions, information about their cause, and all types of discussion, on the Web, and it has enabled members of the diaspora to communicate across large distances.

For David Morley and Kevin Robins, global information flows have started to penetrate boundaries without, however, destroying them immediately. Instead, shifts towards the

establishment of a 'new local-global nexus' have begun. Global, national and local space identities do not remain static, but increasingly interact with each other:

"Global space is a space of flows, an electronic space, a decentred space, a space in which frontiers and boundaries have become permeable. Within this global arena, economies and cultures are thrown into intense and immediate contact with each other ... (Morley & Robins, 1995:115)."

In his research, *The Middle East and Islam in Western Mass Media: Towards a Comprehensive Theory of Foreign Reporting*, Hafez emphasises linkages between domestic and foreign issues in foreign reporting, they are:

1. International coverage and public agendas: the agenda-setting hypothesis is based on the assumption that the mass media can have a great impact on public opinion and on the agendas of public debates. As I pointed out earlier in the text, in relation to Cohen's claim. The problem, however, remains, that the mass media, are highly selective in their foreign reporting, especially where countries with a seemingly remote cultural and political relationship to the journalist's home base are concerned.
2. Media interaction with domestic environments: the mass media do not represent an integrated and interdependent part of the international system. Rather, they uphold strong ties with their local and national environments, with domestic politics, élites, audiences and the public.
3. Interaction between 'domestic' and 'foreign' media issues: while large sections of public opinion are generally indifferent to foreign affairs, exceptions to the rule are those issues that are of both foreign and domestic concern.
4. Media effects on international conflicts: the mass media can be generally considered to have a dual nature: they can either promote peace or deepen crises and reinforce conflicts. This generalisation is based on the assumption that international relations are not solely driven by national interests, but that

images and image politics can influence political decision making and public opinion.

5. Media and transcultural communication: culture is based on systems of symbols and attached or related meanings. The main task of foreign reporters is to interpret or 'decode' symbols developed in a foreign context, to compare them with domestic national or local cultures, and to explain them to their audiences (Hafez, 2000: 34-37).

"Especially since 1998, the fiftieth anniversary of the *nakba*, Palestinian web sites have provided much material that is printable. The internet has also enabled Palestinians in the diaspora to track events in Palestine and to depend less on international news agencies (Hammer, 2005: 7)". Interaction with social networks is an important role of the Internet. Whereas in the past individuals could watch the news on television, listen to the news on the radio, or be updated by reading newspapers, today they can also create their own news channels. In the context of my research, the Palestinians in the U.K. have started to create social groups on the web, which is a growing phenomenon.

The diasporic community uses the internet as a tool to obtain news from home by interacting with Internet users in Gaza and the West Bank. They provide them with updated news. The Internet also allows the audiences to react to news events, i.e., promoting appeals on the web, the creation of websites for specific causes. The Palestinians in the diaspora attribute to the social networks a significantly important role in their life. I give an example. The charity organisation IF, based in London, organised a campaign in May 2009, 'Gaza 100', a run in East London. The aim of the campaign was to raise money for the children in Gaza. To achieve their aim, the campaigners created a website: <http://www.ifcharity.com/gaza100.html>. On the website, the audience can find information about the charity campaign, as well as about other campaigns of the charity. There is also the possibility to donate online, as well as to become involved by volunteering for the charity, to join the mailing list and to become a partner.

Before the rapid development of the WWW, theorists indicated the important role of social networks, as the impact of the media is mediated through interpersonal communication and social networks (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). This approach proves that the media cannot be the only source of information but, rather, the audience is being influenced by social networks. This approach was taken further by researchers during the past two decades. Ethnographic reception studies mainly drew on Hall's encoding/decoding model (Hall, 1980: 197-208), drawing attention to how audiences too participate in the mediation of culture and political life. The new medium, the Internet, for the first time, allows audiences to participate in political, economic and social processes, and to influence, through social networks and personal interactions that are part of the media, and not a separate, influential factor, as it used to be before the development of the WWW. As Urry claims, the internet has created conditions whereby states and corporations can no longer monopolise the information made available to the public (Urry, 2000).

The Shift from Traditional Medium to New Medium

The technological development of Arab mass media may be divided into three historical phases: the colonial phase, the post-colonial phase, and the 1990s phase. Whereas the colonial phase was characterised by externally induced efforts to introduce media technologies to serve colonial, political and missionary objectives, the post-colonial phase was associated with the dominant paradigm of developmental thinking, which envisaged a vital role for the mass media in national transformation. It is at this stage that the basic communications infrastructures, like broadcast and publishing facilities, were established. It was also a phase marked by rising literacy rates, increasing urbanisation, and political institutionalisation.

The second phase was characterised by the proliferation of new media technologies that were effective in circumventing strict government controls over information flows in the Arab world. The third phase of Arab media technology development began in the early 1990s in a post-Cold war climate characterised by a global, digitally based information explosion and sweeping market-oriented thinking. A key feature of this phase has been

the launch of numerous commercial media projects inside and outside the Arab region, mainly as part of Saudi Arabia-based media conglomerates (Ayish, 2001: 115-116). The shift from state regulation to market-driven policies in the 1990s, within multilateral institutions such as the International Telecommunications Union, established a global market in information and communication (Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006: 4). With the end of the historical monopoly of the state broadcasting organisation resulting from the pirate broadcasting, the new liberal economic policies and the proliferation of commercial channels at the end of the 1980s, the Arab media landscape has undergone revolutionary transformations. In addition to the internet revolution, there are currently more than 400 Pan-Arab Television channels that broadcast 24 hours a day. These stations offer a representation of the multiple dimensions of Arab society. Moreover, they have actively sought to make their programmes available to Arab communities all over the world through satellite link deals with internet links (Rinnawi, 2012: 1452- 1453). In the 1990s, satellite television has emerged as a new medium. The new technology enabled a global audience to receive updated news 24 hours a day. Roger Silverstone indicated the centrality of television in everyday lives as it 'has the ability to translate the unfamiliar ...' (Silverstone, 1994:181). A similar view is put forward by Ibish and Abunimah: 'Al Jazeera presents the best trends of openness and democratisation in the Arab world (Zayani in Zayani, 2005: 33).'

According to Rinnawi, the revolution was also evident in terms of content. Al-Jazeera and al-A'arabya use the CNN style of news broadcasting, offering live, sensational coverage of most of the events that occur in the Arab world, as well as other current events, especially those relating to military actions and confrontations between Israel and the Palestinians, events in Lebanon, or the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Rinnawi, 2012: 1453).

Having said this, Sakr points out the limitations that satellite TV entailed. One problem was representation in relation to women and TV. Another issue is that "information and communication technologies cannot in themselves produce results. It is the way people adopt them, develop them and regulate them that determines their impact', as well as the

failure of the new information and communication technologies to facilitate the spread of information about human right abuses" (Sakr, 2001:197).

According to Rawan, who wrote about the interaction between traditional communication and modern media, the media in Islamic countries and in the less developed world function on two levels. On the one hand, the media operate through the latest technologies, which mainly address members of the intellectual and urban population. On the other hand, there is a separate complex system of mass communication that operates along traditional lines. In contrast to modern mass communication, which can only flourish in an economically advanced society, the less developed world concentrates on developing journalism, which is a necessary building block for improving the mass media.

In Islamic countries, the popularity and credibility of modern mass media are restricted for the following reasons:

1. The high degree of illiteracy.
2. The numerous differing languages and dialects spoken by the populations.
3. The price of the media tends to limit newspaper circulation and prevent the purchase of television and radio by individuals and families.
4. The countries are often geographically extensive with wide stretches of rural land, causing delays in newspaper delivery and great difficulty in the transmission of radio and television signals.
5. The tendency of the media to act as mouthpieces of the governments.
6. The traditional system of values in place in these countries (Rawan, 2001:177-178).

Satellite television could not bring the change I discussed above. I would like to demonstrate my claim by a case study of Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera is a relatively free channel. Upon taking power, the Emir of Qatar lifted media censorship. The network serves as a pan-Arab opposition. Government reports are not yet without restrictions, though. According to Zayani, Al Jazeera is careful not to criticize Qatar. The critics say that the network 'is under the thumb of the Qatari royal family (Zayani, 2005: 10).' In

relation to my research, the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the second Intifada, has given Al Jazeera pan-Arab dimensions, but, not without constraints. As Zayani says:

"Some believe that the effect of the coverage of the Intifada is sometimes lost in the very act of reporting as this takes the form of a constant flow of information. Viewers are fed a constant stream of news which is often brief and dispersed (Zayani in Zayani, 2005: 175)".

My informants' views on Al Jazeera and other satellite networks is that each network has its political agenda and thus there is a problem of objectivity. Their claim is evident in theory. As Paterson and Sreberny found in their work: "While the nature of news has changed, technology and globalisation, the key events being selected as news items: journalists' objectivity is still lacking (Paterson & Sreberny, 2004: 17)". In his research, on Saudi Arabia's International Media Strategy, Boyd argues that there is a long tradition of Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia, attempting to influence what is written about them in the Arab world press. He points to examples of Arab broadcasters outside their country of origin, such as the London-based MBC and the Rome-headquartered Orbit, owned by members of, or those close to, the Saudi royal family. Boyd's claim is that the location is not accidental, but rather these businesses write from outside the Middle East because this ensures them freedom of expression (Boyd, 2001: 56).

Herman and Chomsky say, in their *Propaganda Model*: 'A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power...it traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalise dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public (Herman & Chomsky, 1998: 2).' This argument was also expressed by earliest theorists, like Hall et al., for example, who said that the news media reproduce the voices of the powerful via routine access and news legitimisation (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978: 255).

In the literature on propaganda and communications there are two distinct theoretical paradigms. The most familiar approach is that which, from the perspective of communications theory, applies a psychological model to the study of propaganda. Propaganda is an attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behaviour of individuals. Intrinsic to this model is the idea of an active communicator-propagandist and a passive, inert receiver. Propaganda entails a process of deliberate manipulation, and this manipulation is performed on isolated individuals. What became particularly apparent was the role of the new communications media in the process of information dissemination and rational decision-making. Whilst the new technologies were indispensable for 'public conversation' in the twentieth-century nation state, they also made possible the manipulation of public debate and the public sphere (Robins & Webster, 1999: 132-133; 135).

The solution, the Palestinians say, is to receive information from various sources, especially using the Internet. The participants also argue that there are websites that report the whole picture, since they are produced by non-Arab producers. I will discuss this subject in the data analysis chapter. To conclude, I would quote Zayani's claim:

"To treat Arab media as the fourth estate, and to say that TV leads to political changes is to look at the issue from a narrow perspective...One should be skeptical about the ambitious transformative claims for new media as well as the claims about its democratizing potential.(Zayani in Zayani, 2005: 34)."

A clear distinction should be made between satellite TV and the Internet, as their impact on the audience is different. There are contradictory views from researchers as to the impact of the internet. On one hand, there is the perception of the internet as enhancing democracy. The internet exists mostly beyond government control whereas satellite TV cannot, as a sole factor, lead to social changes, democratisation and so on, the internet enables wider participation of the audience, social networks, and active audience (Alterman, 1998).

In this context, it is important to remember that whereas internet penetration in Gaza and the West bank is relatively low, internet access for Palestinians in the U.K. is no obstacle to obtaining information for many Palestinians. My discussion on the impact of the media on the audience will not be completed without talking about a very important factor: the influence of the WWW on television viewership. In other words, it is true that internet usage is a more flexible medium than television networks, though it is not without its limitations, but the emergence of the internet has caused a decline in television viewership?

According to Stempell, Hargrove and Bernt, although old media (television and newspapers) use has declined, this could not be seen to have been caused by the internet. They suggested that watching television news had declined because fewer viewers of television news got what they wanted from television news. They considered that the best explanation is that those who use the internet as a source of news are clearly information seekers (Stempell, Hargrove & Bernt, 2000). Previously, media and communication technologies were distinct, governed by their own set of political and economic arrangements and they processed information in different places and ways. Today, telecommunications, computing technologies and media are being brought together by digital technology, which enables an unlimited amount of information to be stored and transmitted (Williams, 2003: 227).

On the other hand, in contrast to the views I mentioned above, there are scholars who point out the negative effect of the internet. Sparks, for example, claims that the new technologies are seen as "destroying the pillars of the fourth estate" (Sparks in Sparks and Tulloch, 2000: 4). As he sees it, while there may be more information available, the quality of this information, as well as public understanding, is declining. This poses a threat to democracy. There is research that stresses that the media are important in maintaining democracy, but not as a sole factor. Lippmann, for example, says that citizens need to be encouraged to maintain their faith in democratic state institutions which represent the best political system available (Lippmann, 1997, xiv). Black resists the assumption that the information society will in essence be a 'knowledge society'. His

argument is that it is predicted that the digital information revolution will deliver a social revolution that has the potential for unprecedented emancipation and empowerment. This vision is based on the recognition of a strictly one-way relationship between knowledge and power, with knowledge serving as the determining force. However, claims Black, according to Foucault, the way power and knowledge interact is much more complex. For Foucault, knowledge is not simply a factor that determines power; it is also a product of power itself. Power has the capacity to generate knowledge (Black, 2003: 19).

The optimistic view of the information age proposed that the new media would generate six social ‘improvements’:

1. New media were seen to facilitate two-way communication in contradistinction to mass communication’s uni-directionality. The interactivity facilitated would undermine top-down commandist communication.
2. An active participatory democracy and citizen control could be built upon this interactivity because citizens could now be regularly consulted about their views, i.e., instead of being spoken to by the mass media, the new media made it possible for citizens to make their voices heard.
3. New media’s interactive nature provided new communicative spaces where people could discover common concerns and discuss possible solutions. It was suggested that this would generate an activated civil society and re-invigorate democracy.
4. The new media were seen to deliver greater diversity of information than ever before. This would generate a more democratic society because citizens would be less open to manipulation.
5. The new media offered the means to break up the mass media market into smaller niche media markets. In this, there is a possibility for multiple new niche identities and localism.
6. Because new media facilitated interactive communication on a global basis, new niche identities would grow as global phenomena.

The skeptical view of the likely impacts of the new media on society has different reasons. Firstly, although the new media technologies can facilitate interactive two-way communication, the mass media show no sign of being displaced. Most people appear to prefer to receive information edited and packaged by others, rather than to sort through massive amounts of information themselves. Hence, predictions that people would bypass traditional news media have not come to pass. Instead, mass audiences remain a core feature of contemporary Western society – these audiences still draw most of their information from mass media sources (especially television); this information is still delivered in top-down fashion and is still produced by media professionals.

Much of this media content results from deliberate manipulation by social élites. What is more, professional communication manipulators have turned their attention to new media forms, like the internet, because skillful communication manipulators can use two-way interactive communication just as effectively as uni-directional communication to steer people. Secondly, boosterist logic predicts greater citizen participation in politics because new media enable people to connect in new ways. However, as Neuman notes, just because the new media make such developments possible does not mean that technologies will actually be used in these ways. Thirdly, new media generated an explosion in available information and access to a greater diversity of sources. In reality, new technologies produce a glut of information, which greatly enhances the difficulties in finding appropriate information and evaluating its quality.

Fourthly, it has been argued that the new media create fulcra for new niche identities to flourish. In fact, the trend towards people living in large mass cities grows. There appears to be no return to communal village nirvanas. Politically, niche media facilitate the mobilisation of single-issue groups, to allow spin-doctors to reach more narrowly defined audiences with tailor-made messages. Far from heralding a new genre of politics, this has simply served to reinforce the American model of pluralist democracy (Louw, 2006: 123-126).

The challenge to promote democratisation, as a result of the emergence of new technologies, is evident in the Palestinian Authority, from its establishment until today. The establishment of the Palestinian Authority led to the emergence of new technologies on the 'media map'. Having said this, mainly as the result of economic instability, most of the media organisations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip fell under direct or indirect Palestinian Authority control, making it impossible for media to effectively organise independently. The implementation of censorship law and the self censorship of journalists, are another obstacle to a democratic media market (Nossek & Rinnawi, 2003: 189).

The issue of censorship is a very important issue when talking about the media in non democratic sphere. Until the 1990s there was little government-initiated regulation of internet access and content. Users belonged to a limited community of academics, government and commercial research institutions. From 1990 onwards, as the internet began to expand and to play the role of a general public communication system, nation-state authorities began to take more notice. While, in democratic nation-states, crude censorship was thought to belong to the past, this kind of intervention often reappears in some form when new technologies challenge existing patterns of control. However, given the nature of the internet as a modality of cultural transmission and under conditions of reflexive modernisation, the outrage caused by censorship has been particularly acute. Another aspect of censorship in relation to the internet is that it has global consequences that affect many people (Slevin, 2000: 220-221).

The Palestinian Audience and the New Media

The fragile political and economic situation in Palestine directly influences the need in the communication system that will allow the Palestinians in the diaspora to receive news from home. The Palestinians in the U.K. are eager to receive news from Palestine. I have, though, to restrict my claim, and to emphasis that not all Palestinians have the same level of interest in the situation in Palestine.

Firstly, I would like to explain the importance of the internet, relating also to its growing usage in the Muslim world. Since 1993, computer networks have grabbed enormous public attention. Computer networks, once an obscure set of technologies used by a small élite, are now widely used, and the subject of political debate, public interest and popular culture (Kollock & Smith in Smith & Kollock, 1999: 3).

The internet's substantial growth since 1990 has changed the face of international media. During the period prior to 1993, there were fewer than 150 web sites. By the end of 1994, there were slightly more than 10,000 sites. By 2002, the number has increased to around 100 million. Direct online interaction between Palestinians had started in the 1990s. Their online discussions covered a variety of issues, from an eventual return to the homeland to corruption in the Palestinian Authority. What began in the mid-1990s as an élite means of communication for Palestinians became an infrastructure used by non-élite masses and by grassroots organisations, transcending territorial and government regulations (Aouragh, 2011: 87).

Internet consumption in the Muslim world has increased significantly. Between 2000 and 2007, the internet use growth in the West Bank was 594.3%. In December, 2000, there were 35,000 internet users in the West Bank. Today, there are 243,000 users (Alexa). However, this data also indicates a problem, most household computers in Palestine are concentrated in the West Bank and not in the Gaza Strip. Another problem is that despite the growth in internet use, internet access in Palestine is limited, and there are linguistic and cultural barriers (Hanieh, 1999: 43).

Sterling identifies the four primary functions of the internet as: discussion groups, long-distance computing, file transfers and mail (Sterling, 1993: 4). The internet has distinctive advantages: easy access, little or no regulation, fast flow of information, spread globally, inexpensive development and maintenance, and a multimedia environment. Moreover, the internet does not represent a single medium, but rather a collection of modalities. The unique quality of the WWW is its qualities: a hypertext medium, the web has the

potential to function as a mass medium while simultaneously facilitating inter-identity communication and ideological warfare (Marmura, 2008).

The internet helps to mobilize people into action, something that cannot be done through the mainstream media (Tsfati and Weimann, 2002: 328). Computer networks allow people to create a range of new social spaces in which to meet and interact with one another (Kollock & Smith in Smith & Kollock, 1999: 3). The traditional function of the state and the mass media in determining the common cultural and political identity no longer exists. Grassroots actors attempt to gain control over the mechanisms of the state to serve their own interests, regardless of any domestic consensus (Castells, 2004: 358).

Turkle emphasises that the use of computers has changed over time. A decade ago, the computer was a second self, a person alone with a machine. Today, the internet links millions of people in new spaces that are changing the form of our communities and our identities. At one level, the computer is a tool. Beyond this, the computer offers new models of mind and it projects our ideas (Turkle, 1995).

Recent empirical studies have broadened the discussion about the democratic forms of interaction in diasporic virtual networks (Hanafi, 2005: 596). According to Bunt, the internet has the potential as a tool to enhance 'democracy' and 'development' for Muslim societies, in a variety of contexts. Some have suggested that it may enhance the 'connectivity' of the *umma*, the global Muslim community. The internet may also alter 'non-Muslim' understanding of Islam.

The Arab Human Development Report (2003: 59) reflected on the relatively low levels of internet access and availability in Arab countries. Relatively wealthier nations, such as the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait had higher levels of internet penetration - with Yemen, Sudan and Iraq having the lowest. Improvements in internet access can vary in different contexts, ranging from the establishment of a telephone line, enabling simple dial-up access, through to the establishment of high-speed Broadband and ADSL connectivity.

Accessibility has allowed marginalised and minority perspectives to network between themselves, and with affiliates throughout the world. Clearly, in some cases, the technology has permitted those without an interest in ‘democracy’ to transmit their perspectives and agendas to a broad audience, including supporters, and to acquire new followers (Bunt in Poole & Richardson, 2006: 162).

In relation to the websites my participants use: the participants use a variety of websites, but I will refer to Hamas’ media to give a sense of the revolution it has created among the Palestinians and the Western audiences. In the case of the Hamas movement, the sophisticated network of websites has no linear connection with the development of democracy in Gaza and the West Bank. Even though high expectations for improvement were built following Hamas’s victory, the political situation in Gaza and the West Bank, the poor economic situation, unstable security situation and additional factors, still prevent the formation of a Palestinian state that would be based on democratic values. Access to information is one of the fundamental things that democratic societies need; in Palestine the implementation of democracy online has not yet been reached.

As opposed to Western democratic governments, the Hamas government attributes to its websites a different role. Advances in new media, most recently the internet, appear to have stimulated much of the debate about citizenship and participation in society. Modern democratic governments have developed sophisticated online services for their communities, with feedback mechanisms where possible.

Directgov, for example, was the U.K.’s e-government initiative, which launched in 2004 and sought to offer citizens direct access to public information and services about topics ranging from employment, motoring and problems through to problems of disability. An important issue relating to this discussion is the level of citizens’. According to Balnaves, Donald and Shoesmith E-governance, at its best, is e-participation and can only operate in democratic states. It is the use of technology, such as the internet, to enhance citizens’ participation in government decision-making.

E-government can operate in a non-democratic state. It refers to the use of media by governments to disseminate information in a one-directional, top-down fashion (Balnaves, Donald and Shoesmith, 2009). This is the main difference between the Hamas government websites and the websites of Western governments. Whereas the first uses new technologies to raise awareness of the Hamas agenda and to gain public support, Western governments use the advantages of the internet to share governmental decisions with the public and encourage their participation.

Nevertheless, also in Western democracies, the process of gaining the participation of the audience has not been completed. There are two main reasons for this. First, there is the unwillingness, and sometimes apathy, of internet users to take an active role in political activities online. Secondly, the governments discussed are not yet ready to negotiate with the audience. As Coleman and Gotze point out, in relation to the involvement of citizens in policy deliberation:

"Almost all of the cases one finds are frustrated by the same two problems: too few people know about them; governments fail to integrate them into the policy process or respond to them effectively (Coleman & Gotze, 2001: 36)".

Although, in formal terms, Britain's minority ethnic populations are fully incorporated politically, that is, they have access to political citizenship rights, it has been common to argue that their needs have not been fully represented in the political system. One reason for this is that the British parliamentary system is dominated by two major parties which have not always seen it as vital to their interests to cater too directly to minority ethnic constituents. In the latter half of the 1990s there was some waning of the political focus on the issue of immigration. Instead, there has been a growing focus on the apparently increasing numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Britain from areas of the world experiencing natural disasters, or fleeing war, genocide, and religious and ethnic persecution. There are other considerations. As long as elections were not determined by marginal constituencies in which large, minority, ethnic populations potentially held the

balance of power, the relative neglect of issues of concern to minority ethnic voters was likely to persist (Mason, 2000: 124 -125).

To contextualise this discussion, I would like to discuss the term democracy. Democracy differs in nature and extent from one political movement to another, ranging from the adoption of a liberal pluralistic Western model to an Islamic model of participation through consultation. However, the two streams converge on the issues of human rights and political participation (Moussalli, 2003:123). There are scholars, such as Judith Miller, Martin Kramer and Bernard Lewis, who argue that liberal democracy and Islam are contradictory terms. Other scholars, such as William Zartman, argue that political Islam and democracy are not necessary incompatible (Moussalli, 2003:120; 122).

The argument discussed above is true if we consider the internet network as a factor that promotes democracy. Critics would say that the networks will increase the strength of existing concentrations of power (Kollock & Smith in Smith & Kollock, 1999: 4). Looking at the Palestinian websites' role in the life of the Palestinian diasporic community, I can say that it is true that the Palestinians consider the Palestinian websites to be political websites that are categorised according to party affiliation, and not as websites that promote pluralistic discourse. Nevertheless, the existence of social Palestinian networks online, demonstrates minority activism on the web that has implications for democratic dialogue, both internally (within the group) and externally (with the rest of society) (Siapera, 2010).

Conclusion

Consumption of news media is a vital component, influencing the Palestinians' life. This has been the case while they were residing in Palestine, and this is the case for the Palestinians in the UK. The difference is dual. Firstly, the Palestinians' geographical distance from Palestine, from the actual location where the news events occur. Secondly, the extensive use of the internet to overcome the problem of geographical distance. As politics dominates the Palestinian discourse, the need for news updates is highly important. The participants search for online news from Palestine every day, many of them more than once a day. The participants use a variety of Arab, Israeli and international websites, in Arabic and in English, as discussed in Chapter 4.

The following chapter discusses the methodological problems entailed in audience research. The problems of the researcher are varied, and relate to the behaviour of the audience, mainly in regard to credibility and co-operation. As an Israeli researcher who researches the Palestinian community, there is also the challenge caused by the interaction between dominant and oppressed groups, on the one hand. On the other hand, the non-Palestinian researcher enjoys advantages that a Palestinian researcher would lack, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

My research is audience research that investigates the behaviour of Palestinians in the U.K. The aim of the study is to discover the practices of media use for news consumption, as my main interest is the opportunities that new technologies have provided to Palestinians residing in the Diaspora. The methodology used is through individual interviews, because my aim was to look at the individuals' news consumption practices and to find patterns in the participants' behavior. The field work period was from May 2008 to January 2009. Until December, 2008, there was no significant violence between the Palestinians and Israel. In December, the Gaza War broke out, or as it is being called in the Arab world – the Gaza Massacre. The war ended in January, 2009. The war occurred in the last days of the Bush administration in the U.S.A. In January, 2009, Barak Obama was sworn in as America's president. During the period in which I was conducting the interviews, in July, 2008, there was a suicide attack in Jerusalem, but my access to the field did not change following the attack, and I continued to conduct the interviews the following day. The participants talked about their extensive use of the internet to read the news online, and the suicide attack was an important demonstration of internet usage at a time of breaking news. In other words, following the suicide attack in Jerusalem, I received authentic information from the participants – referring to the time they had spent on news searching and websites prioritising considerations.

The Researcher as an Explorer

Researching an audience entailed many difficulties. The problems of the researcher are varied, and relate to the behaviour of the audience, mainly in relation to credibility and cooperation. Hartley and others have also pointed out that the conception of the word 'audience' separates 'them' - the audience -- from 'us' – the researchers, in a way that belies the reality that all of us are living in a mediated culture (Hartley, 1992). What is more, as an Israeli researcher who researches the Palestinian community, there is the challenge of interaction between dominant and oppressed groups. This problem leads to methodological problems, which are discussed in this chapter, and shows that though there is a gap between the Palestinians and the Israelis, there is also cultural proximity and there are also problems of hegemonic groups ('Ashkenazim') vs. less privileged groups (Mizrahim), within Israeli society.

Researching the Palestinian audience in the U.K. entailed difficulties as would the research of any other audiences, but, learning from the Palestinian community, these are even more pronounced, for internal and external reasons: the Palestinians are immigrants from a conflict zone, the collective trauma of 1948, as well as the challenge of living in a Western country, especially following September 11th, 2001. As a researcher, in order to understand the media consumption practices of the Palestinian audience, I learned to know the Palestinian community in the UK. Amongst other things, I participated in their social and political activities on a regular basis. Detailed information on my involvement with the Palestinian community is in this chapter.

Inglis' idea of investigating audiences describes in the best way the process I have undertaken: 'in order to understand audiences we have to recover the thoughts of others and think them for ourselves' (Inglis, 1990). To follow this rule, media research into audiences started the studies named 'uses and gratifications'. Jay Blumler, one of its leading practitioners says: 'this ('uses and gratifications') places the emphasis on members of the audience actively processing media materials in accordance with their own needs (Blumler, 1974).'

The uses and gratifications approach is rather widely used in new media impact studies and it rests on several assumptions that underline the active element in media usage (Katz, Blumler & Gurewitz, 1974). In this tradition, people are intentional and selective in their media usage, evaluating their available media options according to their needs and choosing media channels that best gratify their needs, or that best serve a particular function (Korgaonkar & Wolin, 1999).

According to Bird, there is neglect of audiences for news research (Bird in Nightingale, 2011: 489). To explore the questions relating this issue, Bird focus is cultural approaches to news audiences. My research can be understood in the light of the cultural theory. For many people, discussions about current events are an important part of their daily routines, in ways that go beyond textual content. As ethnographically informed scholarship on media audiences extends beyond studies of direct engagement with texts toward a consideration of broader cultural context, this approach is increasingly being framed in terms of media practices – what people do and say around and about media (Couldry, 2004; Bird, 2010).

These arguments echo Carey (1975) who advocated a ritual model of communication, arguing similarly that much media consumption is less about textual content and more about activities surrounding reception: "Culture must first be seen as a set of practices, some of which are the habitual activities surrounding news. (Carey, 1975:19)." Most scholars now agree that a simple cause-effect relationship between text and response is almost impossible to demonstrate, even that media impact our lives in profound ways. For example, Philo and Berry (2004) showed that news stories on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are often read in ways that confirm audience members' existing beliefs, a point also made by Liebes (1997).

Conducting this research entailed a significant challenge, since the researcher perceived herself to be an 'outsider', being an Israeli. The participants perceived themselves to be Palestinians. This is the first research of the Palestinian community in the diaspora that has been conducted by an Israeli researcher. To date, mostly Palestinians and scholars

with other Arab nationality have published research in this field. Moreover, there is a Palestinian boycott of Israeli academics, as leading scholars within Israeli academia, and Israeli policy makers put much effort into trying to resolve this problem.

This is a serious deficit within the development of the academic research on Palestinians and 'Palestine' topics. The existing published research is written by Palestinians who are 'insiders': they belong to the Palestinian community. The meaning of this is challenging the norms expected as a result of the political climate in the region. Israeli researchers do not research the Palestinian community. The main reasons can be understood from Salem and Kaufman's description of the current situation:

"To date, few Palestinian and Israeli academics have co-operated in research projects...over the years an estimated 2 per cent of Israeli academics have participated in such ventures...the vast majority of Israeli academics have remained indifferent, concentrating on their own careers and research agendas. Furthermore, these figures, calculated before the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa intifada in October 2000, may have been further reduced by the increasing psychological hostility between Palestinians and Israelis due to widespread use of violence by both communities, as well as by the physical limitations, such as Israel's checkpoints in the West Bank and the unilateral pullout from Gaza, the separation wall and legal statutes restricting contact between the two national groups (Salem & Kaufman, 2007:9)". Salem and Kaufman continue, claiming:

"Cooperation is especially difficult in the humanities and social sciences, as in these disciplines academic research is more closely connected to the overarching political issues than is the case in the natural sciences. In addition, a great deal of logistical and political manoeuvring is required to find ways to meet face-to-face due to the legal, physical and psychological barriers separating Israelis and Palestinians from one another. These obstacles combined with a general indifference...make it easier for Palestinian and Israeli academics alike to remain isolated in their own communities (Salem & Kaufman, 2007:21)."

In this complex situation, it was a personal risk that I decided to take once embarked on this research; the risk that I might not be able to get access, the risk of not being able to prove my findings as evidence, but that the results would rather be perceived as manipulation by participants who have no interest in co-operating with an Israeli researcher, and the risk to the safety of me and my immediate family. Having said this, my interest in the investigation of the Palestinian community was strong and I also believed that I should publish the research to advance knowledge in the field. I was born following *'Yom Kippur' War, a 'child of winter 1973'. My birth followed the death of my uncle, my father's brother, in the war, aged 21. During the Second World War, my mother's two brothers, who were small children at the time, died when the family fled from their home in Warsaw, escaping the Nazis threat. I grew up with the grief surrounding these deaths, knowing the effects of the horrors of the Holocaust and the painful wars that continue to affect the Israelis, following the establishment of the Israeli state when Jewish people had already found a safe haven.

"On 6th October, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked Israeli troop concentrations in the occupied Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights. The Arab armies achieved early successes with the Egyptian army crossing the Suez Canal and advancing into the Sinai (Philo & Berry, 2004: 47)."

The period during which I lived in London, was an extraordinary opportunity for me to discover the 'Other'. I did not research a community that I was part of; I was not an 'insider'. I did not research what was known and familiar to me as an Israeli researcher, but rather I researched the 'Other'. It is this fact that has driven me to conduct my research. I took the role of an explorer who starts a long journey to explore new continents. All I knew about the Palestinians and the Arab people was mediated through pain and loss. I wanted to prove that there is another way, a way of dialogue and not of conflict. I want my children, 5 and 7 year old, to grow up in a better world. My aim is to let them learn about the conflict, not through painful memories, as their ancestors had experienced. Moreover, I want them to learn that there is a way to promote a dialogue between the two sides of the conflict – the Israelis and the Palestinians. As a young girl, my family did not deliver this optimistic approach to me. I hope that my children will learn the story of the 'Other'.

Another problem that I had was facing a suspicious attitude from Jewish community members. At the time of the field work, I lived in a London suburb where the Jewish (British born Jews) and Israeli (Israeli immigrants) community is concentrated. I was part of this community and my links with the Palestinian community were seen within the Jewish community as a break with the 'public order.' Members of the Jewish community do not meet with members of the Palestinian community, they live in separate areas and there is an atmosphere of hostility between the two communities. In Israel, most Israelis know Palestinians through 'labour work', and Palestinians have no mobility opportunities, especially since the 'Oslo Agreements'. Having said this, I never was apologetic about my research, but rather answered briefly about my aims, if being asked by individuals from the Jewish community. As a result of the difficulties I have described, there was a general disbelief in my ability to conduct this research at all. However for me, this was a challenge. It was not the first time I had worked on 'impossible investigations'. I worked as a professional investigative journalist and I used to work on investigations with difficulties of access, including coverage of stories of the Arab world. In order to explain further the implications of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

on the people both sides of the conflict and on the political climate, a discussion about the implications of the formation of the state of Israel, would be followed.

Deportation and Migration – The Cases of the Palestinians and Israelis

May 14, 1948, is the date on which the establishment of the state of Israel was declared. This was an event that marked a shift in the life of the Jewish and the Palestinian people alike. For the Jewish people it was a festive day, on which a long-lasting dream has been fulfilled: the establishment of a nation state for the Jewish people, a place they could call 'home' following the Second World War and the atrocities that the Jewish people experienced through the Nazi Holocaust. For the Palestinians, the result of the establishment of the state of Israel was devastating. They lost their homes and became refugees. Since 1948 there has been unrest in the region and the Palestinians' main aspiration is to have a Palestinian state.

In this context, one can see similarities between the Israelis and the Palestinians. The strong desire for a state was part of the Jewish history narrative. The longing for a Jewish state was being expressed long before the establishment of the state of Israel, in the famous 'Zionist song': *My heart is in the East*, written by Yehuda Halevi: 'My heart is in the east, my body is in the west...'. Halevi describes the deep longing of the Jewish people in the diaspora, 'Galut' in Hebrew, for the state of Israel. By the 1870s, societies known as Chovevei Zion – 'Lovers of Zion' – had formed across Russia, which viewed mandatory Palestine as a site for national renewal and a refuge from Anti-Semitism (Philo & Berry, 2004: 2). The Hebrew word 'Galut' expresses suffering and longing. Similarly, the Palestinians' Arabic word for diaspora, '*ghurba*', has a negative context for the Palestinians. For Palestinians, the dream of a nation state is still evident. During 1949, Israel negotiated armistice agreements with all Arab states involved in the conflict. Jordan moved to annex the West Bank, whilst Egypt moved to occupy the Gaza Strip. The name 'Palestine' had disappeared from the map, its territory having been absorbed into the Israeli and Jordanian states (Philo & Berry, 2004: 23). The current political, economic and social situation of the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank leads to ongoing criticism of Israeli policy that is expressed by many Israeli and international

figures. Many scholars and other individuals, use the Nazis' Holocaust to express their criticism.

The Holocaust as a Symbol in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Holocaust was a defining event in the life of the Jewish people. It was the peak of continuous chasing after the Jewish people due to their ethnic origin. 'The term 'ethnic' was originally applied to 'cultural strangers', 'Others' and outsiders; it excluded the dominant group' (Gillespie, 1995: 9). The Holocaust was the murder of the Jewish people by the Nazis and the destruction of the life of many other Jews who managed to survive. Except for the Jews, anyone not considered 'Aryan' (Gypsies, blacks and others) suffered in the Holocaust. For many Palestinians, the Israeli government is to be blamed in the 'Palestinian Holocaust', which is as they see it, the same as the 'Nazis' Holocaust'. The Palestinian scholar Akleh, for example, says:

"Holocaust is genocidal crime against people based on their ethnicity. This genocide could be perpetrated through different means, such as poison gas, guns, tanks, air raids, biological warfare, economical siege, starvation, destruction of vital natural resources, eviction into desert, and deprivation of basic vital materials, among others, to produce the same result: mass deaths. For the last sixty years Palestinians have been victims of all these methods in a deliberate programmed holocaust. The perpetrators are not Nazis, but those who claim to be survivors (and their descendents) of the Nazi-caused holocaust: Zionist Jewish Israelis (Akleh, 2010: 103)".

The Palestinian media uses the 'Nazis' Holocaust' in its coverage: Sazar and her son Yaser immigrated to the U.K. from Gaza. Sazar talks about news events using terms that gain consensus in the Arab world:

'Al Aqsa talks more about Palestine. The Holocaust Yaser, the Holocaust when was it? We saw the Holocaust on Al Aqsa TV and Radio.'

Later I found out, that the term 'The Holocaust' was used to describe Israel Defence Force activity in Gaza in March, 2008. 3 months prior to the interviews I conducted with Sazar and Yaser. Al Aqsa TV, which belongs to Hamas, used the term in their coverage of the violence. It became an idiomatic expression. Rallies had taken place in the Arab world and in Europe in March, as the demonstrators rallied against the 'Israel Holocaust in Palestine.' This demonstrated the power the media holds and its ability to mobilise social movements and individuals.

Christison & Christison talk about genocide in the Palestinian context:

"...the truth is evident everywhere on the ground where Israel has extended its writ: Palestinians are unworthy and inferior to Jews, and in the name of the Jewish people, Israel has given itself the right to erase the Palestinian presence in Palestine - in other words, to commit genocide by destroying in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group (Christison, 2010:133)."

The Israeli scholar, Halper, blames the Israeli government for the killing of the innocent:

"The problem in the Middle East is not the Palestinian people, not Hamas, not the Arabs, not Hezbollah, not the Iranians, and not the entire Muslim world. It's us, the Israelis. ...the unnecessary wars, more limited conflicts, and the bloody attacks that served mainly to bolster Israel's position, directly or indirectly, in its attempt to extend its control over the entire land west of the Jordan: the systematic killing between 1948 and 1956 of 3000–5000 'infiltrators', Palestinian refugees, mainly unarmed, who sought mainly to return to their homes, to till their fields, or to recover lost property (Halper, 2010: 135 and 141)."

Halper is one of many Israeli academics who speak worldwide against the Israeli policy relating to the Palestinians. This is another factor that increases the hostility between the Palestinian community and the Israeli community. Many Israeli and Jewish scholars claim that the Israelis who speak against the Israeli government policy increase the

hostility towards the Israeli side of the conflict. The problem of hatred is not only as a result of the 'Israeli occupation', but also, since Israel is their nation state, of the Jewish people.

In order to complete my argumentation, I have to add that the use of the term 'the Nazis' Holocaust' for political purposes is not merely in the Palestinian context. For example, in a recent dispute (December 2012), the Jewish Orthodox described themselves as prisoners of the Nazi Holocaust, as a result of what they described as a 'discrimination and a violation of their civic rights'. Moreover, this group demonstrated by wearing the yellow badge and prisoners' clothing, that were used in the concentration camps, upsetting Holocaust survivors. Following the descriptions of the aims of the research and the research environment, there will be a discussion on its research methods.

Research Methods

My research is a qualitative research. I conducted 52 open-ended, in-depth interviews with Palestinians who reside in the U.K. They come from different socio-economic backgrounds, and different political positions, as follows:

- Age – range between 20 and 60.
- Place of Origin – Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan and the U.K.
- Number of years in the U.K: the range is between 2-30 years.
- Education – divided between no academic education at all and academic education at different levels.
- Occupation – journalists, political activists, unskilled workers, students, lecturers and professional workers.
- Reasons for leaving their home country: economic, educational and family reasons.
- Political affiliation: Hamas, Fatah and independent.

The participants are divided into three categories: students (21; 11 graduate level students and 10 undergraduate level students); professional (17) and unprofessional workers (14).

The professional participants hold the following professions: lecturers (4), a teacher, an (academic) author, psychologist, engineer, journalists (3), a cardiologist, consultant, lawyer, an ambassador, press officer and political councillor. In general, one can say that the socio-economic background of the Palestinians who emigrated from Gaza and the West Bank to the U.K. is higher than that of the Palestinians who stayed in Palestine. However, this statement is not accurate, since there are exceptions. The participants who belong to the group of the professionals and left Gaza and the West Bank, have a strong socio-economic background. Their financial abilities enabled them to emigrate to the U.K., where they found profitable jobs. The socio-economic background of the unprofessional workers is not strong (except for that of a few women who emigrated for marriage purposes). They have, though, managed to emigrate and they have improved their earnings. Some of them support their families in Palestine, others emigrated with their families. The group of students is divided into two: students with a strong socio-economic background, and students with lower socio-economic backgrounds.

To conclude this, I shall point to Bowker's conclusion, he says that "differentials in access to wealth, literacy and higher education, and urban versus village society, and uneven access to political influence or power have been constant themes of Palestinian political culture at least since the Ottoman period (Bowker, 2003: 42)."

The interviews conducted were semi structured interviews. At the beginning of the field work, I chose the method of focus groups interviews. I met with a group of Palestinians in Exeter and posed my questions to the group. The dialogue that developed between the members of the group did not allow me to receive answers relating to Palestinians' media consumption practices. Rather, it was a general debate about the media market in Palestine. The dynamic in groups interviews and the influence of group members on each other, would have damaged the validity of the research. Mutual influence also raises issues of reliability. In one-to-one interviews it is always an issue as to whether the same interviewee would have given the same response on a second occasion. "Group discussions twist and turn, so it must be the case that what anyone says is closely determined by the state of the group at the moment when they say it (Gomm, 2008:227)".

My aim was to learn about individual practices and not about collective ones, I therefore decided to interview each member of the group individually, and continued to use this method throughout the whole period of my field work. I did not use any of the focus group material in the thesis.

The choice to use interviews as a research method, as Kvale says, involves a challenge to renew, broaden and enrich the conceptions of knowledge and research in the social sciences (Kvale, 1996:10). The consumption of news online is an individual practice. In contrast, in Palestine, television is the dominant medium and its consumption is collectivist – family members watch television together at home, and television viewership is also common in cafés and public places. The research method of individual interviews thus fits my research objectives: to learn about individual practices. It is true that the internet has contributed to the formation of Palestinian (as well as, Arab and other) social networks, but the preferences of the audience in regard to media content, are individual preferences. The researcher has to be aware too of the problem of power relations that might arise when using the interview research method (Brinkman & Kvale, 2005:170). To put it differently, the purpose of the interview is to contribute to knowledge and this can be achieved by the researcher's clear understanding of the participants' responses. The open-ended nature of the interview is very important for the participants. The interview should not be imposed on the participants, but rather the researcher must let them express their feelings. In the dialogue between the researcher and the participants, the researcher's role is to listen to the participants' responses as he verifies that what he has heard correlates with the meaning of the participants. I relate to the definition of 'meaning' according to the mind-reading approach – 'what people say is: evidence of what people think, feel, experience, how they make sense of and interpret the world' (Gomm, 2008: 9). There is otherwise the risk of using this method: introducing interpretation instead of actual meaning. The construction of meaning and production of knowledge would thus lack the scientific nature needed for any research.

The setting of the interviews was the natural environment of the interviewees, except for one interview, which I conducted in my home. Interview places were as follows:

working place (17 participants), Palestinian social events and conferences (20 participants), local restaurants (12 participants) and 2 interviews that took place in the participants' homes. The fact that most of the interviews took place in the familiar setting of the household of the informants and around their normal activities could afford the researcher fodder for casual observations, an approach that emphasises the social character of media appropriation (Silverstone, Hirsh & Morley, 1991). According to Harrowing:

"Qualitative research is usually conducted in a natural setting and analysis is inductive, with the researcher paying particular attention to discourse and behavior of participants (Harrowing, 2010: 242)".

The location of the interviews has helped me to put the interviews in context. I saw my participants in their natural environment, as a result I learnt about the participants' daily life, links with Palestine, political outlook, economic and social status and level of integration in the host country, the U.K. I refer here to 2 interviewees in order to support my argument: 40 years old. Mahmoud lives in Exeter with his wife and 4 children. They emigrated to the U.K. from Gaza as Mahmoud received a scholarship for Ph.D. studies. They cannot travel back to Gaza because of the curfew. The family had lived in Exeter for 3 years at the time of the interview. Mahmoud works as a lecturer and as a private tutor for Arabic, to support his family. He is a religious man. His political affiliation is to the Hamas party. His clothing is modest and his appearance is not Westernised. The initial meeting with Mahmoud and the interview with him, took place on 6th June, 2008. We were sitting in a quiet area at the university, outside the office he shares with a colleague. After the completion of the interview, Mahmoud invited me to enter his office. The Israeli occupation is a dominant issue in Mahmoud's life. In his university office hang posters against the occupation and a poster for the memorial of Rachel Corry, with the title 'Shaida' – a martyr (Rachel Corry was an American peace activist who died by IDF bulldozer during the second Intifada, in the Gaza Strip). Through being at his office, I realised that Palestine's politics are an issue that dominates his daily life. Indeed, Mahmoud is involved in many political activities. This explains Mahmoud's need for

updated news and his practice of reading news online, everyday, on a variety of websites: Palestinian, Israeli and U.K. news websites.

Another example that proves the importance of the interview's actual location, is, the interviews I conducted in a Palestinian family restaurant. I arrived at the restaurant on a rainy, cold evening. The location was not in a central place, and the restaurant is small. Later, Mohammed, the family member who invited me, explained to me that their main job is catering for functions and they want to have a bigger restaurant. The family home is in the same building as the restaurant: Mohammed, his wife and two children, his brother and parents, live on the floor above the restaurant. Maybe this is also the reason why having a bigger restaurant is still a dream – if they invest in a new restaurant, they will also have to find a new home for the family. Mohammed was late for our meeting. He asked the waiter, Ahmed, to host me. Ahmed served me nice Palestinian food. I knew that I should not pressure Ahmed to be interviewed, or to introduce me to the family, but rather I should eat first, and wait for Mohammed. Indeed, this was the case. Ahmed was very generous, but as for talking about my research, he suggested waiting until Mohammed came. I spent 3 hours in the restaurant and conducted 4 interviews: with Mohammed, his wife, his brother and the waiter. I also met Mohammed and Sam's parents. The interior design of the restaurant is traditionally Palestinian: furniture, decorations, ornaments and Gaza pictures. The family lives a traditional way of life – the parents and their children live together, as is common in 'collectivist cultures' (Triandis in Brislin, 1990: 40), and they actually preserve the way of life of Gaza, as well as, keeping the hierarchical family members roles, since 'collectivists' emphasise hierarchy (Triandis in Brislin, 1990: 41). The women cook, the men manage the business. The family sells Palestinian food for a living, mostly for Palestinian functions and customers, and actually 'live and dream' Gaza through the decoration of their restaurant and house. These factors indicate the centrality of Gaza and the life they left behind in their daily life in the diaspora. The two brothers obtained their higher education degrees in the U.K. They follow international news and use international and U.K. news websites, but Palestine's news is most important for them, as their daily life proves.

My research question is: How do Palestinians in the U.K. use the media/a in their daily life and to what extent does the internet impact on their news consumption. The interviews were semi structured. I asked my participants a set of questions, and I also conducted informal talks, to learn about their views and about media in the Arab world in general, and in Palestine, in particular.

The Interview Setup

I started my field work using personal contacts to find the first interviewees. Later, I found participants using the snowballing method – receiving contacts from my interviewees, I was also looking for new contacts during the whole period of the field work. There were cases when my informants introduced me to their friends, and I decided not to include them, but to look for new contacts. My aim was to find a group that was representative of the Palestinian community. To put it differently, as I explained above, the participants include members of the Palestinian community who belong to different socio-economic groups: students, professionals and unprofessional workers. I did not focus on one group or another, but rather interviewed participants from each group. There is also not a big gap between the numbers of participants in each group. I chose not to interview more than a few participants who are part of the same group of friends/colleagues/acquaintances. The reason is dual: first, by avoiding doing so, I obtained interviews with a wide spectrum of Palestinians, from different backgrounds. Secondly, I have avoided the influence of the group on the individual, which helped me to receive diverse views.

In order to include a wide spectrum of the Palestinian community, I did not concentrate on one location, but rather travelled all over England to conduct the interviews. I also conducted interviews with heterogeneous individuals. For example, in the Rusholme area of Manchester, there is a concentration of restaurants that are managed by Arab people. I met there Palestinian restaurant workers and diners. In Cambridge, I interviewed Palestinian students and professionals. The research thus includes participants from different economic and social backgrounds.

While doing the field work, I went to Palestinian events and in some cases met the same people I had already interviewed. I became familiar with community members, and they used to see me from time to time at different events. I became not only an observer, but also a participant, as I was taking part in activities, for example, leading a discussion on the Palestinian media at a gathering of Palestinian organisations.

I also participated in meals at different occasions - a very important thing in Arab culture. In addition to the interviews with 52 participants, I discussed my questions with Palestinians who were not concluded in the research for a variety of reasons: either they were not using the internet at all, they did not want to participate, or because Palestinians I talked with could not complete the interview because of lack of time. I also spoke with Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who were visiting the U.K, and who were not included in my research, as they do not belong to the Palestinian diasporic community.

Research Questions

I asked the participants two sets of questions: the first set included personal questions, and the second set included questions that refer to the Palestinians' media consumption practices. The duration of each interview was a few hours. I learned to know the participants by asking them personal questions. We also could not avoid political discussions. The first set of questions I posed to the participants: full name, place of origin, current residency (in the U.K.), number of years in the U.K., reason for leaving the place of origin, profession/occupation, age, marital status and political affiliation. My aim in asking these questions was dual: first, to build a friendly relationship with the participants. Secondly, to understand their media usage habits in a comprehensive way. Some researchers argue that developing friendships with the participants is for the benefit of the research. Others argue the opposite. I suggest that the researcher should find a balance between the two approaches. Andersen, for example, argues that the relationship that the interviewer wants to make is a befriending one, on the assumption that people are more likely to disclose themselves authentically to friends (Andersen, 1993). In contrast to Andersen, Grumet claims that friends may be the last people someone will disclose intimacies to (Grumet, 1991:69). In the case of this research, I believe that the personal

questions were an important part of the interviews, for me as a researcher, as well as for the participants. For me, it was beneficial because I could analyse my data through looking for correlations, for example, the link between occupation/profession and the language the participants are using to read/watch news. From the participants' perspective it was natural to discuss their personal stories, as this is normal in the Arab culture, particularly when talking about the Palestinians in the context of their historic narrative. Even more so, they were happy to tell me their personal stories and also felt more comfortable in asking me personal questions, which I answered. Rosmer describes a similar interviewing experience: "in the interview situation my status as an outsider was an advantage, as most interviewees were eager to explain their reality to me (Rosmer, 2010: 133)." As I said earlier, on one hand, the researcher should not be distanced from his interviewees. On the other, the friendly relationship has the goal: of building a good 'interview environment', including the ability of the researcher to approach the participants repeatedly if he needs to do so. This does not mean that the researcher and the participants have to be friends beyond the context of the interviews. The second set of questions was related to the media consumption practices of the participants. I started by asking the general question: which medium do you use the most for news consumption? I then asked the following specific open questions (the participants answered each question in detail):

1. The reasons for using a specific medium as a major medium
2. Names of Palestinian and other Arab websites being used for news consumption
3. Names of Israeli Websites being used for news consumption
4. Names of international and U.K. news websites being used
5. TV news channel consumption practices
6. Newspapers (hardcopies) being read
7. Frequency of reading/watching News
8. Level of interest in Palestine and U.K. News
9. Medium being used at times of breaking news in Palestine/Israel.

The structure of 'progressive focusing' (Gomm, 2008: 287) - beginning with a broad question, followed by specific questions, is often used in qualitative research. This research method allows participants to reflect and to engage with the questions. When I asked personal questions, I allowed participants to answer the questions they felt comfortable with, to disclose the information they wanted to disclose. I did not put pressure on them, for example, to disclose their political affiliation. However, the result was that the participants co-operated with me and their insight contributed to rich data and detailed background information. "The advantages of the interviews are the ability of the researcher to find out about the participants' ideas, thoughts, opinions, attitudes and motivations (Berger, 2000: 113)". I recorded 4 interviews, including one with the Palestinian Ambassador to the U.K. and one with the Director of the Institute of Islamic Political Thought (IIPT). In most cases, however, I wrote down the participants' responses to my questions, as well as relevant details about what was said informally and I did not record the interviews. The participants felt comfortable with the method of writing, and they felt free to speak to me, as the interviews were not recorded. Berger points to recording as one of the interview's advantages (Berger, 2000: 165). In my research, I did not use this advantage (as Berger suggests) to its full extent. Having said this, the performance of participants was better when I did not record and they talked more openly. The recorded interviews did not yield different information than the unrecorded interviews, but the flow of the interviews without a recorder was better.

Individual Interviews

I conducted 52 interviews with Palestinians who reside in the U.K., who come from different socio-economic backgrounds, and different political positions, as follows:

The Palestinians in Exeter

I started my field work in Exeter. My initial plan was to conduct focus group interviews. Almost a year before I started my field work, in July, 2007, I met my first participant at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) conference, at Oxford University. I presented at the conference. One of the main reasons I chose to participate

in conferences with the theme of Muslims and the media, apart from learning about the topic, was to meet Palestinians.

Indeed, I met the first respondent. A 40 year old man who lives in Exeter with his wife and 4 children. They emigrated to the U.K. from Gaza, as the family's father received a scholarship for PhD studies. They cannot travel back to Gaza because of the curfew. The family had lived in Exeter for 3 years at the time of the interview. We spoke a few words in Arabic and in Hebrew. The respondent has links with Israel, as he worked in construction in Israel, before the first Intifada broke out. The interview was conducted in English.

He works as a lecturer at Exeter University and as a private tutor for Arabic, to support his family. In Gaza, he worked as a lecturer at the Islamic University. He is a religious man whose political affiliation is Hamas party. His clothing is modest and his appearance is not Westernized.

I talked to the first respondent about my field work and he said that he would assist me in finding participants. Almost a year later, I called him and asked to put me in contact with his fellow Palestinians. I received his agreement, but he was worried about the reactions of his friends. In the end, he suggested acting as a mediator. He would organise groups, the meeting places, the dates and the times. He invited me to meet him at the university in Exeter to discuss my research and the interview plan, before I met the other participants.

Professor A.: few days before I met my interviewee at Exeter University, I had a meeting with Professor A. I obtained his contact through my friend Fatmah (we studied Arabic together for a few years). Fatmah is the Professor's Assistant. I did not include Professor A. in my research, because he does not use the internet for news consumption. I did not speak with him prior to the interview, because my aim was to learn how he uses the media for news at a meeting, and not over the phone, or in an email.

Even though I did not include Professor A. in my research, it is interesting to compare him and my first respondent in relation to their news consumption practices.

Professor A., 60, belongs to the upper middle class. He has a profitable job and he lives a comfortable life. Unlike the first respondent and his Palestinian colleagues, he has no restrictions on travel. He has an Israeli passport and an Israeli identity card.

What links the interviewee from Exeter and Professor A. are their historical roots and the '*Nakba*' event. They both speak about their family's displacement with frustration: the first interviewee's family is from Beit Daras, which is a Jewish village today. Professor A. talks with nostalgia about his roots: 'my family had land in Jaffa and in Qesaria...'

The additional interviews conducted in Exeter:

The second respondent is an intellectual, opinionated woman. She is religious -wears the veil, but her appearance is not of a traditional Muslim woman. She is 37, married with 2 children, aged 12 years and 5 weeks old. Her place of origin is Gaza. She works as a lecturer at Exeter University and as a freelance journalist: she is a fixer in Gaza for The Guardian newspaper and writes for the Los Angeles Times. She also works for a Palestinian human rights organisations in London.

She compares Gaza, a place she describes as 'hell', to Israel: 'paradise'. She talks with pathos on the loss of her parents' house in Han Yunes. She also has a blog where she talks about this issue, as well as writing articles about her personal 'trauma', for international newspapers. Her husband participated in the research, as well. He is a 55 year old engineer. Both of them are supporters of the Hamas party.

The 48 year old fourth respondent emigrated from Rafah to the U.K. for PhD studies. His wife and 8 children stayed in Rafah. The 23 year old fifth respondent left Gaza for studies. He belongs to the 'internet generation'. He reads Al Jazeera Arabic news on his mobile and watches Al Jazeera Arabic in the Internet. He does not have access to Satellite TV.

The 33 year old sixth respondent, left Gaza for study purposes.

I met respondents seven and eight, a mother (35) and her son (17) on the evening follows the meeting with the group, at the same restaurant. The 17 years old son emigrated from Gaza to the U.K. for studies, with his mother and 3 siblings. The mother is a housewife. She does not speak English well. I conducted the interview with her in Arabic.

The Interviews at the School of Oriental Studies (SOAS)

At SOAS I expected to find participants, as this school is well known as a home for Muslim events and gatherings, a few of which I attended, as described in this chapter. The first respondent at SOAS is a 26 year old PhD student at SOAS. He moved from Gaza to the U.K., and has lived in London for 5 years. The second respondent was the Head of the Palestinian Society at SOAS at the time of the interview, but he is not a student. He is very knowledgeable, particularly relating to Middle Eastern topics. He is 36, married with one child and has lived in the U.K. for 12 years.

Working Class Palestinians in Golders Green

Golders Green, London, is well known for its flourishing orthodox Jewish community. The main street has a variety of kosher bakeries and restaurants. At one of these bakeries I met M., who works there. He is 36 years old and has lived in the U.K. for 7 years. He did not agree to provide personal information and thus did not disclose his place of origin. While we were conducting the interview, drinking coffee in a coffee shop, next to the bakery where M. works, he called his friend, who also agreed to participate. B. was also discreet as to his identity. He agreed to say that he works with Arab countries and his age – 36. Like his friend, he also emigrated for economic reasons.

Leeds – First and Second Generation

I travelled to Leeds to interview Professor R. and his 21 year old daughter, L. The daughter was born in the U.K. and grew up in Leeds. She is a student.

The daughter's ties with Palestine, her interaction with the Arabic language and Palestinian history, are weaker than those of her father.

Interviews with Political Activists

I define political activists as individuals who actively participate in political campaigns. I interviewed the following political activists: A. (detailed interview in Manchester Palestinian Community section), Dr. T. (Islam Expo section), M. (Islam Expo section) and R. (The Palestinian Return Centre section).

During my field work, apart from formal interviews, I was also in contact with political activists from the following bodies: Zaytoun – a company whose aim is to support Palestinian farming, The Israeli Committee against House Demolitions U.K. (ICAHD), Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Interpal, Amos Trust, Palestinian General Delegation to the UK, Watford Friends of Salfeet - Palestine, Friends of Sabeel - UK, Friends of Al Aqsa – Leicester, SOAS Palestine Society, Stop the War Coalition, Holy Land Trust (based in Bethlehem), the chair of Midlands Palestinian Community Association – with whom I was in contact, and I was also included on his distribution list – to be informed about Palestinian events in the U.K., and the communications manager of 'iF' charity, whom I was in contact with and through whom I was included on the 'iF' distribution list.

The fact that I have been in constant contact with Palestinian organizations, mentioned above, and received emails regularly, allowed me to know the people who lead the Palestinian community in the U.K., as well as to meet the normal Palestinian people who are part of the diasporic community. In addition, I could follow the issues on the political and social agenda, and be updated on events and conferences daily.

E. is a political activist and student who was born to a Palestinian father and a British mother. She was born in Beit Hanina and emigrated to the U.K. for studies. E. acts for the Palestinian cause, and speaks at the events of the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions, U.K. This group campaigns for Palestinian rights in Gaza and the West Bank.

E. introduced me to her friends: A woman emigrated from Gaza for studies, and a 26 year old man, emigrated from the Al Fara refugee camp, in Jenin District. He is engaged.

Interviews with Journalists – Arab Media Watch and *Al-Quds Al- Arabi*

Arab Media Watch is an organisation that was established 'For Objective British Coverage of Arab issues', as its website states. The respondents were the Chairman (and co-founder) of Arab Media Watch, his profession and occupation is journalism, and the chairman's mother who works with him at the organisation. They live in the same house.

The young journalist invited me to their home. The house is located in central London. Though the location of the house is not in a Muslim dominated area, the interior design is traditionally Palestinian: furniture, decorations, ornaments, the coffee set and coffee table and pictures of his late father and other family members. 'We collected the furniture from different places around the world, not from one place', explains his mother.

The son was very friendly and co-operative. In contrast, his mother was not so pleased at the beginning of our meeting due to the fact that I am an Israeli. Or maybe, she was surprised that I am an Israeli (for the same reasons I came across during my field work: why is an Israeli research the Palestinian diaspora?). However, after a short conversation in which we learned a bit about each other, she was happy to help.

The son is 30 years old; he arrived in the U.K. with his parents as a child, at age 4. He was brought up in the U.K. His dress code is Westernized. His mother tongue is English. He is very confident and intelligent. His life is surrounded by Palestinianess and Palestine. His mother is a 66 year old lawyer who talks proudly about the career she developed and the international roles she carried out. In 2000, she joined her son as Director of the new organisation - Arab Media Watch. She has lived in the U.K. for 26 years.

I went to the office of the newspaper *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, in London, to meet the managing editor, a 52 year old woman, married with one child, she has lived in London for 20 years. Her home town is Nablus.

Palestinian General Delegation to the UK

I met Professor Hassassian, the Palestinian Ambassador to the U.K., in September, 2008, at 'The Disappearance of the Holy Land' Conference, in London. He carried the audience in his speech. I introduced myself and asked to interview him. The meeting was scheduled for few days later. The embassy is located in Hammersmith. I was called to Professor Hassassian office, which is wide and nice. That being said, the conditions of the interview were not ideal. The ambassador was busy, and there were disturbing noises in the office. However, I was a guest in his office and he respected this fact, as is the accepted behavior in Arab culture. He introduced me to his colleagues, whom I interviewed.

Rana is a Press Officer at the Palestinian General Delegation to the UK. She emigrated from Ramallah to the U.K. for personal reasons: marriage. She has lived in the U.K. for 5 years.

Meisoon - Political Councillor at the Palestinian General Delegation to the U.K.; has lived in the U.K. for 20 years. She is 42, an independent single woman. She has close links with her family in Gaza.

The Palestinian Return Centre

I arrived at the Palestinians Return Centre in London, for a scheduled meeting with one of its main figures. He was not there. The team welcomed me. Following a discussion on who should speak with me, it was decided that it would be a woman activist. At our meeting, she told me that the decision was made due to the fact that she is a woman. The men did not want to be interviewed. We left the office for a coffee shop, across the street. The meeting lasted more than two hours. It was important for her to tell me things beyond my specific research questions. She talked about Nablus – her home town, her fears as a

Palestinian and about her identity. She has resided in the U.K. for 30 years. Her profession is Social Psychologist. She works as a Human Rights Campaigner and for the Palestinian Return Centre.

Islam Expo

I met N. at a Palestinian stall in Islam Expo, where she was selling. Her roots are in Hebron. She immigrated into the U.K. from Jordan 40 years ago (at the time of the interview). She is 47 years old, a housewife, married with children. N. was busy selling on the toy stall when I approached her. We agreed that I would return to meet her in her lunch break. 36 years old N. place of origin is Jenine. Currently, she lives in Sheffield with her husband and 4 children. She has lived in the U.K. 15 years.

S. works as a freelance cameraman. He was busy working in the Alhiwar TV booth at Islam Expo, when I met him. He is 33 years old, and has lived in the U.K. for 10 years. He emigrated from Tiberia, because his family has resided in the U.K. since the 1970s. His marital status is separated.

I approached M. at the booth of the Palestinian charity 'Interpal', where she was working. She was born in the UK, to a family of immigrants from Gaza. She is a 26 year old teacher for children with special needs. M. is religious and wears a veil.

Dr. T is a leader of the Palestinian community. He is well known and the people at Islam Expo welcomed him. When I approached him, he was providing signatures at the launch of his new book. He also delivered a talk at the event. He is a regular commentator on Palestinian issues on mainstream British media news programmes, like BBC Television.

He emigrated from Gaza for economic reasons, and has lived in the U.K. for 16 years. At the time of the interview, he was 60 year old. He is the Director of the Institute of Islamic Political Thought (IIPT), London, a Political Activist and an Author.

The Annual Palestinian Cultural Festival, London

I left Islam Expo, in the evening, heading to the Annual Palestinian Cultural Festival. I met H., Leader of the Community, with whom I had previously been in contact. He hosted me – offered me the opportunity to participate at the dinner, and helped me to gain access by asking few of the festival participants to speak to me. Once one of the participants at the event spoke with me, the others followed suit. I was standing outside the main room, in which the event took place, and interviewed 5 participants:

B. immigrated into the U.K. for economic reasons. He works as a legal consultant.
S. immigrated into the U.K. from Tul Karem for economic reasons; he has lived in the U.K. for 9 years. He is a supermarket worker; married with children. 24 years old, S. emigrated from East Jerusalem for studies. O., 24, has lived in Exeter for 6 years. He left Ramallah for studies. O. is the Head of the Palestinian Society at the University of Exeter.

M. attended the event with his 12 year old son. He is a cardiologist and works as a consultant for the National Health Service. He immigrated into the U.K. from Tul Karem in the '80s (he has resided in the U.K. for 28 years), for economic reasons.

Interviews at the Palestinian Restaurant – Maramia

Maramia is the only Palestinian restaurant and catering company in London (according to the family who own the restaurant. I did not find another Palestinian restaurant). I met the family providing catering services at different Palestinian events I attended.

The first time I met M., was at the 'Disappearance of the Holy Land' Conference, in London. He served the food at the conference. He invited me to conduct an interview with him at his family restaurant. A month later I met him.

I arrived at the family restaurant on a cold, rainy evening. The location was not in a central place, and the restaurant is small. Later, M. explained to me that their main job is catering for functions and they want to have a bigger restaurant. The family home is in

the same building as the restaurant: M., his wife and two children, his brother and parents live on the floor above the restaurant. Maybe this is also the reason why having a bigger restaurant is still a dream – if they invest in a new restaurant, they will also have to find a new home for the family.

M. is 30 years old, married with two children. He works at the family restaurant and in a hotel. When I spoke to M. prior to our interview, to learn more about him, I discovered that he is the brother of H. whom I mentioned earlier, in the section, Annual Palestinian Cultural Festival, London. M. felt very comfortable to speak with me, after I told him that his brother helped me to obtain access to the Annual Palestinian Festival.

A., 23 works as a cook and waiter at the restaurant. He left Gaza for economic reasons: ‘to support my family in Gaza.’ R. is 25 year old. She is a housewife and helps M.’s mother cooking for the restaurant. She left Gaza for marriage, since her husband already lived in the U.K. when they met. S. is a 28 year old student. He is a Former U.N. worker in Gaza.

The Palestinian Weekend at SOAS

S. 24, married, left Ramallah and resides in Birmingham. He studies English to gain access to higher education. M. immigrated into the U.K. from Hebron; studies IT.

S. is a 27 year old student. His place of origin is Hebron. N., 23, works as a computer supervisor.

The Palestinians in Cambridge

I interviewed two participants who live in Cambridge. I interviewed the first one in Cambridge, and the second one in London, when he was on a visit. P. agreed to be interviewed on condition of confidentiality. He is a professional worker and the fiancé of an American colleague of mine, who works as a researcher at Cambridge University.

M. is a 28 year old PhD student at Cambridge University.

Manchester Palestinian Community

I contacted the Palestine Solidarity Campaign office and asked for Palestinian contacts. A few days later, I received an email from A. A. wrote that he is a Palestinian who lives in Manchester and he would be happy to meet me on one of his visits to London, during a weekend. He also wrote that he would be happy to provide me with contacts with other Palestinians. I was more than happy to receive his email. However, following the interview and A.'s willingness to help further, he disappeared.

Our interview took place on July 11, 2008, Friday evening. A. stayed at his Turkish friend house in London and asked me if it was fine by me to bring him along. The plan was to meet at the train station in the area in which I live and to go to a restaurant. We went inside two restaurants, but the noise did not allow us to conduct an interview. I had to choose between giving up on the interview, or inviting A. and his friend to my house – a possibility that I was trying to avoid, because I felt that my participants would not feel comfortable to be guests in an Israeli home. My husband and child - almost 2 year old at the time, were at home. We brought food from the restaurant, and I was host to A. and his friend. The obstacle was that my husband and I speak Hebrew with our child, and it was difficult to avoid it. I let A. approach my kid in Arabic and I did the same, as there are a few similar words. The length of the interview was a few hours. He explained to me about the Palestinian media and the increased use of Palestinian blogs.

At the end of the interview, A. invited me to Manchester to meet and interview his Palestinian friends there. Two months after our meeting in London, I was invited to speak at a conference at Manchester University. I called A., he asked me to call him on my arrival. He invited me to a gathering of the Palestinian community in Manchester, organised by the Stop the War Coalition campaigners. The hall was crowded and the participants were preparing for a big rally that was scheduled for the following weekend. The speakers talked about the occupation and about the needs of their Palestinian brothers in Palestine. There was a collection of donations for this cause. The duration of the gathering was 2 hours, during which I was listening and looking around. When the event finished, A. told me that his Palestinian friends did not come to the event. He added that

he could try to organise a meeting on the following day. But, I could not reach him over the phone and he did not reply to my messages. I decided to leave it as it was.

At the conference at Manchester University, I met Dr. M who works at the university. M. is 37 year old. He emigrated from Jenin and had lived in the U.K. for 11 years at the time of the interview, with his wife and 3 children. He invited me to his office using the well-known Arab hospitality manners. As had happened at previous interviews I conducted, the atmosphere at the meeting was good. I felt comfortable because I am familiar with the Arab culture. I told him that I can speak his language – Arabic, and I did briefly. He told me that he can speak my language – Hebrew, as his father was a Hebrew teacher. He spoke with me a few words in Hebrew. I am familiar with his culture and background – both of us are from the same region, or to put it in some of my participants' words: 'We are brothers (Arabs and Jews) after all, descendants of Abraham's sons....'

However, there is one definite thing that we do not share and this is the language. Though, both languages are Semitic and have some similarities, they are totally different. I felt uncomfortable to speak to him in Arabic, and especially in Hebrew. The only language I felt comfortable to speak is a neutral language - English. I felt that if I spoke in Hebrew I would immediately create a distance between us. The language might emphasise the occupier- occupied relationships and the dominance of the first over the second.

Following our interview, the respondent called friends in Manchester to ask whether they could meet me. Since it was the month of Ramadan, he did not manage to find, among his friends, Palestinians who agreed to be interviewed. He advised me to try finding participants in the Rusholme area and gave me names of a few restaurants in which he assumed Palestinians worked. I went to Rusholme in Manchester, which is well known as a gathering area for the Muslim community. Besides different Middle Eastern restaurants, there are also Muslim book shops and salons. I walked along Rusholme Main Street looking for Palestinian workers and diners.

I went inside one of the restaurants that I had been told earlier was a Palestinian restaurant. The interior design of the restaurant and shops included Palestinian ornaments from 'home'. Folklore music was playing in the background. The workers offered me food and I was sitting and eating for a long time before they started talking to me. As I am aware of the Arab culture, I ate my food slowly and the workers waited with patience. They could not join me, as is usual, since it was the month of Ramadan and they were fasting.

Once I finished eating, one of the workers joined me and I explained about my research. I could not include the worker in my research because he does not use the internet, likewise the workers in the other restaurants. I interviewed a diner at the restaurant, who asked to remain anonymous. He is a single man who left Gaza for studies and lives in Manchester.

I went outside the restaurant and the Palestinian restaurant worker was sitting with Mahmud, a 60 year old Palestinian merchant from Nablus.

I spoke with Mahmud about the media he uses in Palestine, but I did not include him in my research since he does not live in the diaspora. Surprisingly, he talked about his home in Nablus with nostalgia, unlike the young Palestinian participants, who did not reflect in their memories in such an emotional way as the merchant:

‘There is no substitute to the fresh air in Nablus. I sit in my house in the evening with drinks and my family (wife, children, and grandchildren) and this is the real joy.’

Interviews with Young Academics

I met a young scholar at the University of Westminster, where he is undertaking his PhD research. He is 31, emigrated from Gaza to London; is married and has 2 children.

I. is a visiting lecturer at City University in London. He emigrated to the U.K. from Gaza.

Interviews at the London School of Economics (LSE)

In September, 2008, I was Chair, at a BRISMES conference at LSE, of the panel: Media and Communications in Middle Eastern Culture and Politics. I met 2 of my participants at the conference: Anonymous - his family is from Ramallah and Nablus. He was born in the U.K. and lives in Kent. He is a 28 year old lawyer and is married. 28 years old, N. emigrated from Beit Lehem. She lives in London with her husband and works as a Development Worker at a U.K. charity.

Observation

My field work included participation at major Palestinian events as follows:

1. Islam Expo, Olympia London, July, 2008 - a yearly social event for the Muslim community. The event takes place in a big hall that includes many stalls, among them stalls for Palestinian food products and Palestinian charities. The visitors to Islam Expo are families, as the fair attracts children. Another activity in Islam Expo is lectures provided by prominent Muslim academics and Journalists. The lectures take place in conference rooms. The participants are professionals, both Muslim and non-Muslim. There was also a Media Centre. Islam Expo is a 4 day event.
2. The Annual Palestinian Cultural Festival, London, July, 2008 – this event is not a publicized event like Islam Expo. The programme included a talk delivered by the Chairman of the Association of the Palestinian Community in the UK, followed by dinner and folklore music. Whereas in Islam Expo event, I met Hamas supporters according to what they told me at this gathering, I met mainly Palestinians who support the Fatah party. The participants were a mixture of the Palestinian community: doctors, students, blue collar workers and others.
3. Stop the War Coalition gathering, Manchester, September, 2008 - following the talks delivered by Palestinian and non-Palestinian campaigners, there was a

collection of donations for Palestine. The organiser announced a rally for Palestine and asked the audience to take part and to contribute to the preparations.

4. The Disappearance of the Holy Land Conference, London, September 2008 ‘a conference addressing the crisis of the diminishing Christian presence in the Holy Land’ (the conference leaflet). The conference took place in a church in central London. It was organised by the Amos Trust – a non-Muslim charity for Palestine. The supporters of the events were different charities and organisations, such as – Friends of Sabeel U.K., Gloucestershire.
5. Organisations for Palestine, event at SOAS, November 2008 –Watford friends of Palestine and other bodies gathered to discuss Palestinian problems. At the event, attended by senior editors from Palestine, who discussed with the audience the mobilisation of the Palestinian media.
6. Palestinian weekend at the School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), November, 2008, this event was organised by SOAS’s Palestine Society. It included talks, delivered by the Israeli Journalist, Gideon Levy of the newspaper *Haaretz*, Samia al-Botmeh of Bir Zeit University, and Professor Ilan Pappé, Exeter University. There were also photo exhibitions, folklore, Palestinian dabke workshops for adults and children and film screening of *Chronicles of a Refugee* and a fair trade sale.
7. SOAS Palestine Society talk, December, 2008 – ‘The Israeli Occupation’ by Gideon Levy, *Haaretz* and Karma Nabulsi, Oxford University.

By observing Palestinian community events, in Britain, I was able to conduct, and later, analyse my interviews in context, by seeing the participants' actions and their present concerns. In addition, I met Palestinians who became participants in the research. From the observation, I learned about the following major issues, which are relevant to my research questions and aims: Firstly, Palestine problems and Palestinian politics are issues that dominate the lives of Palestinians, regardless of their socio-economic status, age and gender. Following formal and informal talks with Palestinians, I gathered that the interest of the Palestinians in news and in politics is significantly high. In a comparative study, Triandis found that in less complex cultures people care very much about religion and politics (Triandis in Brislin, 1990: 38). For the Palestinians, news and politics are their life – they have left a conflict zone. Their families and friends are still there. For them the need for updated news from Palestine is thus crucial. Unlike migrants from Western countries, their use of websites is mostly for news and not for entertainment. As Lynch claims, in relation to the emergence of the new Arab public sphere:

"The mere emergence of satellite television networks established the technical possibility of an Arab public sphere...but only when al-Jazeera refocused the satellites away from entertainment and toward politics... toward political argument about Arab issues defined by an Arab identity – did it become a public sphere (Lynch, 2006: 33)."

Secondly, The Palestinian community is a politically active community. Their activity includes the collection of donations for Palestine, demonstrations, events in which the Palestinians host established media figures and academics (Palestinians and Israelis) and social events that aim to raise awareness of Palestinian culture, economic initiatives and history. This effort is being exercised by using the internet as a major platform.

Thirdly, the representation of the Palestinians in the media, not merely in the Arab and the Palestinian media is very important to them for political reasons. The Palestinians would like to disseminate, worldwide, their views about Israeli positioning and the current situation of people living in Palestine, by using the media. The news story of the

Palestinians is well televised – a film presented at one of the events I attended, for example, showed the story of one Palestinian family whose house was repeatedly demolished by Israel Defence Forces (IDF). Films like this, and others, have an emotional effect on audiences and are being broadcast on different platforms.

Methodological Problems

I came into the field with the curiosity to learn about the ‘Other’ and to write (document) the participants’ experiences in the most authentic way. It was the learner stance I adopted, when the interviewees are experts in a phenomenon in terms of their experience (Knapik, 2006: 88). I used the method of in-depth interviews (52) as my primary source, and documents and additional interviews as secondary sources. The main problem I expected, prior to the beginning of the field work, was access to the field. The reason for my worries was the fact that I am an Israeli and my informants are Palestinians. I was not sure whether they would agree to co-operate with an Israeli researcher, even though I am not involved in any political activities and the aim of my research is not to promote any political stance.

Throughout the whole period of the field work the issue of my being Israeli was evident. In some interviews we talked about it and in others we did not. The participants who raised the issue of my Israeli identity were curious about my reasons for choosing to research their community. Some of them were interested in my personal background and we had personal conversations. As Brinkman and Kvale noted, intimate exchanges became widely accepted as the appropriate ideal style of interviewing for research (Brinkman and Kvale, 2005). In some cases, I introduced my husband and baby to the participants. It helped in two ways: firstly, in building a good atmosphere; secondly, in the Arab culture women are not as independent as men. When I interviewed religious men, for example, the fact that my husband and baby came with me to the meetings, encouraged the participants to speak with me.

According to Triandis:

"When people come into contact with individuals from other cultures, they observe differences in dress, customs, behavior patterns, language and more. Most people react to such differences ethnocentrically, they use their own ethnic group as the standard and judge others favorably if they are like in-group members and unfavorably if they are not (Triandis in Brislin, 1990: 34)".

Since I knew in advance that problems of suspicion and hostility might arise, the participants and I had informal talks, in which my role was to listen to their feelings, arguments, political stance, and so on. We did not have political arguments, though, since I was listening without judgment and I did not attempt to change their feeling and views. Others saw me as the right person through whom to confront their feelings of loss and trauma, as a result of the Palestinians' dispersal. As Gergen claims, "interviews became a site for persons to tell their stories to empathetic listeners (Gergen, 2001: 21)".

Following the informal talks, I took the role of the interviewer and the participants took the roles of the interviewees. They co-operated with me fully and answered the questions I had prepared in detail. They also elaborated on the Palestinian media market and the Palestinians' news consumption, when I asked for clarifications. To conclude, the point of the challenge I had because I am an Israeli, my fear of not being able to have access to the field, has turned out to be untrue. I was able to obtain 52 individual interviews, access to main Palestinian events and co-operation with my participants. I think that in observing the relationship between the Israelis and the Palestinians, more specifically the relationship between me and the participants in my research, one should see more than clashes of dominant and non-dominant cultures/oppressed groups or conflicts between traditional and modern representations. As an Israeli researcher, I feel that my culture is, in a way, close to the Arab culture, though, 'Israel' is influenced by Western culture, and, on a personal level, as an 'Ashkenazi' Israeli, I have been influenced by European culture practices. However, the important point is that 'Israelis and Palestinians are not cultural strangers but share an intimate acquaintance and mutual history that is nonetheless a

source of great controversy and mutual grievance' (Cofman Wittes, 2005: 6). Similarly to the Palestinians, non-European Jews who were encouraged to immigrate into Israel after its establishment – like Yemenis, Turks, Algerians, Indians, etc., were also constructed as others. The culture and identity of Arab-Jews (Mizrahim) has been suppressed by the Zionist narrative, similarly to Palestinian identity and culture (Friedman, 2010: 25).

According to Klieman, Israelis and Palestinian Arabs are neither distant nor total strangers. Klieman argues that:

"The two pre-Intifada decades, 1967-87, featured unprecedented cultural intermingling, with Israeli consumers regularly marketing in towns like Qalqiliya, while Palestinians strolled in the streets of Tel-Aviv... in contrast, recent years have witnessed the forced and defensive reconstruction of old psychological walls of fear...resulting in ... and estrangement in both societies. Still, the fact remains that the earlier familiarities cannot be easily or totally eradicated (Klieman in Cofman Wittes, 2005: 82)."

The problem remains in my ability to prove to my readers that this was the case and I hope that my research will be understood in the light of my approach to the research and to the participants. I did not start my field work with pre assumptions and my aim was to learn and to contribute to knowledge. There is also the problem of using qualitative research methods, which are not statistically quantifiable in their nature, and the researcher has to present the data as 'evidence'. However, 'evidence' is a negotiable term. For example, Mautner says, evidence is 'that which provides a ground for a belief or a theory' (Mautner, 1999: 184). Audi says that evidence is 'information bearing on the truth or falsity of a proposition' (Audi, 1999: 293). To answer this argument, I claim that my research findings are a result of 'generalisation' (Miller & Fredericks, 2003: 48) relating to repeated media usage practices, cutting across age, gender, occupation and socio-economic status. For example, one can look at the category of 'level of interest in Palestine and U.K. news'. I found that most of the participants have more interest in Palestine's news than in U.K. news, regardless of their length of stay in the U.K., age,

gender, occupation and social-economic status. My conclusion is therefore that, for the Palestinians in the diaspora, Palestine's news is the most interesting news items. In the case that the results of the interviews had been different, for example, that only a few participants or not many participants, had more interest in Palestine's news than in U.K. news, I obviously could not have arrived at the same conclusion. Or, if many participants who belong to the same age group, for example, had said that they had more interest in Palestine's news, I could not write, relying on this data, a conclusion about the Palestinian diasporic community members in the U.K. The fact that most of the participants expressed the same feelings, regardless of their age, gender, occupation and socio-economic status, allowed the conclusions I drew. As a result, I can draw conclusions also, beyond media usage practices, on the implications for Palestinian national feelings, and say that the Palestinian identity is very important for the Palestinians in the diaspora. The link between the integrated and the less integrated groups of Palestinians in the diaspora is their traumatic experience of dispersal and their collective memory (Shiblak, 2005: 15). Furthermore, the interest in Palestine's news also does not link to the medium being used. Even though young Palestinians mainly use the internet for news consumption more than once a day and older participants use mainly TV for news consumption, it is equally important for both groups to follow Palestine's news as their first priority. In other words, the internet enables exposure to a variety of websites, including news stories and analysis, as well as contact with other users through the use of blogs, chat rooms, and so on. In contrast, for TV audiences, it is more difficult to find Palestine's news, since even Arab broadcasters do not dedicate their news bulletins only to Palestine's news. There is, though, a substantial difference between the two groups, in their ability to obtain information about Palestine, both groups have more interest in Palestine's news than in the U.K. news.

Another issue to be discussed are my considerations when choosing the language used for interviews. The participants and I speak different languages and belong to societies that have different ways of life: traditional vs. Westernized. Nevertheless, I overcame this problem by conducting the interviews in English, and not in Arabic or Hebrew (in the few cases where the participants could speak Hebrew). Firstly, I would relate to the

problem of interviewing in Arabic. If I had conducted my interviews in the participants' first language – Arabic, I believe that the process of coding and evaluating the interviews would have been problematic. The reason is that by using the Arabic language, native speakers tend to speak in a more emotional way, according to many participants. In other words, Arabic language speakers (mainly Muslims), often use religious idioms, that create an emotional way of speaking. The Palestinians, including third generation Palestinians, use the Arabic language in pray, as well as use metaphors normal in the Arab culture. As a non-Palestinian researcher I am also not always familiar with the nuances and interpretations of the Arabic language. The use of the English language therefore helped me to understand the participants' answers clearly and I believe that the dialogue between us was more rational, thanks to the fact that we communicated in English. Few of the participants cannot speak English clearly, or do not know English at all. In these cases, I interviewed in Arabic. There is still, though, a problem relating to my ability to deliver the interviews' results to the readers of this research in an authentic way, because not all of the readers are Arabic speakers. It is true that the interviews were mainly conducted in English, but, there are two challenges: firstly, the names of Palestinian and Arab media outlets sometimes have a meaning, and I have translated the necessary words. For example, the meaning of the name of the newspaper *Al Youm*, which means 'today', would not be the same for Palestinian and non-Palestinian readers. Secondly, there are phrases which are widely used in Palestinian and Arab circles, as well as being familiar to me as an Israeli, but which are not familiar to all of the non-Palestinian and non-Israeli readers. The most common example is the phrase '*nakba*' which means the trauma of 1948: the establishment of the state of Israel. Another example is the use of the word 'brothers'. This is a very common phrase in the Palestinian as well as in the Israeli culture (said in different languages, but with similar meaning). I did my utmost to bring the participants' answers as they were said by them, by writing the authentic Arabic words in my work, and not writing my own interpretations of the Arabic words and phrases that were used by the participants.

Secondly, there were a few cases where I could interview in Hebrew, my first language, but I did not attempt to do so, rather, we only had a manners conversation ('small talk') in

Hebrew. I felt very uncomfortable interviewing participants in this language, because, for the Palestinians, the Arabic language is one of the symbols of their nation which is very important to them, as a stateless diaspora. Interacting in the Hebrew language would have culturally reproduced the power relations between the dominant culture and the oppressed groups. According to Bukay:

"Language is critical in importance in Arab culture. The Arabs are motivated by admiration for the Arabic language and wide use of witticisms, sayings, fables, and allegories, as a filter of high importance for preventing shame, and for evading frictions and conflict (Bukay, 2003:38)".

The interview locations were not in Gaza or the West Bank and therefore the experience of both sides, was positive. In this specific situation, we felt equal and the problem of the traditional vs. modern societies did not arise, since the interview was neither in the context of the actual location/'home' of the participants, nor in my country of origin: Israel.

Another problem that relates more specifically to the content of the interviews is that "people often do not tell the truth (Berger, 2000: 192)". Prior to the beginning of the field work, I knew that the question of political affiliation and usage of political websites was a sensitive issue. For example, the Palestinians do not always want to declare that they are affiliated with the Hamas party and consume Hamas' websites, as the Hamas party is, on one hand, a legitimate political power – the party that won the Palestinian legislative elections, but, on the other hand, Hamas is classified as a terrorist organisation by a few Western governments. I separated the two factors: political affiliation and the usage of political websites, in their importance level, and I attributed higher significance to the second factor. I decided not to analyse my data according to categorisation of political parties, although I did ask my participants which political party they supported, and in most cases I received honest answers, due to the fact that I went to separate official political events of Hamas and Fatah, and found many of my participants there. Still, there were participants that I did not meet at any politically-oriented events, and they hesitated

when I asked them about their political affiliations. In these cases, I mostly received the answer: ‘independent.’ I did not want to put pressure on the participants who were not happy to talk about their political stance, because the focus of my research is media consumption.

In relation to the usage of political websites – this is a dominant part of my investigation. It was very important for me to discover whether or not my participants used political websites. My aim was to learn about the role of the political websites in the life of the Palestinian in the diaspora, regardless of the particular political links of the participants. I therefore made it clear to the Palestinians I interviewed that it was vital for me to understand the phenomenon of Palestinian political websites. By listening and not criticising or encouraging political debate, I came to a few important conclusions. I discuss them in the Data Analysis chapter, but in few words only: I gathered the political websites are considered to be propaganda websites by most participants, both those who read them and those who do not read them. The role of the political websites is their provision of a ‘sense of home’ and in their provision of local news to the participants.

A methodological problem that I came across, while looking for participants, was speaking with people who did not have useful information for my research. For example, I tried to conduct interviews in Rusholme Main Street in Manchester with Palestinian restaurant owners and workers. I found that none of them use internet for news consumption. I did, though, manage to obtain an interview with one diner. Finally, there was the problem that people were reluctant to speak to me. On two occasions, I was refused an interview. At Fatah’s event, I approached a participant at the event; he asked about my identity and refused to speak to me. However, at this event I met a Palestinian community leader I knew from previous meetings, and with his help I obtained 5 interviews at the Fatah gathering. On the second occasion, I went to a ‘Stop the War Coalition’ meeting, with the promise of one of my participants to meet me there and introduce me to his fellow Palestinians, but, in the end, he decided not to do so. The positive thing was the opportunity I had to observe the 2 hour meeting of the ‘Stop the War Coalition’.

The obstacle caused by being a woman was evident mostly with the religious men I interviewed. I started the field work knowing that being Israeli might be an obstacle to obtaining access to the field. However, I reassured myself, relying on my previous experience working as an investigative journalist. Prior to the beginning of my academic research, I worked in the U.K. as a journalist on stories relating to the Muslim community in Britain. I learned about the Muslim community, not only the Palestinians. I visited mosques and covered stories on Islam. I also took Arabic courses for a few years, and I continued to take them during my (PhD) studies. When I started the field work, I already had contacts within the Muslim community, I spoke Arabic and I was familiar with the political processes of the Muslim community in the U.K. and with the political situation in Palestine.

Alongside the challenges of being an Israeli researcher, there are also advantages for an Israeli or other non-Palestinian nationality researcher. First, as a researcher who is not part of the Palestinian community, I did not have to resolve the problem of detachment from that Palestinian community its history, politics and personal family narratives and their influences on daily life, as a Palestinian researcher would have to do. Secondly, in this kind of a research it might be that a Palestinian researcher would have to take into consideration personal aspects. As an Israeli researcher, I was not tied to any personal or political influences by official and non official individuals in Gaza and the West Bank. To put my argument in Matar's words:

"This process (fieldwork) becomes complex particularly in situations when the distinction between researcher and informant – I and the informants describe ourselves as Palestinian – is not clearly defined and where boundaries between the two roles are fluid. What added to the complexity of the interviewing process in this case was that, given the nature of the political climate at the time of the research, respondents were worried about the purpose of the research and had to be repeatedly reminded that it had no political agenda (Matar, 2005: 168). "

Gradually, I learned that there is a fundamental difference between the work of the journalist and the work of the researcher. As a journalist, I had to work according to editorial decisions; I had to 'bring a story'. In contrast, as a researcher I had much more time to evaluate my work. As Jubas noticed, the work of the researcher, similarly to the journalist's work, is an attempt to build knowledge by addressing problems or questions. The difference is in reference to the central questions of journalism that must all be considered by researchers when they determine the subject, topic and process of their research projects (Jubas, 2010: 228). It was important for me to investigate and write the Palestinian community's story as an academic researcher. I entered the field with natural curiosity. Meeting with Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza in this context was new for me. I was not familiar with the Palestinian diasporic community's use of the media. I faced many obstacles, starting with finding over 50 participants from different areas in the U.K., obtaining their agreement to be interviewed, and dealing with political processes that are beyond my control. However, this journey was interesting. I think that this was also a new experience for my participants. Both my participants and I arrived at the meetings with a basic lack of conviction. Two main factors contributed to the building of a 'neutral' environment: the fact that the interviews took place in the U.K. and not in Gaza or the West Bank, and, in addition, that the language the interviews were conducted in was English, and not Arabic or Hebrew. These were moderating factors in the power relations between me, the researcher, and the Palestinians, the subject of the research. Strong criticism of Israel is also being heard by people who do not belong to either side of the conflict.

Overcoming the Research Problems

As an Israeli researcher, I had to face problems from within (the Jewish community) and from without (the Palestinian community), as I mentioned earlier. Even more, I had to face the problem of criticism from individuals who are not part of the conflict. For example, in many Palestinian conferences and events I attended, British supporters of Palestine were not supportive, as they blamed the Israeli government for its policy on the Palestinians. I conducted the research as an isolated Israeli researcher – I could not share my research methods' problems with other Israeli researchers, because I

was the only one who was researching, or had researched, the Palestinian community. During the period of the research I was involved with the Palestinian community and was always the only Israeli scholar at events for Palestinians and their supporters. When I delivered talks on different platforms, I was the only Israeli speaker among Palestinian scholars. It was an uneasy experience – conducting research in a hostile environment where the researcher actually represents the informants’ ‘enemy’, one that belongs to the other side in the conflict. Having said that, I did not look only at the problems I had to face as a result of the conflict but. Rather, I also looked at the commonalities between Palestinians and Israelis in the U.K. As Gillespie points out, the commonalities between her, as a daughter of Irish catholic immigrants to London and the informants, Punjabi Sikhs in London, have helped her to deal with some of the problems inherent in learning from and studying a culture different to one’s own, reducing the risk of ‘tribalising’ the ‘other’ (Gillespie, 1995: 50).

It might be the case, ‘as suggested by Herod (1999), that instead of operating with a dualistic approach to insiders versus outsiders, it might be more useful to consider ‘degrees of outsidersness’ (Rosmer, 2010:132). As for the Palestinians in the diaspora, problems of hostility became significant especially following the 9/11 terror attacks in the U.S., because of their Muslim identity. In that sense, the participants and I belong to two hostile sides of an ongoing conflict, and each one of us faces criticism and suspicion from individuals and groups that are not part of the conflict. Another very important issue is that during the period of the field work, both the participants and I were immigrants to the UK. Although, I received British citizenship in 2008, this did not change the fact that I still felt, firstly, like an Israeli immigrant and only then a British citizen. Being an Israeli immigrant, I could reflect on the Palestinian immigrants, as both the participants and I emigrated from the same region. Emigration to the U.K. was also a common feature in our lives. The Palestinians and the Jews have a common historical narrative: the status of the Palestinian refugees is similar to the experience of the Jewish refugees, who described themselves as ‘migrant Jews’, mostly before 1948, but, still this description is widely used by Jewish people these days. Gillespie’s claims in relation to the ‘South Asian’ immigrants in London, demonstrates my argument:

"The experience of being uprooted, displaced and discriminated against tends to produce feelings of insecurity, nostalgia for an idealised past, and a longing for an idealised 'homeland'. This often encourages attempts to maintain, strengthen and even re-invent cultural traditions which are seen to be under threat or attack. Migration and settlement also inevitably lead to an acceleration of the processes of cultural change, processes in which the media are implicated (Gillespie, 1995:50)".

The Jewish people, many of them refugees, who established the state of Israel in 1948, formed an Israeli society that was a 'melting pot'. They came from different countries in Eastern Europe, but were not only from there.

"Sephardim began immigrating to Israel in increasing numbers from 1949 onwards, including almost the entire Jewish populations of Libya, Yemen and Iraq, as well as displaced Jews from the remaining Arab states (Segev, 1993: 121-2, 185-6)."

The immigrants had different traditions and cultures, which they wanted to preserve. The result was the creation of the 'new Israeli', as each group still keeps its own traditions. In a similar way, as discussed in this thesis, it is highly important for the Palestinians in the diaspora, to preserve their own culture.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the uniqueness of this research by describing the hostile research environment in which the Israeli researcher worked. There is a lack of research on the Palestinian community by Israeli researchers. The researcher of this study took the first step to what she hopes will result in a useful study which will encourage further research in this field by non-Palestinian researchers. As this chapter proves, in interviewing the other side of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as an 'outsider' researcher, there is a constant process of learning: in learning the Palestinians' media consumption practices, their political aspirations and through studying a culture and language which are different from one's own.

The benefits of qualitative research method for this research are discussed in this chapter. My aim was to collect as much information as I could by using open questions. Palestinian media consumption does not stand on its own; it is linked to political mobilisation, politics and daily life, identity, feelings of belonging, online and offline social networks, and more. The research methods I chose helped me to achieve my goal. In the data analysis process, I repeatedly read the interview responses and I analysed my data on two levels – firstly, I reached general conclusions, such as: ‘the internet is the main medium that the Palestinians in the diaspora use’. Secondly, I wrote about the reasons that lead the Palestinian audience to have certain preferences. The data was rich and when I reread the participants’ responses, I found more categories to which I could relate, beyond the main categories on which I had decided prior to the beginning of the interviewing. The personal contact between me and the participants was very important. By sending questionnaires, for example, I would not receive such data, and maybe I would not have been able to obtain an agreement for participation at all. By meeting the participants in their natural settings, and by attending many Palestinian events, I had control on my contacts with participants and I learned my participants’ challenges in media usage and daily life in the diaspora. Another advantage of conducting individual interviews is that it will allow me to continue with further research in the future, by using the contacts I developed in the period of this research, with the Palestinians in the diaspora and in ‘Palestine’. Having said that, as discussed in this chapter, by using the individual interview research method, the researcher might risk his work’s results by not receiving honest answers to his questions. There is also the problem of using qualitative research methods which are less quantifiable in their nature. However, as I explained, I learned to overcome the obstacles. In the next 2 chapters I will provide meaning for the data that was collected and a further understanding of the Palestinians in the diaspora, in reference to daily news consumption practices, feelings of belonging, and the major preoccupations of the Palestinians in the diaspora (i.e., the ‘return question’).

Chapter 4

Findings - Palestinian and Transnational Arab Media Usage

The Palestinian Media

Since I started my research, in 2006, there were major developments in the Palestinian media market. Online penetration in Palestine Territory has increased. Whereas, in 2009, 14.4% of the population in Gaza and the West Bank were using the internet, in 2012, the percentage has increased to 57.7%. Encouraged by this development, Palestine News Network (PNN) launched, recently (September 2013), six new online radio stations.

In the PNN website it is being said: "The PNN launched six private community radio networks that aim to support and develop the media, keeping pace with the technological revolution that is taking place in the world

(<http://english.pnn.ps/index.php/national/5607-pnn-launches-six-new-community-radio-networks-in-palestine>).

The website Almonitor – Palestine Pulse, has reported on this event: "In the early years of the Palestinian Authority, one of its biggest goals was to establish sovereignty over Palestinian land. This week, six new online radio stations were launched by the Bethlehem – based Palestine news network" (<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/09/palestinians-radio-stations-media.html>).

The use in new technologies is on increase, including usage in blogs and applications, such as twitter. As a result, usage patterns have changed as well. It is not only Diasporic communities who prefer the internet for news consumption, but rather Palestinians who live in Gaza and the West Bank find the internet as an efficient news source and a medium that enables an exchange of views.

Having said that, the Palestinian media suffer from major problems. I would like to provide an overview of the Palestinian media, to provide an understanding of its challenges. Before the establishment of the PA in 1994, the Palestinian media underwent two distinct phases: from 1967 to 1972, and from 1972 to 1994. During the first

period, when armed struggle was the PLO's main strategy of liberation and the role of information was marginal, the Palestinian media were weak. At the same time, Al-QUDS, the most successful Palestinian newspaper, was launched.

In 1972, as a result of the Jordanian debacle as well as of changes in the regional political arena, the PLO began to focus more on the occupied territories and the need to mobilize the population there. This marked the beginning of the second stage in the experience of the Palestinian press under occupation, as the press was deemed a useful tool to reach the population. The signing of the Oslo Accord and the establishment of the PA opened a new era for the Palestinian media, an era that was characterized both by marked increase in the number and kinds of publications, and by new and different forms of control.

"During the first year after the 1993 Oslo Accords, the newly created Palestinian public broadcaster operated from an East Jerusalem office belonging to its self-appointed head, Radwan Abu Ayyash. Abu Ayyash and his colleagues rejected the title Palestinian Broadcasting Authority in favour of 'Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation' (PBC), inspired by the BBC (Sakr, 2007: 35)."

"After Arafat's death in 2004, the Palestinian Authority new president, Mahmoud Abbas, initiated changes in oversight of the PBC and the Palestinian Satellite Channel. Whereas these had previously come under the PLO Executive Committee and PA presidency, they were transferred in April 2005 to the Ministry of information (Sakr, 2007: 36)."

In January 2006, Hamas won the legislative elections in Gaza, indicating the end of the Palestinian Authority rule there. Clashes between Fatah and Hamas factions led to the creation of two authorities in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In 2007 all Arab efforts to a national unity government failed. Consequently, the tensions had risen to the level of an armed conflict during which Hamas took over the Palestinian Authority institutions in the Gaza Strip.

Sakr points out on the change in the Palestinian media, in 2006: "When the Islamic resistance movement, Hamas, was elected to form a Palestinian government in January 2006, Abbas moved all official media outlets, including PBC, away from the ministry of information and affiliated them to his own presidential office (Sakr, 2007:36)."

One of the main challenges of the Palestinian media is censorship. Censorship in the Palestinian context is not a set mechanism but a behavioral pattern. Following several incidents in which the PA reacted severely, newspapers began to arrange their own censorship. As such, self-censorship has become a common phenomenon among Palestinian journalists. Besides Israeli restrictions on Palestinian press freedom, new methods of control have found their way into newspaper rooms and especially into journalists' minds.

Self-censorship has become a common phenomenon as a result of the lack of clear rules, with journalists unable to anticipate the position of the PA, particularly on matters involving "national unity." In the words of journalist Walid Batrawi:

"If the law says that nothing should be published against Palestinian national unity but does not define what national unity means, when I begin to write I have to think that maybe this sentence might harm the national unity. Ultimately, it leads you to self-censorship, which is an extremely dangerous thing. The PA does not ask you to submit your articles to the censor, but in one way or another, the Palestinian press law restricts you (Jamal, 2000: 55)."

Use in Transnational Arab Media and Non-Use in Palestinian Sources – Reasons and Implications

Most participants use Arab media which is not Palestinian. The analysis of the results can be observed through a few aspects: the Palestinians are not a distinct diasporic community in relation to their media consumption. They share the same interest in news events as other Arab diasporic communities in Europe and elsewhere. Both the Palestinians and other Arab diasporic communities thus use the same websites to receive news from the Arab world, as well as international news. I discovered that Palestinians

and Palestine issues are dominant news stories on the agenda of the Arab world as a whole. Transnational broadcasters, such as Al Jazeera, cover local news events in Gaza and the West Bank, and fulfill the Palestinians' need for updated news from Palestine. Schulz writes that satellite TV has created a new possibility for links with the homeland (Schulz, 2003: 182). "The Palestinians in Britain do not have their own diasporic media, apart from *al-quds* newspaper; a London based Arabic language daily (Matar, 2005:22)." Most participants feel that there is a space for the Palestinian narrative in Al Jazeera's broadcasts. The common perception among participants, in reference to Al Jazeera, is that the news coverage is good and brings the whole story, there is no censorship and Al Jazeera 'leaves a big place for Palestine'. Only a few participants felt differently and said that Al Jazeera's coverage was insufficient, 'it brings the bigger picture and not only Palestine', and that the network is 'not independent, like any other media'. Though, as discussed earlier, research on Al Jazeera suggests that there is a problem of censorship. As being said earlier, the participants are aware of the fact that each satellite network has its political agenda. Talking about Al Jazeera, they prefer the English version; an interesting issue to look at is the use of languages. Referring to Palestinian political websites, most participants felt that they were created for propaganda purposes, and the issue of the Arabic vs. the English versions of the websites, was not raised. In contrast, the participants differentiated between Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera International. Many participants perceived Al Jazeera in English to be a better news source than Al Jazeera in Arabic. Their preference relates to the cultural influence on the media, as they explain:

'I trust Al Jazeera English the most. (In the Arab media) people get very angry...Arab spokesman on British media cut off before he gets to the point, because he talks too long, does not understand the Western media' (Sharif, July, 2008, London).

'Al Jazeera Arabic is more sensational, a good show. Al Jazeera English is better than the Arabic, (there is) a debate' (Professor Ramadi, 2008, Leeds).

‘If I do not find on BBC English, I go to Al Jazeera. I rely on English, not Arabic. For me, Arabic is highly emotional thing...on the internet I check Arabic sometimes, if I need. I read Al Jazeera Arabic about scholar death...’ (Reem, July, 2008, London).

The interviews analysis has proved that there was a group of participants, who did not use Palestinian websites at all. It was important for me to explore this phenomenon, since it links to issues beyond usage. To put it differently, I raised the question: is there a link between non-use of Palestinian media and weak contacts with Palestine and weak nationalist feelings? I found that there was no link between nationalist feelings and non-usage of Palestinian media. All the participants have strong nationalist feelings, but this group looks for Palestine’s news on channels other than the Palestinian media. Al Jazeera is the most popular media outlet among the Palestinians who do not use Palestinian media at all, and among the Palestinians who use both Palestinian media and other Arab media. However, the purpose of using Al-Jazeera is different: while the first group uses Al Jazeera to receive local news from Gaza and the West Bank, the second group uses Al Jazeera for news from Palestine as a marginal source, and also for news from the Arab world in general. The second group is divided into 2 sub-groups: the first includes Palestinians who use Palestinian political websites and other Arab media sources, and the second group includes Palestinians who use non-political Palestinian websites and other Arab media sources. I would like to discuss the media consumption practices of each group:

The Palestinian Websites as an Irrelevant News Source

A quarter of the participants do not use Palestinian websites at all. Most use the Al Jazeera websites. On the surface, it seems clear that, as they live in the UK, the participants do not necessarily need Palestinian news media for news from Palestine. Even though the Palestinians have access to unlimited sources of news online, ideally, they would like to use Palestinian media. In non-Palestinian media there is not enough space for Palestine’s news, as many of the participants said. The Palestinian media for them means a combination of two things: having a sense of home and local news updates.

"Satellite television has radically altered transnational mediascapes as it has allowed simultaneity and richness in exchange and circulation of the images and texts consumed across diasporic populations across the globe. On one hand, satellite television reflects the diasporic project of sustaining cultural particularity. On the other, diasporic satellite television has managed to develop because of the present climate of free communications, the promotion of technological innovation and of liberalisation of telecommunications (Georgiou, 2005: 491)". "The computer is used not only to contact people in faraway places, but also to interact with neighbours. 'Community Empowerment' may enhance individual empowerment (Laguerre, 2010: 56)".

The interviews I conducted, though, indicate a real problem that is experienced by the Palestinians in the U.K. when using the media. As much as they want to read news on Palestinian news websites, they are prevented from using these websites because of the existing situation in the Palestinian media. Hasan explains why he cannot use the Palestinian websites as a trustworthy source:

'I do not believe that the media is independent (relating to the Palestinian political websites). There are no journalists; the quality of the news is no good. Problems of censorship. That's why we go to other sites. Al Jazeera online - no censorship. (Hasan).'

The role of Al Jazeera, in this case, can be defined as a glocal media – the Palestinian audiences use the Qatari network to receive local news from Gaza and the West Bank. Instead of globalisation, there is a possibility for glocalization where the global gets its meaning from the local, and from the local we reach the global (Castells, 2001). In fact, the global is understood as something that assimilates values and mixes elements of a global culture within the local. Samir says:

‘I do not use Palestinian (political) websites. I do not have time to look in Palestinian websites. Al Jazeera covers Palestine. We cannot blame the Palestinian websites; they try to do their best (Samir).’

A woman who emigrated from Gaza for studies, says:

‘I do not read the Palestinian websites because they have news from their own point of view, they aren't neutral. In time of crisis - Maan is the website for local news from Gaza and other places in Palestine; then Al Jazeera.’

60 years old Professor A., does not feel any need to use the Palestinian websites:

‘The Palestinian websites are not reliable. I do not use these websites. It’s for the local people.’

P., a professional worker explains:

‘I do not read Palestinian websites. It’s the liability issue. Reporters cannot access, websites are being removed...it does not fill my need of reading global news.’

Anonymous:

‘I do not read the Palestinian websites. Hamas and Fatah are lying, everybody wants to support his case.’

Despite the developments in new technologies, the perception of the Palestinian media as promoting the party’s interests hasn’t changed. The aim of the political websites is to serve the agenda of a specific political party, rather than to provide information of the macro political situation. According to Nossek and Rinnawi, it is not only that the Palestinian media do not reflect on political processes as they occur, but they are also trying to determine an agenda which fits its political ambitions. The most important case

was the 1998 closure of the Hamas newspaper *al-Risalah* (The Message), by the Palestinian Authority, due to its constant attacks on the peace process (Nossek & Rinnawi, 2003:197).

Having said this, the Israeli media, mainly at times of conflict, advance national goals. To put it differently, the victory of each side is not through observation of the factors that would help them to achieve their goals but, rather, the victory of each side, is in watching the suffering of the other side. The media reflect this tendency. The media do not necessarily operate to promote political achievements and negotiation talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Instead, the broadcasting of destruction and suffering among civilians is a major theme in news bulletins.

A recent example (2012) is 'Operation Pillar of Cloud' in Gaza. On one hand, the rockets that were launched from Gaza into cities in South and Central Israel, created suffering amongst the Israeli civilian population. On the other hand, IDF attacks on Gaza, created suffering amongst the Palestinian population. The Israeli government made major efforts to gain the support of the international community, through the publication of online pictures of Israeli casualties. The Palestinian media did the same. To conclude on this point, I would say, that the media in general, and the new media, in particular, are the only means that allow wide audiences to be exposed to events in the region. This fact indicates the centrality of media in agenda setting. Using a critical approach, it might be argued that media owners should take a major role in conflict resolution, and not in the narrow role of delivering dramatised aspects of conflicts. Conversi argues that although cyber communities have provided avenues for peace, prosperity and conflict prevention, the evidence indicates that unregulated use of the internet can enable quasi-spontaneous outbursts of hate speech via incitement to conflict by virtual peer pressure (Conversi, 2012).

Research into the media's impact on misperceptions in the West, suggests that ethnic conflicts tend to be treated in a generalised and simplified manner. The media are the gatekeepers of information for society (a widely held view in communication research).

According to many communication scholars, the means by which such information is presented – specifically, the terminology used – are perhaps most influential in shaping the minds of Western audiences.

In relation to coverage of Islam and ethnic conflicts, there are numerous instances in which terminology – specifically, the confusion of religion with ethnicity, is quite commonly practiced by the Western media (Wiegand, 2000:245; 246).

I have, though to mention Peace Journalists who do try to be involved in conflict resolution through their coverage. They are guided by the following main commandments: identify the views and interests of all parties to human conflict, give voice to the oppressed to represent and empower them, seek peaceful solutions to conflict problems, the media representation of conflict problems can become part of the problem if it exacerbates dualism and hatreds, the media representation of conflict can become part of the solution if it employs the creative tensions in any human conflict to seek common ground and exercise the professional media ethics of accuracy, veracity, fairness and respect for human rights and dignity (Tehrani, 2004: 241-242).

Only 2 participants use the website of BBC Arabic, in addition to their use in Al Jazeera. 2 participants use Al Arabiya – one of them uses both Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera websites. The 3 participants, who do not use Al Jazeera online, use Al Hiwar TV (a TV station that is located in London and dedicated to the Arabs of the Diaspora), Easy News (a news management system that allows news editing on private websites) and Arab Task Force. Elizabeth is the only participant who does not use Arab media at all. For local news from Palestine she looks at the website of *Haaretz*.

The fact that the participants do not use the Palestinian media reveals the gloomy situation of the Palestinian media market - the Palestinian media, according to the participants, lack the resources to become professional. Instead, there are many politically driven websites that struggle to exist. There are participants who are aware of the

disadvantages of the political websites, but, they do use them in addition to their use of transnational media.

Political and Transnational Websites Usage

As I stressed earlier, the participants use a variety of news sources online. This means, that there is extensive use of transnational websites.

I claim that the Palestinian problem is a dominant news story that is being transmitted on news programmes around the world, therefore technology helps the Palestinians to interact with global audiences as well as in Western countries, and in Arab countries, and to mobilise their support. The Arab audiences in countries other than Palestine are very important actors in supporting the Palestinian cause and the Palestinians have to approach Arab audiences regularly in order to raise awareness of the situation in Palestine.

Otherwise, the Palestine problem would have remained a local and not a regional problem. One has to remember that in many Arab countries there are no existential problems, as there are in Palestine (i.e., running water and power supply). The Palestinians thus explain and report on their situation at all times, using new technologies.

The use of transnational news media by Palestinians happens for two reasons: Firstly, for the purpose of watching news, and, secondly, as Arab internet users of the discussion on politics and religion, there is a growing assertion of the individual as an active speaker and decision-maker, and not as a passive recipient of authoritative discourse, which is a special pattern of Arabic cyberspace, if compared to worldwide internet use patterns (Hofheinz in Sakr, 2007: 75). Even more, the Palestinians are not only active but also creative and oppositional. Ayers claims that globalisation has weakened the mobilisation potential of states and has created new opportunities for transnational mobilisation and the diffusion of protest by social movements (Ayres, 1999: 137). "The proliferation of, and easy access to, transnational media, particularly news focused satellite television that targets diasporic, as well as national audiences, has not only challenged the dominance of the mainstream news media (such as the public service model in Europe), but also conventional models about the power of news (Matar, 2005:13)".

In talking about the Palestinian diasporic media, I refer to two categories. The first is made up of the political websites, and the second is made up of news agencies and other Palestinian news websites. It is significantly important to understand why political websites should be observed separately. There are three main reasons for this. Firstly, though the websites are affiliated to a political party, they are not identified as such, unlike the political websites in the UK, for example, where it is very easy to find the website of each party and it is clear that the website owner is this or that party. Secondly, the political websites' format is that of news website, the content being published also includes Palestine's news (as opposed to the political websites in the U.K. that do not include news). They are thus news sources, but do not follow the journalistic code. Thirdly, in recent years there has been a growth in the number of political websites and each party has many websites, in a variety of languages. The websites are an important tool that serves the decision makers in Palestine.

دنيا الوطن

- الرئيسية
- الأرشيف
- اضف خبرا
- عن دنيا الوطن
- اعلن معنا
- راسلنا
- دنيا الرأي
- دنيا موبايل
- اخبرنا عن اخطاء
- النسخة القديمة



الأخبار

اختتام دورة في الإسعافات الأولية للنساء في خان يونس
حزب فدا: الصحفي الفلسطيني تميز بالأداء والمهنية العالية مناشدة الى الملك عبدالله الثاني بن الحسين اختتام دورة في الإسعافات الأولية للنساء في خان يونس أسعار العملات مقابل الشيقل يادي بالقاعدة : بن لادن قتل عام 2001 إعدام عميل للاحتلال الاسرائيلي في غزة يبيي دريم تجتمع مع عدد من المدربين والمشرفين لبحث الإمكانات اللازمة لمهرجان الطفولة منتدى الحرية يهنئ بالمصالحة ويدعو الفصائل لعمل جاد ودؤوب الدكتور واصل ابو يوسف يدي تفاؤله بنجاح اتفاق المصالحة بين لادن كان مشجعاً لأرسلال وحضر عدداً من مباريات هطالبان تشكك في مقتل بن لادن وواشنطن تعلن استعدادها للقضاء على بقايا 'القاعدة' عشرات القتلى والجرحى في انفجار سيارة مفخخة في بغداد نواب بحرينيون يستنكرون تصريحات وزير خارجية إيران 'العدائية' من قطر رئيس وزراء مصر حضر متأخراً فجلس بآخر صفوف الندوة بالصور.. معركة بن لادن الأخيرة وأسوأ لحظات 'أوباما' قلق في مصراته مع انتهاء مهلة حدها القذافي... وتساعد القتال في الجبل الغربي مصطفى الجندي يتهم مبارك بالخيانة العظمى وزير جزائري: العلاقات مع ليبيا ستتوتر في حال انتصار الثوار مصر: شرف يتعهد بتنفيذ مطالب أهالي قنا والجيش يحذر من «تحرير خارجي» على الفتنه بري: العقدة اللبنانية سخيقة ولم يعد مفهوماً سبب التأخير ما كياج بألوان التراب.. صور بالصور: طرق جديدة لتسريح شعرك تختارينها حسب مزاجك اليوم إنهاء الانقسام الفلسطيني وتوقيع اتفاق المصالحة بين فتح وحماس في القاهرة الاغاثة الزراعية تستقبل وفد من جمعية الصداقة الاغاثة الزراعية تستقبل وفد من جمعية الصداقة مناشدة إلى الرئيس محمود عباس

4/5/2011

النسخة القديمة

إذا كنت تعاني
من تساقط الشعر
او الصلع المبكر

منوعات

عيد ميلاد وليد توفيق ..بالصور 🇸🇦



مشهد ساخن جداً في مسبح ستار أكاديمي يستفز المشاهدين



رزان مغربي على غلاف مجلة بملابسها الداخلية: اللي ما يحب الشوكولا.. فليرجمني بحجر!! 🇸🇦



عمرو اديب: كيت ميدلتون مش منظر خالص 🇸🇦



الوحش : روبي على علاقة بجمال مبارك

The Home Page of Fatah
Website – Donia Alwatan

القابضون على الجمر

القابضون على الجمر

شأن فلسطيني الـ48

تقارير

مقالات

دراسات وأبحاث

فعاليات

نث في الموقع

البحث التفصيلي

اختيارات القراء

الأكثر قراءة

الاحتلال يعتقل خمسة مواطنين من الضفة فجر اليوم

الأكثر تعليقاً

مشعل يصل القاهرة للتوقيع على ورقة المصالحة

الأكثر طباعة

ما بعد رحيل أسامة بن لادن !

الأكثر إرسالاً

الاحتلال يعتقل خمسة مواطنين من الضفة فجر اليوم

...المزيد

شوارع قطاع غزة احتفاءً بالمصالحة الوطنية

بحضور عدد كبير من الشخصيات العربية والدولية

القاهرة تشهد حفل توقيع المصالحة الفلسطينية

تشهد العاصمة المصرية بعد ساعات حفل توقيع المصالحة الفلسطينية،

بمشاركة رئيس المكتب السياسي لحركة حماس خالد مشعل، ورئيس السلطة

محمود عباس، وذلك في مقر المخابرات العامة المصرية، وبحضور عدد

كبير من الشخصيات العربية والدولية .



لبحث مستجدات الوضع الفلسطيني والمصالحة

قيادة حماس، تلتقي العربي وموسى في القاهرة

اجتمع وفد قيادي رفيع المستوى من حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس،

برئاسة رئيس المكتب السياسي للحركة خالد مشعل، مساء الثلاثاء (5/3)،



مع وزير الخارجية المصري الدكتور نبيل العربي، لبحث آخر المستجدات
فيما يتعلق بالوضع الفلسطيني الراهن

أحداث في صور



صور لمسيرة عمالية جنوب قطاع غزة خرجت في اليوم العالمي للعمال مطالبين بفتح معبر رفح ورفع الحصار عن
غزة

*** **



صور بدء اضخم حملة لتزوين وتنظيف القطاع تنظمها حركة حماس بمشاركة فئة كبيرة من الشباب ونواب من
المجلس التشريعي

*** **



صور ناشط السلام الأمريكي السابق 'كين أوكيف نيكولز' وصل غزة عام 2008
مع أول سفينة
كسر للحصار

*** **



صور مواطنين بغزة يسبرون من أمام جداريات كتبت على الحائط تدعوا لإنهاء الانقسام

*** **



صور لاعتصام
نظمه أطباء بغزة أمام معبر رفح البري للمطالبة بفتح المعبر وإدخال الدواء

*** **



صور لاعتصام أهالي الأسرى داخل السجون الصهيونية أمام مقر الصليب الأحمر

بحث في الموقع

البحث التفصيلي

اختيارات القراء

الأكثر قراءة

الاحتلال يعتقل خمسة مواطنين من الضفة فجر اليوم

الأكثر تعليقاً

مشعل يصل القاهرة للتوقيع على ورقة المصالحة

الأكثر طباعة

ما بعد رحيل أسامة بن لادن !

الأكثر إرسالاً

الاحتلال يعتقل خمسة مواطنين من الضفة فجر اليوم

...المزيد

أحداث في صور



صور لمسيرة عمالية جنوب قطاع غزة خرجت في اليوم العالمي للعمال مطالبين بفتح معبر رفح ورفع الحصار عن غزة

*** **



صور بدء اضخم حملة لتزوين وتنظيف القطاع تنظمها حركة حماس بمشاركة فئة كبيرة من الشباب ونواب من المجلس التشريعي

*** **



صور ناشط السلام الأمريكي السابق 'كين أوكيف نيكولز' وصل غزة عام 2008

مع أول سفينة

كسر للحصار

*** **



صور مواطنين بغزة يسرون من أمام جداريات كتبت على الحائط تدعوا لإنهاء الانقسام

*** **



صور لاعتصام

نظمه أطباء بغزة أمام معبر رفح البري للمطالبة بفتح المعبر وإدخال الدواء

** ** *



صور لاعتصام أهالي الأسرى داخل السجون الصهيونية أمام مقر الصليب الأحمر

**The Home Page of Hamas Website - Palestine
Info/Arabic**

To conclude on this point, the Palestinian political websites' interior issues are prominent issues on the websites. The news stories that are being published are actually news stories that relate to the political parties, or which serve their interest. In contrast, the non-political Palestinian websites, such as Maan news, publish news stories which are not politically driven and this can be seen very clearly in their headlines and pictures – they are not intended to provoke, as is the existing tendency in political websites. For example, an article published on the website The Palestinian Information Center, in English, in July, 2010: 'Assad, Oglu demand immediate end to Gaza Siege'. The author of the article uses phrases such as 'Israeli massacre' (referring to 'the fanatical government in Israel').

The audience that consumes the Palestinian political websites, as well as other Arab media publications, is a sophisticated audience. The reason is the way they use the news websites and the way they talk about them. Mahmoud reads the political websites knowing their limitations. Nevertheless, he has an interest in the political discourse of each party and therefore he reads their websites. He acknowledges that there is no representation of all sides and he solves the problem by reading the Al Jazeera website. 16 participants use both political and transnational Arab websites. 15 out of the 16 participants read and watch Al Jazeera online. Most of the members of this group read Al Jazeera for local news from 'home'; the exception are 2 participants: one who uses the Arabic network to read international news, and the other who uses it to receive news from the Arab world.

For them, the political websites are a vital news source from Palestine. Ghada, who reads the websites of Al Jazeera Arabic and BBC Arabic, and watches Al Arabia news, says:

'I read the Palestinian websites for two reasons: to read local news and to have a sense of home (Ghada, June, 2008, Exeter).'

Nadine also uses the Palestinian political websites for local news:

‘I read *Al Quds*, Hamas website – Palestine Info (Maan News – not political) and Al-Jazeera Arabic and English.’

Sami, who emigrated to the U.K. from Ramallah, told me that he supports the Fatah Party, and he reads the website of Donia Al Watan - ‘Close to Fatah. Most of the news about Abbas and the West Bank’ and Al Jazeera Arabic.

All of the participants in this group are affiliated to a political party, Hamas or Fatah, and some of them are involved in political activities. Their interest in news from Palestine is not only at the macro level, negotiation talks for example, but also at the micro level, events in specific locations in Palestine in which participants have a personal interest.

Palestinian Usage in Palestinian and Transnational Websites

All the participants from this group do not use the Palestinian political websites, because they explain that the websites are one sided. The participants use both Palestinian (non-political) and transnational media to receive updated news from Palestine - the Palestinian websites are not the preferred websites. In contrast, the previous group’s first preference is for the Palestinian political websites and then the other Arab media sources.

In order to receive local news, the Palestinians from this group read the websites of news agencies, mostly Maan News. In addition, they also use the websites of Al Jazeera and BBC Arabic (UK media). All the participants use Al Jazeera: 6 read news on Al Jazeera Arabic, 4 informants use only the English website, 6 read both Arabic and English. If I were to divide this group into 2 broader groups, one can see that 12 participants read news in Arabic and 10 participants read news in English. The fact that the 2 groups include similar numbers of participants is interesting – it shows that the Arabic language, as the first language of the Palestinians, does not dominate their news consumption practices.

The Use in Palestinian and Arab Media as a Routine

All of the Palestinians I interviewed, except one, use Palestinian and Arab media news websites, or other Palestinian electronic sources, to receive news, as a routine. I have to emphasise - not at times of major news events (breaking news). The Palestinian media is not the main source of news for the Palestinian diasporic community in the UK, though: most of the participants do not use Palestinian websites at all, or they consume transnational Arab websites as their first priority, and Palestinian websites. This section includes an analysis of the usage of Palestinian and Arab media. Later, I will discuss the usage of UK, international and Israeli news media online.

To demonstrate my arguments, the participants were divided into 6 groups of internet users. Before looking at each group separately, a short elaboration of the Palestinian audience and the Palestinian media in general, will add to the presentation of my findings. The media in the West Bank and Gaza suffer as a result of financial difficulties. Many television and radio stations have frozen even the daily news bulletins. According to a study being conducted in Palestine, most Palestinians said that the local media do not cover local news or social issues well. Their perception is that the journalists lack experience, or that stations have a political bias (United States Agency for International Development online publication, 2006: 5). According to my participants, the problem of professionalism is evident, mostly on the Palestinian political websites. However, one has to remember that the media environment in Palestine, as a whole, are being influenced by the political climate in Palestine.

The Palestinian Governmental and Private Websites

Few participants prefer to read news online using Palestinian governmental and private websites, which are different from the political websites, but in some cases are affiliated to them. I decided to put the governmental and private websites under the same category, since these websites are not news websites but they do provide Palestine's news of the day, or include links to Palestine's news websites. These websites include: websites of Palestinian charities in the U.K, the Palestinian Bureau of Statistics, and The Palestinian Ministry websites, the Palestine Monitor in English, and the Palestinian Return Centre -

private websites (Appendix 2). The following section relates to the political website whose coverage is considered to be the most problematic if compared to other Palestinian news websites, as the participants indicate.

The Response to the Palestinian Political Websites

In June, 2007, factional fighting between Hamas and Fatah broke out. Hamas militants took over the Gaza Strip. The Gaza Strip and the West Bank split from each other – Gaza was run by Hamas and the West Bank was run by Fatah.

Both factions ascribe to the media a very important role. They use the internet to promote their political interests. The Hamas movement has a wide infrastructure of websites. There are over 20 leading websites in 8 languages: Arabic, English, Russian, Malaysian, Urdu, Farsi, Indonesian and French (a discussion about language use, later in this chapter). On one hand, these websites are beneficial for the Palestinians in the diaspora, since they can receive local news and information relating to the political situation as it is being portrayed by the political factions themselves. On the other hand, as most of the participants indicate, the Palestinian websites are not professional in terms of journalism, language and the ability to provide updated news.

There is a fundamental difference between the political websites of established democratic governments and Palestinian political websites – whereas, there is transparency relating to the political websites of democratic countries, the Palestinian political parties operate websites which are not officially identified with the party. The websites do not include the name of the party, for example, but rather the Palestinian consumers know according to their content, as I was repeatedly told. Moreover, there are niche websites within the political factions, for example, the website ‘alwatanvoice’ that is identified with Mohamed Dahlan, of the Fatah party. A participant who does not read the Palestinian websites expressed his view, a typical response from participants in reference to political websites:

‘I do not read the Palestinian websites. They do not have good language and no good journalism. There is no formal journalism training. Western English speakers will not rely on the information (S., July. 2008, London). ’

The use of Palestinian political websites is low. All the Palestinians I interviewed want to receive news from Palestine, but they cannot use the Palestinian political websites for this purpose. The reason is that the participants know that the news being published represents the faction that owns the site, and does not introduce news story that include representation of all sides. The Palestinian factions use their websites as an arena in which to conduct their political campaign. The Palestinians who wish to know the bigger picture do not use the websites. The Palestinians who have an interest in the faction’s activity and in the small details of the political party’s developments, read the websites, but the political websites will not be used as their only source and the participants would use other news websites to get a better understanding of the situation on the ground. Mahmoud uses Arab transnational media in addition to the Palestinian websites, because he knows that Arab media provide him with the news events as they unfold, including comments on all sides of a story:

‘First, I read Maan News - West Bank. If the information is not enough, in terms of negotiations track and resistance track, then I go to Palestine Info and Al Aqsa website - if the action is in Gaza. Also Wafa - PLO Website. Al Jazeera Arabic- as a summing up. In Palestine Info and Wafa different stories relating to the conflict between Hamas and Fatah. That's why I look at Al Jazeera (Mahmoud).’

I have to say that Mahmoud, and other participants like him, also use Israeli news websites and U.K. news websites. Mahmoud says:

‘Since I am an English teacher (in Gaza), I look at BBC English, because Al Jazeera is not enough (Mahmoud).’

The participants look for objectivity in journalistic coverage. For them it means that a news story must be fair and accurate. The Palestinian audience in the U.K. knows the problems of the Palestinian media, such as the low salaries of journalists and self-censorship. The expectations for news from the Palestinian websites are low. However, the participants describe them as propaganda websites. As such, they do not attract the audience's attention and they do not fulfil the needs of the diasporic community for updated news from Palestine and Israel. When I talk about 'objectivity', it is important to emphasise that there is a difference between Palestinian society and British society. In Britain, usually, the audience expects private and commercial media outlets not to serve as governmental advocates. In contrast, in Palestine, where the implantation of a democratic rule hasn't yet been completed, the media are serving as a tool in the hands of political actors.

The question is: what about the Palestinians in the diaspora, the Palestinians who are part of a traditional society, but are being exposed to Western ideology and live in a host democratic country? The participants look at the Palestinian political websites, even though they read news online using multiple sources in languages other than Arabic (mostly English). This can be understood by the explanation of Ellul, who claims that individuals need propaganda because it provides that individual with the means to recognise their own importance within an otherwise alienating society (Ellul, 1965: 96). The participants certainly have adjusted to the flourishing Western media market that has been revealed to them through internet use. They consume news media critically and in that sense they have adopted Western audience practices, I argue.

The Palestinians point to an objectivity problem, both in the news coverage of the Palestinian media, and in Western broadcasters' news media. On one hand, they explain that the political parties' websites serve political actors. On the other hand, they feel that the Western media are biased and favour the Israeli perspective. However, it is not only the Palestinians who feel that the media are biased, so do Western audiences, in relation to Arab media. This problem exists mainly because we are talking about crisis communication. Both the contemporary globally networked Arab and Western media

worlds mobilise satellite television channels as 'weapons of mass communication'. Each side conveys its own perspective on conflicts in the Middle-East against the backdrop of its own politico-cultural baggage. Both sides use this platform for self-promotion (Hahn, in Sakr, 2007: 19).

The internet does not lead to audience activism/resistance only from within, relating to the use of the Palestinian websites, but also to audience activism from without – resistance to Western ideologies being portrayed in Western media. The appropriation of new technology by oppressed communities as part of their everyday resistance made the internet an influential tool. Aouragh says that media activists mainly target audiences in the United States and Europe because media distortions about the Palestinian – Israeli conflict in the West favour Israel (Aouragh, 2008: 110). I agree with the claim that the internet serves as an important tool for mobilisation from without, but I disagree with Aouragh's assumption that the Western media are biased and therefore media activism is needed.

I suggest that Aouragh's claim that the Western media are biased is misleading. Let me explain why. Since the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the interior political and military relationship inside the Palestinian Territories, are being televised, as well as online, the power of the pictures determines the 'good' and the 'bad' actors. News bulletins at times of breaking news do not include the background story to the conflict, and thus the image of the wounded child, or of the terror attack, could eventually influence international audiences. The truth is that each side of the conflict, the Palestinians and the Israelis, find themselves under scrutiny, and each worries that international broadcasters have damaged the reputation of its own people at a time of crisis. As Marmura says:

"Pro-Palestinian rights activists have long insisted that Western, and particularly American, news media coverage of events in the Middle East is unfairly biased in a manner favorable to the state of Israel. Exactly the opposite claim has been made by Israel's supporters... (Marmura, 2008: 37)."

Moreover, the fact that both governments – the Palestinian and the Israeli- and the people of both entities, feel that the Western media are biased, does not mean that they ignore the Western media. On the contrary, significant efforts from both sides are being carried out in order to win in this war of ‘pictures’ by promoting their cause on international broadcasters. Even more, the Palestinians use the internet as a prominent tool to publish in-depth articles about the roots of the conflicts in multiple languages, including English, in order to win the attention of the international community. According to Marmura, the players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are not only interested in sharing information with affiliates around the globe, but are also concerned with influencing the beliefs, and gaining the sympathies of Western and, specifically, American audiences (Marmura, 2008).

According to Georgiou, "diasporic media can become symbols of empowerment and can potentially mediate a group's participation in the public sphere of the country where they live, in the public sphere of their country of origin, and in transnational public spheres that emerge across boundaries. Digitalisation has increased the potentials for the development of alternative, small-scale, community media- and so has the competition for audiences' attention (Georgiou, 2006: 13)."

Let me conclude this point. Even if there is no objectivity in the Western media, as Aouragh claims, the Palestinians in the diaspora do not ignore it, but rather use international media outlets for news consumption, as well as investing resources to influence and participate in the Western media, to a certain extent. What is more, the Western media do not always have to be objective. The reason is that in Western societies there is no clear definition of objectivity. "Even in Western democracies it is difficult to draw a line that shows where objectivity exists and where it does not, bias does not exist. All charges of bias are predicated on a belief that an unbiased, objective reality exists from which the media is deviating. The problem is in identifying this position. Journalists' criteria to put objectivity into practice are problematic - aren't there more than two sides to any issue? What is fact? Recent theoretical approaches challenge the

notion of a 'knowable reality', arguing that no representation of reality can be accurate and true (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003: 197)".

There are different factors that influence media content: the individual media worker and his preferences, organisational structures and routines, their influence on media practitioners and their work, the interaction between media organisations and the wider social, political and cultural environment within which they operate (Williams, 2003: 97). Even more, not all news is intended to be objective. For example, McQuail identifies older versions of news, such as human interest, partisanship and the investigative functions of news, which contradict in some way what is expected of objective journalism (McQuail, 1992:189-91).

The terminology being used in the news media is influencing tendencies to bias. Fowler's critical linguistics theory suggests that the way language is used to report news is a structured process which should reveal the ideologies and values showing 'that discourse is always representation from a certain point of view' (Fowler, 1991: 209). Indeed, looking at Hamas' main website - Palestine info in English, as an example, one can see that the terminology represents the content producers' feelings towards the political situation in Palestine. i.e., the use of the terms 'Israeli occupation army', and 'Israeli occupation forces', referring to the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF):

المركز الفلسطيني للإعلام The Palestinian Information Center

Tue 26 Apr 2011

Israeli occupation forces arrest MP Nayef Rajoub
[01/12/2010 - 10:33 PM]



Rajoub when he was released from an Israeli occupation jail, late June, 2010.

From Khalid Amayreh in Occupied Palestine

The Israeli occupation army on Wednesday, 1 December, arrested Sheikh Nayef Rajoub, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council from his home in the town of Dura, near Hebron in the southern West Bank.

Eyewitnesses and family sources said Israeli occupation troops stormed the Legislative Council member's home around mid night, before ordering him at gun point to board an Israeli military vehicle.

The latest arrest of Rajoub comes as part of the general Israeli policy of hounding Hamas' political leaders and keeping its 'leaders' in a constant state of anxiety and fear.

Four Islamic members of the Legislative Council have been rearrested and sent for 'administrative detention', or captivity without charge or trial.

Rajoub, a former Religious Affairs Minister, was released from Israeli detention on 20 June, having spent as many as fifty months on largely concocted charges stemming from his association with the political wing of the Islamic Liberation movement, Hamas.

Rajoub has spent a total of ten years in Israeli jails and detention camps.

Israel routinely rounds up Islamist activists in the West Bank, mainly as a retribution for their rejection of the Israeli occupation.

Rajoub, considered one of the most popular Islamist leaders in the southern West Bank, has also been hounded by the Palestinian Authority security agencies.

A few weeks ago, crack PA troops stormed the Grand Mosque in Dura to prevent him from delivering a sermon at the Mosque.

The incident was followed by an extensive arrest campaign targeting dozens of Islamic supporters, including many members of the Rajoub family.

Some sources close to Nayef Rajoub's family accuse the PA of asking Israel to arrest the 53-year-old Sheikh. The PA cannot arrest Rajoub because of his parliamentary immunity.

Supporters of Hamas in the West Bank have been subjected to a harsh crackdown by the security forces of the PA. Human rights organisations operating in the West Bank have also spoken of widespread torture in PA lockups.

Two main reasons are believed to stand behind the severe maltreatment meted out to Islamist activists in the West Bank at the hands of the PA: First, reprisal for the Hamas military takeover in Gaza in 2007, which ended Fatah's rule there; and, second, the PA belief that a sustained persecution of Hamas would grant the Ramallah regime a certificate of good conduct from Israel and the United States.

**Hamas Website – Palestine
Info/English
26 April 2011**

Another factor that emphasises the contest over interpretation is the images being transmitted. The interpretations being attributed to the images in the coverage of Palestine's news, is a difficult issue to judge since the pictures being transmitted are stronger than any commentary, to put it differently, the 'image war' is a dominant factor that influences audiences. A very well known example is the shooting of the Palestinian boy, Mohammad al-Durra, 48 hours after the outbreak of the second Intifada, in 2000. This media event has been interpreted differently, as Palestinians claimed for Israeli aggression, while Israelis argued for Palestinian propaganda.

The shooting of the Palestinian boy also demonstrates the utilisation of new media by Palestinians. Palestinian cameraman filmed the schoolboy being shot whilst his father tried to protect him. This event remained vivid and still occupies Arab and Western media organisations. Palestinian right activists attempted to draw public attention to the incident by entering an image taken from the footage into an online photo (Marmura, 2008: 266). According to Khoury-Machool, "an immense surge of photographs and clips of the incident was sent, mainly by Palestinian youths, to every possible address on the web. The immediacy of reporting through the internet via independent youth 'journalists' revealed to the Palestinians the hidden potential of new media for the counter hegemony of old biases in the mainstream media (Khoury-Machool, 2007: 25)." In her research, on European Muslim Audiences, Tsagarousianou stresses that there is widespread dissatisfaction and lack of trust towards mainstream media, among minority and Muslim audiences. "The overwhelming majority of those who expressed an opinion seem to converge in believing that mainstream media are biased in one way or another. This bias is perceived in various ways. It is widely believed that broadcasting institutions and the press misrepresent Muslims in Europe, often associating them with political radicalism and religious fundamentalism (Tsagarousianou, 2012: 287)."

The media acted (in the case of al- Durra, as an example) as the *de facto* public sphere, the site of intercommunication and the voice of the people. They humanised and personalised the events, and at the same time became the site of meaning and information for the community. A particularly striking example of this was the ‘Tiananmen Square’ photograph of the protester blocking the path of a tank during the 1989 student protests in China. The circulation of that image became an instant icon of the ‘universal’ struggle for human rights and democracy (Schirato & Webb, 2006: 170-171).

I claim that participation in the virtual space, in order to receive news and to produce news, does not lead to Palestinian influence on the mainstream media. The increased offer and the technically advanced choices of the mainstream media, make it more difficult for alternative media to compete. However, the Palestinians are involved in establishing and expanding their formal and informal domestic and trans-state networks using both conventional and more sophisticated means of communication, especially the globalised new media (Sheffer in Sheffer, 2003: 27).

Alimi points to the increasing literature that favours a less pessimistic view of media-movement interaction. Scholars show how movement members can use media attention as a resource to attract potential adherents, how the media spotlight validates the movement and more (Alimi, 2007: 71). Unlike the case of more traditional mass media, news services providing information on the Web must operate within an environment where formerly marginalised groups circulate freely, and where their own products must compete with alternative sources of news (Marmura, 2008).

Now, I would like to talk about propaganda and to explain the essence of the political websites. As an objectivity problem is evident in the Western media, so is governments’ PR. After the 9/11 suicide attacks on the U.S., the concept of public diplomacy, meaning governmental PR, was reformed. Based on their assumptions about a lack of accurate and balanced information about the U.S. and its values of freedom and democracy, political institutions in Washington invested huge amounts of money to win the hearts and minds

of people living in the Arab and Muslim worlds. One principal medium for this was international satellite broadcasting.

I argue that propaganda in the Palestinian media is totally different from the governmental PR of Western democracies, in its characteristics and in its dissemination. Particularly in times of acute crises, Arab and Western satellite newscasters are disposed to open their programmes to governmental PR, apparently considering it a valid journalistic source (Hahn in Sakr, 2007: 23). Having said this, unlike state propaganda which serves to legitimate the state, in Palestine the 'propagandas' (Ellul, 1965) produced by a wide range of competing social/political organisations within Palestine.

In contrast to the ability of Western governments to use the national media at times of crisis, the complexity of the media structure of Palestine prevents this option; Hamas operates its own television station, Al Aqsa TV, and the leadership in Ramallah controls Palestine TV. Also, commercial television in Palestine does not exist, and therefore financial considerations being taken by Western media broadcasters are not applied in the Palestinian context. To contextualise my argument through theory, I would say that Herman and Chomsky's 'propaganda model' does not apply to the Palestinian media market. Herman and Chomsky, similarly to Murdock and Golding (1974), claimed that the propagandist nature of news is related to the fact that it is produced by a concentrated industry of several dozen profit making corporations that is dependent on advertising for profits and on government officials for its sources (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

The Palestinian political factions' propaganda is thus different in nature from Western governments' media use to mobilise political support. Palestinian political websites' content is published by political activists and not by professionals. The implications are that the people who run the websites do not follow the journalistic codes: the language is emotional, the news is not diverse, there is no foreign news section, for example, and there is a lack of updated news at times of breaking news in Palestine and Israel.

The traditional media roles are not being implemented on political websites. To put it differently, these websites lack informative, analytical, and reporting functions.

Moreover, it does not answer the ethical codes of accuracy, objectivity and fairness in the report. It is true that not only are the Palestinian media being problematic in this sense, but the problem of the political websites crosses the boundaries of the expected function of media organisations by openly ignoring the audience's needs.

Only 1 participant from 52 said that he looked for news only on the Palestinian political websites of Hamas and Fatah. Mohamad follows the changes on the websites as he has use them for many years, since he emigrated to the UK. Unlike the participants who use the political websites in addition to other Arab news websites, for 36 year old Mohamad, Palestinian websites are the source of information. Like the Palestinians who use the political websites in addition to other sources, Mohamad is aware of the fact that the websites are not professional, but this does not prevent him using them to read news from Palestine. Bahjat is the only participant who uses both political websites and Palestinian independent websites. Pal Press, 'relates to Fatah', Palestine info' to Hamas, Firas Press is 'Independent' and Maan News and Ramatan (news agencies).

Multiple Languages – Increased Reach

The transnational Arab media offer the audience websites in a variety of languages. The Palestinian media do the same. The use of languages in the Arab diasporic media is unique to this group. For example, if we look at the Israeli diasporic media, the websites are published in Hebrew and in English. Hamas's website, Palestine info, provides the audience with the option to read its website in 8 languages: Arabic, English, Russian, Malaysian, Urdu, Farsi, Indonesian and French. The reasons for this are mainly because many Muslims in the diaspora cannot read the Arabic language, and Hamas and other Palestinian factions aim is to reach non-Arab audiences. One of the most interesting developments in the realm of the internet is its increasing multilingualisation. The hegemony of English as a transnational lingua franca persists, but is rapidly diminishing. Around two thirds of all internet users are not native speakers of English, but of Chinese, Spanish, German and French. According to Hafez, the internet is slowly breaking away

from its attachment to Western élites. On the other hand, the internet threatens to disintegrate into linguistic sub-communities, which runs counter to the notion that it is helping to globalise knowledge (Hafez, 2007: 103, 104-105).

While prior to the WWW, the Palestinian political parties could not reach global audiences, today the internet allows Arab and non-Arab audiences to read Palestine's news. As a result, audiences interact and discuss Palestine issues. For example: Palestinian Blogs website (<http://palblogger.blogspot.com>) includes a list of 125 countries with a total of 11,382 visitors.

The participants attribute to the use of multiple languages a very important role for the Palestinian people. It is not only that they embrace the political parties' initiatives, but they also read news in languages other than Arabic, mostly in English. In general, the Palestinians interviewed read the Palestinian and Arab websites in Arabic and the Israeli media in English or Arabic translations. However, there are particularities at which it is important to look: the penetration of the Al Jazeera international network into the media market created a significant change in the Arab media market. For the first time, an Arab network providing 24 hours news competed with Western networks, such as CNN.

"Besides being more visual and drawing on their past for their war coverage, Arab media imitated the Western modes of representation. For instance, Arab media, like the American media, used 'war rooms', staffed with retired generals who discussed the war (on Iraq) and how it should proceed. Many Arab reporters and producers, like their Western counterparts, knew what their listeners and readers wanted to see and read; and they gave it to them (Hashem, 2004: 161)."

However, the English version of Al Jazeera does not broadcast only to Western audiences. An increasing number of Palestinians look at the English website in addition to the Arabic version. Others read only the English version. There are Palestinians who do not master the Arabic language, for a variety of different reasons, for instance, the Palestinians who were born in the U.K. There are also Palestinians who prefer to use Al

Jazeera International because they think it is more professional than the Arabic version, or Palestinians that prefer to read news in English because their formal education has been obtained in the U.K. The participants' use of the internet has also facilitated links with Palestinians throughout the globe. A growing phenomenon is the formation of social links online for the purpose of news dissemination and discussion forums.

The Palestinian Media – The Social Dimension

As I explained earlier, the Palestinians' use of media for news is not the passive use of watching news. It is also not only active use, where they interpret and choose news. It is, rather, news from Palestine which is part of their political and existential daily struggle and identity formation. News media also shape the participants' social contacts.

It would be easy to understand the meaning of news for participants if we were to compare the Palestinian audience to Western audiences. For Western audiences in the diaspora, the use of news media is trivial. News media operating in a free and competitive media market are one of the foundations of any democratic state. In contrast to Western audiences, the Palestinians' place of origin is an entity where access to news online is limited and television stations, as well as the print media, in Palestine have been affected by the political situation.

Once they emigrated to the U.K., the participants' news practices have changed significantly. They have a strong interest in news from Palestine and a real need to receive updated news daily; they would therefore look for news media a few times a day on a variety of media broadcasters' and news websites. They also contact their families and friends in Gaza and the West Bank to receive updated news from primary sources (as the participants define family's and friends' updates), and more detailed information about specific news stories that relate to them.

The centrality of news in the lives of Palestinians crosses age, occupation and economic status. Most participants look for updated news every day and more than once a day.

Sam, a 28 year old student, says:

‘The news for me, for the Palestinians, is very important. In Gaza the culture is different than the U.K. - people watch news all the time. People are not working and they watch news and talk about the news all day. Things happen. In the U.K., people watch news only in the morning, before they go to work and in the evening when they come home (Sam).’

P. a professional, said:

‘I follow news every hour. I read news 2 hours a day. I use the Internet on my mobile. I read it on the train. I have 3 blogs and I read over than 100 blogs. I participate in two levels: first, I comment. Secondly, I write articles. The people who use the blogs are from Western Europe, mostly U.K. and the U.S., the Silicon Valley.’

Indeed, political programmes are the most important programmes for the Palestinians in Palestine in the morning, during the day and in the evening (United States Agency for International Development online publication, 2006: 6).

Most of the participants not only search for news, but are also involve in media and political activities which aim to provide meaning for news for U.K. and transnational audiences. I call it the ‘politicisation of Palestine’s news’.

For example, Mahmoud’s case; the Israeli occupation is a dominant issue in Mahmoud’s life, a 40 year old Ph.D. student and a teacher. Following the bombing of the Gaza Strip by Israel in January, 2009, Mahmoud organised a demonstration in the city in which he lives in the U.K. He has managed to mobilise, for this purpose Arab and non-Arab protesters. The coverage of the demonstration by the local media, online, helped Mahmoud and his fellow Palestinians to gain the audiences’ attention for their problems and concern for their families in Gaza. U.K. politicians commented on the situation online, also. This is, of course, only one example of Mahmoud’s political activity.

A. is a member of 'Action Palestine'. He reads news every day for 2 hours, and checks news updates at least 3 times a day. He explains:

'I am very interested in what is happening back home. I read U.K. media because I am interested in what the British media has to say. I do not have an interest in local news'.

Mahmoud, A., and many other participants, act for the Palestine cause and follow Palestine's news as their first priority in their news selection (not necessarily using Palestinian media for this purpose). The discourse about news events among the Palestinian community members is dominant – it gathers the participants together and constructs their national political aspirations. Moreover, they have developed their own terminology for discussing the news media.

I interviewed Sazar, a 35 year old housewife, and her son, Yaser. Sazar talks about news events using terms that have become part of the consensus among the Palestinians:

'Al Aqsa talks more about Palestine. The Holocaust, Yaser, the Holocaust, when was it? We saw the Holocaust on Al Aqsa TV and Radio.'

However, no less important for the participants is the use of news media that have been created. Their enormous participation in hundreds of blogs, chat sites and social news websites indicates the importance of news in the lives of Palestinians, the importance the participants attribute to the news that has been disseminated for contact with the Arab circle, as well as, the ability of the Palestinians to use the internet to publish their news stories in order to reach audiences beyond the Arab world. Since the mainstream media will not dedicate much space to background information, the Palestinians publish their own personal accounts. According to Hanieh, the internet lets Palestinians speak for themselves in their own voice, without mediation or distortion from outside bodies or interests ('news by newsmakers'). Those involved in newsworthy events can choose what to present, rather than passively allowing others to represent and reinterpret developments

in Palestine (Hanieh, 1999: 42). This trend helps Arab, as well as, Western Audiences, to learn in-depth about news stories from Palestine and the region.

Research conducted by the Glasgow University Group: *The Israeli Palestinian conflict: TV News and Public Understanding*, showed that many people had little understanding of the reasons for the Israeli Palestinian conflict and its origins. "It was apparent that this lack of understanding was compounded by the news reports which they had watched. A key reason for this was that explanations were rarely given about the news and, when they were, journalists often spoke obliquely. It was apparent that many people did not understand that the Palestinians were subject to military occupation and did not know who was 'occupying' the occupied territories. The researchers of this study argue that there are two main reasons for the lack of better explanations of the history and context of events. Firstly, news exists in a very commercial and competitive market and is concerned about audience ratings. The second reason relates to the fact that to explain the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which underlies the violence could be very controversial (Philo et al, in Thussu & Freedman, 2003: 133; 136)."

Wiegand's research suggests that Western media coverage of the Islamic world is problematic. The researcher, who specialises in Middle Eastern politics, claims that the term 'Islam' is used frequently in the media. It is rarely defined clearly, allowing for misinterpretations of what Islam truly represents. In the West, Islam is most commonly seen as a dominant non-Western culture, deemed by many to be inferior, but also dangerous. The Islamic world is almost always portrayed strictly in the light of conflicts that exist among and between Muslims and other outside groups. However, the misperception created by the media is that many of these conflicts are the result of religious identity. Yet, many of these conflicts, such as the Israeli - Palestinian conflict and the Bosnian -Serbian conflict, which are linked to Islam, are not rooted in Islam as many of the media suggest. In the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Palestinians aim to protect and fight for territory for their national/ethnic group, not solely to defend their religious identity (Islam or Christianity), but also their ethnicity and nationality as Palestinians (Wiegand, 2000: 236).

Most participants respond to news stories on line. Many are involved, on a private or public level, in media activities. For instance, 37 year old G. has a blog where she talks about the loss of her parents' house and her personal trauma. The Palestinian community in the U.K. also often arranges events where they discuss the problems of news coverage in the region and the news stories of the day. For this purpose, they invite Palestinian and Israeli journalists, who provide them with their own personal accounts of conflict coverage. Usually, the Palestinians read the journalists' articles that are discussed, on a regular basis. The centrality of news in the Palestinians' life existed while the participants were living in Palestine. The majority of Palestinians follow the news on a daily basis (United States Agency for International Development Online Publication, 2006: 5); and news has remained a central factor of their new life in the U.K.

The significant change that participants experienced in their new host country is not in their need for news – this need has always been dominant in their life and still is. The fact that they left Palestine does not mean that they do not 'live' Palestine every day. They cannot detach Palestine's news from their daily experiences. The major change, then, is not in their need for news but rather in their reception of news. In this respect, I refer to two issues. First, the polarisation between the non-democratic entity from which the participants came, and the democratic state they live in today; which means a shift from news consumption in a non-free media environment, to participation in a competitive media market with the possibility of consuming transnational news 24 hours a day. Secondly, the way participants learned to use the advantages of the new technologies, in particular, the internet. In Palestine, about 50% of Palestinians had never used the internet (United States Agency for International Development Online Publication, 2006: 7); since media access in Palestine is limited, the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank discuss news and receive information from each other, this hasn't changed in the U.K. They still feel that they need to receive updates from family and friends back home as a major source, despite their extensive use of online news media. They did not neglect this source, but were empowered by using online transnational news. The internet has replaced the traditional social networks and participants use the internet as the new social network that has actually been created in order to talk about news and, even more, to mobilise support

as a routine, and especially following major news events such as conflict escalation in Palestine.

"Software applications for pcs and portable devices such as smartphones...provide information, contribute to the construction of Muslim soundscapes, and, more broadly, meaningful, local, everyday personal spaces. They also contribute to the construction of Muslim geographies that can transcend locality and national borders and increase the element of choice, making possible the fashioning of Muslim personal spaces on the basis of individual preference (Tsagarousianou, 2012: 292)."



Interfacing between the Islamic and Western worlds through expert media and communications

Unitas Communications, one of the UK's leading Media Relations and Communications agencies, which specialises in Muslim community affairs, offers a free two week trial of its daily news digest of all mainstream news relevant to Muslim communities and Islam.

Please click below for a sample or to join.

Breaking headlines relating to Muslims and Islam in the U.K. and globally

Morning news before 10.30 am each working day

Up-to-date issues to keep you informed about what's going on at home and abroad

Accessible via Blackberry and iPhone

[Click here for a sample copy](#)

Unitas Communications is offering a two-week FREE trial - email

sabilah@unitascommunications.com to register your interest today

Follow us on Twitter for real-time news updates and insight in relevant issues: www.twitter.com/

A Promotion for Unitas Communications – Daily News Muslim Network

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the new medium – the internet has significantly influenced the news consumption practices of participants, as well as their social contacts. Being part of the Palestinian diasporic community, most of the participants read and watch news online. This is a different habit than is usual in Palestine, where most of the residents use traditional media for news (although, in recent years, the use of the internet in Palestine has increased).

The participants are active internet users – they respond to news stories online, create blogs, and so on. There is extensive use of social network websites that serve to disseminate news from Gaza and the West Bank. The Palestinians in the U.K. interact with Palestinians who reside in Palestine and in the diaspora. The websites enable an easy flow of information, as they are not regulated and do not suffer as a result of the political situation, for example, closure problems. The frequency of usage is high – most of the participants look for news few times a day and they read/watch news in details, as well as searching for articles and analysis, not only for the news of the day.

24 year old Sami, whose place of origin is Ramallah, uses the websites every day: ‘Sometimes 10 minutes, sometimes half an hour, depends on the news. If there is news from Ramallah, I look at the responses.’

Chapter 5

Findings - News from Home and Israeli Media

Introduction

This chapter includes answers to the main questions of the research. First, an analysis of the participants' preferences relating to their first priority medium. The finding, which relates to this question, is that the internet is the major medium that participants use for news consumption. The argument of this research is that the internet was revolutionary (Aouragh, 2011: 1). It created many changes in the life of the Palestinian communities in the diaspora (an issue that is being discussed in this chapter). Secondly, a discussion of level of interest in news from the homeland and news from the host country. Thirdly, an elaboration of their reasons for using the internet. Fourthly, specific websites/television networks/publications that the participants use, looking for the reasons standing behind their priorities, will be mentioned. The analysis refers to media consumption practices at times of breaking news and as a routine. The main finding is that Israeli media is a prominent news source, both at times of breaking news and habitually. More than half of the participants use Israeli media as a routine. This chapter also explores the topic of identity formation.

My aim is to provide an understanding of the challenge to the Palestinian Diasporic audience, while using the media – on one hand, news consumption is vital for the Palestinians because Palestine is a conflict zone and Palestinians in the diaspora have strong feelings of solidarity with Palestinians in Palestine, on the other hand, problems of self censorship, curfews and lack of resources prevent the existence of a stable Palestinian media market. This chapter includes a discussion about the media consumption practices of Palestinians. The data analysis takes into account different variables, such as the number of years in the host country, and gender. Finally, this chapter will investigate the changes the WWW has created in the lives of Palestinians in the diaspora.

Television and Internet Usage

I asked my participants both general and specific questions. I opened my interviews with the general question: which medium is being used the most for news consumption? None of the participants use old media as their main medium. The data analysis therefore relates to Internet and Television usage. From analysis of the interviews, it is clear that the internet is the main medium being used for news consumption.

For the first respondent, the internet is the main source of information:

‘The students, including me do not have the money to travel back to Palestine to visit. Also, there are restrictions on travel to Gaza, and Palestinians need visa to travel in Europe. I have to do my field work in Spain, and not sure I can get a visa. That’s the reason (why) the internet is important for the young Palestinians. The internet does not cost money and also it’s available. The Palestinians here are students. They do not have money; they work many hours (First respondent, Exeter University, June 2008).’

He reads news, online, every day:

‘First, I read Maan News - West Bank. If the information is not enough, in terms of negotiations track and resistance track, then I go to Palestine Info and Al Aqsa website - if the action is in Gaza. Also Wafa* - PLO Website. Al Jazeera Arabic- as a summing up. In Palestine Info and Wafa different stories relating to the conflict between Hamas and Fatah. That's why I look at Al Jazeera.’

He thinks that Hamas websites are more professional than Fatah websites: ‘Hamas uses moderate language in its websites, comparing to Fatah. They convey without attacking.’

* On June 18th, 2009 The Palestinian News Agency Wafa launched a news website in Hebrew.

S., 24 year old prefers the Internet on any other medium:

‘I can read any time; I read what I think is relevant and I can check if I do not have time.’

S., A 27 year old sees in the new technology an advantage that other media cannot provide, and uses the Internet almost every day for news:

‘The Internet... different ideas and views, I can judge.’

This finding indicates the gap between media consumption practices in Palestine and the media consumption practices of Palestinians in the U.K. In Palestine, 50% of the Palestinians never used the internet, due to lack of language skills and the worsening economic situation. Throughout the West Bank and Gaza, television is the primary source of information (United States Agency for International Development online publication, 2006: 5). Though, in recent years there has been growth in internet use in Palestine, it is mainly on the West Bank and not in the Gaza Strip, internet access in Palestine is also limited, and there are linguistic and cultural barriers (Hanieh, 1999: 43), as discussed in the first chapter. In contrast, the participants (in this research) use the internet as their primary source for news consumption. Their access to the internet is relatively high and I can define them as a global audience. In contrast, in Gaza and the West Bank, or in any other Arab country, access to the internet is relatively low and, accordingly, news consumption relies mostly on local sources.

Being part of the Diasporic community means, for them, taking part in Palestinian events and keeping contacts with other Palestinian Diasporic communities, and with the Palestinians in Palestine, using the new technology, e.g., creating blogs and websites for this purpose. The Palestinians use the internet as the main medium for news consumption, as well as to promote the Palestinians’ cause. The Palestinians’ daily news consumption is vital. The reason is that ‘Palestine’ is a conflict zone and many Palestinians have family and friends back ‘home’. News consumption is not only important for personal

reasons but, rather, the Palestinians in the diaspora wish to receive political updates. As discussed in this thesis, the Palestinian community is politicised – individuals and groups operate in different arenas to gain international awareness for Palestine's problem.

The challenge for the Palestinians is to find the channels from which to receive daily news updates, since the Palestinian media lack the resources to become professional media. In addition to this, security and political instability in the region are threatening the media outlets' daily functioning; many media organisations have to stop their work for a variety of reasons, the access of journalists is limited, there are also problems of self censorship. For these reasons, the flow of news from Palestine has been affected.

This problem is mainly evident with the Palestinian political websites that, according to the participants in this research, distribute news stories that aim to promote political agendas. The Palestinian political websites' content is being published by political activists and not by professionals. The implications are that the people who run the websites do not follow the journalistic code: the language is emotional, the news is not diverse, there is no foreign news section, for example, and there is a lack of updated news at times of breaking news in Palestine and in Israel.

As most of the participants indicate, the Palestinian websites are not professional in terms of journalism, language and the ability to provide updated news. A participant who does not read the Palestinian websites expressed his view, a typical response from the participants relating to the political websites:

'I do not read the Palestinian websites. They do not have good language and no good journalism. There is no formal journalism training. Western English speakers will not rely on the information (S., July, 2008, London).'

As a result, the Palestinians use a variety of websites in different languages. To put it differently, the Palestinian media is not their main source of news. Interestingly enough, Israeli media is being used the most habitually and at times of breaking news. The

participants perceive the Israeli media to be professional and liberal. There is thus extensive use of Israeli news websites. *Haaretz*' news website is the most popular Israeli news source. The news website is the website of the print newspaper, *Haaretz*, which is the only broadsheet published in Hebrew, in Israel. The participants use the English version of this news website.

It is important to emphasise that Israeli audiences and broadcasters use the Arab media in order to learn about the Arab voice. Arab news media are a very important feature of Israeli television and radio news bulletins and of the Israeli print media. Israeli media outlets employ Arabic speaking journalists for the purpose of listening to transnational Arab media broadcasters and websites, and Palestinian media, and they report on Arab news as they are transmitted. In addition, on many occasions, Israeli television broadcasts live news reports from Arab television networks, such as Al Jazeera, Lebanese television, and so on. Israeli national television, Channel 1, also broadcasts news in Arabic.

The Reasons for Using the Internet

The participants that prefer to use the internet over any other medium, for news consumption, are not a homogeneous group. As explained earlier, the disadvantages of the Palestinians in Palestine relating to their media consumption: lack of resources and lack of language skills, do not apply to these participants. In other words, the common feature of all the participants is their easy access to the internet, as well as their usage in languages other than Arabic for news consumption. What are the differences, then?

First, I would like to relate to the division of Internet users according to gender. Palestinian society is a patriarchal society where women, in most cases do not have the same personal and professional opportunities as men. There are therefore more participants who are men, also, many men emigrated without their families (wives and children). As Bowker says:

"Socially and politically, Palestinian society – like most Arab societies – is highly stratified and patriarchal. Family and kinship ties are central to Palestinian

society, finding expression in the dominant influence of family on the socialisation and subsequent control over many aspects of the lives of individuals (Bowker, 2003: 42)."

The question I explore is the use in the internet and television by Palestinian women in comparison to that of men. The Palestinian women who emigrated to the U.K. are not a representative sample of the women in Palestine. Most of the women who live in the U.K. have financial means and they are educated, or are students at different levels. They lead a different life than most of the women from Gaza and the West Bank, who simply cannot emigrate because of financial challenges, as well as the difficulties of obtaining a visa. The women I discuss are those who use the internet as their main medium. Later I will discuss the media consumption of the participants who watch television news as their main source of information. The number of women using the internet is relatively low, compared to men, but as opposed to the men's group, all the women that mainly use the internet for updated news are educated and professional, or are students, except for one woman, who has no higher education and she is a housewife. In contrast, only a few men, who use the internet as their major source, are professionals. Amongst the men, there is thus no correlation between education and professionalism and internet usage. In addition, the fact that the men who work in non-professional jobs do not have internet availability, as professional workers have, does not prevent them from using the internet. In other words, even though the men do not use internet at work, it is their main medium for news consumption. They thus look for news online outside their working hours – either at home or in the library. This fact signifies the increasing influence of the internet on Palestinians.

Compared to the men, the women's work is dominated by the new technology environment and they use the internet not only to read news, but also to receive news that they select from various sources and many of them have blogs. I asked them why they preferred the internet and the main reasons are: availability, selectivity and immediate updates. "In a historical context, since the attempt to form a media watch group to combat unacceptable images about women on satellite television, groups of women from

different countries in the Middle East have taken advantage of easier communication via the internet, to share their experiences in this field" (Sakr, 2001: 197). Wajcman's argument strengthens my findings; in her research *Feminism Confronts Technology*, she says that women are constructed, and construct themselves, as 'other' to men. In our society, 'technical competence is central to the dominant cultural ideal of masculinity, and its absence is a key feature of stereotyped femininity' (Wajcman, 1991: 159). Consequently, women's reluctance to be technological can be attributed to cultural structures which differentiate women from men (Green, 2002: 172).

The men's main reasons, for choosing the internet are similar, but they also added that the internet is quicker and is a hypermedia (Hanieh, 1999: 43), that allows them to look simultaneously at a few websites. Let me quote two men's' replies: 24 year old Sami who emigrated to the U.K. to learn English:

'I can search for news, even yesterday's news, and see everything. I can print, look at pictures and take notes. I am using the Internet all the time for emails, so it's easy to use the websites. I use Google to find news. I do not need to buy newspapers. I receive results from Al Quds, Maan, BBC... I use the Internet at the library in the college, I do not have a computer (Sami).'

Mahmoud, 40 year old, PhD student:

'The websites are important, you cannot live without it. I have access to newspapers, but it's the traditional way. The students, including me, do not have money to travel back to Palestine to visit. Also, there are restrictions on travel to Gaza, and Palestinians need a visa to travel in Europe. That's the reason (why) the internet is important for the young Palestinians (Mahmoud).'

In contrast to the Palestinian community in the U.K., most of the Arab diaspora in Germany came under the auspices of the German Asylum Law and the Political Asylum Law (1980). Most parents belong to the first generation, are unemployed, and, as

refugees, live off the welfare assistance they receive from the state authorities. The media consumption practices among the two Palestinian Diasporic communities, in Europe, are very different. In Germany, most women were consumers of television rather than the internet; they did not use the internet. The women usually did not consume German media, but relied heavily on Arab Television (Rinnawi, 2012: 1459). In contrast to the women in Germany, most of the Palestinian women in the U.K., use the internet as the main medium for news consumption; they are notably educated and professional, or they are students. Another major difference between the two communities relates to the content aspect: whilst in Germany, Palestinian men prefer news and talk shows, the women favour entertainment (Rinnawi, 2012: 1460); in the U.K., both men and women use the media mainly for news consumption.

I asked my participants which medium they used most for news consumption. The majority said that they use the internet for this purpose. The participants not only read news online, but also watch television news on the internet; some of them read news on their mobile phones. Only a few watch television for news.

The internet serves as an efficient tool for the reception of news from Palestine, since terrestrial and satellite television in the U.K. lack many channels that the Palestinians would like to use. For example, it is only the internet that enables them to receive news from Palestinians news agencies and, in some cases, the Palestinian political websites. Most importantly, Israeli media is a major source of information for the participants, and they only have access to them online. Moreover, many of the participants do not have a television set at home, or a connection to satellite television. Television is a minor medium among the participants.

The main reasons that the participants use the internet as their major medium are: availability, selectivity, variety of news websites, and financial considerations. Above all, the participants explained to me that the internet symbolises for them a shift from the traditional to the modern way of news consumption. The implications for them are not only at the technical level, but also at the message level. The internet empowers the

Palestinians – the Palestine problem is no longer the problem of a minority in a remote area, but is a problem that lies at the heart of the global community. As Ghada says:

‘Palestine is an Islamic issue, not only Palestine; it opens a window to the international world. If the first Intifada was covered by the websites, it would bring the Palestinians cause. Now you are part not only of a million people in Palestine, but part of one billion, a community (Ghada, Exeter, June, 2008).’

R., who lives in the U.K. 30 years, sees the internet as a major source of information, saying that the internet has changed her news consumption practices. Whereas in the past she read Palestine’s news in the newspaper, today she reads online, she describes the journey she has been through:

‘All of a sudden, everybody online. My mother (in Nablus) starts speaking on the internet. I use mostly the internet. I read Maan News and Electronic Intifada...I read The Guardian...Al Jazeera. At times of big news events, I check the internet and ITV headlines on Teletext on TV. In the past, I checked Palestine’s news in the newspaper.’

Similarly, M. says:

‘The websites are important, you cannot live without it. I have access to newspapers, but it's the traditional way.’

The benefits of the internet for the Palestinians are explained by Aouragh thus:

"It (the internet) could help defy the repression of everyday life in Palestine by overcoming the limitations of checkpoints and occupation and thus generate feelings of ‘mobility’ and ‘political autonomy’...the great enthusiasm for the online possibilities which the internet offers Palestinians reveals essential facts about offline limitations...they allude...to the absence of The Independent

territory; free access to the very infrastructures necessary for free debate, free mobility, and free democratic decision making (Aouragh, 2011: 2)."

Rinnawi's research, into the Arab diaspora in Europe, indicates that 'members of this virtual community are no longer a marginalised minority, but are members of a majority via television and the web, since they are members of a virtual community. These groups remain less assimilated into their host societies' (Rinnawi, 2012: 1456). In making Arabs and Muslims in the West less of a minority, the web increases not only their sense of identity as Arabs and Muslims, but also their self-confidence (Harb & Bessaiso, 2006; Miladi, 2006; Matar, 2006; Rinnawi, 2010; Sedgwick, 1998).

Other researchers, i.e., Ros, point to the benefits of the information society, alongside the challenges. Although there are new potentials for information transmutation in migration contexts, there is still a lack of information among most migrants. At the level of migration policies, the new tools of the information society have not yet been used to solve the basic problem of a lack of information, both before and after the arrival in a new country (Ros, 2010: 26-7).

The next issue to be discussed is the issue of democracy, with a particular reference to the internet. In the late 1990s, the internet began to shed its one-time image of being predominantly a medium of communication for highly educated and affluent white males living in the metropolitan areas of the industrialised world (Slevin, 2000: 41). Sarikakis and Thussu argue that in the initial years of the internet's expansion, it was hailed as a democratising communication tool, with the potential to create a global public sphere. However, they claim, in developing countries, the lack of telecommunication infrastructure continues to limit access to the internet. Users are also generally male, middle class and fluent in English. Internet access divides rich from poor, urban from rural, educated from illiterate, men from women, and young from old (Sarikakis & Thussu in Sarikakis & Thussu, 2006: 8).

Looking at my case study, I would say that the internet links groups and does not divide them. The use of the internet is available for free in any library in the U.K. or at a low

cost in an internet café, for example. The meaning of this is that the socio-economic status of an individual is marginal in the relationship being created in cyber space. IT undivides what was previously divided. It makes it possible for marginalised people to access middle and upper class circuits. For example, as members of virtual communities their true lower-class identities are not revealed, something they could not hide in physical-interface interaction (Laguerre, 2010:56).

Moreover, individuals and groups can use the internet to reach people worldwide. "Anyone can disseminate his messages online without the restrictions of one's personal condition. As has been argued, it is easy and virtually free to broadcast video and audio over the web (Hanieh, 1999: 42)." "Through the Internet, the diaspora found a tool with which to talk, back and forth, and to see each other via instant messaging, using voice chat and web cam; this involved both interactivity between countries and intra-activity within a country. Managing internet content can be learned in community centres, or from friends (Aouragh, 2011: 76)." In relation to the use of language, even in developing areas such as Palestine, the leadership has utilised the fact that Western audiences read mostly in English, and they publish their websites in English, as well as in other languages, to gain public attention and support.

As a result of the new technologies, there is an increasing number of news websites. Not all of them are from professional, journalistic news sources. Some of them are manipulative. I can understand why it is difficult to see the benefit of this phenomenon to democracy and the critique that discusses the lack of audience participation in the political process. Nevertheless, as far as my research is concerned and in the light of my interview results, I claim differently. For the members of the diasporic community, the revolution of the internet is valuable for the following reasons: firstly, there are limited Palestinian television news channels. The internet thus provides this audience with updated news 24 hours a day. Among the available websites there are propaganda websites, but the Palestinians are aware of this fact and they use a variety of websites. The audience use also non-Palestinian websites, for example, there is extensive use of

Israeli news sources online, which is very important for the Palestinians and for access to this source of information, which could not be achieved without the internet.

In contrast to the perception that the quality of information online is declining (as I discussed above), there are scholars who describe websites users as a sophisticated audience. Althaus and Tewksbury found that the desirability of control and political knowledge were significantly positively correlated with time spent reading newspapers and using the web for information seeking, and for watching entertainment television programmes (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000: 31).

These findings are consistent with prior research indicating that politically knowledgeable people are attracted more to information rich newspapers, whereas people with a lower level of political knowledge prefer television news (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992). For the Palestinian community, the engagement in politics is part of their daily life. According to Hammer, "in the self-perceptions of Palestinians in Arab countries as well as in Western countries, everything tends to be political, and all groups in society, in one way or another, are involved in politics (Hammer, 2005: 171)".

The use of the internet as a new technology is also more dominant in the diaspora than in Palestine. It would be too ambitious to say that this new opportunity will lead directly to the implantation of democratisation processes among this community, but I do stress that, for the Palestinian community, the internet is very important for receiving, sending and talking about news with their fellow Palestinians in the diaspora and outside of it.

"The internet has become an alternative source of knowledge about Palestine and Palestinians. Media coverage of the first Intifada (1987-1991), in particular, helped young Palestinians identify with their fellow Palestinians in Palestine, and generated a new sense of pride in being Palestinian. As this media coverage was often unfavourable to the Palestinians, Palestinians have learned to read between the lines and have also turned to independent sources of information, as is evident from the proliferation of web sites and email lists (Hammer, 2005: 220)".

As I said, only a small group of participants use television for news consumption. Their professional background is different. Few of those who prefer television for news, also watch drama channels, the Islam channel and the documentary channel, Alhiwar, which 'broadcast documentaries relates to Palestine' (Maryam). The first age group (17-26) includes 4 participants: 2 men, one of them is a restaurant worker and the other is a student, and 2 women, a teacher and a student. The second age group includes a man, who is a doctoral student, and 2 women who are housewives. The third group includes a man who is a consultant.

The group with the biggest number of participants is the fourth group (age group of the first generation Palestinians -- 47-66). It includes 4 men, a doctoral student, a supermarket worker, cardiologist and a professor. The two women in this group are a former lawyer, who works at Arab Media Watch, and a housewife.

The reasons the participants use television as the main source for news are varied: as one can see, the proportion of men using the internet as the main medium for news consumption is significantly higher than the women using the internet. In contrast, for television news, the proportion of men watching television news, as their main medium, is higher than that of women, but only slightly.

Another difference that it is interesting to look at relates to the fourth group (47-66): while this group is the smallest one among internet users, it is the biggest group among the participants who prefer to watch television for news. This finding fits internet research theories that suggest that internet is being used mostly by the younger generation. By the century's end, the average age of internet users worldwide was thirty-five. In the United States, the largest proportion of users were aged between eighteen and thirty-four (Slevin, 2000: 42). Rinnawi (2012) made similar findings in his study of the Arab diaspora in Europe. Rinnawi's findings point to significant differences between the two generations of the Arab community. While television is considered the main form of media for the parents, the internet is the most important medium for the younger generation (Rinnawi, 2012: 1458).

The use of the internet by the younger generation is particularly evident in Palestinian society. The younger generation of Palestinians has more trust than others (this relates to Palestinians of the first generation) in the internet as a source of information because they are the primary users and have more familiarity with it (United States Agency for International Development Online Publication, 2006: 31).

All the participants in the age group 47-66 who use the internet are professionals. This explains the fact that they use the internet for news, because they are being exposed to the internet as part of their daily work. The new technology, globalisation and transnational media are all phenomena with which they are familiar, and they enjoy the advantages of the WWW revolution. Sana, who prefers to use the Internet, says: 'I want to know immediately what happens.'

The same age group (47-66) of participants, who prefer television news, is not as monolithic as that of the internet users. It includes professionals and non-professionals. Manal, a housewife, explains that she prefers television because it's more immediate and she does not have time to search for news on the internet.

Mahmoud, a cardiologist, has another reason: 'I prefer TV because it's immediate. Also, not biased or influenced directly by government.' Mahmoud's argument seems to be the same as Sana's (the previous quotation), who prefers to use the internet for news, but the meaning of their arguments is different. Sana works at a newspaper (news desk). Her computer is therefore connected to the internet the whole day. She has to read news updates, as part of her daily work routine, and she can look at any website to receive news updates, at any time. In contrast to Sana, Mahmoud is a cardiologist. He hardly uses the internet at work (though he uses the computer for work purposes). When he talks about the TV as immediate medium, therefore, he means that when he arrives home from work he just turns on the television set for news.

35 years old S. preferred medium is television. She watches Al Jazeera news every day:

‘Al Jazeera leaves big place for Palestine. Live reports from Gaza, Jordan, Syria... it attracts the attention of the whole Arab world.’

She also watches Drama series on satellite television, for example on Katar TV or the Abu Dabi channel. She reads news online sometimes, using the Palestinian websites. Though she does not use the internet much, she is certainly aware of the internet revolution:

‘More websites are coming every day. Debates between Hamas and Fatah, each website tries to persuade. You know from the content if it’s Hamas or Fatah. Now there is internet access in Gaza, it started about a year and a half ago (2006). ‘

In the first three age groups (17-46), there is a clear preference for Internet usage for Television news. The reasons that most of the young Palestinians choose television as their major source of information, are different from the reasons of the first generation Palestinians. 23 year old Ahmed, who works at a restaurant, talks about his preferences: ‘On TV you see and hear everything. Internet - for emails.’ 23 year old Nael says: ‘My education is through the internet, so I prefer to watch TV for news.’ Ahmed and Nael’s media usage practices are similar to other young participants’ whose preferred medium for news is television. This means that they do use the internet, but not for news consumption, while the first generation of Palestinians, who prefer to watch news on television, do not use the internet at all.

News Websites, Social Networks Online and Political Mobilisation

Most of the participants use the Internet as their main medium for news consumption. They do not use one news website but, rather, they look for information on different websites, especially at times of crisis or breaking news in Palestine or Israel. Tyner and Kuhlke propose four spatial categorisations of internet communications in the experience of diaspora: intradiasporic - this level includes websites and internet usage by immigrants

primarily in their local contexts of interaction, interdiasporic, diaspora and homeland, and diaspora and host society (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000:241).

The interviews show that most of the participants use the Israeli media as a major news source. They prefer to read the Israeli media on the Palestinian media, especially at times of breaking news. *Haaretz* newspaper is the main Israeli news medium, as the participants refer to this website as a source of information which is valuable to them for news from Israel and Palestine. This newspaper familiarised them with the Israeli perspective, and there are established Arab and Israeli writers whose journalistic work participants appreciate (use in Israeli media is being discussed in this chapter).

I suggest that the internet has a dimension that is lacking in the print media and satellite channels. The Palestinians interviewed use the advantage of the new medium – the internet, on the traditional media: newspapers and television. They read the readers' comments and send comments online, they create websites relating to Palestinian issues and communicate via blogs with Palestinians from different countries. As Schulz and Hammer say:

"Transnational communication technology facilitates the maintenance of relationships throughout the Diaspora as well as the maintenance of a national (ist) discourse. Information technology brings Palestinians closer together and therefore reduces geographical distance (Schulz & Hammer, 2003:181)."

The websites being used are varied and include Israeli, Palestinian and Arab websites, as well as U.K. and International news websites. Before I continue, I would like to explain the reasons for this categorisation. I differentiate between the Palestinian websites and Arab websites in general, since the Palestinian websites mostly include news from 'home, whereas Arab news websites do not focus on Palestine. I did not include a category of Islamic websites for two main reasons: first, because of the political sensitivity of the use or non-use of Islamic websites, the participants' approach to this issue might be

misleading. Secondly, I did not find it relevant to this research to explore the negotiable terms of extremism, terrorism and the use of the internet by extremist groups.

In relation to international news media - although international news media and U.K. news media could come under the same category, for example, the BBC television network (the U.K. news source that Palestinians use most) can be defined as an international network. It is important for the purpose of this research to differentiate between the two. The main reason is that, for the participants, the BBC is the local network of their host country, unlike other international networks, like CNN. The Palestinians see in the U.K. broadcasters a significant source of information and most of them use it. The consumption of news media provided by international media outlets outside the U.K. is lower. Not all U.K. broadcasters are also international, for example, Channel 4 News, and therefore cannot be categorised as international media.

I would like to provide an explanation for each category:

1. The Palestinian Political Websites the websites of the political factions, Hamas and Fatah, mostly, such as the Fatah website: alwatanvoice.com. The websites do not include a logo or titles referring to the fact that they represent a specific political faction, but rather it is known from the content, according to my informants. There are two exceptions: the websites of Hamas' official TV channel - Al Aqsa and Palestine Television, the Palestinian Authority Television station.
2. The Independent Websites – websites that do not align with any political party, such as Electronic Intifada.
3. News Agencies- 1. Maan News Agency (Ma'an means 'together' in Arabic). It is a Palestinian on-line news agency that publishes news in Arabic, English, and Hebrew. Ma'an News Agency's initiative is funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. 2. The website of the Palestine's news Agency WAFA: the official news agency of the

Palestinian Authority. The languages of the publication are Arabic, English and, since June, 2009, Hebrew.

4. Israeli News Websites – most of the participants use the English version website of the Israeli broadsheet - *Haaretz* (the land). It is the only broadsheet being published in Hebrew, the official language of Israel. There is another broadsheet that covers Israeli issues, *The Jerusalem Post*. It is published only in English. Some of the participants use other Israeli news websites:

Ynet – the online version of Israel's most popular tabloid newspaper - *Yediot Achronot* ('Recent News').

NRG - the portal of *Maariv* - the second Israeli daily tabloid newspaper.

Walla – popular Israeli news website, published in Hebrew. The content and format are those of a tabloid newspaper.

NANA – Israeli tabloid news website.

Other participants are being updated by reading Israeli official and governmental websites.

5. Arabic News websites, such as Al Jazeera. Since the recent launch of Al Jazeera International, in English, there is a distinction between Palestinians in the U.K. who prefer the Arabic website, and those who prefer the English website.
6. UK Websites – the most common one is BBC English and Arabic. Similarly to the use of Al Jazeera, some prefer the English version, others prefer the Arabic version. I will discuss this point later in this chapter.
7. International Websites – for example, *New York Times*. There is no extensive use of international websites.

8. Other websites – websites which are not news websites, but do provide news: governmental, research institutes and human rights and charities websites. This section refers both to Palestinian and Israeli websites.
9. Social Networks, websites and blogs – websites that are created by Palestinians in the diaspora, their aim is to keep contact with the Palestinian community around the world and to promote Palestine and the Palestinian cause, for example, donation functions. The readers' response becomes a stand alone medium for news consumption. The users are active - they are being updated and learn about news events by reading and responding. The Internet becomes a social network. For example: Palestineblogs.net and meiroun.blogspot.com. Both blogs enable users to create new blogs and they have links to additional blogs. These websites and blogs are being accessed by thousands of users.

The questions I asked further were: their level of interest in U.K. and Palestine's news, which websites are being used, the television stations that they watch, the frequency of usage and the medium being used the most, while looking at breaking news and follow up news stories in both Palestine and Israel. The next topic is investigation beyond the use of the medium: the examination of interest in U.K. and Palestine's news.

Level of Interest in Palestine and U.K. News

The interviewees are Palestinians who have resided in the U.K. for different periods of time. The question posed to the participants was: do they have more interest in news from 'home', or in news from the host country, the UK? Most of the participants said that news from Palestine is their first priority. The interest in Palestine's news links to two of the foundational issues among the Palestinian community. First, there are the feelings of solidarity with the people in Palestine and their link with the land. Secondly, there are strong feelings of Palestinian identity. The following quotations describe the participants' feelings of solidarity, which lead to a high level of interest in daily news from Palestine:

‘I read news 15 minutes every day. I do not have time, but still there is no escape. When there is insurgence in Gaza, you cannot focus on your studies. We feel sad, and we feel we have to look at it. Sense of solidarity (with) Gaza and the West Bank (Mahmoud, Exeter, June, 2008).’

‘I live in London, but I sleep in Nablus. My roots are there, it will not change. It’s in my blood. The connection, solidarity is there. It’s my connection to the land, to the people (Reem, London, July, 2008). ‘

‘In crisis I also watch satellite. All of it is a Palestinian land; I do feel for the people in Gaza (Naga, London, July, 2008).’

Both first and second generations of Palestinians feel links to the Palestinian people and to the homeland, Palestine. However, there is a difference in the formation of their Palestinian identity. Turki argues that the Palestinians belong to two groups: the *nakba* generation and the occupation generation, and the generations to follow (Turki in Schulz, 1994: 183). The occupation has created generations of Palestinians who are strangers to Palestine, who are ignorant of their homeland. Or, in Sayigh’s words: "All they had ever known was the camps" (Sayigh, 1979: 166).

According to Mason, the nature of the Palestinians’ dispossession from their homeland requires going beyond conventional notions of ‘first’ and ‘second’ migrant generations. Mason claims that the experiences of the Palestinians in the diaspora are framed by how many generations they have been in exile (Mason, 2007). I agree with Mason’s claim. The following is a discussion about the social shifts relating to the identity formation of the different generations. The younger participants in this research were brought up in Palestine following the occupation. 3 participants in the age range 21-28, were born in the U.K. One participant (30) emigrated to the U.K., with his family, as a child. Among the 4 Palestinians who were either born or brought up in the UK, only one has an interest both in U.K. and Palestine’s news. The others have a clear interest in news from Palestine, for similar reasons: 28 year old A. who was born in the U.K. says:

‘I have more interest in Palestine’s news. There is a crisis in Palestine more than the UK. After the second Intifada I became more interested in politics. I wanted to learn more about the conflict and I used the Internet a lot for this.’

26 year old Maryam, who was born in the U.K., also, explains:

‘Interested more in Palestine’s news on a daily basis, for two reasons. To keep up-to-date with Palestine issues, to see how the Middle East peace process progress, and for the contact with the family (Maryam, London, July, 2008).’

The 3 participants who were born/brought up in the U.K. - Sharif, Maryam and A. have more interest in Palestine’s news than in the U.K. news. They are all professionals and hold professional jobs. An important issue to look at and to clarify is that the interest of the 3 participants in Palestine’s news and their activity to promote the Palestine cause, does not mean that they are not aware of U.K. politics news. On the contrary, their interest in Palestine’s news derives not merely from the personal perspective, but rather from their abilities to help the Palestinians, as they operate in the U.K. political arena. Their interest is in news in depth from Palestine, from their nation’s perspective. For example, Maryam is a teacher, who works in her spare time in a charity that raises money for Palestine. Her consumption of Palestine’s news is intertwined with political activism. Many of the young Palestinians follow Palestine’s news and are involved in political activities for Palestine’s cause.

I would like to discuss the biggest group – the age group 27-36. Its members clearly prefer to consume news about Palestine. Many of the participants of this group are students. They create a social movement whose members’ interest is Palestine, not only from the personal perspective, but mainly their interest derives from the nation’s perspective. They are a leading force to change, and the media is a tool for them, firstly, to receive news from Palestine and secondly to influence through their participation, using a variety of websites.

Palestinian youth have played a key part in the Palestinian national resistance to the occupation, since the *nakba* in 1948, and since 1967, in particular. Resistance amongst Palestinian youth existed long before the introduction of the internet and took various forms on the ground (Khoury-Machool, 2007: 22). As Khalili claims in his study of second-generation Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, the Palestinians use of cyber culture promotes the development of Palestinian 'transnational nationalisms' (Khalili, 2005). The young Palestinians forge new and dynamic relationships with their homeland through transnational technologies: the internet, email and satellite television. These transnational media have played a particularly important role in the development of the relationship of the second exilic generation with their homeland. Whereas their parents' experience of Palestine is largely grounded through media such as books and poetry, those in the younger generation feel that they are able to have a more 'virtual' relationship with the homeland (Mason, 2007: 279).

The penetration of new media technologies into the Arab world and their expansion via the transnational media have created a confrontation between localisation and tribalism - Jihad and globalisation forces – Mcworld (Barber, 1995). The outcome of this confrontation, according to Rinnawi (Rinnawi in Rinnawi, 2006), is McArabism: a kind of instant nationalism quite different from the traditional Pan-Arabism formulated during the 1950s and 1960s in the Arab world. The emergence of McArabism is accomplished via six main processes:

1. 'Intensification': "In news broadcasts 'intensification' refers to the dramatic increase in the frequency and the selection of newscasts, which are broadcast several times daily (for example, in reference to MBC and Al-Jazeera)."
2. "Shared stance on Pan-Arab and Islamic issues or crises like the Palestinian Intifada, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iraqi crisis with the U.S...."
3. 'Emotive Footage' – 'sensationalism of the news.'
4. 'Direct Engagement': "refers to the use of modern styles of news and broadcasting that allow the audience to understand the news with minimal state intervention."

5. 'Unification of Language': whereas the Arab world has traditionally been divided by a plurality of dialects, transnational television broadcasts news in modern standard Arabic
6. "The formation of independent press corps. (Rinnawi in Rinnawi, 2006: 21-23)."

Many young Palestinians in the U.K. are involved in political activities, supporting a political movement in Palestine. In 1987, at the time when the first Intifada broke, the younger generation, who had grown up with the occupation, had lost patience with the diplomatic turns of the P.L.O. and had lost confidence in the willingness of the Arab states to assist (Schulz and Hammer, 2003: 71). As Kaase argues: "Students of social movements seem to agree that movements strive for some kind of basic societal and/or political change (Kasse in Dalton & Kuechler, 1990: 97)." However, the nationalist struggle should be seen in the context of the generations' different links to Palestine, as discussed above. There are researchers who define these nationalist feelings as nostalgic nationalism. The homeland does not exist, but the image of the homeland is always there for the young Palestinians (Schulz & Hammer, 2003: 186). For the generations born in exile, the homeland has remained central to ideas of identity, home and belonging, but the vast majority has no lived experience of Palestine. For these generations, their relationship to the homeland has been passed on through 'acts of memory', as Mason's reference to Schulz and Khalidi claim (Mason, 2007: 272).

Despite the place-nostalgia which the Palestinians have fostered, there is also a notion of home that is embedded in social relations, rather than in a certain place (Schulz & Hammer, 2003: 186). Hammer underlines the prominent role of the family, which actually signifies 'home' (Hammer, 2001: 244). There is research that claims that nationalist efforts, as I described above, would be temporary. According to Turki, when achieving the goal of a state building, the essence of 'Palestinianism' will fade away. If Palestinianism is territorialised, that nationalism may lose its ultimate foci of mobilisation (Turki, 1994: 272).

The young Palestinians in this group were born in exile (as they were not born in Palestine, prior to 1948). Their interest in news from Palestine is linked to their identity formation. Schultz stresses that for those born into the first and second exiled generations, the basis of their identity never existed, and the dream of returning represents a search for identity as much as for a place (Schultz & Hammer, 2003: 184). They have to negotiate the interplay of various elements of their identities (Mason, 2007: 274).

I learned that a very important issue is the influence of historical events, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, named by the Palestinians as the *nakba*, on the Palestinians' news consumption practices. According to Matar, "the sequence of unplanned media events related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has served to bring into the open a deep collective identity crisis over what it means to be Palestinian. This, in turn, has been central to Palestinian national consciousness ever since the *nakba* of 1948 and the exodus, which has become a significant site for individuals and collective memories of the Palestinian people (Matar in Sakr, 2007: 122)".

Linked to the issue of identity is the question of belonging: where is 'home'. Many diaspora Palestinians grow up to imagine Palestine as the place they would feel at home and to which they belong. However, many discover that they feel out of place in Palestine. In other words, "feelings of belonging are not automatically forthcoming" (Slyomovics, 1998: 14). Having said this, all the Palestinians I spoke with define themselves firstly as Palestinians, and not as members of the global Arab and Muslim community. "Although the Palestinians are scattered and do not have a state, each Palestinian has a self-perception that still pictures Palestine as one unified country with a language and cultural values, whether or not this is true at present (Hammer, 2005: 3)".

As Khalidi claims, "In an age when many Palestinians of the diaspora community carry the passports of various host countries, being Palestinian comes above being American, Jordanian or Australian" (Mahmoud in Shibliak, 2005: 99). In the framework of Palestinian migration, one has to consider not only migration from and to Palestine, but also the various movements of Palestinians from their first countries of refuge and exile

to other countries, and movement among countries. Many Palestinians have experience of more than one migratory move, thus shaping their sense and longing for a place to call home. Hammer points out that four main groups of Palestinians can be distinguished on the territory of historical Palestine and in the Diaspora: "Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians in Israel, Palestinians in Arab countries and Palestinians in Western countries. They do express unity in their self-declaration as Palestinians, though it is, for many of them, a part of their multiple identities. One cannot place Palestinians into just one or another of the above mentioned groups. Frequent movement between the groups continues to occur (Hammer, 2005: 13-14)". In relation to the Palestinians who live in the West Bank, Gaza and Israel, there are contradictory views as to whether these Palestinians live in the Diaspora or not. Aouragh's research (2011), which I mentioned in the first Chapter, investigates Palestinians in the diaspora: Jordan and Lebanon and in the West Bank and Gaza. As was said in the first chapter, according to Aouragh, in Palestine itself, refugees are not exiled, they are not territorial outsiders (Aouragh 2011: 7).

I agree with the claim of a few researchers, who say that the Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel, do not live in the diaspora, but rather lead diasporic lives. I argue that the Palestinian communities in Palestine and in Israel have been displaced from their home on two occasions, firstly in 1948 and, later, in 1967, and this is the reason, one might say, that they lead a diasporic life. Having said this, they never left Palestine and therefore they do not live in the diaspora. They did not have to adjust to life in new environments and they did not go through the process of their fellow Palestinians who migrated to European countries and the U.S. In other words, they are not migrants but, rather, they are refugees. Their status as refugees has not, in practice, changed since their displacement.

The primary interest of the Palestinians in Palestine's news does not negate the fact that they do have an interest in U.K. news and they also follow U.K. media. Sam, a student who emigrated from Gaza to London, says:

‘Gaza news especially interesting, but I am looking for news from all over the world. Example, Egypt news - they started new economic plan, credit crunch influence on Japan, Iran, America... I update in U.K. politics every day (Sam, London, October, 2008).’

Mohammed whose first interest is Palestine’s news and then U.K. news says:

‘Palestine problem is a worldwide problem, and it's my country, I was born there. My sister is there, if there is attack in Gaza of course I would have an interest (Mohammed, London, October, 2008).’

Other participants of the biggest group are unprofessional workers. Unlike the students, they do not have an interest in U.K. news which is irrelevant to Palestine. Anan who works as a freelance in computers says:

‘I am very interested in what is happening back home. I read U.K. media because I am interested in what the British media has to say...I do not have an interest in local news (Anan, London, July, 2008).’

33 old years Samir claims:

‘Palestine’s news is very important. It’s my land. I am not interested in Beckham. (David) and Politics is a game. They (the media) say to the people what to want to know. There is no place for Palestinian news in U.K. media (Samir, London, July, 2008).’

There are similarities and differences between the age group 47-66 and the age group, 27-36, which I discussed above. The majority of participants of the age group 47-66, have resided in the U.K. more then 20 years. They emigrated to the U.K. for economic reasons. Most of them studied in the U.K. and stayed for work. They have professional jobs: doctors, lawyers and so on. Only one participant from this group is a housewife.

The age group 27-36 includes 1 Palestinian who was born in the U.K., 4 participants that have lived in the U.K. more than 10 years and 15 participants who have lived in the U.K. less than 10 years. Most of the participants from this group are students (at different levels) and unprofessional workers. There is a genuine interest in news from Palestine In both groups - the participants who have lived in the U.K. more than 20 years and the participants who have lived in the U.K. for shorter periods of time.

There is no link between the length of stay in the U.K. and the level of interest in Palestine's news. Shiblak's research strengthens my findings. He distinguishes between two main groups: the smaller, long established and mostly integrated communities, and the larger, less privileged expatriates. Shiblak claims that the link between the groups is their traumatic experience of dispersal and collective memory (Shiblak in Shiblak, 2005: 15).

There are, though, differences between the two groups in their news consumption practices. The Palestinians who have lived in the diaspora for more than 20 years and more have the element of nostalgia in their consumption of Palestine's news. The Palestinians of the *nakba* generation who have lived for many years in the U.K., and still have the need to follow news from 'home'. It is important to emphasise, though, that there was a shift in their identity formation: in the early years of their exile, they firmly believed that they would return to Palestine and they refused to create permanent roots in their host countries. As discussed in the first chapter, the 'return question' is one of the major preoccupations of the Palestinians in and outside the diaspora. As the years progressed, however, and the possibility of returning to Palestine became more distant, Palestinians had to face the predicament of maintaining their Palestinian identity until their return, whilst at the same time trying to live as well as possible in exile (Mason, 2007: 273).

Mahmoud who emigrated from Tul Karem to the U.K. 28 years ago (at the time of the interview) says:

‘News from home is more interesting for me. Still, after all these years
(Mahmoud, London, July, 2008)’

Mahmoud works as a consultant for the NHS and he raises his children in the U.K. His memories from Palestine are vivid and he has a sense of nostalgia. Mahmoud uses the websites of *Palestine Monitor* in English, and the Palestinian Return Centre, to receive updates from Palestine. Unlike him, the younger generation of Palestinians who have lived in the U.K. for a shorter period than Mahmoud, would also use the website of Al Jazeera Arabic, and other websites. They will not look for news only on Palestinian websites, as they do not share the same experience as the first generation. The first generation has close ties with Palestine. The younger generation emigrated to seek a better life and they are open minded about receiving information, not merely from Palestinian sources, but also from sources such as AL Jazeera, a transnational television station that has correspondents on the ground, of which the young Palestinians are aware.. The first generation, who lived in Palestine before the first Intifada broke, experienced a different life and therefore the nostalgia is a dominant component that influences their news consumption in the diaspora. It is important to emphasise, though, that at times of breaking news, Mahmoud also uses Al Jazeera International.

52 year old Sana, who has lived in the U.K. for 20 years, says that her major interest is in Palestine’s news:

‘UK News is different from Palestine’s news. In Palestine things happen. It does not interest me what's going on between Brown and his ministers. I am more interested in the economic situation.’

Similarly to Mahmoud, Sana uses Al Jazeera for breaking news and not habitually.

Now I would like to refer to the age group 27-36. Almost all the participants, except one, have lived in the U.K. for less than 10 years and have more interest in Palestine’s news

than in U.K. news. This does not negate the fact that they have an interest in U.K. news, mainly at the micro level.

28 year old Manar, who lives in Cambridge, explains:

‘I try to balance, but I have more interest in Palestine and Israel, in the macro level. I try to be more involved in the local level, in Cambridge.’

36 years old M. looks for news from home more than international news:

‘I have more interest in Palestine’s news. Since I moved to England, my Palestinian identity has increased. I feel equal...I feel that I live under occupation. What interest me are Fatah and Hamas governments (M., London, July, 2008).’

35 year old R. reads U.K. news for personal purposes and she also does not have an interest in the macro level of U.K. news:

‘I have more interest in Palestine’s news then in U.K. News. I am not a British citizen, I am a Palestinian, what's happens in the U.K. is not my interest. I read general news in the UK, for job purpose (R, London, October, 2008).’

Reporting from Gaza and the West Bank involves difficulties of access, and many media corporations do not report from the ground, but rather from areas which are outside Palestine. The participants prefer to read and watch news coverage from journalists who report from within. They mentioned, for example, an Israeli journalist who works for *Haaretz* newspaper and who lives in the Palestinian territories, and therefore they trust her reports.

Only 5 participants have more interest in U.K. news than in Palestine’s news. This group is not homogenous, since the participants have different levels of interest in U.K. news.

The main interest in U.K. news expressed by the Palestinians in this group crosses age – there are 3 students (23-26) and 2 women (46-47). The students have lived in England for only a few years, whereas the women have lived in England over 30 years.

Reem has lived in the diaspora for 30 years and raises her children in London. She has an interest in U.K. news first, at the `micro level, and then in Palestine's news, at the micro and macro levels. I asked for her personal account:

‘Their day to day problems are not my problems; my mind cannot concentrate on this. It is a lot more immediate to me if the underground is not working today. I do care, if they have no electricity I sympathise, but I cannot experience it like them (Reem, London, July, 2008).’

In contrast to Reem, Jamil, a 26 year old student who has lived in the U.K. less than 10 years, has more interest in U.K. news at the macro level. Similarly to Reem, he follows Palestine's news:

‘I concentrate more on what happens in the UK, political events. It would effect my studies, if I won't follow. I follow the headlines of the local news in Nablus, where I used to live. When I lived in Palestine I followed world news.’

The comparison between Reem and Jamil indicates the centrality of Palestine's news in the lives of Palestinians, regardless of the number of years in the diaspora. The interest in U.K. news also does not relate to the number of years outside Palestine, but there is no consensus on U.K. news, as it relates to Palestine's news. If I use the example mentioned above, although Reem has lived in the U.K. for many years, she does not have any interest in U.K. politics, unlike Jamil, who has lived in the U.K. for only a short period of time. The third group, participants who have no preference, includes 2 sub groups: Palestinians who have a strong interest in news – Palestine and U.K. news equally, and Palestinians who have a declining interest in news.

Dr. Al Hamad belongs to the first group:

‘I have an interest both in U.K. and Palestine’s news. I have an interest in the social, political and economic dimensions of Palestinian life. Anything that relates to politics. I have an interest in U.K. news, everything, because it's envelopes our life (Dr. Al. Hamad, Manchester, September, 2008).’

Sami, 24, says:

‘I have the same level of interest. Palestine is my country; I have to follow the news. But U.K. news is important too, because I live here. I am interested in what is happening here and in economics and politics news (Sami, London, November, 2008).’

Professor Hassassian, the Palestinian Ambassador to the U.K.:

‘Palestine and U.K. news is all interacted. This is my job as an ambassador, to monitor the politics of the host country and Palestine. I am constantly interviewed on major events. I have to understand the political realities of both countries (Professor Hassassian, London, September, 2008).’

Balir belongs to the group of Palestinians whose interest in news has declined:

‘(Relating to U.K. news) I am a Labour party supporter. But after Blair gone, news does not interest me. (Relating to Palestine’s news) I feel the Gazan need in electricity, fuel and so on, as a human. But I am tired from worrying (Balir).’

However, the younger generation want to be updated on the political, social and economic situation in Palestine, not because of nostalgia, as in the first generation of Palestinians. The younger generation is attentive to the news in Palestine and to the news

in the host country. They have an interest in U.K. politics and economics. The reasons that the younger generation's participants, who have an interest merely in Palestine's news, are practical: they have family relatives in Palestine, for instance. Now I would like to shift from the discussion on the medium to a discussion of the message. To put it differently, what is the approach of the participants to the news stories in the Israeli, Arab, UK, international and Palestinian media, at times of breaking news and as routine?

The Use of Media at Times of Breaking News

An interesting aspect that is being investigated is the use of media to receive updated news at times when there are big news events in Palestine and in Israel. I define 'big news events' as: negotiation talks at local, regional and international levels, elections in Israel and in Palestine, and large scale violence in Palestine and Israel. I asked my participants which media they would prefer to use in this case. The participants use news websites and watch news on television as their main medium, at time of big news events. All of them said that they look at different news sources. Receiving information is important for them because they have family and friends in Palestine.

In the process of interviewing, in July, 2008, there were 2 terror attacks in Jerusalem. My access to the field did not change following the attacks, though, and I continued to conduct the interviews the following day. The participants talked about their extensive use of the internet to read the news online and to read about the suicide attacks, which were an important demonstration of internet usage at times of breaking news. In other words, following the breaking news in Jerusalem, I received authentic information from the participants – which related to the time spent on news searching and websites prioritising considerations. Bashar says:

‘At time[s] of crisis, like the suicide attack that was yesterday (a suicide attack that was carried out in Jerusalem by a Palestinian man), I read for 8 hours all the websites (Bashar, July, 2008).’

31 year old I.:

‘In time of crisis in Gaza, I would read all the websites and would come to my own conclusion.’

Steve explains the reason for using Israeli media following the event:

‘I watch Info live – Israeli broadcast, if there is a big event, like the Jewish killing of 8 children in Jerusalem (Steve, July, 2008).’

The managing editor of *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, in London, a 52 year old, says:

At times of breaking news: ‘I depend on my correspondents. For immediate news, I read Al Jazeera and Al Masdar - news from the Israeli media. I would also watch the Palestinian TV.’

As for updated information at times of crisis, back home, M. says:

‘I receive information on what is happening in Palestine from charities in the U.K., the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, and Palestinian Forum in Britain. Palestinian charities also inform on the situation on the land to support them. They send leaflets. Live appeal, for example, at the time of the Gaza siege. Things that need immediate attendance (M., London, July, 2008)’.

The viewership of British and international news channels and the use of British and international news websites is low: only 8 participants said that they look for information using international media. The majority use Israeli and Arab media at times of breaking news. The frequency of major news events in Palestine is high. In talking about big news events, there are mainly conflicts that break, as well as the escalation of conflicts; which means that the Palestinians in the diaspora would need to follow the events for a long time. The participants would therefore look for detailed information on many news

websites, as they search for updates about their home towns and relatives, and about the general situation on the ground.

The problem of bias is evident in conflict coverage (a topic that will be discussed in this chapter). In extensive coverage in different media outlets, the Palestinians in the diaspora look for information that would be relevant and valuable for them.

The following discussion explores the Palestinians' preferences and the reasons for choosing news media. Firstly: a discussion of the use of a major news source, the Israeli media, both at times of breaking news and habitually.

The Consumers of Israeli Media and Major News Events

The results of the interviews indicate that at times of breaking news events, almost half of the participants use Israeli media, or translations of Hebrew news from Arab broadcasters or websites. Most of them use Israeli media as the only source, or as a major source of information, at time of high interest news in Palestine and Israel. The main reasons the Israeli media is the preferred choice, can be summed up through a few of the participants' quotes. These were similar to the other participants' reasons for using Israeli media:

'I watch all the news channels (at times of crisis). I also read *Haaretz* (because *Haaretz*) is more liberal, more balanced, you read there news that you will never read in the British media (Sharif, July 2008, London).'

'First, I would read the Israeli media, because it's updated quicker (Anan, July, 2008, London).'

'I read *Haaretz* for local news in the West Bank. *Haaretz* is more liberal than the *Jerusalem Post*. Western media sometimes has no details. You need to go to the real source (P., July, 2008, Cambridge).'

'I read *Haaretz* - more news for me. I do not read only news, but also articles. I read the readers' comments and respond and chat with people. I like to know the views of

the people, 'specially, the Israelis.' Also, reads *Jerusalem Post* once in a couple of weeks (A Woman).'

'When there is a crisis, I use *Haaretz* the most. When I lived in Ramallah this is also what I used (Anonymous).'

Most of the participants read the Israeli *Haaretz*' news website to receive updated news from the conflict zone. According to Viser, the Palestinians prefer to read the reports of Amira Hass, a reporter for *Haaretz* who lives in Gaza and is immersed in the Palestinian culture (Viser, 2003: 118). The prominent role of the Israeli media in the lives of the participants can be attributed to the shift that occurred in the Israeli media in the 2nd Intifada (2000-2005). Whereas in the Intifada of the 1980s, in which far fewer Israelis were killed, the media mobilised for the effort. In the weeks following its eruption, the human face of the Palestinians gradually disappeared from the screen, and their voice was no longer heard. In contrast, in the 2nd Intifada in which there were eleven times more Israeli casualties, the human faces of the Palestinians were often seen in the press and on screen. Israeli journalists, in both the electronic and the printed press, conducted interviews with political leaders, ordinary people and even terrorists (In this context, the term 'terrorists' refers to individuals or groups who were involved in attacks on civilians to achieve political ends).

According to Liebes and Kampf, the new way of reporting war is part of the present worldwide media environment. The tendency to expand the representation of Palestinians includes even interviews with terrorists. This trend characterises the new journalistic practices in the global media environment, of which Israel is a part. In addition to changes in the global media environment, there were also local changes in Israeli society. The political changes during the 1990s (the Oslo Agreements) were paralleled by a major change in Israel's media environment. Two additional nationwide, commercial channels were added to the one public channel that had covered the 1st Intifada. In the 2nd, Israelis could also navigate among international news channels on cable and satellite. The gradual process, in which television became the main supplier of news, has had an influence on

the growing competition between old and new media organisations (Liebes & Kampf, 2009: 438). Is it only at times of crisis or of important political developments, that the Israeli media play a key role in the life of the diasporic Palestinian community?

The Consumers of Israeli Media as Routine

One of the important findings of the research indicates that more than half of the participants use Israeli media as routine. I asked my informants whether they use Israeli media and if they do what their reasons are, and which Israeli website/newspaper/TV or radio station they use in order to consume news. The Israeli news website of the newspaper, *Haaretz*, is the main Israeli news source. This shows that the participants have an interest in in depth news and analysis, and not merely in news stories. The following selected quotes explain their reasons:

'Haaretz in English. I like it because it's intellectual, centralist and liberal (Professor Hassassian).'

Haaretz, more news for me. I do not read only news, but also articles. I read the readers' comments and respond and chat with people. I like to know the views of the people, specially, the Israelis. I read *Jerusalem Post* once in a couple of weeks (Enas).'

Haaretz in English. I read *Haaretz* to know about events happening in Israel and about bilateral issues, such as the negotiation between the Palestinians and the Israelis (Bahjat).'

Haaretz is being read by a small percentage of the population in Israel – it is considered to be the newspaper that is being read by intellectuals and decision makers. The broadsheet newspaper provides in-depth analysis of news stories, including articles. In contrast, the newspaper with the highest readership in Israel is the tabloid newspaper *Yedioth Achronot* which, alongside news stories, includes entertainment sections and sections of stories which are not news. According to a survey, conducted in Israel,

relating to media consumption practices, the characteristics of *Haaretz* readers are as follows: the newspaper is popular mainly among adults – from age 45 to over 65; the readers have an academic education; their income is higher than the average income, and most of the readers are secular (TGI survey, 2002).

The profile of the participants who read *Haaretz* is the same as the profile of the Israeli readers of *Haaretz*: academic, professionals, students and individuals who hold high level positions. Similarly, the participants who read the Israeli tabloids have the same profile as the Israelis who and the tabloid newspapers, I would quote 24 year old Sami who reside in the U.K. for read the tabloids: mostly unskilled workers.

‘I read *Maariv* and *Yedioth Achronot*. I do not read *Haaretz*, It's more academic, for professors, it has a special culture. I prefer to read about political issues in *Maariv* and *Yedioth Achronot*. I prefer *Yedioth Achronot* because I read it every day for 3 years in Palestine, when I learned Hebrew (Sami).’

Apart from the *Haaretz* newspaper, the participants who read Israeli media use the websites of *Yedioth Achronot*, and the website of the second tabloid in his statement: – *Maariv*, IDF website, info live – Israeli broadcast and farfesh.com: a ‘Jewish website in Arabic, from Palestine’ (Samir, July, 2008). Not all the Palestinians who consume Israeli media use a specific news source. Among the participants who use the *Haaretz* website, there are a few participants who, in addition, use other Israeli news websites, such as the website of the tabloid newspaper *Yedioth Achronot*. Many Palestinian websites publish translations of Israeli news articles and the Palestinian audience can be exposed to different publications. Sana reads in Arabic Israeli articles that have been translated from Hebrew. She says:

‘Al Masdar News Agency - translates from Hebrew to Arabic - *Haaretz*, *Yedioth Achronot*, *Maariv*, *Israel Ayom*. The news is being sent to me by email. Also, I read in *Maan* and *Al Watan* - *Yedioth Achronot* (Israeli media articles and comments).’

The results indicate that Palestinians and Israelis share the same public sphere that relates to their news media consumption. The interest of the Palestinians in Israeli sources of news derives from the fact that they are influenced by the political situation, economic stability and the security situation in Israel. Formally, the economic relationships between Israel and the Palestinian Authority are defined in a document that was drafted as the 'Paris Agreement' ('Oslo 2', 1995). The document relates to the following issues: Transfer of Taxes from Israel to the Palestinian Authority, Industrial Areas and Investments, Commerce and Merchants and Employment in Israel. During crisis, such as the outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising (Intifada) in 2000, the guidelines of this document had to be changed, according to the situation on the ground. Balir's explanation for his preference, demonstrates the mutual influence:

'In time of big events in Israel that relates to Palestine - *Haaretz* and *Yediot Achronot*. I read in *Haaretz* the economic section, because Palestinian economic relates to Israel. There is no independent economic (Balir).'

Arab news media are a very important feature in Israeli television and radio news bulletins and Israeli print media. Israeli media outlets employ Arabic speaking journalists for the purpose of listening to transnational Arab media broadcasters and websites, and to Palestinian media and reporting on Arab news as they are transmitted. In addition, on many occasions, Israeli television broadcasts live news reports from Arab television networks, such as Al Jazeera, Lebanese television, and so on. Israeli national television, Channel 1, also broadcasts news in Arabic. The Israeli Broadcast Authority (IBA) law of 1965 obliged both radio and television broadcasters to show a prescribed amount of their broadcasts in Arabic. Television broadcasts in Arabic were thus produced as soon as Israeli television aired its first programmes (Friedman, 2010: 48).

On the practical level, there is mutual influence from both sides, as a result of the economic, security and political situation. In times of crisis these delicate relationships are undermined. However, the changes are rapid, and not just in times of crisis. There are changes in Israeli government policy, changes in the political situation inside Palestine,

changes in the international arena, and so on and so forth. For example, until the outbreak of the first Intifada (December, 1987), Palestinians formed the major labour force in Israel. In January, 1988, the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) discussed for the first time the issue of bringing in labour migrants as a substitute for Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank. Today, the Israeli government and citizens face a serious problem, as most of the labour work in Israel relies on illegal migrants from African countries.

As a result of frequent changes, for the Palestinians who live in the diaspora, Israeli media have an important role. Whereas the Palestinian media cannot answer the demand of the participants for professional updated news, Israeli media can. The participants use the Israeli media as a major source for news from Palestine and Israel – for them, Israeli media is not the media of the Other, it is an estimated source of news from the region which provides them also with the local news that they are so eager to receive, while residing in the diaspora. Another dimension that is being provided by the Israeli media is the fulfillment of the need of the Diasporic community to understand the Israelis' views. Living in Palestine, they were exposed to Israeli media, as part of their daily lives. In the U.K., they would use Israeli media to fill the gap created when they left Palestine. In this context, it is appropriate to explain the difference between the first generation and the second generation. The Palestinians of the first generation had economic and social links with Israel. They consumed Israeli media – a practice that still exists among many of the first generation Palestinians.

In contrast, the second generation who were born in the conflict situation following the first Intifada (1987) do not speak the Hebrew language and their connection to Israel is weak. This generation grew up with the occupation and their frustration led to the outbreak of the Intifada (Schulz & Hammer, 2003: 71). However, many of the young Palestinians who live in the U.K. use Israeli news websites, including the websites of the leading Israeli newspapers, as a major source of information. Since some will not read the Palestinian political websites at all, and others will not read the Palestinian websites as the only source of updated news, they have to read additional news websites.

I will look at the example of *Haaretz* newspaper online in order to demonstrate my arguments. The online version includes a Defence section. Under this section, there are the following links: Israel News, Hamas, Iran, Gaza, IDF, Palestinians, Gaza Strip, Peace Process, and others. Another sub section in the Defence section is 'Read and React' – the items relating to Palestine's issues and readers can respond online. For instance, on November 15, 2008, an article was published in the section on the West Bank, it was entitled: 'Israel infuriated by U.K. plan to label West Bank produce', it received an impressive 743 responses. I cannot give the figure for the Palestinians in the U.K. who read this article, but I can say that the participants in my research find the section on the West Bank, as well as other sections and news articles, in the *Haaretz* newspaper relevant to them. If I put it in one of the participants' words:

'There is a space for us, the Palestinians, in *Haaretz*.'

The Palestinians in the diaspora use the Israeli media because they want to understand the other side of the conflict. The only way for them to do this is through the media – using Israeli news websites. On the practical level, they read Israeli news stories online because, as they said to me, the Israeli media is updated more quickly than the Palestinian media. The Palestinians who read Israeli news websites are familiar with the Israeli media and they appreciate the journalists' coverage. In other words, the Palestinian media operates under limitations that prevent it from being professional media. In contrast, the Israeli media have the resources and conditions to function professionally.

Since the Palestinian news websites are aligned to political factions, the language used is also emotional language, the Palestinians have to read the news from Palestine with scrutiny. One of the news channels the participants use, is Israeli news websites. Reading the Israeli media, they receive detailed information about the political events in Palestine and in Israel. On one hand, Israel represents the country responsible for the trauma of the '*nakba*', which is rooted in Palestinian collective memory and daily life. On the other hand, the Israeli media is very important because it has the tools the Palestinian media lack – resources, trained journalists, and there is no self-censorship by journalists. As a

result, the Palestinians use the Israeli media, but their interpretation might be different from other audiences who read the Israeli media. In referring to media effects, as discussed in the first chapter, I would say that the Palestinians' news consumption fits with the school of thought that stresses the variety of ways in which different audiences make use of media output (Williams, 2003: 165).

The public spheres of the Palestinians and the Israelis do not refer merely to news media, but, rather, also to cultural influences. The Arabic television division of IBA, around the 1970s and the early 1980s, produced a rich variety of programmes in Arabic, including documentaries, comedies, factual programmes and drama. The 'Arab film' slot on Friday afternoons was especially popular when an Egyptian film – often a melodrama or musical – was shown* (Friedman, 2010: 48).

The new technology also exposes audiences to international news and international media outlets. In talking about undeveloped regions, like Palestine, I would say that this change has created a new audience that has been exposed to news events outside Palestine, as well as revealing how Palestine's news events are being covered by Arab and international media outlets. Moreover, the internet provides considerable information that is unavailable internally. On more than one occasion, local media neglected to report on key events occurring in Palestine. These events were reported on the internet, for instance, a 1998 hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners in Jneid prison under the Palestinian Authority (Hanieh, 1999: 42).

*On a personal note, I remember, as a girl, watching these Arab films, which were part of my Friday afternoon ritual.

International Media Consumption and Breaking News

Most of the participants, who look for international news, use the internet. The others watch television news. The main source for those who use international and British media are British media and not international media in general. This finding indicates the important role that the participants attribute to the media in the host country – the U.K. Nael, who uses only British media for updates on Palestinian and Israeli major news events, says:

‘I use BBC 1 and BBC 4, on TV there are live reports and updates, constantly, interactive (Nael).’

She prefers to watch news online:

‘I watch the TV News in the Internet, using my laptop. I do not have a connection to satellite TV’.

She uses Al Jazeera and BBC Arabic websites, as well as the Palestinian websites. In addition, G. reads international websites:

‘I follow more International media. I read The Guardian online the most, because I work for The Guardian and also it's a left newspaper. I also read the Independent online because it's a left newspaper. I read *Washington Post* which is number 1 in the world. I read *Los Angeles Times*, and receive news alerts for Palestine issues.’

The informants who read international media also read Israeli media as a major source, but only a few of them consume Palestinian and Arab media at times of big news events in Palestine and Israel. In other words, Palestinian and Arab media are not the source of information when big news events unfold. Elizabeth says:

‘If something happens and I want to know more, first I would read *Haaretz*, then BBC. (Elizabeth).’

Half of the participants who use international and British media, at times of big news events, also use Israeli media – the website of the newspaper *Haaretz*, and one participant uses the website of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF). Odai explains the reason he reads *Haaretz* when big news events occur (Odai also habitually reads the *Haaretz* news website in English):

‘In time of crisis, BBC English and Al Jazeera. When there is an Israeli event, I read *Haaretz* to learn about the other side of the story. The emphasis is different, better understanding (Odai).’

A repeated claim of the Palestinian participants is that there is not enough space in the mainstream (not Israeli) media for Palestinian issues. This is true mainly at routine times and not at times when breaking news events in Palestine unfold.

The media usage practices of all of the participants who use international media, except one, do not change at times of big news events: they habitually use the internet as the main medium for news, as well as for breaking news updates. The exceptional is Dr. Al Hamad, who uses the internet and TV regularly: TV- ‘to watch news’ and Internet – ‘to learn more’. When he uses the media to receive updated news relating to big events, he reads news online.

The Consumers of Arab Media and High Interest News Events

I would like to explore the use of Arab media of all the participants, not merely those who use international and British media, at times of major political events or significant violence. The findings are that a third of the participants use only Arab media (including Palestinian media) at times when there are big news events in Palestine and Israel. An interesting aspect of the consumers of Arab media at times of breaking news is that their media consumption changes when they read news at times of crisis. For example, Hasan,

from Rafah, says that, as a routine he does not read the Palestinian political websites because he believes the quality of news is not good. He therefore reads Al Jazeera, where he says there is no censorship. In contrast, when he looks for news of major events, he says:

‘I will read in deep the Palestinian websites in time of crisis (Hasan).’

The participants who belong to this group either read news on the Palestinian websites in addition to Al Jazeera usage, or read only Palestinian websites. The website of the news agency Maan News is read extensively.

Conclusion

‘The websites are important, you cannot live without it. I have access to newspapers, but it's the traditional way. The students, including me, do not have money to travel back to Palestine to visit. Also, there are restrictions on travel to Gaza, and Palestinians need visa to travel in Europe. That's the reason (why) the Internet is important for the young Palestinians (Mahmoud, June, 2008, Exeter).’

‘I use Facebook for contact with the Palestinian community. I have friends from Jordan, Palestine. Alhiwar TV is mainly Palestinians. We do support the events in Palestine. We put in YouTube the 60 years of the *Nakba*. Approach Palestinians from around the world. I use also blogs and chat rooms (Samir, July, 2008, London).’

‘In this coming period, we want mass action, organised and coordinated in every place. This is a chance to raise our voices in front of the world and say that we want our rights (President Mahmoud Abbas, Haaretz.com, July 27, 2011).’

This statement of Palestinian President Abbas, prior to his initiative to seek UN recognition of a Palestinian state, in September, 2011, clearly reflects the feelings of the Palestinian people. At present, the right to return and the establishment of a Palestinian

state are the main issues influencing Palestinian society. The 'return question' is one of the major preoccupations of the Palestinians in and outside the diaspora.

Without the use of new technologies, the appeal of the Palestinian people would not reach global audiences. Their eagerness to disseminate the Palestinian cause and mobilise political support is being enabled as a result of the extensive use by Palestinians of hundreds of chats, blogs and news websites, as they use the online environment as an arena through which to achieve political ends in the offline environment. Prior to the WWW revolution, political mobilisation was limited, since Palestinians could not reach global audiences. According to Aouragh, the internet was revolutionary:

"It (the internet) could help defy the repression of everyday life in Palestine by overcoming the limitations of checkpoints and occupation and thus generate feelings of 'mobility' and 'political autonomy' ...the great enthusiasm for the online possibilities which the internet offers Palestinians reveals essential facts about offline limitations...they allude...to the absence of The Independent territory; free access to the very infrastructures necessary for free debate, free mobility, and free democratic decision making (Aouragh, 2011: 2)."

For Palestinians in the diaspora, the new technologies symbolise a revolution, in relation to their media consumption practices as well as to their abilities to mobilise the media for political purposes. I argue that the internet is the new medium that has created enormous change in the Palestinian diasporic audience's media consumption and daily lives. Most participants use the Internet as their main medium for news consumption. Following the interviews I conducted with Palestinians in the UK, I gathered that their interest in news and in politics is highly significant. News and politics are dominant factors in their daily life – they left a conflict zone. Their families and friends are still there. Thus, for the Palestinians the need for updated news from 'Palestine' (to avoid complex writing, I use the word 'Palestine' referring to Gaza and the West Bank, though there is no Palestinian state) is crucial. The need in new technologies is especially important for the second generation of Palestinians.

The interviews show that most participants use the Israeli media as a major news source. They prefer to read the Israeli media on the Palestinian media, especially at times of breaking news.

Another issue that this chapter deals with is the level of participants' interest in Palestine vs. U.K. news. Most participants said that news from Palestine was their first priority. The interest in Palestine's news links to two foundational issues among the Palestinian community. Firstly, there are feelings of solidarity with people in Palestine and their links with the land. Secondly, there are strong feelings of Palestinian identity. I discovered that there is no link between the length of stay in the U.K. and the level of interest in Palestine's news. Most participants have more interest in Palestine's news.

The main reasons given by participants for their use of the internet as their major medium are: availability, selectivity, the variety of news websites and financial considerations. In addition to these, participants explained to me that, for them, the internet symbolises a shift from the traditional to a modern way of news consumption. The implications for them are not only at the technical level, but also at the message level. The internet empowers the Palestinians – The Palestine problem is no longer the problem of a minority in a remote area, but it is a problem that lies at the heart of the global community.

Israeli Media

One of the important findings of the research indicates that more than half the participants use Israeli media habitually. The results of the interviews indicate that at times of breaking news events in Palestine and in Israel, almost half of the participants use Israeli media or translations of Hebrew news from Arab broadcasters or websites; most of them use Israeli media as their only source, or as a major source of information. I asked my informants whether they used Israeli media and if they did what their reasons were, and which Israeli website/newspaper/TV or radio station they used in order to consume news. The Israeli news website of the newspaper *Haaretz* is the main Israeli

news source. This shows that the participants have an interest in in-depth news and analysis and not merely in news stories. *Haaretz* newspaper is the main Israeli news medium, as the participants refer to this website as source of information which is valuable to them for news from Israel and Palestine. This newspaper familiarises them with the Israeli perspective, and there are established Arab and Israeli writers whose journalistic work is appreciated by participants. According to the participants, the Israeli media is professional and provides updates more quickly.

The Palestinian websites are not the major source of news. The website of the newspaper *Haaretz* is the preferred Israeli news medium. The participants explain that the newspaper is liberal and includes news and analysis from the ground, as opposed to many other news outlets that report from outside the Palestinian territories. The use of Israeli media, as the major news media, is evident mostly at times of crisis. It is important to remember that the Israelis have been exposed to Palestinian media and cultural influences, as discussed in this chapter. Israeli media outlets also use information obtained from Arab broadcasters and broadcast Arab programmes in their news bulletins. To conclude this chapter, there is no doubt that the power of the internet is on the increase.

The challenge I have, as a researcher, is to discuss the results of the extensive use of new technologies to promote social change. To put it differently, in order to achieve major change, a few conditions have to be fulfilled. In general, it is a challenge to relate the success of the revolutions in the Arab world to new media. In particular, it is difficult in the Palestinian case, since no significant results have been achieved thus far. The next chapter is the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Introduction

As discussed in this thesis, the significance of this research is in two main issues. First, in the researcher's identity, as an outsider who belongs to a nation which is in conflict with the subject of the research – the Palestinian people (this will be discussed separately in this chapter). Secondly, the significance is in the research topic and findings. There is a shortage of studies on the Palestinian diaspora; especially in relation to the Palestinian transnational community. Recently, Arab states in the Middle East have taken part in uprisings against dictatorial regimes, aiming to create revolutions. Investigating the role of the new technologies in advancing mass protests is relevant to current political developments. In the light of these changes, it is important to explore the Palestinians, who are part of the Arab world, their transnational existence and the influence of new media on their lives. In contrast to other Arab communities, such as, the Syrian and the Egyptian ones, the Palestinians operate in a non-state space. This fact makes this research more interesting, in particular, as a study of the Palestinian diaspora's role in relation to Palestinian state building, their right to return aspirations, and their utilisation of the new media for these purposes. It is important, for the benefit of the discussion, to contextualise the term 'stateless diaspora' in the light of recent political developments in the region. 'Palestine' is still not recognised as a state and there is also no territorial continuity in the Palestinian Territories (West Bank and the Gaza Strip). Since the 'Oslo Accords' (September, 1993), few of the conditions for state building that have been fulfilled. There is a Palestinian interim self-government authority and elections were held. 'Palestine' is not yet a state but the Palestinian authority has autonomy to govern its people. The conflict with Israel is a major obstacle to the full implantation of the process and to the resumption of the peace talks that might lead the way. The Palestinian diaspora's case demonstrates that, due to conflict, a stateless diaspora have a genuine interest in news, mostly in news from the homeland.

The Palestinian Diaspora and Conflict - Generated Diasporas

Recently, the interest in investigating Diasporas has shifted to another level, and ‘Diaspora role in conflict and conflict resolution’ has become a research focus. This topic has become especially important following the Cold War and more recently, after 9/11 (Baser & Swain, 2009:45). The Palestinians in Europe take an active role in raising awareness of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The first generation Palestinians had working contact with the Israelis, whereas the second generation Palestinians were born into a conflict situation. The issues common to both generations, though, are their interest and involvement in Palestine politics, and their affiliation to Palestinian political parties. The choice to support a political party symbolises the Palestinian diaspora’s political activism – members of the community choose the party they would like to support according to its political agenda. This agenda discusses the most significant issues for the Palestinians; it includes ways to tackle questions on the future of the peace process, the future of a Palestinian state, and so on.

I would draw on two examples: Dr. T., a 60 year old academic and political activist, and S., a 26 year old journalist and political activist. Dr. T. emigrated to the U.K. from Gaza. He is affiliated to the Hamas party and is in contact with Hamas people in Gaza. T. is a commentator on Palestinian issues in mainstream British media news programmes, like BBC Television. S. supports the Fatah party. He works as a journalist in an organisation whose aim is to promote ‘Objective British Coverage of Arab issues’. S. works with mainstream British media broadcasters. These examples prove that political activism is a major theme in Palestinian society. It is being carried out by both young and older Palestinians, by different parties’ supporters, and by different means. The politicising essence is a common feature among the Palestinian diaspora. The connection to the Palestine conflict has roots in Palestinian memory. R., a 42 year old psychologist, says:

‘I live in London, but I sleep in Nablus. My roots are there, it will not change. It’s in my blood. The connection, solidarity, is there. It’s my connection to the land, to the people (R., London, July, 2008). ‘

The centrality of news in the lives of Palestinians crosses age, occupation and economic status. Most of them look for updated news every day, and more than once a day. This interest in news links to their strong national feelings and to the political involvement of the Palestinian community. Lyons put emphasis on the fact that conflict-generated Diasporas usually develop networks based on their ethnic identity and they work to keep nationalist hopes alive, although they are abroad (Lyons, 2004: 14). The Palestinian community in the diaspora is politicised – there is a major effort by individuals and groups to achieve political goals for the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

According to Mavroudi, homeland-orientated or diasporic politics can be seen as the merging of collective imaginings of belonging ‘there’, to the daily realities of living and being politicised ‘here’, within political spaces (Mavroudi, 2008:59). Palestinians in the diaspora do not feel the conflict through their daily experiences since they are engaged in a sort of ‘virtual conflict’ (Demmers, 2002:94), there are feelings of solidarity with the people in ‘Palestine’, and commonality due to the link with the ‘Palestinian soil’. This does not mean that all Palestinians in the diaspora will eventually return to ‘Palestine’. According to Baser and Swain, the notion of a ‘secure homeland’, a place to which to return, in time, plays a very important role in diaspora behavior (Baser & Swain, 2009: 49).

The link with the people and with the land is very strong, and there are strong feelings of Palestinian identity. This being said, returning home will not always happen. The Palestinians in the diaspora thus take an active role in conflict resolution attempts. The mechanism that helps them most is the media, mainly the new media. Many news websites have been created for this purpose, and they also participate in the main media news programmes of their host country. In other words, the Palestinians who live in diasporic spaces do not detach themselves from the conflict, but rather they try to ‘raise international awareness, thereby increasing pressures for political change in the home state’ (Adamson, 2002:156). These efforts are carried out in a definite way by most of the Palestinians, regardless of the period of time they have spent in the diaspora, or of their

age, occupation and economic status. Drawing on research on Palestinians in Sydney, Cox and Connell, have pointed out that a political agenda is very important to Palestinians in the diaspora; 'Palestinians in the diaspora are...primarily a political construction' (Cox & Connell, 2003: 334).

For conflict- generated Diasporas, the need for news consumption is significantly more important than the need for news consumption in non-conflict generated Diasporas. The media, in particular the new media, help the immigrants who emigrated from conflict areas to habitually follow news events and, most importantly, at times of major news events and breaking news. For Palestinians in the diaspora, having information about Palestine's news events is vital. This is mainly because many of them have relatives and friends back home and developments in a conflict zone are rapid.

It is important to emphasize that although the Palestinians' interest is firstly in news from 'home', the Palestinian audience searches for international news and news from the host country as well. The Palestinians would search for news updates from their region, using the host country and international media outlets, as well. The evidence is that the internet is the major medium used by the Palestinian diaspora. The research did not relate only to the media that Palestinians consume, but also revealed what Palestinians do to receive information. To put it differently, the need for news consumption is being answered not only by using existing media, but also by creating media infrastructures such as news and social websites for the purpose of news consumption.

The main reason for developing alternative news sources is that the Palestinians perceive the Palestinian media to be non professional media. Some Palestinians would use the Palestinian media, but with the understanding that they would have to look for additional news sources in order to receive a comprehensive picture of news events. G., who reads the websites of Al Jazeera Arabic and BBC Arabic, and watches Al-Arabia news, says:

'I read the Palestinian websites for two reasons: to read local news and to have a sense of home (G.).'

The Palestinian immigrants live far from their homeland, though the geographical distance has not caused political indifference among the diaspora. A way to overcome the distance from the conflict region is the new media. The new media enable consumption of news, news production, and links with diasporic communities around the globe. They have joined the Palestinians in their diasporic spaces with relatives, friends and the Palestinian people in Gaza and the West Bank. The new media deliver vivid pictures and sound from 'Palestine' to London, Paris and Rome.

New Media – The New Arab Public Sphere

When I entered 'Regent's Park Mosque', the biggest mosque in London, in December, 2008, following the outbreak of 'Gaza War', the confusion and eagerness for information controlled the worshippers who attended the mosque that day. Rumours about the casualties and about the essence of this event were spreading among the people. This is not a rare event. Palestine is a conflict zone and escalation in the region is almost routine. For the Palestinians in the diaspora, the internet provides a practical solution to this problem: firstly, they read multiple news websites about events and receive different aspects of it, for example: local – about their home towns, and global – the Western governments' responses. Secondly, by using the new technologies, the Palestinians can contact family members and friends in Palestine. Thirdly, the utilisation of the new media for the promotion of the Palestinian cause, the dissemination of pictures and texts on line, provides their own explanation of events. Fourthly, the creation of news websites by Palestinians, who publish the 'new', bypasses the mainstream media's editorial considerations and their lack of space for Palestinian news stories. I would say that this is only the beginning of a revolution that is being undertaken by Arab audiences – audiences who have a story to tell the world, but who cannot do it because of dictatorial regimes. This revolution's meaning is dual: actions and their results. The new power that new technologies provide to the young Palestinians – the ability to speak in their own words and to create news websites, does not leave them merely in the online arena but, rather, their voice is also being heard and is penetrating the offline arena. The U.K. Palestinians' preferred medium for news consumption is the internet. Palestinians use multiple content sources, but mainly Israeli media.

Israeli Media - Major News Source for the Palestinian Diaspora

The Palestinian and the Israeli nations have lived in the same region for many years and there is a mutual influence on news events in Israel and in 'Palestine'. The two nations are in a conflict situation and many attempts by political powers to resolve this conflict have, thus far, failed. There is hostility and separation between the Israelis and the Palestinians and there is also a lack of dialogue. One component of the life of both nations is common: the need for the media of the Other. For the Palestinians this is clearly the case, as evidence from this research proves. As for the Israelis, they use Arab media to a smaller extent, but it is important for both Israeli media professionals and Israeli audiences. The Palestinian media's lack of resources prevents Palestinians who live in Diasporic spaces using it as a major source. However, the participants use Israeli media as their main news source. It seems that the usage of Israeli media by Palestinian audiences contradicts the essence of the contact between the two communities. In other words, it is expected that Palestinians would prefer to interact with Palestinian journalists, rather than with Israeli journalists, in regard to news from the homeland. One of the major findings of this research shows that Israeli media are not being perceived by Palestinian audiences as hostile, biased, mobilised or manipulative media. The opposite is true. The Palestinians perceive the Israeli media to be professional and liberal. The participants prefer to read articles by journalists like Amira Hass of *Haaretz*, who reports from the ground. What is more, Palestinian groups in the U.K. invite Israeli journalists to talk in front of Palestinian audiences. As I said earlier, the participants use the Israeli media as their major news source - they use the *Haaretz* news website as their first port of call. The Palestinians' habitual use of *Haaretz* newspaper is high, and is even higher at times of breaking news. Even when major news events in Gaza and the West Bank break, their use of Palestinian websites is low.

Haaretz is a left wing broadsheet, published in Hebrew and English. There is space for the Palestinian narrative in this newspaper. This does mean that the news content refers to Palestine in-depth; there are also personal (Palestinian) story sections and Palestinian columnists who contribute.

Research into the Israeli diaspora proves that Israeli immigrants prefer to read tabloid news websites and not the broadsheet *Haaretz*. Research that discussed the issue, as an example, is research on the media sustaining the identity of Israeli immigrants to the U.S.A, (Malka & Kama, 2011). In looking at the findings, there are few major differences between Israeli and Palestinian immigrants, in relation to their news consumption practices. Firstly, the major news website consumed by Israelis is *Ynet*, the news website of the Israeli popular tabloid newspaper *Yediot Achronot* (which translates as *Recent News*). For Israelis, the media are important for entertainment consumption, as well as for news consumption. ‘Culture consumption, mainly entertainment, is a sentimental, nostalgic ceremony that has a role as a connector between the immigrants and the homeland and in preserving the Israeli identity’ (Malka & Kama, 2011:15).

Secondly, the extent of Israeli media consumption increases as their time in the host land increases. The initial period in the diaspora is characterised by detachment from the homeland. This case is clearly different than the Palestinians practices who do not detach from the homeland at all times. This strengthens the notion of the centrality of news content in the lives of the Palestinian diaspora. *Haaretz* newspaper does not include entertainment content in the way that entertainment sections are published in the main Israeli tabloid newspapers – *Ynet*, *NRG* and *Walla*. The Palestinians have a clear interest in news. It is an interesting issue to look at, since the Israelis are the other side of the conflict, how does this equate with Israeli immigrants’ consumption practices? Although this question has not been approached in this research, I will refer to it shortly. Not all cultural artifacts that appeal to the Israelis appeal to the Palestinians – for example, many Israelis follow the Israeli *Big Brother* programme, the Palestinians will not. Another point is that although they are both sides of the conflict, the influence of the conflict on daily life is much more evident in the Palestinian sphere than in the Israeli one.

By reading Israeli media the Palestinians do not use their first language – Arabic. The Arabic language is the only component in the Palestinians life in the Diaspora that is being marginalised for the benefit of consumption of professional news. The other core issues are dominant: interest in Palestine politics, evolution of national sentiments, concerns about the formation of a Palestinian state and political activity for Palestine. To put it differently, even though the Arabic language is a very important feature in Palestinian nationalism, in prioritising according to their needs, the Palestinians in the diaspora transformed their practices – from local to global media consumers, using Israeli media mainly in the English language.

Multiplicity of Languages – A Bridge to Diasporic Links

The Palestinian political actor's aim is to reach Arab and Western audiences. Not all Arab communities speak and understand the Arabic language. For this reason, the Palestinian political parties' websites are published in many languages, including Hebrew. The question one might ask is: is the news content of the Arabic version similar to the news content of the other language versions? Comparison of the different websites indicates that there are no major differences between the two versions.

The difference is evident, according to participants, in broadcasts of the Arabic transnational television station Al Jazeera, and in the broadcast of BBC Arabic. In other words, there is a difference between Al Jazeera English and Arabic, and between BBC English and Arabic. The difference is in the culture of talk, rather than in the content. According to participants, the broadcasting in English is rational, whereas the broadcasting in Arabic is more emotional. For example, in the Arabic language broadcasts, interviewees in news programmes tend to speak loudly and to express their emotions, according to the research participants. Bukay stresses that in all forms of interpersonal communications, there are several phenomena: exaggeration in describing events (mubalaghah), personal boasting about one's deeds (mufakharah), and the repeated stressing of words (tawqid) that are part of Arab culture. This contrasts with Western conventional speech habits, which have a tendency to under-emphasis and

understatement (Bukay, 2003: 39). As discussed earlier, the use in religious idioms and cultural metaphors is extensive, mainly among Muslim Palestinians.

The use of multiple languages contributes to an increase in news consumption in languages other than Arabic, mainly English. The use of the English language is in order to use international news websites, but not only that. Arab news websites' English versions, such as BBC Arabic in English and Al-Jazeera in English, are very popular websites among the Palestinians. Some explain their choice as resulting from the professionalism of the English versions; others talk about a personal educational background in the English language.

This emphasis is the undoubted change that Palestinians made: the transformation from local news consumption in 'Palestine,' to global news consumption in the diaspora. The transformation is exercised also in the empowerment of the Palestinians: news from Palestine is being read by global audiences, in many languages. Palestine's news thus becomes part of global news agendas. To put it in Mavroudi's words:

"A focus on stateless Palestinians pays testimony to the role that the state and citizenship also play in formal political participation, but also the ways in which non-citizens feel politically empowered outside the realm of formal state politics...(Mavroudi, 2008: 61)."

The next discussion topic is a comparison between the Palestinian diaspora and other diasporic communities in Europe.

Palestinian Diaspora vs. Other Ethnic Minorities' Diasporas in Europe

The European space has attracted immigrant communities for many years. The reasons for leaving the homeland are mostly to escape harsh conditions, to look for secure living conditions, and economic ease. Immigration from Turkey to European countries is an interesting example to consider. Turkey became involved in the post-Second World War European labour migration process when it signed a bilateral agreement on labour

recruitment with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961, and later with additional European countries. In the 1980s and 1990s, considerable refugee movements emerged. The main countries granting asylum to refugees from Turkey were Germany, France and the United Kingdom.

The Turkish migrants in Europe represent a different case than the Palestinians in Europe in relation to the way they exercise their links with their homeland. The Palestinians find traveling from the host land to the home land difficult, due to the security situation in the region. As Shiblak stresses, Palestinians suffer from the: "... absence of an effective link with their original homeland which, in the vast majority of cases, they are barred from returning or traveling to... (Shiblak, 2005:16)."

In contrast, it is not problematic for Turks to travel from their host land to their homeland and vice versa. Aksoy and Robins, in their research on Turks in Europe, argue: 'As communication and transportation become cheaper, people phone more, they visit their relatives or just go to Turkey for a holiday'. Aksoy and Robins continue: 'They have a direct sense of it. And, paradoxically, having a direct sense of Turkey can make these Turks more detached' (Aksoy & Robins, 2000:360). In contrast to the Turks, the Palestinians in Europe, who cannot visit their place of origin often, feel most connected to Palestine and its people. As argued in this thesis, the Palestinian diaspora actively supports the Palestinian cause, and even though they are physically far from the conflict area, they have strong ties to their home land.

These strong ties are enabled due to new technologies. The new media are actually preventing immigrants' detachment from the country of origin. The immigrants receive news updates which allow them to be part of events occurring in the place they left. To put it in Schulz words:

"Although most refugees are barred from travelling...refugees do participate in transnational networks. Such transnational links and networks strengthen or maintain family relationships, but also in profound ways serve as to invigorate

Palestinian nationalism and homeland politics. Put differently, transnational links and activities boost nationalism rather than make it redundant (Schulz, 2005: 27)."

Indeed, analysis of the Palestinians' media consumption practices, discussed in this study, indicates the centrality of the internet as the major medium, both habitually and at times of crisis, and that the usage is for news consumption. Not all ethnic minority communities in Europe use the internet as a major platform and have a genuine interest in news, as the Palestinians do.

Turks in Europe use satellite television as the major medium for contact with the Turkish diaspora. The number of Turkish commercial channels now available for Turks in Europe is around 25, and there is also the Kurdish channel, Medya TV and the Turkish public channel. The high availability of transnational Turkish television, has led a few researchers, i.e., Marenbach, and Heitmeyer, to conclude that Turks in Europe are disconnected from social life in the host countries. Other researchers' approaches are more 'mundane' (Aksoy & Robins, 2000:345). For Palestinians the question about whether to watch Palestinian Television or U.K. television does not arise, for the simple reason that the reception of Palestinian television in Europe is limited. There is one Palestinian satellite television channel. I would therefore argue that the openness of Palestinians to Israeli and international media news websites is high, and they consume media critically, receiving information from a variety of sources.

It is important to bear in mind that the Palestinians' interest in news is not so obvious in other diasporic communities in Europe. For Palestinians, the internet serves first and foremost as a vehicle that helps them to be informed on news from home, news from the host country and international news. To put it differently, the Palestinians do not use the new technologies to consume entertainment programmes from Palestine, but rather use new technologies for news consumption. The experience of the Turks in Europe, in that regard, is fundamentally different. The development of the Turkish commercial channels and their penetration of the European market has created a new kind of programming that includes reality television, soap operas, and so on. It has also involved a new openness to

programme formats, such as *Blind Date*, that have been adapted to local tastes (Aksoy & Robins, 2000:353-354).

The comparison between the Turks and the Palestinians in Europe highlights the following issues: the Palestinians are a highly politicised community. Their interest in news is high and crosses age, occupation and economic status. The consumption of news is mostly more than once a day. The Palestinians use of Palestinian media is low. The reason is the need for professional news sources, and not because of lack of interest in news from the homeland. The next topic relates to the methodological approach of the research.

Whereas most of the research on the Palestinian community has been conducted by Palestinian researchers, this research was conducted by an 'outsider' researcher: an Israeli researcher. In order to be clear about my objectives, I will explain how I perceive the participants and how they perceived me during the period in which the research was conducted.

'Outsider' Researcher

The researcher is an 'outsider' who does not belong to the Palestinian community. What is more, the researcher defines herself as an Israeli, who belongs to a nation that is in continuous conflict with the Palestinian nation, the turning point of which was in 1948 (with calming and escalating periods). The conflict between the two communities, the Israelis and the Palestinians, leads to a genuine problem in advancing research of the Palestinian community by Israeli researchers (as discussed in the methodology Chapter). The Jewish Diaspora which acts against Israeli government decisions, have also fanned the flames. As Shain points out:

"Diaspora activists exacerbated the sharp divide within Israel over the peace process, even to the point that U.S based ultra-orthodox rabbis issued rulings that sanctioned Israeli soldiers' insubordination and the defamation of Rabin as a traitor (Shain, 2002:124)."

This researcher's aim is to encourage additional Israeli researchers to follow her in conducting research into the Palestinian community. The advantage of this research is in presenting a refreshing and new analysis which is not written by an 'insider' researcher, as is usually done, but rather by the 'other side to the conflict'. It is, though, important to bear in mind that, despite the conflict, both Palestinians and Israelis acknowledge the need for dialogue and a resolution of the ongoing conflict.

Another issue in relation to the researcher is that, in addition to being Israeli, at the time of the field work the researcher was an immigrant to the U.K. and received British citizenship. This added to the multiplicity of the researcher's identities, which helped her while conducting the research. In other words, the researcher did not perceive herself, and did not talk about herself, only as an 'Israeli'. The immigration experience of both the researcher and the informants was a feature common to their daily lives. From this point of view, the commonalities enabled the researcher to look at the informants through the prism of an immigrant. Of course, it goes without saying, there are differences between Israeli and Palestinian immigrants to the UK, as discussed in this thesis. The main difference is the struggle of the Palestinians for the recognition of a Palestinian state. The Israelis, in contrast, have 'a home for the Jewish people', as stated in Israel's Declaration of Independence, 1948.

The difficulties of an Israeli researcher in conducting research on the Palestinian community are, as many published articles have said, in access to the community. It is important, therefore, for me to explain how co-operation can be achieved and to emphasise the importance of such research. The main problem of the Palestinians is their lack of a sovereign state. This issue is being discussed by many Palestinian researchers. My feelings towards this issue, in contrast to those of a Palestinian researcher, are obviously different. I am less involved and therefore do not have feelings in reference to state building aspirations. This starting point allowed me to conduct this research without having the obligation to convince the readers that there is a major problem in the region and that they should be aware to it. I highlighted the problem, but as the participants explained it to me, without bringing my personal feelings into the study. I studied this

community in all relevant aspects as a new field for investigation. Of course, some may say, there is another problem that might arise in this research – the ‘israelisness’ of the researcher, the lack of objectivity that derives from the fact that the researcher is an Israeli. In addition, the will of the Palestinians to provide honest answers is doubted.

My answer is that Israeli researchers will always be suspect, and this is natural, but the researcher must be sure of his way and be able to prove his findings. The participants put many questions. Among them were: why are you interested in researching our community? What is your personal background? and so on. Once a dialogue was started, as I have explained in the thesis, I co-operated with the informants and helped them to understand more about me. The difficult stage was indeed in gaining access, but once this was achieved the personal dialogue between me and the informants was a solution for both of us. The participants hosted me in their homes, working places and events and treated me as a welcomed guest. It was in the light of this approach that this research was conducted.

The use of the media from their country of origin is one of the important practices of immigrant groups. The media actually prevents the immigrants from their country of origin. The immigrants receive news updates which allow them to be part of events occurring in the country they left.

The immigrants’ feelings that they belong and are not strangers can be attributed to their media use. Integration processes are varied, but the feelings of belonging to their group of origin leads to less difficulty in the integration process, the immigrants still belong to the country they left, in terms of preserving their language, reading news from home, and so on. For immigrants who see their immigration processes as temporary, the media also enable them to integrate easily, once they return home, as the media have helped the immigrants to overcome geographical distance during the immigration period. In other words, even though they were not physically in the country they left, they know in detail about news events and, in some cases, about cultural and entertainment news also.

The need to consume news from their country of origin applies to new and old immigrant groups equally. The reasons for news consumption are different among different immigrant groups, but this need exists in both groups: the new and the established ones. One reason, for example, could be the need of the immigrants who belong to established groups to feel that they have not lost contact with their homes, even though they have lived in the diaspora for many years. For the younger immigrants, the media might ease the integration processes and preserve their links to their roots.

In this research I investigated a group of immigrants whose emigration entailed personal difficulties relating to questions of identity and belonging. For the Palestinians in the Diaspora, Palestinian identity comes first and foremost. The links in the Palestinian community are strong, as a result of the *nakba* and of their second deportation in 1967. Contact with the Palestinians in Palestine and in other countries in the diaspora is therefore vital. This contact is being enabled by new technologies. The internet serves as a tool through which the Palestinian in the diaspora can keep up to date with news events in Palestine. What is more, it is important to remember that travel to Palestine entails restrictions, a fact that empowers the role of the media in general, and the new media in particular, in the daily lives of Palestinian expatriates.

Another thing that characterised the Palestinians in the Diaspora is the importance of politics and news in their lives. The Palestinians in the Diaspora actively support the Palestinian people in Palestine. The enormous number of online social networks online Palestinians have created for this purpose is a testimony to a politically active community. To put it differently, the Palestinian expatriates not only consume local media from their place of origin, but also create media products for global audiences. The Palestinians do not use the Palestinian media as their main media. Instead, they use multiple media channels. One of the interesting findings of this research, in this context, is that the Israeli media are the main media that Palestinians use habitually and at times of crisis. It is the media of the 'Other' in a language which is not their first language (Israeli media in English) that in most cases help the Palestinians to keep the link with the Palestinian people and to preserve their Palestinian identity. The website of the

newspaper *Haaretz* is the news medium that Palestinians use the most. This indicates the centrality of news in the lives of Palestinians; *Haaretz* newspaper includes in-depth news and analysis sections. This is a very interesting choice, by the Palestinians, since Israeli immigrants would usually read tabloid news online and not the broadsheet newspaper *Haaretz*, but this is a topic for further research.

Appendix 1

Consumption of International Media and Breaking News

Names of the participant	UK media being used regularly	UK media being used at time of big news events	The medium being used habitually	The medium being used most at times of big news events
Reem	The Guardian, The Independent and BBC English websites.	ITV headlines in Teletext on TV.	Internet	Internet
Layla	BBC and The Guardian websites. TV - BBC News, ITV News and Channel 4 News.	BBC Television news.	Television	Television
Professor Ramadi	Reads the English press, first and second editions online. TV - ITV News at 19:00, News Night and Hard Talk.	BBC and serious writers.	Internet	Internet
Odai	Guardian	BBC English	Internet	Internet

	website.	website.		
Dr. Al Hamad	Reuters, The Guardian, The Independent, Public Media outlets and BBC English websites. TV- BBC News, Russia Today, France 24, and CNN.	CNN.	TV and Internet.	Internet.
Professor Hassassian	Reuters, Press Releases - British and International news.	BBC World and News Night.	Television.	Television.
Elizabeth	BBC News website and True Tube.	BBC News website.	Internet.	Internet.
Nael	BBC News, Financial Times and the London Paper online. TV- BBC 1 and 2 - Ten O'clock News and	BBC News.	Television.	Television.

	News Night.			
--	-------------	--	--	--

Appendix 2

The Palestinian Governmental and Private Websites

Few participants prefer to read news online using Palestinian governmental and private websites, which are different from the political websites, but in some cases are affiliated to them. First, the description of the websites each participant uses, followed by an elaboration:

1. Maryam: websites of Palestinian charities in the UK.
2. Azzam: 'I do not take the information from the Palestinian websites. I receive from my own sources, from Hamas, their press releases.'
3. Meisoon: Palestinian bureau of Statistics and The Palestinian Ministry websites.
4. Mahmoud: Palestine Monitor in English and the Palestinian Return Centre - private websites. The Palestinian Return Centre is an independent consultancy focusing on different aspects of the Palestinian refugees.

The 4 participants hold a political stance. 3 of them act for the political party they support: Maryam is a volunteer at a U.K. Hamas charity. Azzam defends Hamas interests in different Arab and British forums, as well as writing books about Hamas party ideology. Their personal background: both Azzam and Maryam obtained their academic degrees in the U.K. Meisoon is a Political Councillor the Palestinian Authority. She obtained her academic degrees in the U.K. Mahmoud supports the Fatah party and participates in its political events. Maryam, Azzam, Meisoon and Mahmoud read news also on U.K. and Israeli websites. As for Palestine's news, for the first three participants, it's more than reading news for personal reasons, but rather they receive news because they have a public role in the Palestinian diasporic community – to mobilise international support for the Palestinian people in Palestine. Since the political websites do not answer to the demands of the participants for professionalism, they look for updated news on other Arab websites.

Bibliography

- Abu-Amr, Z. ' Hamas: A Historical and Political Background', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22 (4), Summer 1993: 5-19. University of California Press.
- Adamson, F. 'Mobilising for the Transformation of Home: Politicised Identities and Transnational Practices' in Al-Ali, N. and Koser, K. (Eds.) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. pp. 155-168. London: Routledge.
- Ahmad, F. 'British Muslim Perceptions and Opinions on News Coverage of September 11', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:6, 961-982. Routledge, 2006.
- Ahmed, S. 'The Media Consumption of Young British Muslims' in Poole, E. & Richardson, J.E. (Eds.) *Muslims and the News Media*. I.B.Tauris, 2006: 167-176.
- Alasuutari, P. 'Introduction: Three Phases of Reception Studies' in Alasuutari, P. (Ed.) *Rethinking the Media Audience*. Sage Publications, 1999: 1-22.
- Alimi, E. 'Discursive Contention: Palestinian Media Discourse and the Inception of the 'First' Intifada', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, October 2007, vol.12, no. 4, 71-91, Sage Publications.
- Alonso, A. & Arzoz, I. 'An Activist Commons for People Without States by Cybergolem' in Alonso, A. and Oiarzabal, P.J. (Eds.) *Diasporas in the New Media Age – Identity, Politics and Community*. University of Nevada Press, 2010: 65-85.
- Alterman, J. *New Media, New Politics: From Satellite Television to the Internet in the Arab World*. Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998.
- Althaus, S. and Tewksbury, D. 'Patterns of Internet and Traditional News Media Use in a Networked Community' in *Political Communication* 17 (1): 21-45, 2000.
- Akleh, E. 'Gaza's Holocaust', in Cook, W.A. *The Plight of the Palestinians: A Long History of Destruction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: 103-109.
- Aksoy, A. & Robins, K. 'Thinking Across Spaces: Transnational Television from Turkey' in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol.3, no.3: 343-365. Sage Publications, 2000.

- Anderson, B. 'Introduction' in Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1991:1-9.
- Aouragh, M. 'Virtual Reality from Below' in Aouragh, M. *Palestine Online: Transnationalism, the Internet and the Construction of Identity*. I.B. Tauris, 2011: 1-39.
- Aouragh, M. 'Palestinian Mobility Offline and Online' in Aouragh, M. *Palestine Online: Transnationalism, the Internet and the Construction of Identity*. I.B. Tauris, 2011: 75-109.
- Aouragh, M. 'Everyday Resistance on the Internet: the Palestinian Context' in the *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, 2008, vol.1, no.2: 109-130.
- Appadurai, A. 'Here and Now' in Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996: 1-27.
- Appadurai, A. 'The Production of Locality' in Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996: 178-201.
- Audi, R. (Ed.) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (2nd edition). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Awad, G. 'Aljazeera.net: Identity Choices and the Logic of the Media' in Zayani, M. (Ed.) *The Al Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media*. Pluto Press, 2005: 80-91.
- Ayish, M. I. 'The Changing Face of Arab Communications: Media Survival in the Information Age' in Hafez, K. (Ed.) *Mass Media, Politics and Society in the Middle East*. Hampton Press, 2001: 111 – 137.
- Ayres, J.M. 'From the Streets to the Internet: the Cyber-Diffusion of Contention' in *the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1999, 566: 132-143.
- Ayubi, N.N. 'The Middle East and the State Debate: a Conceptual Framework -The Non- Individualistic Path to the State' in Ayubi, N.N. *Over-Stating the Arab State – Politics and Society in the Middle East*. I.B. Tauris, 2008: 15-21.
- Bhabha, H. 'Culture's In- Between', in Hall, S. and Gay, P. D. (Eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Sage Publications, 1996: 53-61.

- Balnaves, M., Donald, S.H. and Shoesmith, B. *Media Theories and Approaches: A Global Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Barber, B.R. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. Ballantine Books, 1995.
- Barkho, L. 'The BBC's Discursive Strategy and Practices Vis-a-Vis the Palestinian Israeli conflict' in *Journalism Studies*, vol. 9, no 2, 2008. Routledge.
- Barnett, S and Seymour, E. 'From Callaghan to Kosovo: Changing Trends in British Television News 1975-1999'. University of Westminster, 2000.
- Baser, B. and Swain, A. 'Diaspora Design versus Homeland Realities: Case Study of Armenian Diaspora' in *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, volume 3 (1), winter 2009 CRIA.
- Bell, D. 'The Social framework of the Information Society' in Forester, T. (Ed.) *The Microelectronics Revolution: the Complete Guide to the New Technology and its Impact on Society*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1980: 500 – 549.
- Ben-David, A. 'The Palestinian Diaspora on the Web: Between de-Territorialization and re-Territorialization', in *Social Science Information* 51(4), 2012: 459-474. Sage Publication.
- Benitez, J. L. 'Salvadoran Diaspora: Communication and Digital Divide' in Alonso, A. & Oiarzabal, P.J. (Eds.) *Diasporas in the New Media Age – Identity, Politics and Community*. University of Nevada Press, 2010: 190-209.
- Bennet, S.E., Rhine, S.L. and Flickinger, R.S. 'Assessing American's Opinions About the News Media's Fairness in 1996 and 1998', in *Journal of Political Communication*, 18 (2), 2001: 163-182. Taylor and Francis.
- Bentivegna, S. 'Politics and New Media' in Lievrouw, L.A. & Livingstone, S. (Eds.) *Handbook of New Media*. Sage Publications, 2002: 50-62.
- Berger, A.A. *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2000.
- Bird, S. E. 'Seeking the Audience for News: Response, News Talk, and Everyday Practices' in Nightingale, V. (Ed.) *The Handbook of Media Audiences*. Blackwell Publishing, 2011: 489-509.

- Bird, S. E. 'From Fan Practice to Mediated Moments: The Value of Practice Theory in the Understanding of Media Audiences' in Brauchler, B. and Postill, J. (Eds.) *Theorising Media and Practice*. Berghahn, 2010: 85-105.
- Black, A. 'The Information Society – a Secular View' in Hornby, S. and Clarke, Z. (Eds.) *Challenge and Change in the Information Society*. Facet Publishing, 2003:18-42.
- Bowker, R. 'Political Culture' in Bowker, R. *Palestinian Refugees – Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003: 35: 61.
- Bowker, R. 'Refugee Memories and Mythologies' in Bowker, R. *Palestinian Refugees – Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003: 87- 123.
- Bowker, R. 'Refugees' in Bowker, R. *Palestinian Refugees – Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003: 61 - 87.
- Boyd, D.A. 'Saudi Arabia's International Media Strategy: Influence through Multinational Ownership' in Hafez, K. (Ed.) *Mass Media, Politics and Society in the Middle East*. Hampton Press, 2001: 43 -61.
- Brinkerhoff, J.M. 'Migration, Information Technology and International Policy', in Alonso, A. and Oiarzabal, P.J. (Eds.) *Diasporas in the New Media Age – Identity, Politics and Community*. University of Nevada Press, 2010: 39-49.
- Brinkman, S. & Kvale, S. 'Confronting the Ethics of Qualitative Research'. In *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 18 (2) 2005: 157-181.
- Bukay, D. 'The First Cultural Flaw in Thinking: The Arab Personality' in *Arab – Islamic Political Culture*. ACPR Publishers, 2003: 34 – 42.
- Bunt, G.R. 'Towards an Islamic Information Revolution?' in Poole, E. and Richardson, J.E. (Eds.) *Muslims and the News Media*. I.B.Tauris, 2006: 153-165.
- Carey, J.W. 'A Cultural Approach to Communication', *Communication*, 2 (1), 1975: 1-22.
- Castells, M. 'The Crisis of the Nation-State, the Network State, and the Theory of the State' in Castells, M. *The Power of Identity, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Second Edition. Wiley- Blackwell, 2004: 356-364.
- Castells, M. *The Internet Galaxy*. Oxford University Press, 2001.

- Chalaby, J.K. 'The Media and the Formation of the Public Sphere in the new Independent States', in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science*, vol.11, no.1. March 1998: 73-85.
- Chambers, I. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. Routledge, 1994.
- Chapman, C. 'Understanding the History', in Chapman, C. *Whose Promised Land? The Continuing Crisis Over Israel and Palestine*. Baker Books, 2005: 19-43.
- Christison, K. and Christison, B. 'Does It Matter What You Call It? Genocide or Erasure of Palestinians?' in Cook, W.A. *The Plight of the Palestinians: A Long History of Destruction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: 123-135.
- Clifford, J. 'Diaspora' in *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3):302-338, 1994.
- Cofman Wittes, T. 'Introduction: The Goal of Cultural Analysis' in Cofman Wittes, T. (Ed.) *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*. United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005: 3-12.
- Cohen, R. 'Four Phases of Diaspora Studies', in Cohen, R. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Second Edition. Routledge, 2008: 1-21.
- Cohen, R. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London, University College Press, 1997
- Cohen, R. 'Classical Notions of Diaspora: Transcending the Jewish Tradition' in Cohen, R. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London, University College Press, 1997: 1-31.
- Cohen, R. 'Conclusion: Diasporas, their Types and their Future', in Cohen, R. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London, University College Press, 1997: 177-197.
- Cohen, B. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Coleman, S. & Gotze, J. *Bowling Together: Online Public Engagement in Policy Deliberation*. Hansard Society, 2001.
- Conner, W. 'The Impact of Homelands upon Diasporas' in Sheffer, G. (Ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986:16- 47.
- Conversi, D. 'Irresponsible Radicalisation: Diasporas, Globalisation and Long-Distance Nationalism in the Digital Age' in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, volume 38, issue 9, pp: 1357-1379, 2012.

Couldry, N. 'Theorising Media as Practice', *Social Semiotics*, volume 14, issue 2, pp: 2004: 115-132.

Cox, J. & Connell, J. 'Place, Exile and Identity: the Contemporary Experience of Palestinians in Sydney'.in *Australian Geographer*, 34 (3): 329-343, 2003.

Croteau, D. and Hoynes, W. 'Comparing Media Content and the 'Real' World' in & Hoynes, W. and Croteau, D. (Authors) *Media Society: Industries, Image and Audiences (3rd edition)*. 196-197. Pine Press, 2003: 196-198.

Dahlgren, P. and Chakrapani, S. 'The Third World on TV news: Western ways of seeing the "Other" ', in Adams W.C. (Ed.) *TV Coverage of International Affairs*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 1982: 45-63.

Demmers, J. 'Diaspora and Conflict: Locality, Long-Distance, Nationalism and Delocalization of Conflict Dynamics' in *The Public*, volume 9, number 1, 2002: 85-94.

Donath, J.S. 'Identity and Deception in the Virtual Community' in Smith, M.A. & Kollock, P. (Eds.) *Communities in Cyberspace*. Routledge, 1999: 27-59.

Downey, J. 'Surveillance from below: The Internet and the Intifada' in Sarikakis, K & Thussu, D.K. (Eds.) *Ideologies of the Internet*. Hampton Press, 2006: 147-163.

Eldridge, J. 'News, Truth and Power' in Eldridge, J. (Ed.) *Getting the Message: News, Truth and Power*. Routledge, 1993: 3-34.

Elliott, P. 'Uses and Gratifications Research: a Critique and a Sociological Alternative' in Blumler, J.G and Katz, E. (Eds.) *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research*. Beverly Hills, CA and London: Sage, 1974: 249-268.

Ellul, J. *Propaganda: the Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Random House, 1965.

Esman, M.J. 'Diasporas and International Relations' in Sheffer, G. (Ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. London/Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986: 333-349.

Fazal, S. & Tsagarousianou, R. 'Diasporic Communication: Transnational Cultural Practices and Communicative Spaces', in Javnost -*The Public*, vol. 9, 1, pp: 5-18. European Institute for Communication and Culture, 2002.

Flournoy, D. M. & Stewart, R. K. *CNN Making News in the Global Market*. John Libbey Media Publishers, 1997.

- Fowler, R. *Language in the News*. London/New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Frankel-Shlosberg, L. 'The Palestinian News Game' in *Columbia Journalism Review*, vol.35, no.1, May/June 1996: 16-18.
- Friedman, Y. *Palestinian Filmmaking in Israel: Negotiating Conflicting Discourses*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Westminster University, London, 2010.
- Gantz, J. 'The Expanding Digital Universe', an IDC White Paper. www.idc.com, 2007.
- Georgiou, M. 'Identity and New Spatialities', in Georgiou, M. *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: diasporic transnationalism and mediated spatialities*. Hampton Press, 2006: 1-25.
- Georgiou, M. 'Diasporic Identities: In Difference Lies Commonality' in Georgiou, M. *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: diasporic transnationalism and mediated spatialities*. Hampton Press, 2006: 39- 69.
- Georgiou, M. 'Diasporic Communities Online: A Bottom-Up Experience of Transnationalism' in Sarikakis, K and Thussu, D. (Eds.) *Ideologies of the Internet*. Hampton Press, 2006: 131-145.
- Georgiou, M. 'Diasporic Media Across Europe: Multicultural Societies and the Universalism-Particularism Continuum', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(3), 2005: 481-498.
- Gergen, M. *Feminist Reconstructions in Psychology: Narrative, Gender and Performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001.
- Gillespie, M. *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change*. Routledge, 1995.
- Gitlin, T. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. University of California Press Berkeley, 1980.
- Gomm, R. *Social Research Methodology: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Gray, A. 'Audience and Reception Research in Retrospect: The Trouble with Audiences' in Alasuutari, P. (Ed.) *Rethinking the Media Audience*. Sage Publications, 1999: 22-38.
- Green, L. *Communication, Technology and Society*. Sage Publications, 2002.

- Green, L. 'Gender, Power and Technology' in Green, L. *Communication, Technology and Society*. Sage Publications, 2002: 171-192.
- Green, L. 'Mass Media and the Public Sphere' in Green, L. *Communication, Technology and Society*. Sage Publications, 2002: 116-133.
- Grumet, M. 'The Politics of Personal Knowledge' in Witherell, C. and Noddings, N. (Eds.) *Stories Lives Tell: Narrative and Dialogue in Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1991: 67-77.
- Habermas, J. 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article'. *New German Critique*, 3, 1974: 49-55.
- Hafez, K. 'The Middle East and Islam in Western Mass Media: Towards a Comprehensive Theory of Foreign Reporting' in Hafez, K. (Ed.) *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalising World*. Hampton Press, 2000: 27-67.
- Hahn, O. 'Cultures of TV News Journalism and Prospects for a Transcultural Public Sphere' in Sakr, N. (Ed.) *Arab Media and Political Renewal - Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. I.B.Tauris, 2007: 13-28.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., and Roberts, B. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1978.
- Hall, S. 'Encoding/Decoding' in Hall, S., D. Hobson, A. Lowe and P. Willis (Eds.) *Culture, Media, Language*. 197- 208. London, Hutchinson, 1980.
- Halper, J. 'The Problem with Israel', in Cook, W.A. *The Plight of the Palestinians: A Long History of Destruction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: 135-159.
- Hamad, G.A. (The Editor in Chief of the Hamas weekly *Al-Risala* in Gaza) A Talk at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2006.
- Hammer, J. *In Search of a Homeland: Identities of Second Generation Palestinians between Exile, Diaspora and Return*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Humboldt University, Berlin, 2001.
- Hammer, J. 'Introduction – Palestinian Migration, Refugees, and Return' in Hammer, J. *Palestinians Born in Exile: Diaspora and the Search for a Homeland*. University of Texas Press, 2005: 1-23.

- Hammer, J 'Rewriting of Identities in the Context of Diaspora and Return' in Hammer, J. *Palestinians Born in Exile: Diaspora and the Search for a Homeland*. University of Texas Press, 2005: 167-200.
- Hanafi, S. 'Rethinking the Palestinians Abroad as a Diaspora: The Relationship between the Diaspora and the Palestinian Territories', in HAGAR: *International Social Science Review* 4 (1-2) 2003: 157-182.
- Hanafi, S. 'Reshaping Geography: Palestinian Community Networks in Europe and the New Media'. in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(3) 2005: 581-598.
- Hanieh, A. 'The WWW in Palestine: An Informational and Organising Tool', in *Middle East Report*. no.213 (Winter 1999): 41-43.
- Harb, Z. and Bessaiso, E. 'British Arab Muslim Audiences and Television after September 11', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(6), 2006: 1063-1076. Routledge.
- Harik, I. 'The Palestinians in the diaspora' in Sheffer, G. (Ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. London/Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986: 315-333.
- Harrowing, J.N., Mill, J., Spiers, J., Kulig, J. and Kipp, W. 'Critical Ethnography, Cultural Safety, and International Nursing Research', in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9 (3), 2010: 240-251.
- Hashem, M. E. 'War on Iraq and Media Coverage: A Middle Eastern Perspective', in Kamalipour, Y.R and Snow, N. *War, Media, and Propaganda – A Global Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004: 147- 171.
- Helga, B. 'The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005' in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 33, (4), Summer 2004: 21-38.
- Herman, E.S. & Chomsky, N. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Vintage, 1994.
- Hofheinz, A. 'Arab Internet Use: Popular Trends and Public Impact' in Sakr, N. (Ed.) *Arab Media and Political Renewal – Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*, I.B.Tauris, 2007: 56-80.
- Holmes, D. Virtual Identity: Communities of Broadcast, Communities of Interactivity in Holmes, D. (Ed.) *Virtual Politics: Identity and Community in Cyberspace*. Sage publications, 1997: 26-45.

- Holohan, S. 'New Labour, Multiculturalism and the Media in Britain' in Poole, E. & Richardson, J. E. (Eds.) *Muslims and the News Media*. I.B.Tauris, 2006: 13-24.
- Huntington, S.P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Simon and Schuster U.K. Ltd., 1996.
- Inglis, F. *Media Theory. An Introduction*. Blackwell Publishers, 1990.
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D.R. 'News That Matters', in Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D.R. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. The University of Chicago Press, 1987: 112-136.
- Jamal, A. 'The Palestinian Media: An Obedient Servant or a Vanguard of Democracy?', in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 29, no.3, spring 2000: 45-59. University of California Press.
- Johnson, T.J., and Kaye, B.K. 'Still Cruising and Believing? An Analysis of Online Credibility Across Three Presidential Campaigns', in *American Behavioral Scientist Journal*, 54 (1), 2010: 57-77. Sage Publications.
- Joseph, S. "Against the Grain of the Nation – the Arab" in Suleiman, M. W. (Ed.) *Arabs in America: Building a New Future*. Temple University Press: 1999: 257-72.
- Jones, S.G. 'The Internet and its Social Landscape' in Jones, S.G. (Ed.) *Virtual Culture – Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*. Sage Publications, 2002: 7-36.
- Jubas, K. 'Reading Antonio Gramsci as a Methodologist', in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, volume 9, number 2, 2010: 224:239, International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta.
- Kaase, M. 'Social Movements and Political Innovation', in Dalton, R.J. & Kuechler, M. (Eds.) *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Oxford University Press, 1990: 84-102.
- Kalra, V.S., Kaur, R. and J. Hutnyk. 'Home and Away: Social Configurations of Diaspora' in Kalra, V.S., R. Kaur, and J. Hutnyk, *Diaspora and Hybridity*. Sage Publications: 2005: 8-28.
- Karam, I. 'Satellite Television: A Breathing Space for Arab Youth?' in Sakr, N. (Ed.) *Arab Media and Political Renewal – Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. I.B.Tauris, 2007: 80-96.

- Karim, K.H. 'Mapping Diasporic Mediascapes' in Karim, K.H. (Ed.) *The Media of Diaspora*. Routledge, 2003: 1-19.
- Katz, E. & Lazarsfeld, P.F. *Personal Influence*. Glencoe IL, Free Press, 1955.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G. & Gurevitch, M. 'Utilisation of Mass Communication by the Individual' in Blumler, J.G. and Katz, E. (Eds.) *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research*. Sage Publications, 1974: 19-32.
- Kaya, A. *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Kellas, J.G. 'Introduction' in Kellas, J.G. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. Macmillan Press, 1998: 1-11.
- Kellas, J.G. 'Nationalism in the Developing World, South Africa and the Middle East' in Kellas, J.G. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. Macmillan Press, 1998: 153-177.
- Kenix, L. J. *Alternative and Mainstream Media: The Converging Spectrum*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011.
- Khalidi, R. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Khalidi, R. 'Observations on the Right of Return' in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, (2), winter 1992: 29-40. University of California Press.
- Khalili, L. 'Virtual Nation: Palestinian Cyberculture in Lebanese Camps' in Stein, R. L. and Swedenburg, T. (Ed.) *Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Popular Culture*. Duke University Press, 2005: 126-149.
- Khoury-Machool, M. 'Palestinian Youth and Political Activism: the Emerging Internet Culture and New Modes of Resistance' in *Policy Futures in Education*, volume 5, number 1, 2007: 17-36.
- Kiousis, S. 'Public Trust or Mistrust? Perceptions of Media Credibility in the Information Age', in *Mass Communication and Society Journal*, 4 (4), 2001: 381-403.
- Klieman, A. 'Israeli Negotiating Culture' in Cofman Wittes, T. (Ed.) *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*. United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005: 81-132.

- Knapik, M. 'The Qualitative Research Interview: Participants' Responsive Participation in Knowledge Making' in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, volume 5, number 3, 2006: 77:93. International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta.
- Kodmani, B. *La Diaspora Palestinian*. RUF, Paris, 1997.
- Kohut, A., and Toth, R.C. The Central Conundrum: How can people like what they distrust? *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 3(1), 1998: 110-117.
- Kollock, P. & Smith, M.A. 'Communities in Cyberspace' in Smith, M. A. & Kollock, P. (Ed.) *Communities in Cyberspace*. Routledge, 1999: 3-27.
- Korgaonkar, P.K. & Wolin, L.D., 'A Multivariate Analysis of Web Usage', in *Journal of Advertising Research*, vol.39, no.2, 1999: 53-68.
- Kvale, S. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. CA: Sage, 1996.
- Kymlicka, W. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Laguerre, M. S. 'Digital Diaspora – Definition and Models' in Alonso, A. and Oiarzabal, P.J. *Diasporas in the New Media Age – Identity, Politics, and Community*. University of Nevada Press, 2010: 49-65.
- Langford, D. *Internet Ethics*. Macmillan Press, 2000.
- Lewis, B. *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*. London, Phoenix, 1998.
- Liebes, T. and Kampf, Z. 'Black and White and Shades of Gray: Palestinians in the Israeli Media during the 2nd Intifada' in *International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 14, no 4, October 2009: 434-453. Sage Publications.
- Liebes, T. *Reporting the Israeli-Arab Conflict: How Hegemony Works*. Routledge, London, 1997.
- Lippmann, W. *Public Opinion*. Free Press Paperbacks, 1997.
- Litvak, M. *The Islamization of Palestinian Identity: The Case of Hamas*. Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 2000.
- Louw, E. 'New Media: New Politics? New Identity?' in Louw, E. *The Media and Political Process*. Sage Publications, 2006: 118 – 141.
- Louw, E. 'The Media and Foreign Relations' in Louw, E. *The Media and Political Process*. Sage Publications, 2006: 252 – 271.

- Lynch, M. 'The Structural Transformation of the Arab Public Sphere' in Lynch, M. *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today*. Columbia University Press, 2006: 29-89.
- Lyons, T. 'Diasporas and Homeland Conflict' presented to the DC Area, workshop on 'Contentious Politics', March 2004.
- Mahmoud, L. 'British Palestinians: The Transformation of an Exiled Community' in Shiblak, A. (Ed.) *The Palestinian Diaspora in Europe: Challenges of Dual Identity and Adaption*. Refugee and Diaspora Studies Series, no. 2. Shaml - Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Center and Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005: 98-107.
- Maiola, G. and Ward, D. 'Democracy and the Media in Palestine' in Sakr, N. (Ed.) *Arab Media and Political Renewal – Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. I.B Tauris, 2007: 96-118.
- Malka, V. and Kama, A. 'An Umbilical Cord that cannot be Severed: Israeli Media Sustaining Israeli Migrants Identity' (in Hebrew), in *Media Frames – Israeli Journal of Communication*, issue number 7, summer 2011: 1-29.
- Mandaville, P. 'Transnational Public Spheres: Information and Communication Technologies in the Muslim World', in Mandaville, P. *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the umma*. London: Routledge, 2001: 152-178.
- Mandaville, P. *Global Political Islam: International Relations of the Muslim World*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Mandaville, P. 'Communication and Diasporic Islam – A Virtual ummah?' in Karim, K.H. (Ed.) *The Media of Diaspora*. Routledge, 2003: 135–148.
- Marmura, S. 'A Net Advantage? The Internet, Grassroots Activism and American Middle-Eastern Policy' in *New Media and Society*, vol. 10, no 2, 2008: 247-271. Sage Publications.
- Mason, D. 'Citizenship Revisited' in Mason, D. *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain*. Oxford University Press, 2000: 121-136.
- Mason, V. 'Children of the 'Idea of Palestine': Negotiating Identity, Belonging and Home in the Palestinian Diaspora', in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol.28, no.3, 2007: 271-285.

- Matar, D. 'Prologue' in Matar, D. *What it Means to be Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood*. I.B. Tauris, 2011: 1-21.
- Matar, D. Palestinians, News and the Diasporic Condition in Sakr, N. (Ed.) *Arab Media and Political Renewal - Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. I.B Tauris, 2007: 118-134.
- Matar, D. 'Diverse Diasporas, One Meta-Narrative: Palestinians in the UK Talking About 11 September 2001', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(6), 2006: 1027-1040. Routledge.
- Matar, D. *News, Memory and Identity - The Palestinians in Britain*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2005.
- Maussen, M. 'The Governance of Islam in Western Europe: a State of the Art Report' Working Paper, no.16. , June 2007, IMISCOE.
- Mautner, T. (Ed.) *The Penguin Dictionary of Philosophy*. London: Penguin Books, 1999.
- Mavroudi, E. 'Palestinians in Diaspora, Empowerment and Informal Political Space' in *Political Geography* 27 (1) 2008: 57-73. Elsevier.
- McLuhan, M. *The Global Village, Transformations in World Life and Media in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- McQuail, D. *Audience Analysis*. Sage Publications, 1997.
- McQuail, D. and Windahl, S. *Communication Models*. Longman, 1993.
- McQuail, D. *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992.
- Melucci, A. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Mellor, N. *Modern Arab Journalism: Problems and Prospects*. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Miladi, N. 'Satellite Television News and the Arab Diaspora in Britain: Comparing Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN' in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(6), 2006: 947-960. Routledge.
- Milton-Edwards, B. *Islamic Politics in Palestine*. Library of Modern Middle East Studies, 1999.

Miller, S. & Fredericks, M. 'The Nature of "Evidence" in Qualitative Research Methods' in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2 (1), 2003: 39:51.

International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, University of Alberta.

Mitra, A. 'Creating Immigrant Identities in Cybernetic Space: Examples from a Non-Resident Indian Website' in *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 27(3), 2005: 371-390. Sage Publications.

Mitra, A. 'Virtual Commonality: Looking for India on the Internet' in Jones, S.G. (Ed.) *Virtual Culture – Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*. Sage Publications, 2002: 55 - 80.

Mohammadi, A. 'Electronic Empires – An Islamic Perspective' in. Thussu, D.K. (Ed.) *Electronic Empires – Global Media and Local Resistance*. Arnold Publishers, 1998: 257-273.

Moore, S. *Interpreting Audiences*. Sage Publications, 1993.

Morley, D. & Robins, K. 'Tradition and Translation: National Culture in its Global Context' in Morley, D. & Robins, K. *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscape, and Cultural Boundaries*. London, Routledge, 1995: 105-125.

Morris, B. 'The Initial Absorption of the Palestinian Refugees in the Arab Host Countries, 1948-1949' in Bramwell, A. (Ed.) *Refugees in the Age of Total War*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988: 253-273.

Moussalli, A. 'The Views of Islamic Movements on Democracy and Political Pluralism' in Moussalli, A. *Islamic Movements: Impact on Political Stability in the Arab World*. The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003: 113-156.

Murden, S.W. 'Islam in the Global Hegemony – The Pax Americana in the Middle East' in Murden, S.W. *Islam, the Middle East and the New Global Hegemony*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002: 23-133.

Nedelcu, M. 'Transnational Habitus: Rethinking Migration through a Cosmopolitan Lens in the Digital Age', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, volume 38, issue 9, pp: 1339-1356, 2012.

Neuman, W.R., Just, M.R. & Crigler, A.N. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

- Nossek, H. & Rinnawi, K. 'Censorship and Freedom of the Press under Changing Political Regimes: Palestinian Media from Israeli Occupation to the Palestinian Authority', in *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies* 65 (2): 183-202. 2003, Sage Publications.
- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics Press Release on the Palestinians in the World (2009). Retrieved 22 September 2011, from Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics: http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/portals/_pcbs/PrssRelease/pop_2009-E.pdf.
- Papastergiadis, N. 'Introduction: The Turbulence of Migration – New Concepts for a Turbulent World' in Papastergiadis, N. *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalisation, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000: 1-22.
- Paterson, C. and Sreberny, A. 'Shouting from the Rooftops: Reflections on International News in the 21st Century' in Paterson, C. and Sreberny, A. (Eds.) *International News in the 21st Century*. John Libbey Publishing, 2004: 3-27.
- Peteet, J.M. *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Peteet, J. M. 'Problematizing a Palestinian Diaspora' in *International Journal of Middle-East Studies* 39 (4): 627-646. 2007, Cambridge University Press.
- Philo, G., Gilmour, A., Rust, S., Gaskell, E. Gilmour, M. & West, L. 'The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: TV News and Public Understanding' in Thussu, D. K. & Freedman, D. (Eds.) *War and the Media*. Sage Publications, 2003: 133-149.
- Philo, G. and Berry, N. *Bad News from Israel*. Pluto, London, 2004.
- Poole, E. 'Introduction – Conceptual Approach' in Poole, E. *Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims*. I.B.Tauris, 2002: 17-28.
- Poole, E. 'Networking Islam: The Democratising Potential of New Technologies in Relation to Muslim Communities', in *The Public*, vol. 9, 1, 2002: 51-64.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E., and Landolt, P. 'The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Journal*, 22 (2): 217-237. March 1999, Routledge.
- Rawan, S.H. 'Interaction between Traditional Communication and Modern Media: Implications for Social Change in Iran and Pakistan' in Hafez, K. (Ed.) *Mass Media, Politics and Society in the Middle East*. Hampton Press, 2001: 175 – 199.

- Rinnawi, K. ' 'Instant Nationalism' and the 'Cyber Mufti': The Arab Diaspora in Europe and the Transnational Media', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38:9, 2012: 1451-1467.
- Rinnawi, K. ' McArabism: Engagement, Globalization and Localization in Arab Media', in Rinnawi, K. *Instant Nationalism: McArabism, al-Jazeera and Transnational Media in the Arab world*. University Press of America, 2006: 7-25.
- Rinnawi, K. 'Cyberonauts of Diaspora: Electronic Mediation through Satellite Television: the Case of Arab Diaspora in Europe' in Andon, A. and Oiarzabal, P.J. (Eds.) *Digital Diasporas*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010: 112-126.
- Robins, K. & Webster, F. Propaganda: the Hidden Face of Information' in Robins, K. and Webster F. *Times of the Technoculture*. Routledge, 1999: 131-147.
- Ros, A. 'Interconnected Immigrants in the Information Society' in Alonso, A. & Oiarzabal, P.J. (Eds.) *Diasporas in the New Media Age – Identity, Politics and Community*. University of Nevada Press, 2010: 19-39.
- Rosmer, T. 'Studying Academic Activists: The Balancing Act of Critique and Solidarity', in *Cultural Dynamics*; 22 (2) 121-136, 2010. Sage Publications.
- Saffran, W. 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myth of Homeland and Return' in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* volume 1, no. 1. pp: 83-99, 1991.
- Said, E. *Orientalism*. Penguin Books, 1995.
- Sakr, N. 'Text and Context: Satellite Channels in a Changing Environment', in Sakr, N. *Satellite Realms – Transnational Television, Globalization & the Middle East*. I.B.Tauris, 2001: 190-209.
- Sakr, N. 'Law and Policy on Ownership and Content', in Sakr, N. *Arab Television Today*. I.B.Tauris, 2007: 15-49.
- Salem, W. and Kaufman, E. 'Background' in, '*Proposed Guiding Principles for Israeli/Palestinian Academic Cooperation: Translating the Shared Adherence to Academic Freedom into Action*'. The Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development (PANORAMA), and the Center for Research and Cooperation Jerusalem (CRC), 2007: 9-13.
- Salem, W. and Kaufman, E. 'Preparing the Code of Ethics' in, '*Proposed Guiding Principles for Israeli/Palestinian Academic Cooperation: Translating the Shared*

- Adherence to Academic Freedom into Action'*. The Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development (PANORAMA), and the Center for Research and Cooperation Jerusalem (CRC), 2007: 13-26.
- Salhi, Z.S. 'Introduction: Defining the Arab Diaspora', in Salhi, Z.S. and Netton, I. R. *The Arab Diaspora: Voices of an Anguished Scream*. Routledge, 2006: 1-11.
- Sarikakis, K. & Thussu, D.K 'The Internet as Ideology' in Sarikakis, K. & Thussu, D.K. (Eds.) *Ideologies of the Internet*. Hampton Press, 2006: 1-16.
- Sayigh, R. *The Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*. Zed Books, 1979.
- Sayigh, Y. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Schiff, Z. & Ya'ari, E. *Intifada*. Domino Press, 1989.
- Schirato, T. & Webb, J. 'The Public Sphere and the Media' in Schirato, T. & Webb, J. *Understanding Globalisation*. Sage Publications, 2006: 161-187
- Schneider, S.M. and Foot, K.A. 'Crisis Communication and New Media: The Web after September 11', in Howard, P.N. and Jones, S. (Eds.) *Society Online: The Internet in Context*. Sage Publications, 2004: 137-155.
- Schudson, M. 'Introduction: News as Public Knowledge' in Schudson, M. *The Power of News*. Harvard University Press, 1995: 1-37.
- Schulz, H. L. 'The Palestinian Diaspora between Nationalism and Transnationalism' in Shibliak, A. (Ed.) *The Palestinian Diaspora in Europe: Challenges of Dual Identity and Adaption*. Refugee and Diaspora Studies Series, number. 2. Shaml - Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Center and Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005: 19-31.
- Schulz, H.L. and Hammer, J. 'Between Nationalism and Globalism', in Schulz, H.L. and Hammer, J. *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland*. Routledge, 2003: 1-23.
- Sedgwick, M. 'Muslim Diaspora in the West and the New Media' in *Middle East Journal* 54 (1), pp: 151-72, 1998.
- Segev, T. *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*. Hill and Wang, 1993.
- Shain, Y. 'The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Perpetuation or Resolution' in *SAIS Review*, volume 22, number 2, Summer-Fall 2002: 115-144.

- Sheffer, G. 'A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics' in Sheffer, G (Ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. Croom Helm, 1986:1-16.
- Sheffer, G. 'Ethnic Diasporas: A Threat to their Hosts?' in Weiner, M. (Ed.) *International Migration and Security*. Westview Press, 1993: 263-285.
- Sheffer, G. 'Introduction - Why and How Diasporas Become Organized', in Sheffer, G. *Diaspora Politics: at Home Abroad*. Cambridge University Press, 2003: 1-32.
- Sheffer, G. 'Stateless and State-Linked Diasporas', in Sheffer, G. *Diaspora Politics: at Home Abroad*. Cambridge University Press, 2003: 148-180.
- Shiblak, A. 'Reflections on the Palestinian Diaspora in Europe' in Shiblak, A. (Ed.) *The Palestinian Diaspora in Europe: Challenges of Dual Identity and Adaption. Refugee and Diaspora Studies Series, no 2*. Shaml - Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Center and Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2005: 7-19.
- Siapera, E. 'Networked Palestine: Exploring Power in Online Palestinian Networks', in *Orient - Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East, The Muslim World and the Internet*; issue 1, vol. 51. Berlin, 2010.
- Siddiq, M. 'On Ropes of Memory: Narrating the Palestinian Refugees' in Daniel, E.V. & Knudsen, J.C. (Eds.) *Mistrusting Refugees*. University of California Press, 1995: 87-101.
- Silverstone, R. *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Silverstone, S., Hirsh, E. & Morley, D. 'Listening to a Long Conversation: An Ethnographic Approach to the Study of Information and Communication Technologies in the Home' in *Cultural Studies* vol. 5, no.2, 1991: 204-227.
- Skinner, E.P. 'The Dialectic between Diaspora and Homelands' in Harris, J.E. (Ed.) *Global Dimension of the African Diaspora*. Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1993: 11-40.
- Slevin, J. 'A Brief Analysis of Internet Users' in Slevin, J. *The Internet and Society*. Blackwell Publishers, 2000: 40-44.
- Slevin, J. 'Towards a Social Theory of the Internet' in Slevin, J. *The Internet and Society*. Blackwell Publishers, 2000: 72-85.
- Slevin, J. 'Methods of Internet Regulation and Their Problems' in Slevin, J. *The*

- Internet and Society*. Blackwell Publishers, 2000: 219-229.
- Slyomovics, S. 'Memory of Place: Re-Creating the Pre-1948 Palestinian Village' in Slyomovics, S. *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998: 1-29.
- Smith, P.A. 'The Palestinian Diaspora 1948-1985', in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol.15, no.3 (Spring 1986): 90-108.
- Sparks, C. *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media*. Sage Publications, 1998.
- Sparks, C. 'Is There a Global Public Sphere?' in Thussu, D. K. (Ed.) *Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance*. Arnold Publishers, 1998: 108- 125.
- Sparks, C. 'Introduction' in Sparks, C. and Tulloch, J. (Eds.) *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000:1-42.
- Sreberny, A. 'Media and Diasporic Consciousness: an Exploration among Iranians in London' in Cottle, S. (Ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 2000: 179-197.
- Sreberny - Mohammadi, A. and Mohammadi, A. 'Mighty Media, Big States, and Modernisation: Big Identity Crisis' in Sreberny- Mohammadi, A. & Mohammadi, A. *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture, and the Iranian Revolution*. University of Minnesota Press, 1994: 3-19.
- Stempel, G.H., Hargrove, T. & Bernt, J.P. 'Relation of Growth of Use of the Internet to Changes in Media Use from 1995 to 1999' in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(1): 71-79, 2000.
- Syed, M.H. 'The Intifada' in Syed, M.H. *Islamic Terrorism: Myth or Reality*. Kalpaz Publication, 2002: 207-233.
- Takkenberg, L. 'Excursus: The Legal Status of Palestinian Refugees in the Various Arab States: Jordan', in Takkenberg, L. *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*. Oxford University Press, 1998: 155-158.
- Takkenberg, L. 'Human Rights Law: The Right to Return and Compensation of the Palestinian Refugees and/or the Palestinian People', in Takkenberg, L. *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*. Oxford University Press, 1998: 242-250.
- Tamimi, A. *Hamas – Unwritten Chapters*. Hurst & Company, 2007.

Tehrani, M. 'War, Media, and Propaganda: An Epilogue' in Kamalipour, Y.R and Snow, N. *War, Media, and Propaganda – A Global Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004: 237- 242.

TGI Israel Survey, 2002:
<http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArtPE.jhtml?itemNo=264978&contrassID=2&subContrassID=6&sbSubContrassID=10>

Thompson, J.B. "The Theory of the Public Sphere: A Preliminary Assessment" in Thompson, J.B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995: 69-75.

Thompson, J.B. "Three Types of Interaction" in Thompson, J.B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995: 82-87.

Tololyan, K. 'The Nation-State and its others: in Lieu of a Preface' in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* volume 1, no. 1. pp: 3-7, 1991.

Triandis, H.C. 'Theoretical Concepts that are Applicable to the Analysis of Ethnocentrism' in Brislin, R.W. (Ed.) in *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Sage Publications, 1990: 34-55.

Tsagarousianou, R. 'European Muslim Audiences and the Negotiation of Belonging' in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 20:3, 285-294. Routledge, 2012.

Tsagarousianou, R. 'Roots, Itinerancy, Diasporas in Late Modernity' in Tsagarousianou, R. *Diasporic Cultures and Globalisation*. Shaker Publishing, 2007: 1-13.

Tsagarousianou, R. 'The Genealogy of the Concept', in Tsagarousianou, R. *Diasporic Cultures and Globalisation*. Shaker Publishing, 2007: 15-33.

Tsagarousianou, R. 'A Space Where One Feels at Home' : Media Consumption Practices among London's South Asian and Greek Cypriot Communities' in King, R. & Wood, N. (Eds.) *Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference*. London/New York: Routledge, 2001:158-172.

Tsfati, Y. 'Online News Exposure and Trust in the Mainstream Media: Exploring Possible Associations', in *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54 (1), 2010: 22-42. Sage Publications.

- Tsfati, Y. and Weimann, G. 'www.terrorism.com: Terror on the Internet' in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 25:317–332, 2002. Taylor & Francis.
- Turki, F. *Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian American*. New York: Free Press, 1994.
- Turkle, S. *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.
- Tyner, J. A. & Kuhlke, O. 'Pan-National Identities: Representations of the Philippine Diaspora on the World Wide Web' in *Asian Pacific Viewpoint*, no.41:231-52, 2000.
- Urry, J. *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London/New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Van den Bos, M. 'Hyperlinked Dutch – Iranian Cyberspace', in *International Sociology*, vol. 21 (1): 83-99. Sage Publications, 2006.
- Vertovec, S. *Transnationalism*. Routledge, 2009.
- Vertovec, S. & Peach, C. 'Introduction: Islam in Europe and the Politics of Religion and Community' in Vertovec, S. & Peach, C. (Eds.) *Islam in Europe: the Politics of Religion and Community*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997: 3-47.
- Viser, M. 'Attempted Objectivity: An Analysis of the New York Times and Ha'aretz and their Portrayals of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict', in *International Journal of Press/Politics*, volume 8, number 4, 2003: 114-120. Sage Publications.
- Wajcman, J. *Feminism Confronts Technology*. Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1991.
- Wiegand, K. E. 'Islam as an Ethnicity? The Media's Impact on Misperceptions in the West' in Hafez, K. (Ed.) *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalising World*. Hampton Press, 2000: 235-253.
- Williams, K. *Understanding Media Theory*. Hodder Education, 2003.
- Wood, N. & King, R. 'Media and Migration – An Overview' in King, R. and Wood, N. (Eds.) *Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference*. London/New York: Routledge, 2001: 1-23.
- Zayani, M. 'Introduction - Al Jazeera and the Vicissitudes of the New Arab Mediascape', in Zayani, M. (Ed.) *The Al Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media*. Paradigm Publishers, 2005: 1-46.
- Zayani, M. 'Witnessing the Intifada: Al Jazeera's Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli

Conflict' in Zayani, M. (Ed.) *The Al Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media*. Paradigm Press, 2005: 171-183.

Websites and Online Publications

Alexa: <http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/palestine-info.info#>

www.al-fateh.net

alkotla.com

alqassam.ps

alqassam.ps/English

alresalah.org

Batravi, W. 'The State of Palestinian Media', Birzeit News:1997.

<http://www.birzeit/edu/bzunews/1997>.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4739900.stm

www.fm-m.com

Haaretz newspaper at: <http://www.haaretz.com>

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/security/terrorism-and-the-law/terrorism-act/proscribed-groups?version=1>

infopalestina.com

islamso.org

<http://www.islamworld.net>.

isocg.org

<http://justice.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/57C31612-EFC6-4452-A345-3C082F68D03D/4465/orgillegal2.doc>

<http://www.library.yale.edu/div/instruct/internet/history.htm> - A Short History of the Internet

Ministry of Information Web-site at: www.pna.org/minifo/general/princ.htm

pal-election.org

palestinianforum.net

www.palestinegallery.com

palestine-info.cc

palestine-info.com
palestine-info.co.uk
palestine-info.info/Arabic
palestine-infofourdu.com
palestine-info.ru
palestine-persian.info
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23854.htm>
<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm>
[http://www.terrorism-](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/int_e250707.pdf)
[info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/int_e250707.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/int_e250707.pdf)
<http://www.usip.org/fellows/reports/2004/0513-weimann.html>
<http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/engsite/home/default.asp>.

Sterling, B. *'A Short History of the Internet'*, 1993:

http://sodacity.net/system/files/Bruce_Sterling_A_Short_History_of_the_Internet.pdf

The World Factbook: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications>

United States Agency for International Development Publication, 2006. *Palestinians and the Media: Usage, Trust and Effectiveness*:

<http://www.internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/Palestinians&Media070314.pdf>

Reports

The Arab Human Development Report, 2003: <http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2003e.pdf>

Memorandum

Memorandum, Article 19, The International Centre Against Censorship and the Centre for Media Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa, London, June 1999.