CONSTRUCTING JERUSALEM: A PALESTINIAN DIGITAL DISCOURSE

by

IAN LAWRENCE CAMPBELL

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Student: Ian Lawrence Campbell

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This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program and the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Global Studies by:

Diane Baxter Chairperson
Galen Martin Member
Seungahn Nah Member

and

Kate Mondloch Interim Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Ian Lawrence Campbell

Master of Science and Master of Arts

Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program and Department of Global Studies

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The following interdisciplinary research investigates digital communication using a constructivist interpretation for conflict analysis. President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel formed the basis for the research inquiry of Palestinian digital modes of response. International law remains relevant to the background understanding of this research, albeit outside the scope. Data from pro-Palestinian media, translated by the Middle East Media Research Institute (M.E.M.R.I.) and Palestinian Media Watch (P.M.W.), provided the sources for digital content analysis. Research findings uncovered a communication matrix consisting of five themes and organizational concepts produced through 15 conflict storylines that provide a qualitative understanding of the politics of humiliation in response to an epoch Jerusalem discourse. Digital communication interventions based on research outcomes provide insight for practicing empathy in support of digital literacy to mitigate future conflict, communicate diverging views, and employ best-practices for dialogue in digital spaces.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Ian Lawrence Campbell

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, Or
Florida International University, Miami, Fl
Miami Dade College, Miami, Fl

DEGREES AWARDED:

Bachelor of Arts, Psychology, Political Science, 2014, Florida International University
Associate of Arts, Psychology, 2011, Miami Dade College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Digital Media, Communication, & Literacy
Global Conflict Analysis
International Relations & Development

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Research Fellow, Ronald E. McNair Program, Florida International University, 2013

PUBLICATIONS:

Campbell, I. L., Rivard, J., & Schreiber Compo, N. (2016). Mock jurors' perception of blind vs. non-blind interviewing: The role of recantation. *The Journal of Psychological Inquiry*.

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CHAPTER I: CONSTRUCTING JERUSALEM

Background Introduction

Israelis and Palestinians share a lengthy history of back-and-forth clashes, all of which have left deep generational scars on the communities. This research will offer a brief overview of the significant events in Israelis and Palestinians' history through an interdisciplinary lens to explore the fields of digital discourse analysis and conflict studies. The period of analysis for this research of Palestinian digital communication follows President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the relocation of the American embassy on the 70th anniversary of Israel's founding into early January 2020. The legal framework weighing the merits of President Trump's actions are beyond the scope of this research and addressed with brevity. Research objectives seek to address Palestinian digital communication sampled from pro-Palestinian digital media translated by the Middle East Research Institute (M.E.M.R.I.) and Palestinian Media Watch (P.M.W.) to detail a version of events illustrated through digital conflict storylines.

Framing the Problem

The question of Palestinian statehood looms over this research and will be discussed in the next two sections. A body of legal scholarship (Paz, 2017) addresses the study of religion, international law, and Jerusalem's status (e.g., Cassese, 1986). The question of Palestinian statehood remains germane to the discussion, specifically, an entity's sovereignty within the international

community. Statehood is often measured against two prevailing international law theories: the declarative theory and the constitutive theory.

State Sovereignty

The constitutive theory holds that an entity achieves statehood when recognized by another state within the international community. De jure recognition is the head of state's formal acknowledgment that that entity reflects a sovereign state *not* dependent on *nor* subjugated to by another state. The constitutive theory is weakened if some states (but not all) recognize the entity as a state (Balouziyeh, 2015). This occurred following the vote in the U.N. General Assembly Resolution[1] (2012) to upgrade Palestine from permeant observer entity to non-member observer state.

The second measure commonly used in international law for determining state sovereignty is the declarative theory and remains the predominant tool for assessing the basis of statehood in international law. This theory holds that an entity satisfies statehood criteria when the following objective criterion are met based on the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States (C.R.D.S.) held in Montevideo, Uruguay, on December 26, 1933. Article 1 of the treaty defines a state in international law as possessing all of the following qualifications: permanent population, defined territory, government, and capacity to enter into relations with the other states (C.R.D.S., 1933).

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[1] See UNGA resolution (i.e., A/67/L.28) on Status of Palestine (138 states voted in favor, nine against, and forty-one abstentions on November 29, 2012).

Scholars (e.g., Berzak, 2013; Crawford, 1990) reticent of assigning statehood to Palestine focus on the declarative theory to measure statehood. Palestine fails the legal test of statehood due to a lack of clarity concerning legally defined territory and a unified government. For instance, the Gaza Strip remains the only undisputed territory of Palestine. Gaza remains administratively controlled by the Islamic Resistance Movement or Hamas government – a foreign terrorist organization designated by the European Union, Israeli and United States governments.

The boundary lines in the northern Palestinian territories controlled by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in the West Bank and East Jerusalem remain disputed. Jewish settler communities occupy areas referred to by the biblical names of Judea and Samaria in the West Bank. Settlers claim deep religious and historical significance to the land and remain in constant conflict with the Palestinians in the area. According to an estimate from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, approximately 215,000 Israelis lived in East Jerusalem, and the settler population in Area C of the West Bank was 413,000 in 2017. The total Israeli settler population in the West Bank remains above 630,000 (and growing) in 143 settlement locations (i.e., West Bank, 132; East Jerusalem, 11, and 113 outposts).

The question of Palestinian state sovereignty has been addressed in several binding and nonbinding resolutions. The prevailing consensus from the United Nations considers Palestine occupied territory. Israeli annexation of land and settlement construction in Palestinian territories remains a violation of

international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention (ICRC, 1949). Furthermore, the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people (C.E.I.R.P.P.) remains unwavering in its focus of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with East Jerusalem deemed to be the site of a future Palestinian capital. The following publication from the committee[2] illustrates the critical issues at stake in determining the status of Jerusalem, stipulating,

> The committee does not recognize Israel's claim that the entire city of Jerusalem is its capital. In this regard, East Jerusalem is recognized as an integral part of the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967. The committee considers that a negotiated solution on the status of Jerusalem that takes account of the political and religious concerns of all sides is a prerequisite for a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and lasting peace in the entire region. It should include internationally guaranteed provisions to ensure the freedom of religion and of conscience of its inhabitants, as well as permanent, free and unhindered access to the holy places by the Palestinian people and peoples of all religions and nationalities. Any agreement that does not include East Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian State will not lead to sustainable Israeli-Palestinian peace. The committee reiterates that East Jerusalem is part of the Occupied Palestinian Territory and that Israel, the occupying Power, is fully bound by the provisions of international law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention. Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem has not been and will not be recognized by the international community. The position of the committee is that government-sanctioned settlement construction, transfer of settlers, house demolitions, evictions of Palestinian residents and other action aimed at altering or purporting to alter the legal status and physical and demographic character of the city constitute violations of international law and must be ceased and rescinded (C.E.I.R.P.P., 1997).

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[2] UN Committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people (CEIRPP) established by the UN General Assembly in 1975 pursuant to Resolution 3376.

Israeli Basic Law

Israel lacks a formal written constitution. The Israeli Constituent Assembly, elected during Israel's first general election on January 25, 1949, never agreed on a full constitution. Instead, the state legislature, referred to as the Knesset, is made up of statutes referred to as Basic Laws that collectively comprise the Israeli constitution. Basic Laws define the role of government and human rights in Israel through legal definitions of citizenship and nationality,[3] state practices,[4] and national iconography (i.e., flag, national anthem, holidays/workweek).

The Knesset ratified the Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel (1980) claiming (art.1), "Jerusalem, complete and united, is Israel's capital" and often cites the legal precedent for continued settlement construction. Israel's main argument against halting the continued settlement expansion relates to the lack of Palestinian statehood, stipulating there can be no violation in absence of a legally recognized state of Palestine. The U.N. Security Council on August 20, 1980

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[3]On July 19, 2018, the Knesset adopted a new Basic Law: The Nation-State with 62 voting in favor, 55 against, and two abstentions. The rather contentious debate led to the canon defining Israel as a Jewish state. Opponents argue the recognition marginalizes the minority Arab population of Israel, many of whom identify as Muslim, Christian, and Druze.

[4] The eleven Basic Laws that have been enacted outline the powers of governing bodies, and basic human rights: The Knesset (1958), State Lands (1960), The President (1964), The Government (1968), The State Economy (1975), Israel Defense Forces (1976), Jerusalem (1980), The Judiciary (1984), The State Comptroller (1988), Human Dignity and Liberty (1992), Freedom of Occupation (1992)

moved quickly to declare Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel (1980) as "Null and void" with U.N. Security Council (1980) Resolution 478.

Diplomatic Law

The other area that impacts this research relates to the location of a sending state's embassy within a receiving state. Diplomatic law governs international norms and practices between states in relation to permanent and temporary diplomatic missions. The 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (V.C.D.R., 1961) explains, "The functions of a diplomatic mission consist, inter alia, in representing the sending State in the receiving State." This area of international law primarily focuses on the rights and protections of diplomatic missions in relation to protections of diplomatic immunity (V.C.D.R., 1961) and not the location per se of the diplomatic mission. The V.C.D.R. (1961) describes the diplomatic premises including "buildings or part of buildings and the land ancillary thereto, irrespective of ownership, used for the purposes of the mission including the residence of the head of mission" (V.C.D.R. 1961, Article 1(i)). The language from this document sets the parameters for open and friendly relations between states. The head of mission is referenced in Article 21 of the V.C.D.R., designating,

> The receiving State shall either facilitate the acquisition on its territory, in accordance with its laws, by the sending State of premises necessary for its mission or assist the latter in obtaining accommodation in some other way.

Frequently, the sending state will locate the head of mission, including the ambassador and staff, within the capital city or seat of government for matters

of convenience. However, according to former American diplomat Keith Eddins[5] (2018) the requirement for the location of a head of mission remains outside the purview of diplomatic law.[6] In short, while it remains common practice for sending states to locate heads of mission in the capital city, international law places no requirement on the location of a sending state's embassy other than acceptance of the proposed location by the receiving state. Of course, the placement of a sending state's embassy does not occur in a vacuum. Embassy placement may be inferred as an acknowledgment of de jure recognition of the receiving state's capital.

The international community post-1967 has adopted de facto recognition of West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by acknowledging the location of the Israeli state infrastructure (e.g., President and Prime Minister residences, the Knesset, and Israeli Supreme Court). Nonetheless, sending states typically maintain consular services in West Jerusalem while locating heads of mission in Tel Aviv out of respect for the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians

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[5] Personal email correspondence on March 2, 2018 related to embassy locations.

[6] Location of head of mission/embassy outside state capital often involve the following exceptions: New capitals, old embassies (e.g., Brazil, Belize, Nigeria, and Kazakhstan); States with multiple capitals (e.g., South Africa, legislative capital: Cape Town, executive capital: Pretoria, judicial capital: Bloemfontein; The Netherlands, Amsterdam is the capital city, the parliament and the Dutch government are located in The Hague; Bolivia, La Paz and Sucre divide government locations; South Korea, Seoul remains the official capital and the economic and cultural center, Sejong City is the administrative capital); One embassy representing multiple states (e.g., The U.S. Ambassador represents several island nations of the Caribbean. The ambassador concurrently represents the United States to Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines).

leaving final status issues such as the status of Jerusalem to be resolved through negotiation.

An Organizing Conceptual Framework

Sins of Balfour

The Balfour declaration[7] refers to a letter written on November 2, 1917, by British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur James Balfour to Lionel Walter Rothschild, a prominent British banker, politician, and leader in the Anglo-Jewish community. The letter promised "The establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" in an area inhabited by non-Jewish Arabs at the end of WWI during a period of time when the British government required the support of the Jewish community to defeat the Central Powers (i.e., Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria). The letter sought help from the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland (Stein, 1983).

Thane Rosenbaum (2019) notes essential distinctions between Zionism's nationalist goals and the political ideology based on the writings of Theodor Herzl that called for a Jewish state in response to antisemitism. Several interpretations of Zionism developed in the modern era with views of Jewish ethnocentrism toward Arab populations (Smooha, 1987) garnering a negative association with Zionism. Balfour's declaration reflected a nationalist view of Zionism. The opening passage calling for a "National home for the Jewish people" merely reflects a public statement of support for Zionism's movement

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[7] See APPENDIX A: Letter Reflecting the Origins of The Balfour Declaration

and its goal of establishing a home for Jews in historic Palestine (Lieshout, 2016).

The term "National home for the Jewish people" had no precedent in international law during the time of the Balfour declaration. It had been made purposefully vague by the British government (Makovsky, 2007). Similarly, the clause near the end of the letter stipulating the protection of "The civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country" was added according to Robert Lieshout (2016) to "Go a reasonable distance to meeting the objectors, both Jewish and pro-Arab, without impairing the substance of the proposed declaration" (Lieshout, p. 221, 2016). The British White Paper of June 1922 (Fray, & Spar, 1996) would later confirm the artful use of language in the Balfour declaration to describe that "In Palestine" did not imply a national Jewish homeland in all of Palestine.

Long-term Consequences of the Balfour Declaration.

The long-term consequences of the Balfour declaration brought more attention and support to Zionism during the British Mandate for Palestine. It also became the impetus of the 1948 Palestinian Nakba, for which armed Zionist groups trained by British forces expelled over 750,000 Palestinians from their homes (Manna', 2013; Ukashi, 2018). Edward Said (1979), in critiquing the Balfour declaration (and subsequent British mandate system), punctuated its colonialist underpinning, asserting,

> The declaration was made (a) by a European power (b) about a non-European territory (c) in a flat disregard of both the presence and wishes

> of the native majority resident in that territory, and (d) it took the form of a promise about this same territory to another foreign group, that this foreign group might, quite literally, *make* this territory a national home for the Jewish people (Said, p.10, 1979).

Calls of Jerusalem

On November 29, 1947, the U.N. General Assembly passed Resolution 181 (U.N.G.A, 1947). U.N. Resolution 181 recommended corpus separatum, or the establishment of an international regime to administer the functions of Jerusalem given the connection to the city by three Abrahamic religions. Jerusalem, or the Holy City as it is also known, represents a source of historical and cultural connection through sacrosanct places such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Temple Mount/ Haram al-Sharif, al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Western Wall.

U.N. Resolution 181 focused on Palestine's partitioning into two states: one Arab, one Jewish, following the end of the British Mandate. Zionists accepted the partition plan outlined in U.N. General Assembly (1947) Resolution 181, while the Palestinians rejected the resolution as favoring the interests of the Jews. On May 14, 1948, the day before the end of the British Mandate, David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, declared Israel the first Jewish state in 2000-years (Jewish Virtual Library, n.d.). The atrocity of the Jewish Holocaust in WWII for which 6 million people died at the hands of the Nazis hung gravely over the fledgling State of Israel. The series of events that followed reflect a community's efforts, scarred by racism and xenophobia, to establish a homeland as it entered into war with its Arab neighbors.

Arab-Israeli War.

The 1948 Arab-Israeli war broke out between Israel and five Arab nations (Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon) following Israeli independence. An eventual cease-fire agreement in 1949 led to new territorial acquisitions. The green line named for the marker used to draw the territorial boundaries (Kershner, 2011) demarcated Israel's borders from its surrounding Arab neighbors (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria). The West Bank became part of Jordan, and the Gaza Strip fell under Egyptian control. In the aftermath of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the green line grew to represent a political border dividing more than Israel from its Arab neighbors. It divided Palestinian families by citizenship. Inside the green line, Palestinians became Arab citizens of Israel,[8] who were eligible to obtain an Israeli passport and vote in Knesset elections. Between the years 1948 – 1967, communities on either side of the green line lived separated, with Palestinians outside the green line remaining a stateless population. By the end of the 1967 war,[9] Israel controlled access to previously inaccessible holy sites in Jerusalem's old city. The socio-political divide between Israelis and Palestinians (Kimmerling, 1999) remained in place with few obstacles to the movement of Palestinians living outside the green line. Borders remained open, although under the control of the Israeli military.

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[8] Different terminology additionally includes Palestinian Israeli, Arab Israeli or Israeli Arab, & Palestinian citizens of Israel.

[9] The 1967 war is also called the 6-day war based on the length of time it lasted.

Patrons of Peace

The international community remains steadfast in the non-recognition of sovereignty claims over Jerusalem in whole or in part until the achievement of a final resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. States promote this international norm by locating ambassadors to Israel in Tel Aviv rather than West Jerusalem. Frederick A. Middlebush (1933) emphasized it remains a state duty in international law not to recognize the annexation of territory gained by an occupying force, arguing,

> Let us now examine the meaning, in theory and in practice, of the doctrine of non-recognition. In theory the withholding of recognition sets up a bar upon title. It is, or at least approximates, a sanction of nullity which has not infrequently been invoked in cases of territorial aggrandizement. Acquisitions of territory, treaties or agreements made in violation of the Pact or preexisting rights of other states, give but an inchoate title which can be made complete only by recognition. Thus the fruits of aggressive action are lost if recognition is denied (Middlebush, p. 48, 1933).

Jerusalem Embassy Act.

For over seventy years, the American position on Jerusalem was in keeping with much of the international community. In 1995, the U.S. Congress adopted the Jerusalem Embassy Act in the Senate (93 to 5) and House of Representatives (374 to 37). The legislation recognized the Holy City of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and determined that the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by 1999.[10] President Clinton had staked much

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10 The U.S. Constitution (art. I § 7 cl. 2) stipulates, “If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have

of his political legacy on bringing peace to the Middle East through the Oslo Accords. Clinton believed that recognition of Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem would signal an American rejection of the two-state solution. President Clinton acknowledged the implication the law would have on Palestinians' right to self-determination, and the belief that Jerusalem's recognition as Israel's capital would prioritize Judaism, one of three Abrahamic religions with historical connection to the Holy City, over both Islam and Christianity.

People of Giants

In 1964, the secular Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) comprised of different Palestinian factions was founded at an Arab League summit in Cairo, Egypt. The rise of political Islam in the 1970s and 1980s led to a contrast of the P.L.O.'s secularism, notably with Hamas's creation in 1987 by Sheik Ahmad Yasin. As an Islamic political organization, Hamas embodied the Palestinian struggle and adopted its parent organization's vision, the Muslim Brotherhood. Israel tacitly supported Hamas's rise after the 1967 war as a check on the secular P.L.O.

By the end of the 1967 war, the Palestinian territories remained cut off from the rest of the world and reliant on Israeli patronage. A unilateral trade relationship emerged with a substantial tax on importing non-Israeli products

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been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law." The 10-day waiting period lapsed without President Clinton signing the Bill while Congress was in session thereby making the Jerusalem Embassy Act law. The new law provided a 6-month presidential postponement foregoing the relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem due to national security interests.

leading to an influx of 90% of the goods imported into the Palestinian territories originating from Israel. To eke out a modest living, Palestinians had no choice but to provide cheap labor for the Israeli business sector. During this period, Palestinians were prohibited from obtaining business licenses to produce goods, lost control of their water rights, and were displaced from farmland to make room for Israeli development (Liu, 2010).

The Oslo Accords.

The 1993 Oslo Accords[11] led to the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) through a negotiated peace agreement between Israel and Palestine. Huiping Liu (2010) acknowledges the framework of the agreement left Israel with power over production and left the definition of what constituted a security threat ambiguous, ultimately preventing the plan's full implantation. Yasser Arafat became the PNA's first president (July 1994 – November 2004), and Mahmoud Abbas, the prime minister. Abbas became the heir apparent to the PNA presidency after Arafat, head of the Fatah secular political party, and chairman of the P.L.O.

[11] The Oslo Accords were meant to offer a pathway to peace by way of a five-year transition period. The Oslo II Accords sought to hand over security and economic autonomy to Palestinians residing in Areas A, B, and C in the West Bank. The areas received different classifications for governance based on a final status accord. Area A fell to the administration of the Palestinian National Authority; Area B was deemed to be administered by the PNA and Israel, and Area C fell under sole Israeli control due to the Jewish settlement communities residing in this zone.

The PNA governed the Palestinian territories in Areas A & B until 2006 (Pina, 2006) when the 40-year political dominion of Fatah, Yasser Arafat's ruling party, lost to Hamas, which won a plurality of seats (76 out of 132) in the Palestinian legislative elections. Reports of Palestinian frustration with the Arafat administration's top-down corruption, lack of quality education, and poor development (Jamal, 2013) made the Islamic Resistance Movement an attractive choice that represented a broad vision for Palestine's future.

The Second Intifada Represented New Security Protocols.

Five-years before Hamas' surprising election win on September 28, 2000, the Israeli opposition leader, Ariel Sharon, entered the Temple Mount/Noble Sanctuary at the Al Aqsa Compound with over 1,000 Israeli police officers. The provocative act of entering Muslim holy sites followed a failed Camp David peace accord from months earlier in July 2000. The act of an Israeli politician asserting dominance by entering a mosque was a bridge too far for many Palestinians. Sharon's action ignited the second intifada (Pressman, 2006) and changed the security status quo for Palestinians. The Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.) began curtailing Palestinian movements across the green line by instituting a permit system for Palestinians entering Israel (Karsh & Kumaraswamy, 2003). Israeli citizens, including the Arab minority population, were prohibited from entering the West Bank and East Jerusalem.[12] In June 2002,

[12] Arab citizens of Israel are now allowed access to the West Bank however typically undergo invasive screening procedures upon returning to Israel.

Israel began construction on a security barrier or separation wall that bisected the green line into land designated for a future Palestinian state (Perry, Apel, Newman, & Clarke, R., 2016). Additionally, temporary "rolling" and permanent checkpoints appeared in response to the rise in Palestinian suicide bombing attacks (Shemesh, 2008) during the second intifada. Israeli expressions of repressive power steadily increased through an inequitable system of permits that controlled Palestinian movement and set policy for building and development. Settler communities continued to expand, whereas Palestinian villages and homes faced demolition due to Israeli claims of lack of coordination in applying for permits.

Expressions of Power

Expressions of power manifest in society through divergent means. Repressive power administers punishment and motivates behavior through force to compel a response through examples such as the American declaration on Jerusalem, the Israeli military control of the Palestinian community, and the Palestinian rejection of American involvement in the peace process. Power appears in judicial authority ratified in laws recognizing state sovereignty, territorial acquisition, and official decree. Normalizing power reflects a different expression of power based on the invisible strings that motivate action formed by community standards (Gijsber, 2017). The history of American involvement in the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, the desire for a Jewish national homeland, and the patriarchal deference to Islam reflect normalizing

power that guides action in a particular moment through the representation and meaning present in community values.

Recognizing Humiliation.

Global standards on non-recognition of occupied territory rebuffed attempts at rewriting facts on the ground through legal doctrine such as Israel's undivided Jerusalem Basic Law (Israeli Knesset, 1980), and the American recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Nevertheless, Palestinian stories on digital media in response to President Trump's Jerusalem declaration continued through early 2020 with racist tropes, an American rejection, and reflections of honor-based humiliation leaving unanswered questions as to why the cacophony of voice continued on digital media despite international consensus[13] on the two-state solution.

[13] See the General Assembly resolution A/RES/ES-10/19 titled the "Status of Jerusalem"

CHAPTER II: CONFLICT AND DIGITAL COMMUNICATION

Background Introduction

The concept of Web 2.0, a term coined by Darcy DiNucci (1999) to describe the second generation of the Internet – a shift from static HTML pages to a participatory social web mediated by digital interaction, marked a significant shift toward digital communication. Digital communication remains shaped through the production and distribution of user-generated content facilitating real-time[14] global communication. Software advancements facilitate a natural outgrowth integrating computer-mediated processes with user-generated content driven by algorithms to modify and enhance user engagement (van Dijck, & Poell, 2014). Perlin (2016) notes the impact of technology on language, through accessibility of affordable devices (i.e., smartphones and wearables) that both increase digital access and use of the Internet.

This study explores Palestinian communication with an acknowledgment to the limits of digital access by members of the community. Research related to the composition of narratives around "place" and "space" (Schnell, & Haj-Yahya, 2014), investigations on belonging, nationality, and citizenship (Quigley, 2005), and the politics of identity (Hammack, 2011) offer support for digital content analysis. The emergence of Palestinian youth activism (Burton, 2017), gender segregation among Palestinians (Hasso, 2005), and religion in contemporary

[14] See Schulz (2014) for a discussion of the conceptual influences of new media and the mediatization of culture.

Palestine (Butler, Habermas, Taylor, & West, 2011) draw boundaries for understanding the formation of meaning and representation in the Palestinian community.

Impartiality vs. Neutrality

The Obama administration in a tacit rebuke of Israel abstained from a vote at the United Nations allowing U.N. Security Council Resolution 2334 (2016) to reaffirm that Israel's settlements have no legal validity, and therefore constitute a violation of international law which provided support for the Palestinian cause. At the same time, the Obama administration also supported Israel with its largest increase in military aid with $38 billion in assistance over 10-years (2019-2028). Conflict researchers exploring differences between violations of neutrality in an attempt to achieve equity between parties in dispute, as the above example indicates, and impartiality through examples from interpersonal mediation (e.g., Cobb & Rifkin, 1991; Kovach, 2014; Roberts, 2014) offer mixed views of the American role in the peace process.

Publications (e.g., Siniver, 2006) illustrate past American mediators, while not entirely neutral concerning Israel, have adopted a position of impartiality when mediating between Israelis and Palestinians. Cobb and Rifkin (1991) in research on interpersonal mediation suggest, "Neutrality becomes a practice in the discourse, specifically, the management of persons' positions in stories, the intervention in the associated interactional patterns between stories, and the construction of alternative stories" (Cobb & Rifkin, p.62, 1991).

Cobb and Rifkin (1991) suggest that stepping over neutrality may not be damaging to agreements as it remains underscored in successful mediation. Narrative dominance for instance occurs (Cobb & Rifkin, 1991) when one narrative of the conflict becomes the primary focal point for which mediators address disputing parties' issues. The dominant narrative becomes the framework for moving parties toward a resolution, and it often arises after the first disputant speaks. The practice of guiding disputants toward agreement may provide benefit in interpersonal mediation by preventing parties from adopting a dominant narrative in the conflict. However, President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital ended the standard that simply rejected practices of neutrality for policy that outwardly refuted impartiality in the peace process.

Digital Narratives

Conflict narratives reflect thematic typologies of conflict. Research often frames the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a disagreement over narratives (e.g., Alpher, Shikaki, Kelman, & Rouhana, 1999; Tawil-Souri, & Aouragh, 2014; Pely, 2016). The lack of Palestinian self-determination, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip, unsuccessful progress on the Oslo Accords, and the Trump Administration's pro-Israeli stance reinforces the narrative of an unreliable third-party broker of peace. Sara Cobb's (2013) research on narrative theory offers a helpful tool for exploring Palestinian digital communication through an analysis of representation of how parties in conflict present aspects of identity.

Disputing parties in Cobb's model commonly cast themselves as the hero of their own story. Otherizing terminology illustrates opposing views and often reflects power imbalances. Cobb (2013) explains that conflict narratives are primarily composed of two parts (e.g., Chatman, 1978; White, 1987). The narrative plot represents the chronological order of events based on a fact-based timeline. The second part act as conflict storylines. Stories contain messages that represent a sense of meaning based on a version of events (Entman, 1991; Halverson, 2004; Porat, 2004; Tilly, 1998). The notion of what it means to "live peacefully" acts as a thematic representation of a narrative. Removing all "terrorist Arabs from the State of Israel" serves as a conflict storyline as it includes a particularistic view that adopts an otherizing position of the conflict. An exclusionary message that calls for "pushing out Jews" provides an example of a message that might connect to a conflict storyline related to equalizing an asymmetrical power imbalance perpetuated by a Zionist entity through religious crusade.

The relationship between a supporting message of a conflict story and the theme or subject topic may be clear through interpersonal mediation in face-to-face settings. Digital communication offers a plurality of messaging tools that create difficulties for decoding the speaker's intent and intonation across the digital divide.[15] Conflict resolution practices involving mediation seek to clarify

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[15] The digital divide represents limits to engagement based on access to Internet infrastructure (i.e., service, technology) common in many developing countries (Haslett, 2012).

message composing storylines. This study's research goals similarly seek to identify stories in digital media that constrain understanding of parties in conflict.

Constructing Digital Discourse

Discourse analysis is often studied in linguistics through its connective passages in writing or speech. Michel Foucault's seminal work on the Archeology of Knowledge (1972) focused on discourse not merely as a linguistic concept to study what an individual says (language) and does (practice), but as a production of knowledge that collectively create meaningful representations of history. Accordingly,

> Discourse produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Just as a discourse' rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write, or conduct oneself, so also, by definition, it 'rules out,' limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it (Hall, 1990).

Hall (1990) stipulates, "Since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do —our conduct —all practices have a discursive aspect" (Hall, 1982, p. 291). Therefore, meaningful practice constructed in discourse remains a collective byproduct of the messages and parts of speech. Cobb's (2013) conflict storylines illustrate the stories produced by the Palestinian community in recreating a version of events. Foucault (1972) reasons a discourse never consists of one statement, one piece of text, one action or source. Digital content analysis of Palestinian conflict stories requires an understanding of

nuance (i.e., the parts to the whole). Foucault's (1972) theory of discourse reflects the collective limits for understanding a topic. Hall (1990) clarifies,

> Knowledge about and practices around *all* these subjects, Foucault argued, were historically and culturally specific. They did not and could not meaningfully exist outside specific discourses, i.e. outside the ways they were represented in discourse, produced in knowledge and regulated by the discursive practices and disciplinary techniques of a particular society and time. Foucault believed that more significant were the radical breaks, ruptures and discontinuities between one period and another, between one discursive formation and another (Hall, p. 47, 1990).

Foucault was, therefore, interested in the boundaries of a subject that collectively form a discourse. A Foucauldian discourse illustrating the Palestinian response to the American declaration of Jerusalem advances a system of historical representation as a byproduct of the Palestinian responses. This view may glean broad insight into the events shaping the Palestinian community's responses, while at the same time overlooking the individual stories that form the representation of the discourse. Kathy Charmaz (2017) holds similar constructivist notions of relativism to Foucault and Cobb. The existence of multiple forms of truth based on individual representation of meaning by a community through language illustrates the bond among these scholars' research to this study.

Charmaz's (2006) constructivist methodology, Cobb's (2013) analysis of individuals in conflict settings, and Foucault's (1972) analysis related to the production of knowledge through discourse provide a complement for exploring the relations of power within the Palestinian community that offer clues into the representation of Palestinian meaning in terms of the American declaration on Jerusalem. Foucault writes,

> Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of the truth but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has real effects, and in that sense at least, becomes true. Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practices. Thus, there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute the same time, power relations (Foucault, 1979, p.27).

This study focuses on power not merely viewed through its repressive levers to force action, but also through reflections of normalizing power by the Palestinian community that act as change agents in digital media. This analysis seeks a nuanced view of the digital language of conflict produced from the Palestinian community in response to the American declaration.

Research Questions

This research contributes to the public body of knowledge by illustrating a contextual view of Palestinian humiliation expressed through digital communication following the American recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. The digital content analysis explored the form and function of digital messages in production of storyline versions of events. Messages were sorted into conflict storylines through organizational concepts that uncovered communication themes to better understand the Palestinian response to the American declaration. The following research questions guided the analysis of the research:

1. How have Palestinians responded digitally to President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital?
2. What power relations impact Palestinian modes of response?

3. How might a thematic framework consisting of Palestinian conflict stories that emerged in response to the recognition support understandings of power relations within the context of Israeli-Palestinian interactions?

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Background Introduction

This qualitative research study reviewed publicly available digital media data using an abductive process for analysis (Charmaz, 2013). Data measured by available party affiliation and digital messaging tools[16] consisted primarily of pro-Palestinian content published in Arabic on digital media and translated by M.E.M.R.I. and P.M.W. The research population consisted of responses to the American declaration on Jerusalem as Israel's capital by self-identifying Palestinian community members. Data collection procedures involved an iterative process,[17] including keyword[18] combinations and phrases within search filters on M.E.M.R.I., P.M.W., and YouTube platforms led by theoretical sampling[19] to guide data collection analysis. Fifty-four memos[20] provided the data for digital conflict analysis to explore the research objectives of this study using Cobb's (2013) work on mediating interpersonal conflict to illustrate conflict storylines for analysis of Palestinians digital communication.

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[16] See Table 1: Demographic Data Reflecting Digital Sources

[17] See Figure 1: Process for Collecting Data and Assessing Digital Communication

[18] e.g., "Palestinian response to Trump's Jerusalem declaration," "recognition of Jerusalem," "Jerusalem capital of Israel"

[19] Theoretical sampling is a term (Charmaz, 2004) that relies on selective sampling during data collection to identify gaps in the research through a comparative model.

[20] Memos function similar to an anthropologist's field note to record insights from data analysis (Glaser, 1998).

Figure 1

Process for Collecting Data and Assessing Digital Communication

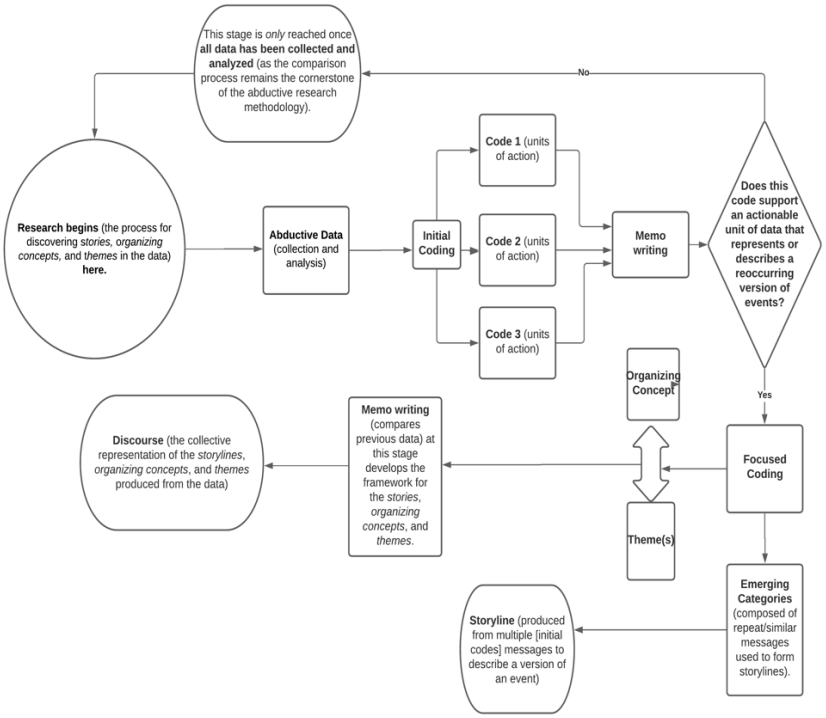

Table 1

Demographic Data Reflecting Digital Sources

Source	PA	Fatah	Hamas	Other	Text	TV	YouTube	FB	Twitter
MEMRI	6	12	8	15	12	11	9	9	4
PMW	17	17	1		12	11	1	5	6
Al Jazeera			1	1			2		
France 24				1			1		
I24				1			1		
CBS				1			1		
Total N=84	23	29	10	19	24		15	14	10

Note. Respondent Party Affiliation and Messaging Tools reflect only available data.

All messages reflect the sender account (not the identity of the communicator).

Other represents unavailable party affiliation totals (and smaller Palestinian factions).

Specific. Data total (N=84) reflects number of messages used for analytical purposes in research study across 54 sources.[21]

[21] See Table 2: Digital Communication Source Data

Coding

Coding of Actionable Units

Analysis for this study included in vivo coding methodologies. The first stage of the two-stage process began by separating units of data into actionable content segments through a line-by-line process. Individual units of data incorporated gerunds and short explanatory phrases to describe the particular line segment (Charmaz, 2006). Questioning data fit during the coding process helped identify meaning and representation from the content (e.g., "what does this coding unit represent?", "how is the speaker advancing the message?", "who is the intended recipient of the message?").

Discovering Organizing Concepts and Themes

The second coding stage termed focused coding, narrowed the 508 initial codes into the initial code's representative properties. Focused coding organized content by breaking lengthy initial code data into a series of coding units[22] to discover relevant emerging categories, [23] conflict storylines, organizing concepts,[24] and themes. The comparative process moved analysis from the initial

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[22] For instance, the initial code: “Fatah Facebook account shows protestors in Nablus burning Trump effigy” is illustrated by the focused code: “Expressions of power; resistance; honor; respect”

[23] Emerging categories refer to the individual code within a series of focused codes. Recurring emergent categories lead to organizing concepts. For example, the initial code: “Pres. Abbas calling US Recognition a 'rejection of the role played in past decades as 'patron of the peace process’” becomes the focused code (in a series): “Rejection of American role of ‘patron of the peace process’; honor; respect; neutral meditator.” The emergent categories are each unit of data separated by the semicolon.

[24] Organizing concepts provide the framework for analysis of data in this study.

code's particularistic element to a broader representation of content in the focused code.[25] Identification of coding patterns based on relevance to the research questions led to the illustration of conflict storylines in the data. Word frequency patterns (see Fig. 2) generated from focused coding schemes produced the research themes using NVivo software.[26]

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[25] For example, Focused Coding produced the organizing concept “Sins of Balfour” based on the following (4) initial codes: (1) Abbas adviser & judge ties sins of Balfour declaration to Recognition, (2) Associating Trump with Balfour 'the one with no ownership' to give Jerusalem away, (3) Fatah central committee member speaking to ANC conference in South Africa called for banning of products of illegal occupiers and welcomed South African diplomatic decision to downgrade South African representation in Israel comparing Trump to Balfour, (4) Fatah central committee member stating “The US president has given what doesn't belong to him to those who are not entitled to it just like [the Balfour Declaration] 100 years ago”

[26] NVivo is a computer-mediated software package by QSR International for qualitative analysis. The software acted as a repository for sorting and managing data, querying keywords frequencies, comparing emerging categories, and mapping the themes present from the conflict stories. Data collected during the study, including memos, have all been organized through NVivo software.

Figure 2

Word Cloud Representing Focused Coding Frequencies from NVivo Illustrating Research Themes

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Background Introduction

Data in this research is comprised of digital messages (N=84) produced from 54 sources between December 5, 2017, to January 20, 2020. All conflict storylines were constructed from messages that advanced a version of events within a narrative frame representing an actionable beginning, middle, and end in *otherizing* terms to explore Palestinian digital communication data. Findings in this section address the first research question (e.g., *How have Palestinians responded digitally to President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital?).* The second research question (i.e., *What power relations impact Palestinian modes of response?)* is discussed based on the chapter's findings. The significance of the research findings will be address in the following discussion chapter along with the conclusions of the third research question (i.e., *How might a thematic framework consisting of Palestinian conflict stories that emerged in response to the recognition support understandings of relations of power within the context of Israeli-Palestinian interactions?*).

Broad research findings illustrate a communication matrix reflecting digital conflict storylines through an organizing conceptual (e.g., Sins of Balfour, Calls of Jerusalem, People of Giants, Patrons of Peace, & Expressions of Power) lens of interconnected themes (e.g., Respect, Tradition, Palestinian, Honor, & Resistance). Michel Foucault's theory (1972) of discourse as a representation of knowledge and power in Palestinian society represents the collective outcome

reflecting an epoch Jerusalem discourse in response to the humiliation of the American declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Respect: Sins of Balfour

Background Introduction

The legacy of European colonialism following the British Mandate system focuses Palestinian ire in the direction of the Trump and Israeli administrations in these conflict storylines. Data emerged conceptionally around the *sins of Balfour*. The concept organizes curated storylines to produce the theme of Respect, or, as the data suggests, a lack thereof. The following storylines suggest the *sins of Balfour*:

1. Open the Gates of Hell to Kill Us, Destroy Us, And Put Us in Prison
2. Cast Trump as "America's Crazy Man," the New Balfour
3. Give Away the Keys to Jerusalem, and Declare War on Dialogue and Negotiations

Open the Gates of Hell to Kill Us, Destroy Us, And Put Us in Prison

Palestinian responses sparked antisemitic and racist comparisons of President Trump to Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (MEMRI Special Dispatch, 2017d). The following image[27] circulated across official Palestinian social media platforms. The comparison between Donald Trump and Adolf Hitler is a false equivalence. The use of social media hashtags (i.e., #HandsOffAlQuds) and English phrasing (e.g., "I don't see any different, do you?") expands the message

[27] See Figure 3: Fatah Twitter Account Releases Trump's Comparison to Hitler

to a global English-speaking audience through the combination of multiple messaging tools for expression.

Figure 3

Fatah Twitter Account Releases Trump's Comparison to Hitler

Similarly, official PA TV broadcast a response by Mahmoud Al-Habbash, religious adviser and Sharia court judge, on December 8, 2017. Al-

Habbash offered a sermon during Friday prayers at a mosque in Ramallah at the Palestinian Authority offices in front of a crowd of Palestinians. Al-Habbash claimed, "The U.S. president can do what he wants and say what he wants, maybe he can also blow us up, destroy us, kill us, and put us in prison" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017d). Continuing with the false equivalence, Al-Habbash decried,

> This crime that American President [Trump] committed [by recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital] is not only against Palestine, but also against all of humanity, against the Muslims, and against the Christians. How does he allow himself to give the keys to Jerusalem to those who are not its people? He wants to repeat the sin and crime of [former British Foreign Secretary] Balfour. Okay, Balfour has been relegated to the dustbin of history, and Palestine has remained, and Jerusalem has remained, and this one [Trump] will follow in [Balfour's] footsteps... How do the Muslims of the world allow this sin? How do the Christians of the world allow handing over the keys to [the Church of] the Holy Sepulchre to those who are not from Jerusalem, to those who are not Palestinians...It could be that everyone knows and everyone assumes that this sin, which the American president committed, will open the gates of hell (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017d).

The theme of Respect pervades both messages through a sense of false equivalence intended to rally members of the Palestinian community. The first message adopts English terminology and digital messaging tools (e.g., hashtags and provocative imagery) to expand the message to a broader audience through emotional arousal stemming from Hitler's notoriety. The second message adds a thematic reference to Tradition by citing the Christian and Islamic *calls of Jerusalem*. Moreover, the belief that an American president "Will open the gates of hell" adds significance, given the message originated from a religious advisor and delivered to parishioners at a mosque produced by state-sponsored media.

Cast Trump as "America's Crazy Man," the New Balfour

President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital occurred almost a month after the Balfour declaration's centennial anniversary—a unilateral action deemed similar in its perceived intent to draw unfavorable boundary lines and push out the Palestinian community from its land. The message decries,

> After 100 years, it seems that there is a second version of the [same] ominous promise [the Balfour Declaration] . . . a month after the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Promise in which the British gave the Jews a national home in Palestine, US President [Donald Trump] issues an additional version of this promise.
> (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f).

The timing of the American declaration may have contributed in part to the visceral Palestinian response. Fatah Movement Central Committee member, Jamal Muhaisen, responded upon viewing Palestinian reactions from the street, noting a rejection of "The crazy man's decision," reporting,

> From Al-Usoud Square in the heart of Ramallah and El-Bireh, these masses have come to say to America's crazy man [U.S. President Donald Trump] that his decision is completely rejected, has no legal or practical value, and Jerusalem will never be Jewish and will remain Arab Palestinian and Islamic-Christian (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f).

Collectively, the digital messages amount to unresolved grievances felt by members of the Palestinian community around the perception of Balfour's sins. Debasing President Trump's intelligence and denying the Jewish connection to Jerusalem offer hints of Palestinian humiliation around a growing theme related to a lack of Respect that support this story.

Give Away the Keys to Jerusalem, and Declare War on Dialogue and Negotiations

The Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida on December 7, 2017, focused on the Palestinian discord by blaming normalization efforts with Israel, revealing a rationale for Palestinian refusal to meet with the Trump administration members following the humiliating shift in American policy. The message argues,

> [U.S. President] Donald Trump will be [former British Foreign Secretary Arthur] Balfour's successor; he has taken down Great Britain and taken its place as a colonialist country in order to complete the Zionist enterprise that began with the British Balfour Promise (i.e., declaration) 100 years ago. . .We must always remember that the biggest losers will be the U.S. and its pawn, the occupation state Israel, because through the crime of blowing up the bridges to peace. . . they are declaring war on dialogue and negotiations as a means to resolve disputes and establish peace between warring states (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f).

This message posits the "Balfour promise from 100 years ago" as the impetus for conflict between Israelis and Palestinians conceptually rooting this message in *sins of Balfour.* Thereby, characterizing the American declaration on Jerusalem as a cudgel to the peace process and thematically associating it with a lack of Respect. The message blames the failures for achieving peace between Israelis and Palestinians in a conflict storyline that frames the "U.S. and its pawn, the occupation state Israel . . ." as "Declaring war on dialogue and negotiations" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f). Fatah Central Committee member Muhammad Shtaya drew a similar tone in comparison to Balfour's sins, pointing to an unrestrained Israel referencing the undivided Jerusalem Basic Law (1980) as evidence of the denial of Palestinian rights. Shtaya avowed,

> This administration has crossed every red line with measures that contravene international law and especially [U.N.] Security Council Resolution 478, which determines that East Jerusalem is occupied land, as are the Palestinian territories. The U.S. President has given what doesn't belong to him to those who are not entitled to it, just like [the Balfour Declaration] 100 years ago (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018).

Tradition: Calls of Jerusalem

Background Introduction

The organizing concept *calls of Jerusalem* represents the theme of Tradition. This research found three distinctive conflict storylines across multiple collections. Data in this section indicates participants responded with messages focused on desires to liberate, defend, and eternalize a connection to the Holy City. The following storylines support the concept *calls of Jerusalem*:

1. Liberate Jerusalem from the Plundering Jews
2. Defend Jerusalem from the Rape of the Israeli Occupation
3. Eternalize the Holy City as the Sole Capital of the State of Palestine

Liberate Jerusalem from the Plundering Jews

On December 10, 2017, Fatah Supreme Leadership Council in the Southern Districts, Najah Aliwa speaking to Official PA TV in Gaza, called on Muslims to take up arms. Aliwa expressed the duty of Muslims to protests U.S. President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and the relocation of the U.S. embassy (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017e), stating,

> Whoever plays with fire is burned by it, and whoever ignites a fire must know how to put it out. . .I think that the one who made this decision and ignited a fire did not foresee the consequences that could follow this decision, and the war will be open, and all the options are open, and no one can foresee what will be in the end (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017e).

Liberating Jerusalem from forces that challenge the Muslim character of the old city remains central to the storyline. The following message remains framed in terms of protecting Islamic holy sites. Palestinian cleric Sheikh Nidhal Siam on December 12, 2017, issued a call to arms to "Liberate Jerusalem from the plundering Jews" (MEMRI TV, 2017f). Sheikh Nidhal Siam decried at a rally,

> We are counting on the faith in your hearts, and we are pinning our hopes on the best among your sons. We expect you to be furious for the sake of Allah, to arise and issue a call to arms, shouting "Allah Akbar" and there is no god but Allah . . . the time has come to cut off the tongues that talk about the peace process, and the tongues that mourn it (MEMRI TV, 2017f).

Islamic clerics are highly respected figures in the Muslim community and hold power over their parishioners. The holy book of the Qu'ran provides Muslims with lessons on how to live a moral life. Sheikh Nidhal Siam's rebuke of the peace process offers justification for the call to arms. The cleric's message castigates prior efforts for obtaining peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Sheikh Nidhal Siam claimed, "The time has come to cut off the tongues that talk about the peace process, and the tongues that mourn it" (MEMRI TV, 2017f). Siam's message taps into the Palestinian struggle by seeking liberation from occupying forces. The message channels repressive power through a religious backdrop that justifies violence based on a crusade of liberation.

Defend Jerusalem from the Rape of the Israeli Occupation

Amal Hamad, Director of the Palestinian Women's Union in Gaza, spoke passionately about a woman's duty to resist in an interview on the Official PA TV program *Palestine This Morning*. Hamad acknowledged,

> The word 'rape' for us, as women, has great significance. Therefore, women are required to struggle against this rape and for the Palestinian people's right to liberation and getting rid of the Israeli occupation's rape of Jerusalem. America now is absolutely not a patron of the peace process, it no longer has a true role, and it is not a mediator. It has already become a partner and ally of the occupation state, and it is a party in the conflict (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017h).

Hamad offers language meant to incite Palestinian women to engage in collective action. The conflict storyline draws on the duty to defend against attack. It adopts provocative language relating to a violation of trust by the Americans. A subsidiary theme of Honor represented in digital communication addresses the rejection of the U.S. in its former role of *patron of peace* discussed in more detail in the next section.

Eternalize the Holy City as the Sole Capital of the State of Palestine

Palestinian Authority T.V. newsreaders and hosts in response to President Trump's December 6, 2017 declaration on Jerusalem protested the decision by wearing black t-shirts with the logo of the T.V. channel and text reading, "Jerusalem - the capital of the State of Palestine" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017k). Additionally, Fatah Information and Culture Commission posted a report of a Gazan couple on February 2, 2018, celebrating Nidal Al-Saiqli and his wife's newborn triplets named "Jerusalem," "Capital," and "Palestine." The report quoted the father stating the names of his

children were meant "To emphasize that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Palestine" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2018d). Together these digital messages promote the view of Palestinian solidarity envisioned through statehood in a conflict storyline illustrating the Palestinian connection to Jerusalem. The version of events represents a State of Palestine with its capital in East Jerusalem. The theme of Tradition reflected in *calls of Jerusalem* remains key to the understanding of this storyline.

Figure 4

PA TV Newsreader Wearing A Shirt with Text Reading "Jerusalem - The Capital of The State of Palestine"

Honor: Patrons of Peace

Background Introduction

This section defines the theme of Honor through the organizing concept of *patrons of peace.* This study's data draws on an established paradigm of past American mediation efforts in the peace process. Specifically, the definition of what it means to be an honorable mediator between Israelis and Palestinians finds ground in the conflict stories discussed below. Palestinian refusal to engage the Trump administration indicates the conflict narrative reflected by the perception of a violation of impartiality as a mediator to the peace process. The theme reflects a Palestinian sense of honor expressed by community members who identify the American declaration as a source of humiliation brought against the Palestinians. Yousef Munayyer, the executive director of the U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, describes the gravity of Honor for Palestinians in an interview with i24 News on May 14, 2019. Munayyer explicitly states,

> Prior American administrations had remained neutral on the status of Jerusalem. President Trump reversed that position upending the belief held by the few people who still believed that the peace process mediated by Washington could result in a just peace recognize that that is not going to happen with the U.S. as a mediator.
>
> Growing efforts by civil society will ideally continue to build internationally and hold Israel accountable through non-violent economic action in the form of international boycotts, efforts to divest from Israel's abuses of Palestinian rights, and sanctions on the Israeli state until all violations end (i24News English, 2019).

Munayyer adopts the term neutral to describe prior mediation efforts led by past American administrations concerning the Holy City. His message here, of course, implies an unbiased approach to final status talks between Israelis and

Palestinians on issues of importance such as the location of a future capital of Palestine in East Jerusalem, and not the definition of mediation neutrality per se concerning the American position on Israel and Palestine. American favoritism toward Israel has been evident at the U.N. based on the American veto record. Moreover, the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act passed by both houses of the American Congress and codified into law did not, by any means, signal a neutral American position on Jerusalem even with the 6-month waiver clause. Nevertheless, Munayyer's statement provides insight into the importance of Honor in the Palestinian community. The following conflict storylines provide insight into the theme through the organizing concept *patrons of peace*:

1. Unleash the Brothers of Apes and Pigs on the Peace Process
2. Shoe-Away the Issue of Jerusalem
3. Declare the Peace Process Not Welcome in Palestine

Unleash the Brothers of Apes and Pigs on the Peace Process

Cartoon satire published from the official P.A. daily on December 6, 2017, includes the message that President Trump's declaration was a deliberate affront to the peace process in favor of Israel. The image depicts a chameleon wearing an Uncle Sam hat meant to represent America. The chameleon is featured moving from an olive branch meant to signify the peace process onto a bloody sword with a Star of David representing Israel. The chameleon begins to change colors as it moves from the green olive branch to the sword's silver-colored steel (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017c).

Figure 5

Cartoon Depiction of U.S. As Chameleon Stepping from Olive Branch to Bloody Sword

Of course, not all Palestinian responses include such subtle critiques. In another message from December 6, 2017, the host of Official PA TV excoriated President Trump's,

> Oppressive and discriminatory decision. This decision that puts the American administration into the rubric of hate, lawlessness, and political absurdity, while President Trump speaks about calm in order to move towards the peace process. . .his distancing from all of the agreements, the understandings with the Americans, the agreements signed with the occupation state Israel – all of this is now endangered (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017a).

Likewise, at a Hamas rally on December 22, 2017, Sheikh Abd Al-Qadir Al-Hawajri focused demonstrators' ire around a similar message calling President

Trump's Jerusalem declaration "Tyrannical" and "Catastrophic, false, and failing" a choice that "Unleashed upon us the brothers of apes and pigs" (MEMRI TV, 2017f).

Shoe-Away the Issue of Jerusalem

This conflict storyline adopts a punishing rejection of American involvement in the peace process. On December 19, 2017, cartoon satire published on the official Fatah Facebook page rebuked the Trump administration for its veto at the U.N. Security Council (U.N., 2017a). The draft resolution sought to reflect regret among body members for recent decisions regarding Jerusalem's status. Message data supporting this storyline features a woman with a Palestinian flag on her dress spanking[28] U.S. President Donald Trump with a shoe and saying in English: "Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018), clearly defining the importance of Honor thematically in communication data representing the Palestinian community. The next supporting message in this conflict storyline includes Palestinian demonstrators at a Nablus rally on December 20, 2017. Demonstrators protesting against President Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital registered an act of defiance. In what appears to be a literal attempt to shoe-away-Trump from the issue of Jerusalem, an image of a protester[29] holding a shoe over a caricature

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[28] See Figure 6: Cartoon and Text "Jerusalem is The Capital of Palestine!" Posted on Fatah Facebook Page

[29] See Figure 7 Fatah Twitter Image of Palestinian Protestor Holding Shoe atop Trump's Head

of the American president circulated widely across Fatah social media accounts (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017l).

Figure 6

Cartoon and Text "Jerusalem is The Capital of Palestine!" Posted on Fatah Facebook

Figure 7

Fatah Twitter Image of Palestinian Protestor Holding Shoe atop Trump's Head

Declare the Peace Process Not Welcome in Palestine

In a speech on December 6, 2017, President Abbas defines *patrons of peace* in response to American bias toward Israel. The message lists a litany of humiliating examples felt by the Palestinian community,

> The decision of the American president in the matter of Jerusalem is actually. . .a U.S. withdrawal from its role as sponsor for peace, which it has fulfilled for dozens of years. This announcement contradicts all the bilateral international decisions and agreements . . . rewards Israel for ignoring agreements and for challenging U.N. resolutions, and encourages Israel to perpetuate its policy of occupation, settlement building, apartheid, and ethnic cleansing (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018).

President Abbas's message was clear: Palestinians would no longer have dealings with President Trump or members of his cabinet due to the humiliation of

rewarding "Israel for ignoring agreements and for challenging U.N. resolutions." President Trump warned Abbas of the "Consequences of canceling meetings with the American vice president" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f). President Abbas remained unmoved by Trump's threatening message, and countered Vice President Pence was "Not welcome in Palestine," and then boycotted the vice president's planned trip to the region.

Nabil Abu Rudeina, Spokesman, and P.A. Deputy Prime Minister reaffirmed the Palestinian position two years later on January 25, 2020. Rudeina, stating that Palestinian leadership remains unwilling to work with the American administration on finding a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, announcing,

> No discussion with the American administration regarding what is called the deal of the century. . . P.A. presidency announcing a firm' rejection of Trump's decision regarding Jerusalem, and rest of issues, and everything else unacceptable [deal of the century] (Palestinian Media Watch, 2020).

Palestinian: People of Giants

Background Introduction

Data in this section represents the Palestinian thematic identity. Conflict storylines remain organized through the concept of *people of giants.* Messages support stories that describe the glory of martyrdom through self-sacrifice, subverting defeat through an adherence to patriarchal deference, and a rejection of futile messages that call for self-sacrifice. The following storylines represent *people of giants*:

1. Trample the Head of a Son of a Jewish Woman

2. Defeat a Modern-Day Hulagu Khan
3. Require Greater Wisdom to Change the Rules of the Diplomatic Game

Trample the Head of a Son of a Jewish Woman

Palestinian Imam Mohammad Qatanani, joined by Nerdeen Kiswani of the NYC Students for Justice in Palestine, spoke emphatically at a rally on December 8, 2017, in Times Square, New York. Qatanani decried, "Every inch of Palestine – including Tel Aviv and Jaffa – is Palestinian land," and called for the start of a new Intifada (MEMRI TV, 2017c). Rallying demonstrators, Qatanani prompted chants of, "With our souls and our blood, we will redeem you, oh Aqsa!" Demonstrators clapped back with, "Khaybar, Khaybar, oh Jews, the army of Muhammad will return" (MEMRI TV, 2017c).

Incitement continued on December 15, 2017 with a young Gazan boy dressed in military fatigues at a Hamas rally. He directed a pointed message at President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu,

> In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a message to Trump the idiot. You idiot, your promise to Israel will not be successful. You idiot, Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine for all eternity.
>
> I say to that idiot Benjamin Netanyahu: You son of a Jewish woman, you don't know your own origins. You have no origin in history. Here in Gaza, we will trample the heads of your soldiers underfoot, like we did in Nahal Oz. Get it, you son of a Jewish woman?
>
> Here in Gaza, there are men who do not fear death. Get it, you son of a Jewish woman? You have no source in history.
>
> Jerusalem is ours. It is our capital. We will not relinquish a single inch of the land of Palestine. Get it, you son of a Jewish woman?
>
> Peace and Allah's mercy and blessings upon you (MEMRI TV, 2017i).

Figure 8

Poster in Praise Of "The Palestinian Woman: Mother, Sister, Martyr, Prisoner, Fighter"

Hamas is not alone in its provocation. On January 2, 2018, the Fatah movement celebrated its 53rd anniversary (i.e., January 1, 1965) by glorifying armed struggle and incitement to violence. In light of increased Palestinian-U.S. tension following President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, Fatah announced a slogan, "The Year of Confrontation [with Israel] and of Defense of

the Holy Places" (MEMRI Special, 2018a) through a series of Facebook and Twitter messages.

Figure 9

Official Fatah Facebook Commemorating "The Year of Confrontation [With Israel] And of Defense of The Holy Places

The Palestinian Authority further encouraged acts of aggression through a popular song about martyrdom that played across Palestinian radio on December 17, 25, and 26 of 2017 and again on January 2, 2018. The lyrics announced,

> Jihad is necessary, and self-sacrifice is necessary. How can we let them steal the Arabness - the glory of the forefathers and the rule? Draw your sword from its sheath, and let it not return to the sheath afterwards.

> Brother, rise to [Jerusalem], the [first] direction of prayer. We will defend the church and the mosque. Brother, if my blood will flow in the soil, and my hand will lay on its stones, then find a free soul that has refused to let enemies step on it. Kiss a Martyr on the land, who called on its behalf to Allah and fell as a Martyr. Palestine, the young people will redeem your territory. May the self-sacrificing fighter and the redeemed [land] be exalted Palestine, our chests will defend you - life or death (MEMRI TV, 2017i).

President Abbas has sought to administrate the conflict with Israelis and Palestinians through mixed messaging. In an address to the PLO Central Council on January 14, 2018, aired by Palestinian Authority T.V., Abbas proclaimed to the body of representatives,

> We always and forever adhere to negotiations as the path to reach a political settlement with Israel. We don't want war. We will not call for a military war with Israel. Whoever has [weapons] – go ahead and do it. I say this out in the open. If you have weapons, go ahead. I'm with you, and I will help you. Anyone who has weapons can go ahead. I don't have weapons. I want the peaceful political path to reach a settlement. I see that there are only a few supporters of peace here. All the others are into war. The Americans are always telling us that we must stop paying salaries to the families of the martyrs and the prisoners. We categorically reject this demand. Under no circumstances will we allow the families of the martyrs, the wounded, and the prisoners to be harmed. These are our children, our families. We are proud of them, and we will pay them before we pay the living (MEMRI TV, 2017i).

The messages mentioned above associate strength and perseverance into a story that draws on the enmeshment of the Palestinian identity within the context of a theme of Resistance. Violent associations channel a unitary vision of strength projected out into the community. The messages adopt recruitment tactics to expand the story to a sympathetic audience.

Defeat a Modern-Day Hulagu Khan

This conflict storyline appeals to an esteem for Palestinian history. Messages draw on an internal reflection of Palestinian pride. Ubeida Abu Kmeil claimed in a sermon delivered at the Al-Ameen Mosque in Gaza on December 9, 2017, that Palestine was being "Targeted by the plundering Jews" (MEMRI TV, 2017e). Kmeil emphasized, "We are the descendants of Saladin. We are the invincible generation . . . this land is where we are entrenched, in order to liberate Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and all the Palestinian cities" (MEMRI TV, 2017e).

A Palestinian thematic view related to conquest appears in the data from December 15, 2017. Hamas official Nasouh Al-Ramini insists U.S. President Trump is a "Modern-day Hulagu Khan," at a Nablus rally that aired live on Iran's Al Alam TV. Al-Ramini sarcastically thanked President Trump for giving Jerusalem "To the descendants of apes and pigs," a measure according to Al-Ramini that "United our people and nation" in a third world war (MEMRI TV, 2017g). The message supports the understanding of Palestinian humiliation in a response framed by a prevailing sense of strength broadcasted to Iran, a community supportive of the Palestinian struggle.

Ru'a Tamimi's message provides support for understanding the conflict storyline. Tamimi, a 7-year-old Palestinian girl, became known for reciting poetry in the Palestinian community. In this study, data featuring Tamimi describes her as a Palestinian celebrity poet. Tamimi delivered the following poem at two different points in time. The first occurred on Palestinian Ajyal radio on February 7, 2018 (MEMRI TV, 2018b). The message shared again on official

Fatah Facebook pages on November 22, 2019 (Palestinian Media Watch, 2019) reiterated the following message,

> My message to cursed Trump: O Trump, how do you belittle our people's rights? Have you forgotten that we are 'the people of giants'? Have you forgotten that we are the children of Yasser [Arafat] and [Ahmed] Yassin? But to Trump and every hate-ridden Zionist claiming he has a right to Palestine, I say: Jerusalem is ours – it was, is, and will remain our capital over the years, and we will not agree to our Jerusalem being defiled. Allah willing, it will return to us, even if it takes time (Palestinian Media Watch, 2019).

Require Greater Wisdom to Change the Rules of the Diplomatic Game

The final storyline in this section advocates a peaceful response to the American declaration on Jerusalem. Bakr Awida's message calls into question the thematic definition of Palestinian discussed up to this point in the study. Awida implies that Palestinians should uncover strength and perseverance from within and without the use of violence. Interestingly, the most biting points made focus on the Palestinian leadership. Awida writing from London, suggested, "The Palestinian statesmen must fortify themselves with greater wisdom and perhaps also greater political acumen. Instead of shouting, which won't change a thing, the challenge must be met calmly" (MEMRI Special, 2017a). Bakr Awida continues to build a case for moderation among community members in an article titled "Jerusalem and the Embassy – Do Not Despair" on December 6, 2017. The message states Palestinian leadership must quell the talk about "Rage" and "Ranting" ahead of President Trump's declaration on Jerusalem. Awida prefaced his comments claiming the position was akin to "Swimming upstream" and concluded,

> Moving the U.S. flag from the embassy building in Tel Aviv to another building in Jerusalem has no impact on the rights of the Palestinians . . . because these rights would continue to exist as long as the Palestinians themselves existed" (MEMRI Special, 2017a).

While a minority view, Bakr Awida's call for peace and calm remain mirrored by others. For example, Hilmi Al-Ghoul, writing for the P.A. daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida on December 11, 2017, stated, "The Trump decision, which oppresses the national rights [of the Palestinians], may lay the foundations for a new stage, and for a change in the rules of the diplomatic game" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018).

Hilmi Al-Ghoul continued to make the point that President Donald Trump's declaration was damaging "To the issues anchoring the peace process and Palestinian national interests . . . it also constitutes an important step to the benefit of the Palestinian issue" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018). Al-Ghoul explains,

> This is because it refocused attention on this issue, because of the public, political and diplomatic reaction, on all levels – local, Arab, regional, and international – and also because it granted Jerusalem, the eternal Palestinian capital, political status and weight, by means of the global opposition to the despicable American decision (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018).

These uncommon messages call out the misgivings by members of the Palestinian community. Al-Ghoul's message sums up the antiquated perspective of the Palestinian frame by advocating consensus building and global partnerships writing,

> The Trump decision, which oppresses the national rights [of the Palestinians], may lay the foundations for a new stage, and for a change in the rules of the diplomatic game. [It can do this if we take] the following Palestinian measures: a) oppose U.S. sponsorship of the peace process; b) appeal for international legitimacy, relying on the major international organizations connected to the peace process, and on international institutions such as the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice at the Hague, and other U.N. organizations;

> and c) join many U.N. institutions and organizations, so as to strengthen the Palestinian status worldwide (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018).

This conflict storyline remains at odds with the dominant views uncovered by this study and pushes back against reflections of Palestinian humiliation by American and Israeli governments by offering specific solutions of redress.

Resistance: Expressions of Power

Background Introduction

The Resistance theme revealed in the data demonstrate a concept that has appeared throughout the storylines of this research in various frames of the organizing concept *expressions of power* in response to the humiliation of the American declaration on Jerusalem. Data in the following conflict storylines uncover the meaning and representation of Resistance through the lens of e*xpressions of power*:

1. Burn Trump Effigy in a War Against the Palestinian People
2. Sanction Products of The Illegal Occupiers
3. Turn Off Lights of the Occupation in Symbolic Confrontation

Burn Trump effigy in a war Against the Palestinian People

The first storyline defines the theme of Resistance by identifying power disparity among leaders and the Palestinian community. This storyline includes Palestinian leaders channeling repressive power to motivate "Days of rage," reinforcing a commitment to Resistance and denial of humiliation. Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades offered inciting critiques of U.S. and Israeli interests to Palestinian community members. Representatives called

for members to attack U.S. and Israeli interests in the region (MEMRI Special, 2017c).

On December 7, 2017, Hamas Political Bureau Chief Ismail Haniyeh claimed in a televised speech that President Trump's declaration on Jerusalem was a "Declaration of war against our Palestinian people" (MEMRI Special, 2017c). The following day on December 8, Haniyeh called for a "Day of rage" and the beginning of the "Freedom to Jerusalem and the West Bank Intifada." Haniyeh concluded the speech by stating that Hamas's members and wings were on "Full readiness for any orders to confront this strategic threat to Jerusalem and the Palestinian cause" (MEMRI Special, 2017c).

Figure 10

PFLP Military Training Operations

Palestinian factions released a flurry of responses on the same day. Fursan Al-Fatah of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades warned that "Damage to our holy places will result in grave consequences for American and Israeli interests in the region" (MEMRI Special, 2017c). The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) declared U.S. interests a target and released provocative images displaying military maneuvers in support of the claim. Announcing,

> Any place in historical Palestine where the American enemy is present, from Rafah [in the south] to Ras Nakurah [in the north], has become a legitimate target for attack, like a target in a shooting-range. After U.S. President Donald Trump's crime against occupied Arab Jerusalem, there is no longer difference between an American and anyone else (MEMRI JTTM, 2017).

Heightened tensions were on full display following calls of protest by Palestinians. A photo of a burning Trump effigy in Nablus[30] circulated widely on the Fatah Facebook page (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f), as groups decried the Jerusalem declaration. Palestinian Islamic Jihad deputy secretary-general Ziyad Al-Nakhala declared the U.S. the enemy of the entire Ummah and called for confrontation (MEMRI Special, 2017c). Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in Gaza stated, "We will advance towards Jerusalem with millions of martyrs." Nidal Al-Amoudi of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade called President Trump "Satan" and encouraged the Muslim Ummah to support armed struggle to liberate Palestinian land. Al-Amoudi concluded, that "We will die and live for Jerusalem... It is the

[30] See Figure 11: Fatah Facebook Page Photo of Protesters in Nablus Burning Trump Effigy

heart of our faith and honor, and we will advance towards it with millions of martyrs" (MEMRI Special, 2017c).

Figure 11

Fatah Facebook Page Photo of Protesters in Nablus Burning Trump Effigy

Sanction Products of The Illegal Occupiers

Dr. Nasser Laham, Editor-in-Chief of the Palestinian Maan News Agency, asked of his television audience on December 5, 2017,

> Do we really want to send our children to the streets [to demonstrate], so that 10,000 of them will become martyrs, and 30,000 will be wounded and become crippled? And then, when the American ambassador comes over, we say: "Hi sir, how are you? Welcome. . .Negotiations... Peace..." If this is our expected conduct, we don't want this (MEMRI TV, 2017a).

Instead, Laham theorized, "Let's require any American who wants to come to Palestine - even Kushner - to obtain a visa" (MEMRI TV, 2017a). This message

advances new and existing remedies to support the global expansion of non-violent means to boycott, divest, and sanction (BDS) Israeli enterprise profiting in the Palestinian territories.

On December 12, 2017, PLO Executive Committee member Saleh Rafat suggested a diplomatic response to Jerusalem's declaration. Rafat called "For Arab ambassadors to be recalled from Washington," and Arab states to "Stop exporting oil to the U.S., and withdraw investments from American banks (MEMRI TV, 2017g). Similarly, Fatah Central Committee member Jibril Rajoub on December 16, 2017, spoke at a South African conference and asked for help in applying international pressure to Israel.

Rajoub called for a ban of "Products of the illegal occupiers" from international markets and reminded the international community of the shared "Struggle against this hegemonic and colonial domination," and associated the Palestinian struggle against President Trump's recognition with the shared challenges in overcoming slavery and oppression in South Africa. Rajoub concluded by promoting BDS as a legitimate instrument to push back on Israel's colonialism (MEMRI TV, 2017j). This storyline adopts community language related to BDS, slavery, and colonialism to build a conflict language that connects with the international community to rally support against the American declaration.

Turn Off Lights of the Occupation in Symbolic Confrontation

The final conflict storyline illustrates acts of symbolism in the theme of Resistance. In this section, messages remain subtle representations that call into

question the provocative messaging related to violence that garners more attention. The Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida reported that the P.A. Ministry of Education on December 7, 2017, issued,

> A suspension of studies in all of the schools in the homeland today and encouraged students to participate in demonstrations. As a sign of condemnation of the American decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and transfer its embassy to Jerusalem, the Ramallah and Bethlehem municipalities "turned off [the lights on] the Christmas trees at Martyr Yasser Arafat Square and at the Church of the Nativity plaza" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017c).

Turning off the lights of a Christmas display during the holiday season sends a message through an *expression of power* that ties the disappointment felt by the Islamic community in the wake of the American declaration on Jerusalem with those of the Christian community in a collaborative act of Resistance.

The second message reflects the storyline in the republishing of an article on December 10, 2017 that explored a present-day focus based on past events. Columnist Hassan Al-Batal wrote an article in 2012 titled "Why I Don't Want a Third Intifada." In the article, Al-Batal calls for a third calm intifada and adamantly discouraged the use of violence. The article developed four central ideas in defense of the main argument: (1) The inescapable nature of loss, (2) Caution against ignoring lessons from the past, (3) Desire for Palestinians to live without a loss of control, and (4) The necessity of changing practices to wage a calm intifada alongside ongoing negotiations. Al-Batal's argument supports *expressions of power* by advocating a solution (in 2012) for achieving long-term peace through negotiations that would ideally be accompanied by a calm intifada. Al-Batal explains that the next intifada should be like the first one (as opposed to

the second intifada that used weapons and suicide attacks) (MEMRI Special, 2017c; MEMRI Special, 2017b). This subtle act of Resistance by P.A. daily Al-Ayyam in republishing an article that advocates peace calls into question prior storylines related to outward expressions of violence and inward rejections of denial through the lens of peaceful acts of Resistance.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The global COVID-19 pandemic has spurred growth in the digital communication industry, spotlighting this research's importance. The mainstay of digital media in the modern era remains punctuated by digital messaging, gathering in virtual spaces, and working collaboratively. In the past 20-years, the trend toward digital technology as a preferred medium for interpersonal communication has increased exponentially as global communities traverse the digital divide. Technology brings voice to previously marginalized communities through access to digital domains (Nemer, & Tsikerdekis, 2017). Communities in developing nations, where nascent technology remains in the hands of the few, struggle to navigate a digital medium ripe with various messaging tools for expression. Analyzing digital communication requires a nuanced view. A storyline version of conflict unfolds instantly through digital messages expressed with little context other than surface-level appearance. Significant events such as the American declaration on Jerusalem create virtual meaning for parties in conflict that may unfold differently in face-to-face interaction.

This research's main goal was to explore the Palestinian response to conflict on digital media using President Trump's declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel as a basis for analysis. At its foundational level, this study identifies how Palestinians responded to the United States unilaterally asserting repressive power over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, changing its role from mediator in the peace process to arbiter of final status issues. Since this study of digital communication employs qualitative methods for analyzing digital

expression, the nature of Palestinian modes of response to the American recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital will be investigated through power relations that influence conflict storylines. The discussion that follows aims to demonstrate an epoch Jerusalem discourse reflecting the politics of humiliation through three competing models organizing the tyranny of despair, analogy of denial, and policy of doubt into representations of Palestinian digital media presented through storylines.

The Politics of Humiliation

Tyranny of Despair

This model explores humiliation using a lens of tyranny and despair. The tyranny of despair represents conflict storylines from this research that emerged in digital media depicting an overt Palestinian response involving violent forms of expression. Tyranny of despair describes a digital media model featuring repressive power responses. Foucault's (2008) theory of power acknowledges repressive power remains operationalized through the use of force, and normative power functions within cultural practices and scientific discourses that form the basis of knowledge (Gutting, & Oksala, 2019). Repressive power describes explicit actions such as legislation, incarceration, and persuasion applied through the pressure of threats or punishing acts by a dominant party over a subordinate group to achieve a desired response. Palestinians have channeled repressive power to assert dominance on digital media over subordinate groups in the Palestinian community. This readily available form of second-rate power

(Gijsber, 2017) often presents in institutions that force groups to conform to the desires of the stronger party.

Sins of Balfour Open the Gates of Hell to Kill us, Destroy us, and Put Us in Prison frames the language of conflict around a prevailing sense of fear. This story attempts to overcome Palestinian humiliation by focusing on pending doom and terror to compel immediate action (MEMRI Special, 2017d). Repressive power demands protest by focusing on dehumanizing messages as the only legitimate means of expression. Messages incorporate antisemitic and racist troupes, comparing President Trump to the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. This act of controlling the Palestinian community by dictating terms creates a tyranny of despair designed to regain a sense of powerlessness by downplaying the Jewish connection to Jerusalem and framing Lord Balfour's promise of land to the Jewish population in Britain similarly to the American declaration on Jerusalem, stipulating President Trump's decision is against, "Humanity, against the Muslims, and against the Christians" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017d).

Calls of Jerusalem Liberate Jerusalem from the Plundering Jews supplant the Palestinian connection to Jerusalem with a version of events that views "The other" in disparaging terms. The model tyranny of despair defines meaning and representation through a duty to protect the Holy City from American and Israeli aggression through holy crusade (MEMRI TV, 2017f). Protestors chanted, "Oh Trump, you coward, you just wait. We will dig your grave by means of the Caliphate." Calling upon the Palestinian community in the name of Allah, the conflict story promotes the liberation of Jerusalem at all cost.

Foucault's (2008) work theorized that science informs society on how to behave, guiding ways of thinking, and, therefore, cannot be separated from power. Within this frame, science is akin to religion among members of the Palestinian community. This conflict story describes how to be a good Muslim by inciting anger and devotion to Islam using repressive power wielded over the Palestinian community to conquer humiliation through religious dominance represented in a language construct of us verse them.

Patrons of Peace Unleash the Brothers of Apes and Pigs on the Peace Process focuses on the changing role of America mediation. The conflict storyline channels Palestinian repressive power by blowing-up dialogue and focusing on a tyranny of despair that encourages Palestinian factions to dress in "Explosive belts." Framing the American declaration as a tool that violates peace and perpetuates the divide between Israelis and Palestinians. Messages incorporate cartoon satire to characterize the American decision as transparent as the shifting color of a chameleon moving from one branch to another (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017c). The story illustrates a violent framework in which Palestinians avoid humiliation by shutting out the opposition (MEMRI TV, 2017f), casting the Trump administration as a "Rubric of hate," and defining the American position as "Tyrannical."

People of Giants Trample the Head of a Son of a Jewish Woman rebrands humiliation with a Palestinian version of fearlessness and honor. The conflict storyline expresses messages of support (MEMRI Special, 2018a) for armed struggle in a "Year of Confrontation [with Israel] and of Defense of the

Holy Places" during an anniversary celebration of Fatah's 53-years. Similarly, a message from a Palestinian diaspora Imam to demonstrators in NYC channeled repressive power to bind the community in solidarity, claiming, "Every inch of Palestine – including Tel Aviv and Jaffa – is Palestinian land" (MEMRI TV, 2017c) referencing the battle of Khaybar. The story adopts tyranny of despair by focusing on violence as the only legitimate method for Palestinian struggle and honor. Similarly, protestors in Gaza sought to debase Benjamin Netanyahu's honor by labelling him as the "Son of a Jewish woman" in an attempt to rebrand Netanyahu's image with the matriarchy instead of Islam's traditional association with the father (MEMRI TV, 2017i).

Expressions of Power Burn Trump's Effigy in A War Against the Palestinian People taps into the repressive power of military to fuel an erasure of humiliation. The call for "3 days of rage" focuses on a fight for Palestinian identity. The conflict storyline mandates a noble crusade in the name of Allah—a reward only bestowed to the faithful who pursue the Palestinian cause (MEMRI TV, 2017b). The self-sacrificing campaign encourages Palestinian factions to cover-over humiliation with a test of loyalty, exploring the tyranny of despair through a language of conflict predicated on a force that overpowers moderate voices. The story frames President Trump as a "Terrorist" with whom the "Arab Ummah" and "Free people worldwide" (MEMRI JTTM, 2017) must fight. Supporters are encouraged to attack, "Any place in historical Palestine where the American enemy is present" (MEMRI JTTM, 2017), purporting, "We will advance towards Jerusalem with millions of martyrs" (MEMRI TV, 2017b). The

storyline illustrates the language of conflict normalized through sacrifice and resistance in Palestinian children raised in a conflict setting that further incorporates repressive power to educate the faithful in the Palestinian cause from an early age (MEMRI TV, 2017i).

Stuart Hall (1992) reminds us that "All social practices entail meaning and meaning shapes and influences what we do" (Hall, The West and the Rest, 1992, Pg. 291). The model of tyranny of despair described through conflict stories illustrate the limits of discourse in this study. The overt violent frame of tyranny of despair demonstrates Palestinian conflict stories that represent a redefining or transforming of humiliation through a focus on anger and devotion to Islam, commanding protest as the only legitimate means of expression, advancing a violent framework to shut out opposition, rebranding humiliation with fearlessness and honor, and adopting the military power of Palestinian factions. The next model analogy of denial illustrates a clash with the tyranny of despair by drawing communication boundaries that turn outward responses to humiliation into internal representations of the Palestinian community demonstrating the irreducible nature of the politics of humiliation.

Analogy of Denial

The analogy of denial represents a model from the Palestinian community that features a rejection of the tyranny of despair. This model is composed of conflict storylines that move away from outward stories based on a singular version of events to construct responses based on an inward representation of community values. Metaphor from the Palestinian community

comprises the language of conflict in response to humiliation. The model of the analogy of denial remains defined by the repressive power forces that command action composed alongside the normative power functions that motivate community behavior based on norms and values.

Sins of Balfour Cast Trump As "America's Crazy Man," The New Balfour illustrates a Palestinian response to humiliation based on unfavorable boundary lines. The story focuses on the Palestinian community's perception of being forced off their land by the unilateral American recognition of Jerusalem nearly a month after the centennial anniversary of the Balfour declaration. The story employs a message of repressive power that denigrates the American president based on the normalizing power of a community that associates intelligence with competency. The dismissal of a "crazy man's decision" by members of the Palestinian community act as an analogy of denial, equating a tit-for-tat style response to humiliation experienced by members of the Palestinian community, who felt snubbed in favor of the Jewish inhabitants (MEMRI Special, 2017d). The character assault on the American president serves as justification for the same (lack of) respect Palestinians felt by the humiliation of the American declaration concerning Jerusalem that ignored the Palestinian connection to the land—an action reminiscent of the historical underpinnings of the Balfour declaration.

Calls of Jerusalem Defend Jerusalem From the Rape of the Israeli Occupation functions within a frame that conjures a vivid association. The conflict storyline links the humiliating act of sexual assault – an insertion of

repressive power within a normalizing power frame predicated on fighting back against an attacker. This story supports the analogy of denial by labeling the American declaration on Jerusalem as a violation of fairness. The frame draws on emotions akin to relations of power perpetrated by a rapist, who seeks repressive control over a victim's body (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017h). In this manner, the ire of Palestinian women and prevention advocates of sexual assault remain focused on defense against the humiliation of Jerusalem's rape symbolized by the American declaration.

Patrons of Peace Shoe-Away the Issue of Jerusalem reflects an illustration of a wrong committed against the Palestinian community. The conflict storyline represents the analogy of denial in an honor-based humiliation framework that adopts a form of rejection and punishment as a metaphorical response. In the first of two messages, cartoon satire features a Palestinian woman spanking President Trump with a shoe stating, "Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018). The second image (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017l) identifies a protester holding a shoe over the American president's caricature to redirect the humiliation back onto the American president. The American president's actions were deemed egregious to the point that Palestinians responded with repressive power to assert dominance using a similar punishment applied to Palestinian children who misbehave. The Palestinian normalizing power is demonstrated by disrespect and loss of honor in redress of a humiliating wrong (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017l) by the American recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

People of Giants Defeat A Modern-Day Hulagu Khan features a conflict story of Palestinian ancestral struggle. The messages composing the storyline reflect claims of subverting defeat by decrying, "We are the descendants of Saladin. . . the invincible generation" (MEMRI TV, 2017h), a message that bridges the Battle of Ain Jalut, where Hulagu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, experienced defeat for the first time on a battlefield near the former Palestinian village of Zir'in. Repressive power remains framed around the conquest of Trump, the "Modern-day Hulagu Khan" (MEMRI TV, 2017e), to overwrite a sense of humiliation. The model an analogy of denial focuses on Palestinian normative power constructed through patriarchal deference to notable figures such as Yasser Arafat and Ahmed Yassin, who embodied the strength, courage, and struggle of the Palestinian community. The story adopts a view of the Palestinian leadership's conquering power as a repressive power cudgel to break apart feelings of humiliation and the prevailing sense of hopelessness over stalled negotiations, lack of self-determination, and perceptions of American betrayal (MEMRI TV, 2018b; Palestinian Media Watch, 2019).

Expressions of Power Sanction Products of the Illegal Occupiers demonstrate an innovative method for responding to humiliation by incorporating new policies with customary practices. The conflict storyline channels the repressive power to enforce diplomatic protocols and economic sanctions to build a healthy, vibrant Palestinian community through normative power features present in the international community. The following message suggests, "Let's require any American who wants to come to Palestine - even Kushner - to obtain

a visa" (MEMRI TV, 2017a), and calls "For Arab ambassadors to be recalled from Washington," and Arab states to "Stop exporting oil to the U.S. and withdraw investments from American banks" (MEMRI, 2017g). These messages illustrate the model of an analogy of denial with a storied version of humiliation that imagines a Palestinian future built around coalitions and remedies in international law.

The model analogy of denial constructs a view of Palestinian digital humiliation within a framework of stories describing the fight against a violation of fairness, associating intelligence with competency, focusing on rejection and punishment, conquering the power of deference, and incorporating new policies with customary practices. In the final section, a third model illustrates the contrasts among representations of the politics of humiliation by moving away from the repressive power functions discussed in both of the previous models. Policy of doubt explores the view of implicit humiliation through normative power responses within the Palestinian community on digital media. The model calls into question prior Palestinian status quo responses that emerged from the American declaration on Jerusalem.

Policy of Doubt

The model policy of doubt reflects stories through the lens of normalizing power. Normalizing power remains resistant (albeit not impossible) to change. The application of normalizing power is considered first-rate power because it reflects the norms, values, and beliefs of the community without the use of force to motivate response (Gijsber, 2017). For instance, research data in

this study reflected an anticipatory spike ahead of the U.N. Security Council veto by the U.S. on December 19, 2017, and prior to Ambassador Haley stating formally, "The U.S. will be taking names" (Haley, 2017) and suggested the withdrawal of U.S. aid[31] in response to condemnation of the American recognition of Jerusalem. The flurry of Palestinian thematic communication[32] reflected themes related to "Palestinian" strength (e.g., MEMRI TV, 2017l; MEMRI Special, 2017d; MEMRI Special, 2017c; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017l) and expressions of "Resistance" (e.g., Palestinian Media Watch, 2017i; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017j; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017k; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017m; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017n; Palestinian Media Watch, 2017o). Palestinian responses continued to lament the American role in the peace process into early January 2020.

This illustrates Palestinian identity remains closely associated with Resistance (and moderately with Honor) through normalizing power concentrated on digital media in response to acts of humiliation. Two fundamental insights develop from the preceding observations. The first relates to Foucault's (2008) view on the ubiquity of normalizing power in society (Gijsber, 2017). The unfiltered Palestinian responses to the experienced humiliation of the American declaration remained unresolved. Furthermore, the Palestinian community appeared unafraid to push back digitally against the

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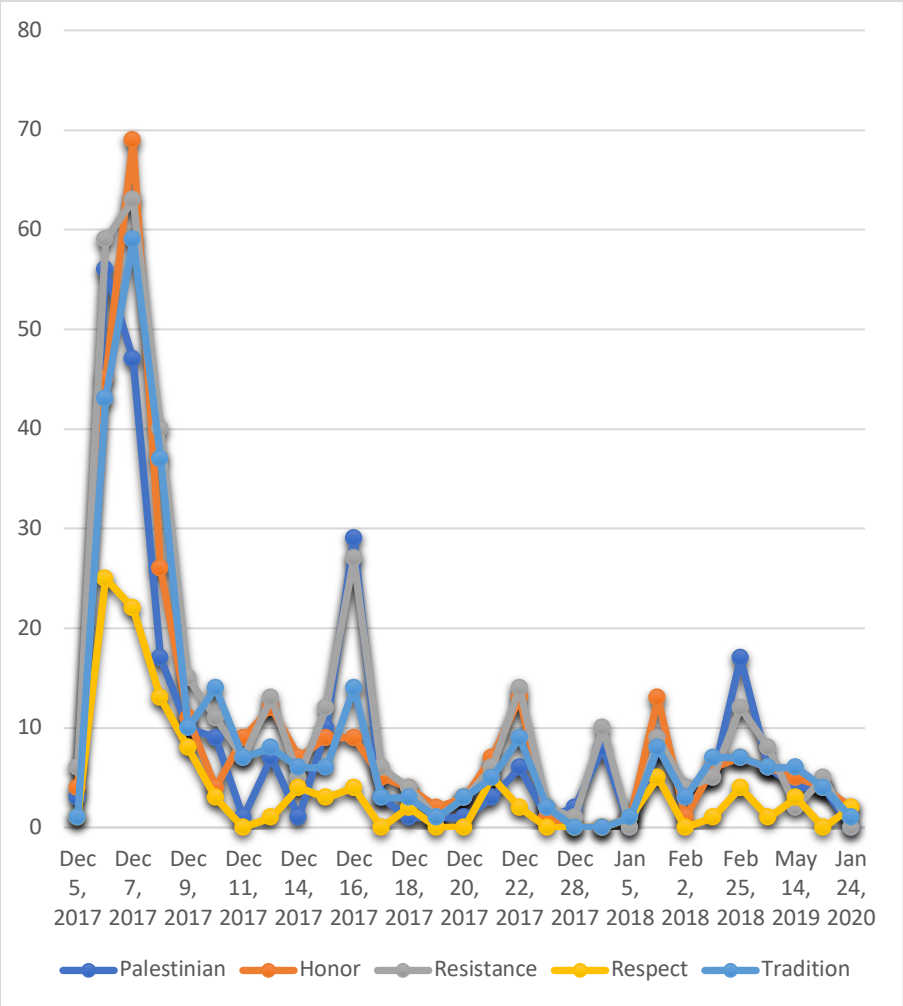
[31] See APPENDIX C: U.S. Ambassador Nikki Haley States, “The US Will Be Taking Names” Ahead of UNGA Vote on December 21, 2017 (Twitter)
[32] See Figure 12: Total Palestinian Thematic Digital Communication Source Data

American repressive power of dominance illustrating an emerging normative power of digital communication as a new medium to express feelings of humiliation.

Figure 12

Total Palestinian Thematic Digital Communication Source Data



The policy of doubt represents a digital Palestinian conflict language through the following storylines that illustrate one aspect of the competing nature of models that support meaning for the politics of humiliation. The model policy

of doubt specifically represents stories in this study that redefine Palestinian responses to humiliation through cultural representations that call into question previous status quo messaging on digital media. Policy of doubt offers examples of stories that implicitly seek the normative power of establishing agency through atypical community responses – not all of which prescribe logically successful outcomes for advancing Palestinian values.

Sins of Balfour Give Away the Keys to Jerusalem And Declare War on Dialogue and Negotiations rejects American overreach in an international forum. The conflict storyline illustrates the language of conflict represented among moderate views of Palestinians who seek to employ a normative power response that focuses on the refusal of normalization efforts with Israel until the occupation ends. The message claims Israeli partnerships only lead to furthering the occupation, suggesting, "The U.S. and its pawn, the occupation state Israel . . . they are declaring war on dialogue and negotiations as a means to resolve disputes and establish peace between warring states" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f). A complementary message adds, "This administration has crossed every red line with measures that contravene international law and especially [U.N.] Security Council Resolution 478. . . the U.S. President has given what doesn't belong to him to those who are not entitled to it, just like [the Balfour Declaration] 100 years ago" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018). The conflict story supports the policy of doubt by advancing a view that decries the U.S. declaration for its mistrust by emboldening Israel to continue acts of Palestinian humiliation.

Calls of Jerusalem Eternalize the Holy City as The Sole Capital of The State of Palestine evinces a response that ignores the American change to the status of Jerusalem. The conflict storyline draws on messages that include Palestinian Authority T.V. news anchors wearing shirts on-air reading, "Jerusalem - the capital of the State of Palestine." The message supports a model of the policy of doubt through the normalizing power of shifting the story related to being overlooked by the American declaration to an acknowledgement of the Palestinian desire for a capital in East Jerusalem. Similarly, a congratulatory message published on Fatah social media accounts following the birth of Gazan triplets named for, "Jerusalem," "Capital," and "Palestine" supplant a sense of humiliation related to powerlessness with a normalizing power of ownership (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017f / Palestinian Media Watch, 2017k). By focusing on the naming rights of the parents and T.V. anchors, the policy of doubt model contradicts the American declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital by employing the normative power of the Palestinian connection to Jerusalem through an application of naming rights.

Patrons of Peace Declare the Peace Process Not Welcome in Palestine (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018) reflect a cultural fluency deficit by the American president and rejection of Palestinian community values toward hospitality. President Trump warned of the "Consequences of canceling meetings with the American vice president" in response to Abbas' refusal to meet Vice President Pence during a planned trip to the region. President Abbas remained steadfast, asserting Pence was "Not welcome in Palestine" (Palestinian Media Watch,

2017f). This conflict story features an American president's attempt to control the narrative through the application of repressive power. However, President Trump's message failed to recognize the importance of Honor in the Palestinian community. The story illustrates the policy of doubt through a rejection of normative power in Palestinian communities customarily associated by an adherence toward gracious and welcoming hospitality, for the normative power application of honor-based misgivings toward the humiliation of a global superpower—a storyline supported two years later by the message, "Trump's decision regarding Jerusalem" remains unacceptable, in response to the American proposal of the Deal of the Century (Palestinian Media Watch, 2020).

People of Giants Require Greater Wisdom to Change the Rules of The Diplomatic Game espouses a bold claim directed at Palestinian politicians. The story suggests bringing an end to the futile messages of rage over the relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem, proposing, "Moving the U.S. flag from the embassy building in Tel Aviv to another building in Jerusalem has no impact on the rights of the Palestinians . . . because these rights would continue to exist as long as the Palestinians themselves existed" (MEMRI Special, 2017a). The story recommends that a change in American policy constitutes, "An important step to the benefit of the Palestinian issue" (MEMRI Inquiry, 2018). This conflict storyline represents the policy of doubt model by expressing hesitation toward Palestinian politicians' reactionary violent expressions to American humiliation. The story proposes a normative power response involving a "Pause for

reflection" to overcome the tendency toward advocating Palestinian self-sacrifice.

Expressions of Power Turn Off the Lights of The Occupation in a Symbolic Confrontation signal a response to humiliation that focuses on building a community-wide response. This conflict storyline channels the normative power to "Encourage demonstration" instead of violence and self-sacrifice. The conflict storyline messages advocates "Turning off" the "Christmas tree lights" (Palestinian Media Watch, 2017c) in peaceful protest during the Christmas holiday season. This normative power response focuses on the holiday through a subtle act of defiance by associating the Palestinian struggle with the Christian community. A second message supporting this storyline appeared in an article from 2012 published during an 8-day siege by the IDF in the Gaza Strip. The republished article focused on building normative power restraint among Palestinians through the view that violence begets violence (MEMRI Special, 2017c; MEMRI Special, 2017b). These seemingly disparate messages call attention to building normative power structures that rely on nonviolent protest through a community-wide response. This conflict storyline represents the policy of doubt model through a skepticism related to the efficacy of Palestinian responses to humiliation represented by other models setting up an intraparty dispute.

The policy of doubt focuses on the reconstitution of humiliation in Palestinian conflict stories. By calling into question stories from the previous models, the policy of doubt reflects the brittle nature of Palestinian digital

communication through representation of the politics of humiliation. Stories in this model support meaning through the establishment of naming rights, refuting normalization efforts with Israel, employing an honor-based rejection of hospitality, pausing for reflection to avoid futile messages, and promoting community-wide responses that support non-violent resistance.

Conclusion

President Trump's declaration and the relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem would under normal circumstances reflect a de jure recognition by one head of state in regard to another state's capital and therefore remain undisputed. However, International law theorists stipulate states have a duty of non-recognition (Cassese, 1986; Hughes, 2018). Consequently, the American declaration may violate customary international law as the occupied Palestinian territory of East Jerusalem remains disputed territory (C.E.I.R.P.P., 1997). The U.N. General Assembly (2017b) overwhelmingly affirmed in a nonbinding recommendation that states not relocate heads of mission to Jerusalem, nor recognize disputed territory in Jerusalem.

The United Nations ultimately acts in the capacity of a political institution charged with building partnerships in the global arena. Legal questions that come before United Nations organs, such as the International Court of Justice, unfold in a methodical process that take time and involve advisory opinions on legal questions or nonbinding recommendations. For instance, the question of state sovereignty for Palestine (as of this writing) remains an undecided question in international law. Similarly, it is unclear if Israel will be

held to account for violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention (ICRC, 1949) related to ongoing settlement construction or war crimes in the occupied Palestinian territories.

The importance of the legal status related to the Palestinian territories supports an understanding of the Palestinian responses to humiliation identified by conflict stories in this research. The interpretive analysis of this research remains equally important. For instance, the theoretical orientation of constructivism informed both the research methodology (Charmaz, 2006) and digital content analysis. Data produced from the three guiding research questions have been incorporated into a collectivist view of the research outcome. The thematic framework of topics and organizing concepts served to catalog stories through a representation of the three competing models (e.g., tyranny of despair, analogy of denial, and policy of doubt) to uncover the meaning of the politics of humiliation.

For instance, the tyranny of despair represents a model including conflict storylines by parties who assert repressive power dominance through violent forms of expression. The model illustrates stories that explicitly adopt a singular view of events. Palestinian responses to humiliation attempt to erase and replace the perception of despair and powerlessness with an aggrandized sense of strength. The analogy of denial balances repressive power exercised by the Palestinian community with normative power urges developed from the metaphorical language of the community. Responses include an implicit rejection of the former model with focus on the denial of humiliation. The policy of doubt

illustrates a model that calls into question motivations presented in previous models. Conflict storylines draw on normative power functions that involve reframing the misgivings of American and Israeli humiliation in terms of a conflict language that attempt to build new meaning in the Palestinian community around acts of humiliation.

This research study addressed the politics of humiliation through the aforementioned competing models. Data composed of Palestinian modes of response on digital media to the American recognition of Jerusalem provides a nuanced view of repressive and normative power present in Palestinian digital communication. The communication matrix consisting of conflict storylines, concepts, and themes provided a framework for analysis of Israeli-Palestinian interactions. The finding revealed an understanding of the Palestinian digital discourse that emerged through a cacophony of voice in response to the humiliation of the American declaration on digital media.

Research Limitations

It is often challenging to remain apolitical in a qualitative study involving digital communication with research foci designed around the construction of themes, concepts, and conflict stories designed to render a conclusion representing the politics of humiliation. One may not explore conflict stories in digital media without first seeking to identify a view that illustrates language limits. The conflict storylines in this study reveal a perspective laden approach, where stories in models appear to serve a particular function such as recruitment (e.g., Tyranny of Despair), American and Israeli rejection (e.g.,

Analogy of Denial), or challenging the current Palestinian status quo (e.g., Policy of Doubt).

Another limitation involves using digital content analysis as the primary mode for inquiry—interpretation of stories required sifting through a myriad of digital communication to uncover what the speaker intended to convey. The principal researcher spent 16 months collectively between Israel, the Palestinian territories, and Egypt engaged in fieldwork to support Arab Palestinian cultural fluency skills. Still, assigning a story based on the degree of fit to a model requires interpretation. Data composing the storylines were explored through a systematic process of evaluation, including, at times, a tedious back-and-forth analysis involving asking questions of the data through constant comparison.

Limitations further involve excluding the Levantine Arabic lingua franca of Palestinians, disadvantaging the study by withholding cultural references in language. Data incorporated into this study was originally published in Arabic and translated into English by M.E.M.R.I. and P.M.W. due to the principal investigator's lack of Arabic fluency. Equal sourcing of content and triangulation sources outside the two primary translation services provided a check on the validity of sources to boost the reliability of the research findings. The focus on English digital content allowed for the boundaries of analysis of Palestinian conflict storylines, concepts, and themes to remain couched in Palestinian modes of response directed toward English speaking communities.

Future research addressing reliability might focus on the transmediality of digital stories that remain unconnected to one particular medium. Further, the

community's active involvement through a research paradigm involving participant-based interviews would add a representative perspective explicitly from the participants.

CHAPTER VI: DIGITAL EMPATHY

Background Introduction

The long-term effects of widespread internet usage are not yet apparent; however, studies over the last decade have pointed to a rise in internet addiction disorder (e.g., Wei, Zhou, & Zhang, 2012; Servidio, 2014)—a maladaptive dependency on the Internet. Digital 2019 (e.g., Kemp, 2019), a metanalysis of global digital media usage, found 3.4 billion active social media users with 136 million from the Middle East alone. Digital connectivity continues to flourish creating new challenges as generations grow up using communication that requires merging virtual and non-virtual representations of identity (e.g., Van Dijck, 2013; Waggoner, 2009). Moreover, the fluidity of digital communication influences language (Perlin, 2016; Schulz, 2014) and meaning with new tools for digital expression highlighting barriers in cross-cultural communication (e.g., McLuhan, 1964; Ting-Toomey, & Kurogi. 1998; Amant, 2012) related to interpreting digital content across global communities.

Navigating Digital Dependence

The use of digital conflict stories in this research offered clues for understanding interpersonal conflict (e.g., Cobb, 2013; Cobb, & Rifkin, 1991; Pely, 2016; Augsburger, D. (1992; Monk & Winslade, 2000). Palestinian digital communication in response to the American declaration may be characterized as an unfiltered collection of Palestinian digital media illustrated by humiliation accumulated over 53-years of the Israeli occupation. The Trump administration's failure to acknowledge Palestinian aspirations for a future capital in East

Jerusalem (e.g., Indyk, 2020) only compounded Palestinian angst on digital media.

Foucault's (1972) theory on power, knowledge, and the production of discourse in society (e.g., Foucault, 1979; Foucault, 2008; Foucault, & Gordon, 1980) provided a helpful framework for investigating Palestinian digital humiliation in this research. For instance, understanding distinctions between the repressive power forces that sought to control or force action through penalizing conflict stories provided insight for understanding the influence of normative power, as an invisible hand for motivating action through societal norms and values—an association that uncovered the epoch Jerusalem discourse in response to humiliation through a review of Palestinian digital media.

Practicing Digital Empathy

The principal investigator for this research does not claim expertise in mediation to resolve the Palestinian humiliation that emerged on digital media in response to this study's topic. The opportunity to explore digital literacy interventions based on the research findings may serve to promote best practices for engaging in digital empathy to resolve issues related to mitigating conflict in digital spaces. Whether one is practicing empathy in a face-to-face setting or digital environment, it remains helpful to acknowledge communication boundaries, not to legislate behavior, as reserving judgment remains an essential part of practicing empathy, but as a measure to engage in open communication. The following digital empathy practices are discussed from the thematic

communication framework in this research that led to the development of the research models organized around conflict stories.

A Model of Tyranny

The model tyranny of despair remains composed of storylines that focus on violent expressions through outward views of asserting domination. The messages expressed on digital media by the Palestinian community advanced a single version of events through an application of repressive power. Individual views comprising this communication style will likely not change simply by addressing the logical fallacies related to argumentation. Research data on the Palestinian responses to humiliation draw on commanding protest as the only legitimate means of expression (e.g., *Sins of Balfour open the gates of hell to kill us, destroy us, and put us in prison),* anger and devotion to Islam (e.g., *Calls of Jerusalem liberate Jerusalem from the plundering Jews),* advancing a violent framework to shut out the opposition (e.g., *Patrons of peace unleash the brothers of apes and pigs on the peace process),* rebranding humiliation with fearlessness and honor (e.g., *People of giants trample the head of a son of a Jewish woman),* and adopting the military power of Palestinians factions (e.g., *Expressions of power burn Trump's effigy in a war against the Palestinian people*).

Digital communication in this model illustrates a competition for supremacy from within the community. Stories appear directed toward community members to rally support. Acknowledging how others feel requires stepping into their shoes. Stories are the substance of experience, and we all have one. It may seem impossible to know how one feels in a particular situation.

Tip #1 Practicing digital empathy involves acceptance. To state the obvious many of the readers of this research will have likely never lived through the Israeli occupation. Although, most of us know the emotions related to humiliation, anger, frustration, joy, and happiness. One does not have to condone expressions of violence on digital media to recognize it as a symptom. Acceptance is not about agreeing with different points of view. It is an acknowledgement of self-determination or the freedom to live a life with dignity.

A Model of Analogy

The model analogy of denial in this research draws on storylines that reflect metaphorical community representations. Stories support an inward view for navigating challenging relationships directed at community members who share the same point of view. This model balanced the repressive power cudgel with a normative power foundation to motivate community members to respond with reflections of Palestinian norms and values. Storyline responses associated intelligence with competency (e.g., *Sins of Balfour cast Trump as "America's crazy man," the new Balfour),* fighting against violations of fairness *(e.g., Calls of Jerusalem defend Jerusalem from the rape* of the Israeli occupation), focusing on rejection and punishment *(e.g., Patrons of peace shoe-away the issue of Jerusalem),* subverting defeat with the conquering power of deference *(e.g., People of giants defeat a modern-day Hulagu Khan),* incorporating new policies and customary practices (e.g., *Expressions of power sanction products of the illegal occupiers).*

Digital communication in this model focuses on the expression of Palestinian identity. The research illustrated the core element of developing partnerships around shared community views. Every community has a language for expressing essential values and norms. Growing community involves first recognizing the component parts. By recognizing the strengths in others, we build new opportunities for mutual exchange.

Tip #2 Practicing digital empathy involves asking questions to understand new points of view. Confrontations on digital media may lead to position entrenchment. Expertise is often hidden from view or misinterpreted by a cursory analysis of digital messages. Appreciating differences requires a recognition of discordant views and individual expertise.

A Model of Policy

The model policy of doubt in this research calls into question the status quo community response. Storylines focus on the community's normative power to trigger alternative perspectives confidently outside the mainstream. The model includes stories for which message intent remains obscured, as stories organized by this model act as change agents based on community values and norms. Storylines from the data focused on refuting normalization with Israel *(e.g., Sins of Balfour give away the keys to Jerusalem and declare war on dialogue and negotiations),* using naming rights to frame a new version of events *(e.g., Calls of Jerusalem eternalize the Holy City as the sole capital of the State of Palestine),* honor-based rejection of hospitality *(e.g., Patrons of peace declare the peace process not welcome in Palestine),* pausing for reflection to end futile messages

of rage *(e.g., People of giants require greater wisdom to change the rules of the diplomatic game),* and promoting community-wide attention through non-violent resistance *(e.g., Expressions of power turn off the lights of the occupation in a symbolic confrontation).*

Digital communication in this model views community values through a lens that is akin to "Swimming upstream" (MEMRI Special, 2017a). Stories organized by this model reflect an attempt to connect with members outside the community. Messages often reflect core aspects of identity although critique an aspect of the status quo position of the representative community.

Tip #3 Practicing digital empathy involves avoiding judgments. Slow down and listen for understanding. When we fail to understand another person's story, we often lose the benefit of their point of view. We reflect this principle on digital media by supporting parties to make their own decisions even though we may not agree with the statement or particular point of view.

A Brighter Digitally Engaged Future

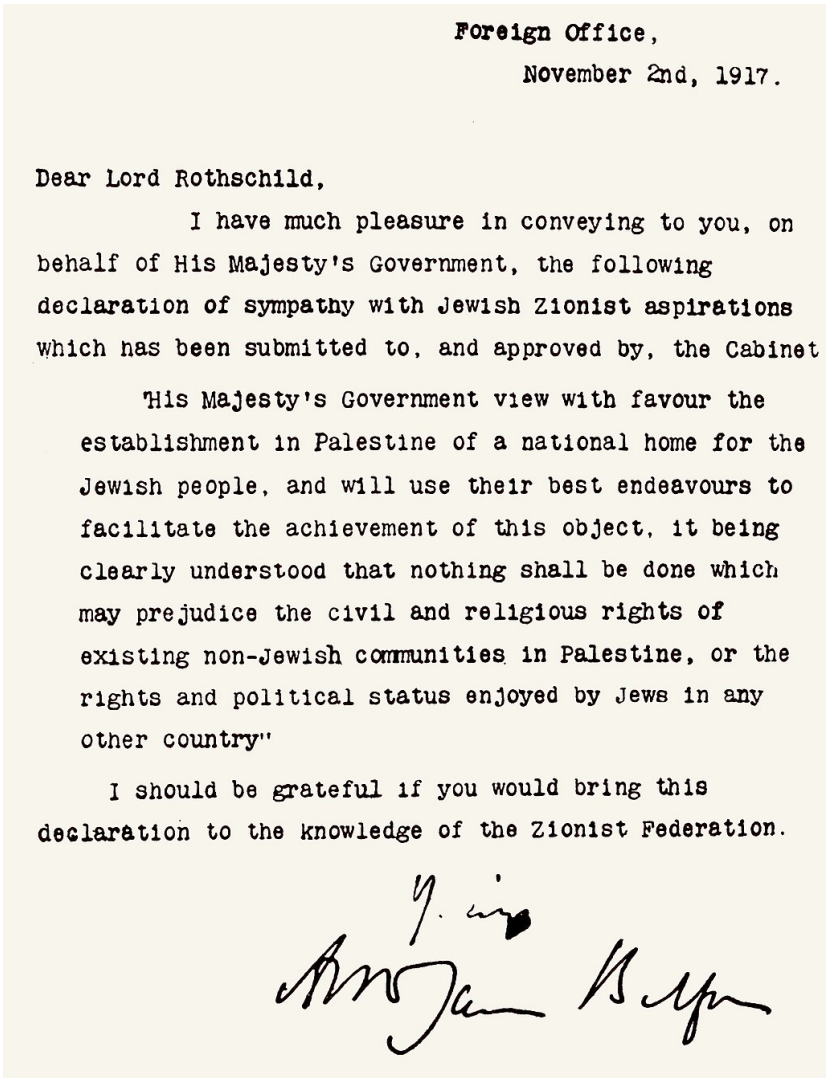
The models developed from this research support a representation of the politics of humiliation. The storylines produced herein are not an exhaustive reflection of Palestinian digital content analysis, but an interpretive view recognizing the language of conflict during a moment in time following the American declaration on Jerusalem. Insights from the research support recommendations for best practices in digital empathy. For as digital media technology continues to add new layers of expression, so too come new opportunities for misinterpretation because in the immortal words of Antoine de

Saint-Exupéry (1943), the author of The Little Prince, "Words are the source of misunderstandings."

APPENDIX A

Figure 13

Letter Reflecting the Origins of The Balfour Declaration



Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

APPENDIX B

Table 2

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
DVT1	12/07 2017	Video	Tradition (9) Respect (0) Honor (5) Palestinian (5) Resistance (10)
DVT2	12/06 2017	CBS (YouTube) interview	Tradition (7) Respect (9) Honor (10) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
DVT3	12/06 2017	Al Jazeera Report-YouTube video	Tradition (9) Respect (2) Honor (4) Palestinian (7) Resistance (3)
DVT4	12/08 2017	France 24 English	Tradition (10) Respect (3) Honor (3) Palestinian (6) Resistance (9)
DVT5	5/14 2019	i24 NEWS English (interview posted on YouTube)	Tradition (6) Respect (3) Honor (5) Palestinian (4) Resistance (2)
MEMR I1	01/14 2018	Broadcast carried by Palestinian Authority T.V. channel	Tradition (8) Respect (5) Honor (13) Palestinian (8) Resistance (9)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 2	02/25 2018	Article published at Rai Al-Yawm	Tradition (5) Respect (3) Honor (5) Palestinian (12) Resistance (9)
MEMRI 3	12/07 2017	Images, video, and text posted to Pflp.ps.	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 3	12/22 2017	Images and video posted to Pflp.ps	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 4	12/12 2017	YouTube Account dedicated to Al-Aqsa Mosque Addresses	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (4) Resistance (3)
MEMRI 5	12/06 2017	The article titled "Jerusalem and the Embassy – Do Not Despair"	Tradition (9) Respect (3) Honor (5) Palestinian (22) Resistance (22)
MEMRI 5	02/25 2018	Online article posted on Raialyoum.com	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (2) Palestinian (5) Resistance (3)
MEMRI 6	12/12 2017	Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (7) Palestinian (1) Resistance (7)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 7	12/07 2017	Images and text posted on Facebook. com/Fatah youth	Tradition (10) Respect (2) Honor (9) Palestinian (6) Resistance (8)
MEMRI 7	12/07 2017	Images and text posted to Facebook. com/offici alfateh196 5	Tradition (10) Respect (2) Honor (9) Palestinian (5) Resistance (8)
MEMRI 7	12/07 2017	A statement posted on Wafa.ps	Tradition (10) Respect (2) Honor (9) Palestinian (5) Resistance (8)
MEMRI 8	12/09 2017	Al-Ameen Mosque on Facebook	Tradition (2) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)
MEMRI 9	12/16 2017	Image and text posted on Official Fatah Facebook page at Facebook. com/offici alfateh196 5	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (2) Resistance (1)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 9	12/28 2017	Image and text posted on the official Fatah Twitter account at Twitter.com/fatehorg	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (2) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Images and text posted to Facebook.com/officialfateh1965	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Image and text posted on the official Fatah Twitter account at Twitter.com/fatehorg	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (2) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Image & text (Tweet) featuring a photo of Dalal Al-Mughrabi posted on Fatah Facebook.	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Image shared on Facebook page	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Image shared on Fatah Facebook page at Facebook.com/officialfateh1965	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 9	12/30 2017	Poster posted on Facebook.com/officialfateh1965	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 10	12/08 2017	Al Aqsa T.V.	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (2) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 11	12/15 2017	Al Aqsa T.V.	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (3) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)
MEMRI 11	12/15 2017	Al Aqsa T.V.	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (2) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 12	12/09 2017	Tweets (w/hashtags), Facebook posts including images (burning Trump effigy)	Tradition (2) Respect (5) Honor (8) Palestinian (2) Resistance (8)
MEMRI 13	12/08 2017	In-person rally posted on YouTube	Tradition (4) Respect (0) Honor (3) Palestinian (2) Resistance (5)
MEMRI 13	12/08 2017	In-person rally posted on YouTube	Tradition (3) Respect (0) Honor (2) Palestinian (2) Resistance (5)
MEMRI 14	12/22 2017	Al Aqsa T.V.	Tradition (5) Respect (2) Honor (7) Palestinian (3) Resistance (9)
MEMRI 15	12/16 2017	Video posted to YouTube	Tradition (13) Respect (4) Honor (9) Palestinian (28) Resistance (25)
MEMRI 16	12/15 2017	Video of live protest rally posted to Al-Alam TV (Iran)	Tradition (3) Respect (1) Honor (4) Palestinian (2) Resistance (4)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 17	12/07 2017	Video of the speech posted to YouTube	Tradition (8) Respect (3) Honor (9) Palestinian (10) Resistance (11)
MEMRI 18	12/22 2017	Sermon posted to YouTube account dedicated to Al-Aqsa Mosque addresses	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 19	12/06 2017	Article published by Palestinian journalist from London in Saudi daily Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (0) Palestinian (10) Resistance (10)
MEMRI 20	12/05 2017	Maan T.V. on the Internet	Tradition (1) Respect (1) Honor (4) Palestinian (3) Resistance (6)
MEMRI 21	12/08 2017	A statement posted on Wafa.ps	Tradition (2) Respect (2) Honor (2) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 21	12/09 2017	A statement posted on Wafa.ps	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (2) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 21	12/10 2017	Article published on Palestinian daily Al-Quds	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (2) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 21	12/11 2017	Article published in Al-Quds (Jerusalem)	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (2) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 21	12/11 2017	Comment posted on Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (4) Palestinian (1) Resistance (3)
MEMRI 21	12/17 2017	Statement posted on Maannews.net	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (4) Palestinian (0) Resistance (2)
MEMRI 21	12/18 2017	Video posted on Maannews.net	Tradition (2) Respect (2) Honor (4) Palestinian (0) Resistance (3)
MEMRI 21	12/22 2017	Video of the speech posted on Wafa.ps	Tradition (1) Respect (1) Honor (3) Palestinian (2) Resistance (2)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
MEMRI 22	12/07 2017	Article from 2012 advocating a "calm intifada" republished	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (3) Resistance (3)
MEMRI 23	02/07 2018	Poem on YouTube	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
MEMRI 24	12/18 2017	Article published on Palestinian Maan News Agency	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (0) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
PMW1	12/21 2017	Cartoon satire	Tradition (3) Respect (2) Honor (5) Palestinian (1) Resistance (4)
PMW2	05/13 2018	Image and hashtags posted on Official Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (3) Respect (1) Honor (3) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
PMW2	05/13 2018	Photoshopped image posted on Official Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (3) Respect (0) Honor (3) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW3	12/08 2017	Video sermon posted on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (8) Respect (4) Honor (8) Palestinian (2) Resistance (6)
PMW4	12/14 2017	Image, text, and Twitter hashtag posted on Official Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (1) Respect (1) Honor (3) Palestinian (1) Resistance (1)
PMW4	12/20 2017	Fatah tweeted poster including image, text, & Twitter hashtag posted on Official Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (2) Respect (1) Honor (2) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)
PMW5	01/24 2020	A statement published on Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, an official P.A. daily	Tradition (1) Respect (2) Honor (2) Palestinian (0) Resistance (0)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW6	12/25 2017	A statement published on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (2) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (1) Resistance (2)
PMW7	01/05 2018	A statement published on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (1) Respect (1) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (0)
PMW8	12/11 2017	Cartoon satire (image)	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)
PMW9	12/19 2017	Cartoon satire (image)	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)
PMW10	12/12 2017	Interview on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (6) Respect (1) Honor (4) Palestinian (2) Resistance (3)
PMW11	12/22 2017	Cartoon satire (image) & Twitter hashtags	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW12	12/06 2017	Video of protesters in Bethlehem	Tradition (2) Respect (3) Honor (10) Palestinian (2) Resistance (4)
PMW12	12/07 2017	Interview on Maan Palestinian news agency	Tradition (5) Respect (5) Honor (9) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
PMW12	12/08 2017	A message shared on Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (4) Respect (2) Honor (4) Palestinian (2) Resistance (4)
PMW12	12/08 2017	A message shared on Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (5) Respect (2) Honor (4) Palestinian (1) Resistance (8)
PMW12	12/09 2017	Video posted on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (4) Respect (2) Honor (3) Palestinian (3) Resistance (2)
PMW12	12/11 2017	Cartoon satire posted on Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (4) Respect (0) Honor (2) Palestinian (0) Resistance (2)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW13	12/14 2017	Image & hashtag shared on Official Fatah Facebook page (#HandsOffAlQuds)	Tradition (2) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (2)
PMW14	02/07 2018	Article posted on Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Official A Daily	Tradition (6) Respect (1) Honor (5) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)
PMW15	12/14 2017	Cartoon satire shared on Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (3) Respect (1) Honor (3) Palestinian (0) Resistance (2)
PMW16	02/02 2018	Video interview posted to Fatah website	Tradition (3) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)
PMW17	12/10 2017	Television interview on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (12) Respect (2) Honor (4) Palestinian (8) Resistance (10)
PMW18	11/22 2019	Video posted on Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (4) Respect (0) Honor (4) Palestinian (4) Resistance (5)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW19	12/20 2017	Image and text posted on the official Fatah Twitter account	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (0) Resistance (1)
PMW20	12/06 2017	PA TV and Radio rebroadcasts	Tradition (1) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
PMW20	12/17 2017	Rebroadcasts of video on Official PA TV: Dec. 17, 25 and 26, 2017, & Jan. 2, 2018	Tradition (2) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
PMW21	12/19 2017	Cartoon satire posted on Official Fatah Facebook page	Tradition (0) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (1) Resistance (0)
PMW22	12/21 2017	Cartoon satire (image) & Twitter hashtags	Tradition (2) Respect (2) Honor (2) Palestinian (2) Resistance (1)
PMW23	12/06 2017	Cartoon satire posted on Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (3) Respect (4) Honor (9) Palestinian (2) Resistance (4)

Table 2 (continued)

Digital Communication Source Data

Source	Date	Medium	Message Themes
PMW23	12/07 2017	A statement posted on Al-Hayat Al-Jadida	Tradition (8) Respect (8) Honor (9) Palestinian (5) Resistance (6)
PMW23	12/07 2017	A statement posted on Official PA daily	Tradition (8) Respect (0) Honor (9) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)
PMW24	12/06 2017	Television interview posted on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (4) Respect (3) Honor (5) Palestinian (3) Resistance (4)
PMW25	12/06 2017	Interview published on Official Palestinian Authority T.V.	Tradition (6) Respect (0) Honor (1) Palestinian (4) Resistance (4)

APPENDIX C

Figure 14

U.S. Ambassador Nikki Haley States, "The US Will Be Taking Names" Ahead of UNGA Vote on December 21, 2017 (Twitter)

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